

The J. Paul Getty Museum

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Lord Rockingham's Sculpture Collection and *The Judgment of Paris* by Nollekens

Nicholas Penny

On July 15, 1986, the trustees of the Fitzwilliam Settlement sold at Christie's in London a number of statues that had once formed a part of the sculpture collection at Wentworth Woodhouse, the great house in Yorkshire built by the first, and completed by the second, Marquis of Rockingham in the eighteenth century and subsequently one of the seats of the Earls Fitzwilliam. Among the statues were a *Venus*, *Minerva*, and *Juno* by Joseph Nollekens that had been regarded as separate statues for well over a century at Wentworth Woodhouse; unsurprisingly, they were lotted separately. A letter by the present writer that was published on July 4, 1986, in the London *Times* pointed out that archival evidence strongly suggested that the three statues originally formed part of a group of *The Judgment of Paris*—a group completed by an antique statue that the Fitzwilliam trustees were to sell on July 16 at the same auction house (as had been pointed out to him by Timothy Stevens, then director of the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool). In response to this letter, Christie's assembled the statues in the same room and drew the attention of bidders to the relationship between them. The four statues were subsequently acquired by the same dealer and sold as a group to the J. Paul Getty Museum.

The Judgment of Paris is one of Nollekens's finest works. It is also one of the most ambitious narrative groups ever created by an English sculptor. Moreover, it is a composition of a most unusual kind, with the figures interacting across a considerable space, and one of its components is an ancient work—or rather a work that in part purports to be ancient. Clearly the group merits separate study, but so too does the collection of which it once formed a part. Indeed, when the evidence of old inventories and sale catalogues is assessed, it becomes apparent that the second Marquis of Rockingham, for whom it was made, was one of the keenest and most interesting collectors of sculpture in Britain in the eighteenth century. This article commences with an attempt to trace the origins of that collection in the Grand Tour made by the marquis (as Lord Malton) and proceeds to reconstruct the collection at the time of

his death. The third part is devoted to *The Judgment of Paris* group.

LORD MALTON AS A PATRON OF SCULPTURE ON THE GRAND TOUR

Charles Watson-Wentworth, Viscount Higham and Earl of Malton, as he was styled during the lifetime of his father, the first Marquis of Rockingham, was educated at Westminster School and Saint John's College, Cambridge, and then set out, in 1748, at the age of eighteen, on the Grand Tour. On July 5, 1749, when he was at Siena—"riding, relaxing and reading" as his tutor, Major Forrester, reported—his father wrote him a letter, concluding with the reflection that if, when he went to Rome, he should "chuse to lay out 4 or 500 £ in Marble Tables, Statues, as you shall judge agreeable to you I will answer your Bills to that summ for that Purpose. There are eight niches in the Hall, the Statues should be about six foot high."¹

The first marquis was a great builder. His principal seat was Wentworth Woodhouse (then known as Wentworth House) in Yorkshire. He had added to it the great west front, one of the most interesting and festive Baroque facades in Britain, between 1725 and 1735, and soon afterward commenced the severe but grandiose Palladian east front (fig. 1), designed by Flitcroft under Lord Burlington's direction, which is 660 feet (201 m) long, making it the largest house built in Britain in the eighteenth century.² Work on the shell of the house was nearly complete, and it was natural that Rockingham should have been thinking of appropriately splendid embellishments for the interior. All the same, the proposal to his son seems breathtakingly careless as well as munificent. No one with a serious understanding of sculpture and the problems of coordinating it with architecture could have given such brief instructions.

Lord Malton replied to his father on August 19, sensibly proposing to order two slabs of the "famous yellow Siena" (the flecked yellow marble locally available) for tabletops in the Great Hall. When in Rome, he would also obtain "green and yellow antique" slabs—that is,



Figure 1. Wentworth Woodhouse. Part of the east front, erected 1740s. Designed by Henry Flitcroft (British, 1697–1769). Photo courtesy *Country Life*.

presumably, a pair of *verde antico* and a pair of *giallo antico* slabs, cut out of the centers of excavated Roman column shafts. These two antique marbles were (together with *Africano*) the ones most likely to be available ready-made in the studios of the Roman stonemasons. Clearly Lord Malton was well informed, or at least well advised.

In the same letter, Lord Malton observed that “plaster figures” would have a “mean look” and “will never be proper for so fine a room as the Great Hall.”³ It may seem surprising that he supposed that his father might have had plaster casts in mind, given their vulnerability. But casts of whole antique figures were difficult if not impossible to obtain in England before the 1760s, and there is at least one documented instance of a set being sent from Florence to London in the 1750s.⁴ If marble copies were to be ordered, Rockingham had not earmarked enough money. “My Lord Stafford had 4 which cost him 300 £.” Lord Malton here refers to the four marble statues that had been made for the gallery at Wentworth Castle, the seat, also in Yorkshire, of rivals and kinsmen of Lord Rockingham.⁵

On September 1, 1749, Lord Malton wrote again to his father, this time from Florence, notifying him that more slabs of marble had been bought and some “copies” ordered: those specified are the “Venus, Faun, Mercury and Idol.” Plaster is not mentioned as the material, but these figures correspond with plaster casts that are known to have been sent to Wentworth. The “Venus” was the *Medici Venus*, the “Faun” was the *Dancing Faun*, the “Idol” was the *Idolino*. The “Mercury” may have been the *Apollino*, a figure included in

other sets of plasters sent from Florence and, like the others listed, a notable ornament of the Tribuna of the Uffizi.⁶ We may conclude from this that Lord Rockingham had insisted on his plaster casts but settled for four of them for the niches of the lower or pillared hall and let his son order marble figures for the Great Hall. Lord Malton told his father in the same letter that he had bought a horse and “another figure in brass by John da Bologna.” This is a crucial piece of evidence of Lord Malton’s personal taste as a collector.

The correspondence I have been citing survives only in fragments, and it is clear that Lord Malton, before he was entrusted with the commission to order copies for Wentworth Woodhouse, must have purchased, or at least ordered, the most important of the sculptures that he acquired on the Grand Tour: Vincenzo Foggini’s marble group *Samson and the Philistines* (fig. 2), one of the most ambitious sculptures created in mid-eighteenth-century Italy. It is chiseled with the inscription *VIN^{VS}. FOGGINI/SCULPSIT FLO/RENTIÆ/1749*. If it was completed in 1749, then it must surely have been commissioned much earlier in the year, if not before. Lord Malton arrived in Florence at Christmastime 1748 and stayed there, it seems, until May, when he went to Siena. It is tempting to suppose that the group had been left upon the sculptor’s hands by a deceased or capricious patron, or, at the very least, that it had been completed as a model before Lord Malton saw it. Certainly there was an earlier model of this subject recorded in the Doccia porcelain factory as by “Foggini,” that is to say, by Vincenzo’s father, Giovanni Battista Foggini (1652–1725). It derives ultimately from the great group by Giambologna that, between 1714 and 1762, could be seen in Buckingham House in London, and it also owes something to themes developed by Michelangelo in drawings and models.⁷ The fact that Lord Malton was proud to possess a bronze by Giambologna suggests his awareness of the tradition of Florentine sculpture to which this marble group belongs.

The Foggini group must have been very expensive, and it is astonishing that a boy aged nineteen (or perhaps only eighteen, for Lord Malton’s birthday was on May 13) was permitted by his father to make such a purchase, especially since, as we shall see, no serious thought seems to have been given as to where it would be displayed at Wentworth. It was surely because of Lord Malton’s enthusiasm for the sculpture that his indulgent father thought of placing the other commissions in his hands. (Lord Malton’s contact with Foggini, incidentally, explains how he knew what Lord Stafford had paid for his marble copies, for these had been supplied by Foggini’s studio.⁸)



Figure 2. Vincenzo Foggini (Italian, active circa 1730–1750). *Samson and the Philistines*, 1749. Marble, H: 233 cm (91¹¹/₁₆ in.). London, Victoria and Albert Museum A.1-1991. Photo courtesy Christie's.

By September 18, 1749, Lord Rockingham had been to see Lord Stafford's marble copies, and he wrote to his son that he found the spotted marble they were made of to be disagreeable. By then Lord Malton was in Lucca. He probably arrived in Rome soon afterward. By March 14, 1750, he may have commissioned the marble copies, for he mentions that he cannot stop "the statues"⁹—although it is likely that this refers to the dispatch of some other items, possibly the plasters from Florence, by sea. On April 15, he told his father that he had to draw £200 to make advance payments to the sculptors. The commissions were distributed widely—a policy probably determined by considerations of speed and prudence as well as generosity (or magnificence). The sculptors would do their best if they knew that their work was to be compared with that of their rivals. And Lord Malton was worth impressing, since other commissions might well come from him, or at least through him.

Giovanni Battista Maini was engaged to copy the *Callipygian Venus* in the Farnese collection, Filippo della Valle to copy the *Capitoline Flora* and the *Germanicus*, Bartolomeo Caraceppi to copy the *Capitoline Antinous*, Simon Vierpyl to copy the *Apollino* and the *Dancing Faun*, and Joseph Wilton to copy the *Queen of Sweden's Faun* and the *Medici Venus*. It is noteworthy that over half of the original marbles copied were not in Rome (the *Germanicus* was in Paris, the *Queen of Sweden's Faun* was in Madrid, the *Apollino*, the *Dancing Faun*, and the *Medici Venus* were in Florence). But the copyists would have employed plaster casts, of which the finest collection in the world was available in Rome. The overlap between the originals copied and those of which casts were, it seems, sent from Florence, is surprising. Two of the sculptors employed, Vierpyl and Wilton, were Englishmen studying in Rome, and these commissions are among the earliest that they are known to have received: patriotism may well have been a factor in Lord Malton's patronage, because they are unlikely by this time to have proved their proficiency in work of this order.¹⁰

In late May or early June 1750, Lord Malton left Rome, presumably leaving the superintendence of the marble copies in the hands of an agent. By June 12 he was in Padua. He visited Venice in the same month. A letter from his father of June 23 informed him that the "marble group," presumably that by Foggini, had arrived safely at Wentworth, together with "Books, Medals, Statues & Little Pictures &c" that he considered "fine and well chose." Another letter of August 25 mentions other statues as having arrived on the Thames; these Rockingham ordered to be taken to Yorkshire (presum-

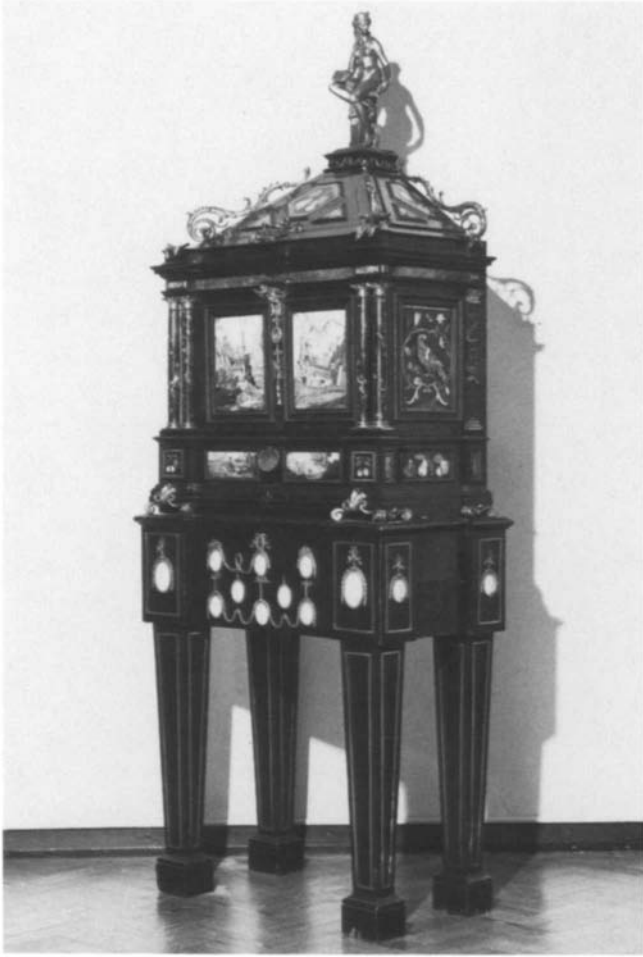


Figure 3. Florentine *pietra dura* cabinet, probably early eighteenth century, adapted as a coin cabinet and supplied with a stand, circa 1770. H (excluding figure of *Venus*): 193 cm (76 in.). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

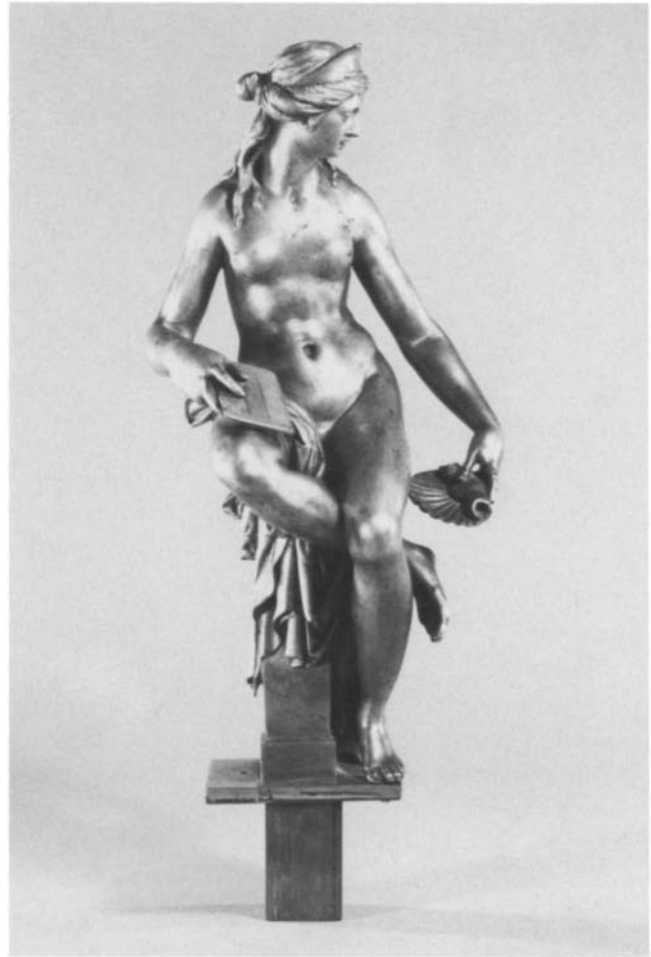


Figure 4. Unknown modeler and founder. *Venus*, probably early eighteenth century. Fire-gilt bronze, H (excluding projection below plinth): 35.2 cm (13⁷/₈ in.). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

ably by coast).¹¹ By August 10, Lord Malton was in Vienna, by September 15 in Hanover, and in the following month in Paris. On December 14, almost as soon as his Grand Tour was over, his father died, and he succeeded to all his great honors, his massive fortune, and his extensive responsibilities.

Among the works of art that Lord Malton, after he succeeded his father as Marquis of Rockingham, is known to have owned, there are some which it seems very likely that he acquired in Italy, above all the *pietra dura* cabinets that were a specialty of the granducal workshops in Florence. One of these, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, crowned by a gilt bronze figure adapted from Giambologna, was later adapted as a medal cabinet (figs. 3–4).¹² The collecting of coins was a passion of Lord Malton's much encouraged by the opportunities that Italy presented. In a letter to his fa-

ther of April 26, 1750, from Rome, he noted that he had “not been able to resist the temptation of purchasing medals.”¹³ In 1773 he declared, in a letter to the dealer James Byres in Rome, that his “collection of Great Brass [that is, large bronze coins and medals] is indeed acknowledged to be the finest in Europe with regard to the great number of rare heads and reverses, and also in regard to the high preservation they are in. I keep constantly upon the watch to pick up what I can in England, and having now been a collector for near 28 years and having always found great pleasure in the pursuit, I shall constantly continue it.” The twenty-eight years is very specific and dates the commencement of his collecting to 1745, when he was fifteen.¹⁴ This is not the place to explore this aspect of his collecting, but it is significant of his artistic interests in general. Today we tend to think of the great collectors

chiefly as collectors of paintings, but the connoisseurship and erudition involved in forming collections of coins often surpassed those required for paintings, the activity commonly extended over a far longer period, and the motives for doing so were unaffected by a desire to furnish walls or to parade wealth. Collectors of coins were often also collectors of fine small bronze sculptures. This was the case with Lord Malton, and there is good reason to suppose that his taste for large marble sculpture was affected by his knowledgeable interest in smaller works of art.

THE SECOND MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM AND HIS SCULPTURE IN YORKSHIRE AND LONDON

When Lord Malton became the second Marquis of Rockingham in December 1750, he inherited 66,000 acres in County Wicklow, Ireland, extensive properties in Northamptonshire (including control over the parliamentary borough of Higham Ferrers), mines, quarries, and farms in South Yorkshire (14,000 acres in all), much of the town of Malton in North Yorkshire, and toll rights on the barge traffic on the Derwent.¹⁵ This made him one of the richest men in Europe. From Wentworth he looked out upon a richly wooded deer park of 1,500 acres “more elegantly beautiful than the brightest paintings of *Zuccarelli*; more noble than the grandest of *Poussin*’s ideas; while the surrounding country exhibits *Arcadian* scenes smiling with cultivation and endless in variety.”¹⁶ The coal mines and ironworks of Rotherham were not far away, however, and also contributed to Rockingham’s fortune. (The extension of the mines in this century led to the destruction of much of the park and surrounding landscape.)

A staunch Whig like his father, Lord Rockingham took his seat in the House of Lords in May 1751 and later in the year was appointed Lord of the Bedchamber and Lord Lieutenant of the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire. The public life he then commenced continued until his sudden death. It would be inappropriate here to record all the offices he held or political initiatives he undertook, but it is worth noting that he was prime minister in 1765 and again in 1782, the year of his death.

It is surprising how much time he was able to devote to sport, especially to horseracing (an interest reflected in his patronage of Stubbs), and to architecture and art. His very considerable sculpture collection (which, as we have seen, he began to form when on the Grand Tour) has been dispersed during this century and seems never to have been properly surveyed. Unluckily, even the antiquities were never examined by the indefatigable and enterprising, if often hasty, Adolf Michaelis.¹⁷ There does, however, exist one vital record of what he owned.

After his death without issue on July 1, 1782, “An Inventory of all the Household Goods, Plate, Pictures, Statues and Furniture which were in the late Charles Marquis of Rockingham’s capital messuage or mansion called Wentworth and the Buildings thereunto belonging, and also in the said late Marquis’s House in Grosvenor Square London at the time of his Death and which are deemed Heir-Looms to be enjoyed according to the direction of his Will,” was compiled for his executors.¹⁸ The inventory falls into two parts, the first dealing with Wentworth and the second with the London house (sometimes called Rockingham House). The two parts were completed on September 16 and August 28, 1782, respectively, and are signed by different agents. Neither agent knew anything of art, and fundamental information (often including a distinction between ancient and modern work) is lacking, but it is reasonable to assume that nothing visible was excluded, since the coverings of every elbow chair in the servant’s parlor and the pints of strawberry jam in the “sweat meat room” were patiently counted.

The sculpture was in any case an important concern of the compilers, as is clear from a special note headed “observations on the Plate and Statues” attached to the end of the inventory. “They are not mentioned in the Enumeration of things left as Heir Looms by the Will of the late Marquis, but it is apprehended that Statues set up at Wentworth go with the House, and that those in Grosvenor Square House were bought with an intent to be sent to Wentworth.—The intention of the late Marquis certainly was, that the statues should not be sold, but go into his Mansion House called Wentworth, therefore ’tis apprehended that Lord Fitzwilliam should have them to be enjoyed as Heir Looms with the Furniture there.”¹⁹ The Lord Fitzwilliam referred to here was William Wentworth Fitzwilliam, nephew and heir of the second marquis.

As the note implies, at the time of the marquis’s death the sculpture was not arranged in the manner that he had intended. Many pieces at Wentworth were indeed clearly in storage. Those in London, however, must have been arranged for effect. The marquis owned objets d’art—“transparent marble vases” evidently of Volterra alabaster,²⁰ flowers of Bristol glass, and vases and obelisks of Derbyshire fluorspar²¹—but I will confine myself to the sculpture.

The principal display of sculpture at Wentworth was in the Grand Hall (later known as the Grand Saloon and now as the Marble Saloon), a magnificent room inspired by Inigo Jones, sixty feet (18 m) square and forty feet (12.2 m) high, with Ionic columns of yellow *scagliola* supporting a gallery, with composite pilasters



Figure 5. Wentworth Woodhouse. The Grand Hall or Marble Saloon, erected 1740s, decorated 1760s and 1770s. Photo courtesy *Country Life*.

of rich harlequin *brecchia scagliola* behind. In the niches, which were colored blue, the marble copies of antique statues made in Rome were to be seen and above these ornamental panels of relief ornament of elegantly paired griffins and cornucopias, supplied by James “Athenian” Stuart, the architect, designer, and decorative consultant, in the mid-1760s (fig. 5). Also in this room was an ancient statue: “an antique Ariadne with an arm extended,” seven feet (213 cm) high exclusive of pedestal, which by 1834²² had been exchanged for an “arcadian shepherd copied from the antique.” This “Ariadne” must be the imposing draped statue shown in the Great Staircase niche in old photographs of Wentworth (fig. 6).

In the “Pillar’d Hall,” on a lower level, there was Foggini’s group of *Samson and the Philistines* (fig. 2) that the marquis had bought on the Grand Tour. It was certainly in place by October 1770²³ and was probably set up on its arrival at Wentworth in 1750; certainly it is hard to think of any other place for it except the center of the Grand Hall,²⁴ which would, however, have needed reinforcement before it could support the weight. The “Pillar’d Hall” could accommodate it, but it would

always have looked cramped there. The four niches in this room contained the plaster casts that Lord Rockingham had acquired in Florence at his father’s request.

A few other marble sculptures were displayed elsewhere at Wentworth. In the Green Drawing Room there were two groups, “one of Ganymede, and the other of Cupid and Psyche upon wood pedestals painted in imitation of Mahogany.” The first of these is more fully described in the catalogue of the sale of 1949: lot 422, “A beautiful Marble Statuette ‘The Young Nude Ganymede’, holding aloft an eaglet and fondling the Eagle of Jupiter, on a rockwork base,” 3 feet 7 inches (109.2 cm) high.²⁵ It must have been a copy of the *Ganymede* that Benvenuto Cellini had created out of an antique torso.²⁶ The *Cupid and Psyche* was, according to the same sale catalogue (where it was lot 435), 3 feet 4½ inches (102.9 cm) high, so it would have made a suitable companion for the *Ganymede* and may well have been intended as such. It appears between the windows in old photographs of the Sculpture Room (fig. 7) and was a copy of the antique group in the Capitoline Museum.²⁷ Also in the Green Drawing Room was a “mar-



Figure 6. Wentworth Woodhouse. The Great Staircase, erected 1770s. Photo courtesy B. T. Batsford/National Monument Record.

ble bust of Admiral Keppel.” Rockingham had supported the admiral when he was court-martialed, and they were close political allies. The bust may have been the one by Joseph Ceracchi that was later placed in the so-called mausoleum erected to the marquis on the grounds of Wentworth.²⁸ One version of this bust was exhibited in 1777.²⁹ The Green Drawing Room also included a “marble figure of Cupid upon a sea horse.” This must be the “superb Marble Group, ‘Eros on the Back of Hippocampus,’” 2 feet 7 inches (78.7 cm) high and 2 feet 11 inches (88.9 cm) long that was lot 430 in the 1949 sale. The catalogue mentions that the “forepart of the Horse’s Head and Tail” were restored, which might suggest an antique marble; however, this catalogue does not say “Greek” or “Greco-Roman” as it does in other instances.³⁰

The adjacent Gallery included two sculptures. One was a “Marble Figure of Silenus upon a Goat,” 1 foot 8½ inches (52 cm) in height. This was certainly the “Important Marble Statuette ‘Nude Silenos astride a Goat’ and holding aloft a bunch of fruiting vines” that was lot 433 in the 1949 sale, where it was described as

“much restored.”³¹ It must correspond with an antique group of this subject that Rockingham bought for £50 in December 1765 from James Stuart,³² who also, as has been mentioned, supplied plaster panels for the Great Hall.

Stuart had long been associated with Rockingham, and his epistolary account of the obelisk found in the Campus Martius printed in 1750 was addressed to Lord Malton, who was also a sponsor of his archaeological expedition to Greece, which resulted in the *Antiquities of Athens*. In 1755 Rockingham was elected a member of the Society of Dilettanti in which Stuart was a leading light. Rockingham paid him for the design of a medal, and Horace Walpole noted a chimneypiece at Wentworth as being his design. Payment was in fact requested in 1763 and made early in 1764 for four ornamented chimneypieces made by John Horobin to Stuart’s design: the chimneypieces in the dressing rooms of Lord and Lady Rockingham (both with panels of Siena marble), the “griffin chimney” in the “supping room,” and the “woman term chimney” in the drawing room.³³ This latter chimneypiece must be the one with



Figure 7. Wentworth Woodhouse. The Sculpture Room (or Museum), probably arranged 1780s or 1790s.
Photo courtesy *Country Life*.

a large, tapering console crowned with a female bust in each pier, an ambitious work that shows Stuart working in the style of Kent and Jones to suit the architecture of the house (fig 8). Rockingham also bought four “vase candlesticks” from Stuart for seventy guineas and a “terracotta” for ten guineas in March 1763.³⁴

Stuart was not a sculptor, and the group of *Silenus on a Goat* was surely sold by him as a dealer. Payment in fact included customs fees charged in Italy. I suspect that it was a highly restored antique piece of the kind that became fashionable during the 1770s in Rome with the discovery of fragments of fantastic animal sculptures at Hadrian’s Villa. These sculptures were restored with astonishing success by the unrivaled technical virtuosity of Giovanni Francesco Franzoni, chiefly for the Sala degli Animali of the papal museums. The *Cupid on a Sea Horse* in the Green Drawing Room sounds like work of this same class. It is tragic that all trace of these sculptures seems to have been lost, for there is little else like them in other English collections.

The other sculpture in the Gallery was a “Bust in Plaster of Clytie in Heliopium.”³⁵ This must be an

early example of a cast of a famous bust in the collection of Charles Townley, acquired by him in Naples in 1772 as an antique (although it is surely a fake).³⁶ This cast might have been supplied by Nollekens, who is known to have made marble copies of it.³⁷ But it is also likely that Lord Rockingham obtained it from Townley, whom he would surely have known.

The other sculptures listed in the inventory as at Wentworth Woodhouse were mostly in a “Low Room adjoining the South Tower.” They do not seem to have been properly arranged. Six pedestals are listed. Three of them are specified as small ones for busts and three of them as of “blue and white” marble (perhaps a blue-gray granite) without anything on them. A marble bust of the *Laocoon* is described as in “a Deal case” and was presumably still unpacked. There was a “History piece in basso relievo in tablature,” but no attempt is made to describe the subject. The inventory is not very helpful in describing the marble busts here; two are simply listed as of men and two of women. The full-length marble figures are described with their dimensions: “a lady in Drapery with a Flower in her hand upon a flat

pedestal," 2 feet 9 inches (83.8 cm) high; a "couching [presumably 'crouching'] Venus," 2 feet 4 inches (71.1 cm) high upon an oval pedestal; an "old man sitting," 1 foot 10 inches (55.9 cm) high upon a flat pedestal 10 feet (304 cm) by 8 feet (243.8 cm); and a "silenus lying upon a couch," 1 foot 11 inches (58.4 cm) by 10 inches (25.4 cm).³⁸

The last of these items is likely to be the "rare and important early Greco-Roman Statuette 'Drunken Figure of Naked Silenos', in a recumbent attitude, leaning against a wine skin," lot 431 in the 1949 sale, although the dimensions given in that catalogue are slightly different (13 inches [33 cm] high and 23 inches [58.4 cm] long; perhaps the pedestal rather than the group was measured).³⁹ The seated old man is identical with the "Roman marble Statuette of Dionysos seated in the guise of a philosopher, holding a scroll (index fingers missing), repaired and restored," sold at Christie's, London, on July 16, 1986, as lot 150.⁴⁰ This was surely the "little sitting figure" bought by Rockingham from the architects Robert and James Adam in July 1766, together with a design for a bridge and a "figure of Spes" for £120.⁴¹ The latter is likely to be the "lady in Drapery with a Flower in her hand." This might be the "rare Archaic Greek Statuette of a Woman wearing Chlamys and Chiton," which was lot 432 in the 1949 sale.⁴² The catalogue omits the dimensions of this item but notes that "the head and both arms from the elbows downwards" were restored. A number of Hadrianic archaizing female figures were interpreted at that date as personifications of Hope (*Spes*).⁴³

Also in this room were items in plaster ("plaister") or artificial stone ("stone composition"), so many indeed as to remove any doubts that this room was used for storage. Many of the pieces were clearly architectural ornaments. There were six round "history pieces," 5 feet 6 inches (167.6 cm) in diameter, six of the same that were 2 feet (60.9 cm) in diameter, and so on, all "Basso relievo in plaister."⁴⁴ Some of these would seem to correspond to items supplied in June 1773 by Joseph Wilton (who had, it will be recalled, worked for Rockingham in Rome): oval reliefs of a sacrifice, of spring, and of winter.⁴⁵ It is likely that they were subsequently incorporated into the stucco work of the interiors. There were also Ionic capitals, medals, patera, and tablets of artificial stone. These are adequately described: one tablet 3 feet 9 inches (114.3 cm) by 1 foot 5 inches (43.2 cm), for instance, was of four *Dancing Nymphs* and almost certainly adapted from the famous antique relief then in the Borghese collection.⁴⁶ This and other artificial stone items were probably intended as architectural ornaments, but others were freestanding sculptures.



Figure 8. Wentworth Woodhouse. Marble chimney-piece designed by James Stuart (British, 1713–1788), 1770s. Photo courtesy *Country Life*.

With the exception of "Two male and one female busts," we can be fairly sure what these sculptures were. There was a *Flora*, full length, 3 feet 3 inches (99 cm) high—probably a reduced copy of the *Farnese Flora*.⁴⁷ There was a "dying Soldier or Gladiator in a drooping Posture larger than life"—a copy of the *Dying Gladiator* in the Capitoline Museum,⁴⁸ presumably one of two such copies of this famous antique figure placed to either side of the Great Staircase that rose from the pillared hall by 1834 and was still to be seen there in twentieth-century photographs of the house (fig. 6). Two "whole-length figures of Men in reclining postures representing madness" were presumably replicas of the famous statues of *Roaring Madness* and *Melancholy Madness* by Caius Gabriel Cibber that were made for the gate of the Bedlam Hospital.⁴⁹ A "Figure of a Bull and 5 other Figures of Men, and a Woman and a Dog—in one piece (miniature) upon a pedestal," 1 foot 7 inches (48.2 cm) by 1 foot 4 inches (40.6 cm), was obviously a reproduction of the antique group known as the *Farnese Bull*, perhaps made from one of the small bronze copies.⁵⁰ It corresponds with the "Spirited Terra-Cotta



Figure 9. Left to right: Probably Florentine of the seventeenth or eighteenth century, after Giambologna. *The Rape of a Sabine Woman*. Bronze, H (including naturalistic base): approximately 60.9 cm (24 in.). Probably Venetian of the late sixteenth century, after Giambologna. *Fortune*. Bronze, H (including three-sided base): approximately 76 cm (29¹/₈ in.). Probably Florentine of the seventeenth or eighteenth century, after Giambologna. *Hercules and Antaeus*. Bronze, H (excluding wooden pedestal): 47 cm (18¹/₂ in.). Saint Osyth's Priory. Reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Rt. Hon. Olive, Countess Fitzwilliam's Chattels Settlement, by permission of Lady Juliet de Chair. Photo: Countrywide Photographic (Ashford), Ltd.

Group of Male and Female Classical Figures fighting a Bull," lot 445 in the 1949 sale,⁵¹ and in 1834 it was prominently displayed at the foot of the Great Staircase.⁵² A "small Figure of a Man leaning upon one arm, coloured red" probably corresponds with the "eighteenth century Terra-Cotta Statuette 'Nude Apollo', a quiver of arrows at his side slung from a tree trunk, 23 inches [58.4 cm] high" that was lot 438 in the 1949 sale⁵³ and which can in turn be identified with the reduced copy of the Uffizi *Apollino* photographed on the chimneypiece of the Wentworth Sculpture Room (fig. 7). In addition, there were two "men each with a capital on his head representing Volutes."

Artificial stone sculpture was made into a successful business in Britain by Eleanor Coade during the 1770s, and some of these items correspond with works that she is known to have supplied: the relief of four of the *Borghese Dancers* and the *Flora*, for instance. The "men each with a capital" may correspond to the splendid term *atlantes*; these figures survive on the entrance to Schomberg House in Pall Mall (supplied by Mrs. Coade in 1791).⁵⁴ However, Mrs. Coade was not the pioneer that she claimed to be. She took over the factory estab-

lished by Daniel Pincot, and she bought up molds that had been used by other manufacturers.⁵⁵ Rockingham seems to have been a keen patron—surely one of the most important early patrons—of the earlier, commercially unsuccessful experimenters in the material. The *Farnese Bull* must have been an exceptional piece, presumably made to demonstrate the precision of which the material was capable. No other record of artificial stone reproductions of Cibber's figures is known to me, and no other early examples of English artificial stone colored red (i.e., the usual terra-cotta color).

It is clear from the "vouchers for works of art" which Rockingham bought that he was a patron of George Davy, who was for a while the partner of Pincot. The transactions date from between June 1768 and July 1773, when Davy was having difficulty staying out of debtor's prison.⁵⁶ He mostly sold Rockingham tablets and medallions—these included some with reliefs of the *Dancing Nymphs*—but also some busts after the antique, one of *Antoninus Pius* (no doubt one of the two male busts in the inventory) and of the "Grecian Venus" (no doubt the female bust in the inventory). *The Dying Gladiator* cost Rockingham thirty guineas (with an extra

two guineas for the case) in March 1771.⁵⁷ Rockingham's interest in artificial stone may be related to his interest in new materials used in Rome to make casts of coins, about which he consulted James Byres in the 1770s.⁵⁸

Also stored in this room was a "small statue of Shakespeare leaning upon a pedestal in Plaister." This must have been a cast from a reduced copy of the famous sculpture made by Scheemakers for Westminster Abbey, the kind of piece supplied by many of the plaster-cast makers.⁵⁹ Of far greater value were a group of bronzes: "3 small Figures in one piece representing the ravishment of the Sabines," "2 d^o d^o representing Sampson squeezing a man to death upon a wooden pedestal," and "1 d^o of a woman standing upon a Ball and pedestal" (fig. 9).⁶⁰ The last of these is certainly the bronze *Fortune* by "Sansovino" that was among a group of bronzes sold by James Wright of Lower Brook Street at "Perotti's" on February 28, 1774, among a group selected from the Grimani collection.⁶¹ The other two groups are after the *Rape of a Sabine Woman* and the *Hercules and Antaeus* by Giambologna. One of them may correspond with the bronze that we know Rockingham bought in Florence in 1749.

All three bronzes survived in the possession of the Fitzwilliam family and are at present to be seen at Saint Osyth's Priory in Essex. The *Fortune* has numerous flaws: it is plugged with lead in many places and the drapery originally extending between the hands has been lost. The model is the *Fortune* by Giambologna, but it looks like a Venetian bronze of the late sixteenth century and may be related to the *Fortune* (or *Marine Venus*) in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, now attributed to Tiziano Aspetti. The *Hercules and Antaeus* group is of superlative quality, apparently cast in one piece and retaining much of its original ruddy varnish. The still larger *Rape of a Sabine Woman* is pieced together out of numerous casts, boldly modeled, relatively little tooled, and of a very coppery alloy.

There seems to have been one other room at Wentworth that was used for storage at the time of the death of the second marquis; this was the "low room in the South Tower." Here too there was an item that had never been unpacked ("a deal case containing a marble bust"). There were also five slabs of marble⁶² that averaged 6 feet by 3 feet and (182.9 by 91.4 cm) and were thus presumably intended for console tables. There were parts of marble chimneypieces, a coat of arms, and an oval cistern of "blue and white marble" on a Derbyshire marble pedestal. There were also three busts, one of them male, one female, and one identified as *Homer* (fig. 10), all on white pedestals. In addition there was "a bust of a man unknown larger than life" upon a

"sciano pedestal" and two white marble *Centaurs*.⁶³

The *Centaurs* were reduced copies, of high quality, of the black marble *Furietti Centaurs* in the Capitoline Museum, but they were ridden by cupids who no longer survive on the prototypes (one of them based on the cupid that rides the *Borghese Centaur*, a variant of the older of the *Furietti Centaurs*).⁶⁴ There are fine photographs of these in the 1949 catalogue, where they were lot 423—"A superb Pair of 18th century Marble Figures of Centaurs with Erotes"—and they can also be seen in old photographs of the Sculpture Room (fig. 7). Of special interest are their mahogany plinths with scrolled shields and swags splendidly carved and gilt. These feature a projecting ledge that shows that they were designed to be swiveled forty-five degrees to catch the light at different angles.⁶⁵ The colossal male bust can be partially discerned in some old photographs of the Great Staircase, occupying a niche on the left as one ascended (fig. 6). It is almost certainly a copy of the *Dying Alexander* in the Uffizi.⁶⁶ The *Homer* (fig. 10) may well be the copy of the antique sculpture in the Farnese collection sold at Christie's in 1986, in which case the other male bust was probably the "bearded Bacchus" in the same sale as its companion (fig. 11).⁶⁷ These may be identified from Lord Rockingham's vouchers as the "two busts one of Homer, the other Mithridates copied from the antique by Verchafften" that were bought from John Shackleton in March 1762.⁶⁸ "Verchafften" was the little-known sculptor who is recorded as exhibiting a marble relief at the Free Society in 1765, where he is described as "Chief Sculptor to His Serene Highness the Elector Palatine."⁶⁹

In the Upper Room of the same tower were other plaster reliefs, but this time specified as fixed to the wall, and there were "five marble figures each two foot eight inches [69.9 cm] high upon flat pedestals." These must be the five small marble copies of antiquities sold in 1986: the *Piccini Meleager*, *Priestess of Isis*, *Farnese Flora*, *Piping Faun*,⁷⁰ and *Apollo Belvedere*, two of which have since been acquired by the Getty Museum (figs. 12–15). The *Faun* may be seen crowning on Ionic column in the Sculpture Room at Wentworth in an early twentieth-century photograph (fig. 7); the others may have been on similar columns in the other corners of the room. It is not impossible that this was the way Rockingham intended them to be displayed.

The sculpture in Rockingham's Grosvenor Square house is more difficult to identify from the inventory. In the "Ground Floor room north west backwards" there was a "plaister bust over the chimney piece"⁷¹ with six antique busts in marble and one large bronze bust elsewhere in the room. In the small front room

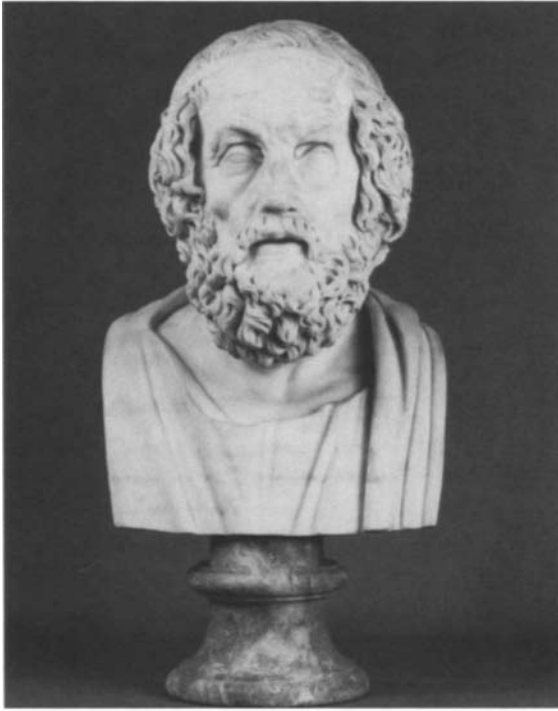


Figure 10. "Verchafften." *Homer*, circa 1762. Marble, H: 49 cm (19⁵/₁₆ in.); on veined gray marble socle, H: 17 cm (6¹¹/₁₆ in.). Photo courtesy Christie's.

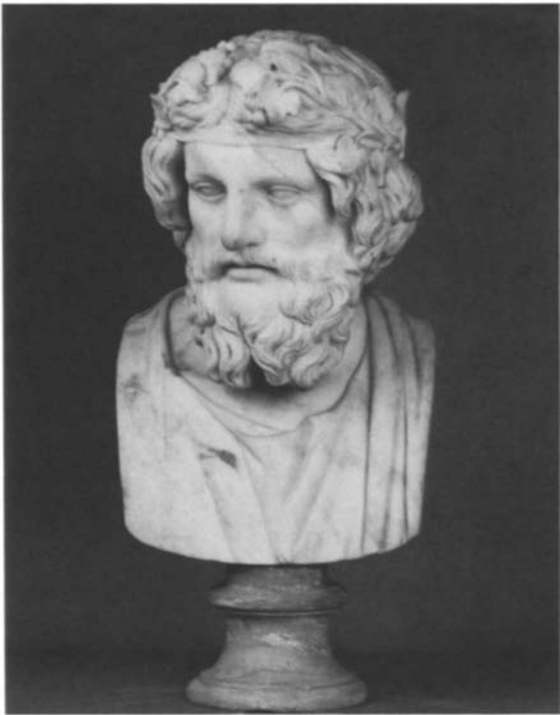


Figure 11. "Verchafften." *Mithridates*, circa 1762. Marble, H: 57 cm (22⁷/₁₆ in.), on veined gray marble socle; H: 16 cm (6⁵/₁₆ in.). Photo courtesy Christie's.

there was "an apollo in plaister over the chimney-piece,"⁷² a description that is only a little more helpful. In the large front room there were two griffins, two urns, and seven vases in "composition"—perhaps a biscuit or "basaltes" *garniture de cheminée*; also a "large antique bust of Antinous" and a large modern bust of *Mercury*, both on mahogany pedestals.⁷³ Most of the sculpture was concentrated in the "Ground Floor Room north east backwards." There were four statues of *Paris*, *Venus*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, to which the third part of this article will be devoted; also a plaster bust of the *Medici Venus*.⁷⁴ This last item cost Lord Rockingham a guinea and a half in July 1773.⁷⁵ There were numerous miniature replicas and impressions of gems in Tassie's "composition," in wax, and in white plaster, and some small framed antique reliefs and a group of sixteen bronzes.⁷⁶

Fifteen more bronzes were kept in the library, the "Middle Room Backwards," where there was also a large plaster figure of *Venus* and another figure, apparently a companion piece, marked in the inventory as "Quere if not adonis," along with a statue of *Alderman Beckford* in "composition," two vases and a group in "composition," a marble relief of *Ariadne*, two marble antique relief heads, and an antique group in relief, all in gilt frames.⁷⁷ In the "ground floor centre room" there were four busts in marble, three in plaster, two plaster groups, and two small antique marble figures of *Venus* and *Pomona*. Were these the two "small marble statuettes" that Rockingham bought from Wilton for fifty guineas in March 1762?⁷⁸ These statuettes have been proposed by Rupert Gunnis in the *Dictionary of British Sculptors* as the copies of the *Isis* and the *Apollo Belvedere* (figs. 13 and 15), and he may have known of other evidence which suggested that Wilton carved these pieces. The voucher, however, makes it clear that the statuettes were sold by him "on acc^t of Lyde Browne," a notable collector of antique sculpture.

The most intriguing item in the London house was kept in a "closet," a small private room, off the "Ground Floor Room north east backwards." It is described in the inventory merely as a "spotted marble group of satyrs on a oval pedestal"⁷⁹ but must have been an erotic group, the "Satyr and Satyress in amorous conjunction" that Rockingham purchased for the high price of 125 guineas from a certain Christopher Maighan in December 1767.⁸⁰ It is described in the voucher as a "grand antique groupe," which might mean simply a splendid ancient group but probably refers to the material of which it was carved, "grand antique" being the common term used to describe the black-and-white *breccia* with a jagged pattern quarried in the Pyrenees by the Romans and known in Rome as



Figure 12. Eighteenth-century copy of the *Piccini Meleager*. Marble, H: 78.5 cm (30⁷/₈ in.). Photo courtesy Christie's.



Figure 13. Eighteenth-century copy of the *Priestess of Isis*. Marble, H: 75.5 cm (29³/₄ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 87.SA.112.



Figure 14. Eighteenth-century copy of the *Piping Faun*. Marble, H: 75.5 cm (29³/₄ in.). Photo courtesy Christie's.



Figure 15. Eighteenth-century copy of the *Apollo Belvedere*. Marble, H: 75.5 cm (29³/₄ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 87.SA.113.

“bianco e nero antico.”⁸¹ It seems likely that Rockingham tried to get rid of this sculpture but failed to find a buyer. A letter from Byres of the mid-1770s mentions a “group” that he has offered on Rockingham’s behalf to “Albacini, Townley and Talbot,” all of whom objected to it (ostensibly at least) “on account of the subject.”⁸²

The bronzes in the London house are worth listing in their entirety. There was a “large bronze bust” together with the six antique busts in the “ground floor room north west backwards.” In the “middle front room” there were a pair of bronze reliefs in gold frames 5 inches (12.7 cm) in diameter and a pair of oval ones also in gold frames “about 9 inches by 5 inches” (22.9 x 12.7 cm). In the “Ground Floor Room north east backwards” there were the following: “Head of Mercury in high relief,” “2 large vases,” “1 Horse running,” “2 Ditto,” “2 Centaurs,” “2 groups of figures—small,” “Venus upon a triangular pedestal,” “Neptune upon the same” (apparently a companion piece), “2 Venus’s—small,” “Woman with a child upon her knees—small” (specified as antique), “child with a wreath upon his arm—small.” In the library there was another *Centaur*, two “large figures,” a “woman with a lamp,” a “companion to D^o,” “2 small figures,” “1 D^o, a man warming himself by a lamp,” “3 figures—the scourging of our savior,” “Venus,” “2 small Bulls,” “2 small horses,” “1 small equestrian figure.”

The list is infuriatingly summary, but it is, all the same, suggestive to anyone familiar with small European bronze sculpture. The “scourging” must have been a version of one of the two famous groups of this subject by Duquesnoy and Algardi.⁸³ The *Venus* and *Neptune* on triangular pedestals sound like Venetian and-iron bronzes of the late sixteenth century.⁸⁴ The *Bulls* are likely to have been the type made by Giambologna, Antonio Susini, and subsequent Florentine founders.⁸⁵ The pair of *Centaurs* were perhaps copies of the *Furietti Centaurs*.⁸⁶ The fact that Rockingham already had marble versions of these would not have stopped him from having bronze ones; indeed, he seems to have liked to have reproductions of the same sculpture in different materials. They must correspond to the pair of *Centaurs* from the Grimani collection, attributed to Sansovino, which he bought in 1774.⁸⁷ If they were copies of the *Furietti Centaurs*, they cannot have been by Sansovino or any other sixteenth-century sculptor. They may well have been casts by one of the leading Roman founders, such as Righetti or Zoffoli.

The other *Centaur* was perhaps more than a centaur and can be identified with the “early Bronze Group, ‘The Rape of Dejanira’” that was lot 615 in the 1949 sale.



Figure 16. Wentworth Woodhouse. Library chimney-piece. Photo courtesy *Country Life*.

This was of a size (19 inches [48.2 cm]) which suggests that it was a version of the type associated with Giambologna.⁸⁸ The 1949 sale catalogue also included a “Bronze statuette of a Female Classical Figure subject holding a bowl, a Flambeau at her side, 13 inches high,” which was lot 621.⁸⁹ This must be the “Woman with a lamp” in the inventory; from the fuller description it is clear that it is the *Vestal Virgin*, one of the bronzes made by Massimiliano Soldani after the antique statue in the Uffizi. Its companion piece would have been Soldani’s *Pomona*, also after the antique.⁹⁰ A pair of bronzes of the male subjects by Soldani from the same set and of the same size remain in the possession of the Fitzwilliam family and are probably included among the unidentified figures in the inventory; they are an *Apollo* (a variant on the *Apollino* in the Tribuna) and the *Athlete Holding a Vase* (also after an antique statue in the Uffizi). With them is a rarer and larger bronze (about 15 inches [39 cm] high), which must also be by Soldani, of a scantily clad nymph dancing, her right arm outstretched and her right leg stretched forward to the left, escorted by a panther.

One of the horses is likely to be the *Horse* by Giambologna that Rockingham had bought in Florence on the Grand Tour; another is likely to be the *Horse of Saint Mark’s* attributed to Sansovino that was among those on the list of bronzes selected from the Grimani collection purchased in 1774.⁹¹ A replica of one of the *Horses of Saint Mark’s* is to be seen on the right of a chimneypiece in the library at Wentworth in an old photograph (fig. 16). It is accompanied by two other bronze *Horses*, one of them a version perhaps derived from the *Pacing Horse* by Giambologna with front right and back left hoof



Figure 17. Artist unknown. Fragment of a base with *The Indian Triumph of Bacchus*, mid-second century A.D., with later restorations. Marble, 94.5 x 94 cm (37¼ x 37 in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AA.61.

raised, and the third *Horse*, also pacing, with an exceptionally wild mane (not visible here). All three remain in the possession of the Fitzwilliam family. The *Horse of Saint Mark's* is a light cast, little tooled, with numerous casting flaws. The others are more precisely finished. With them is a *Prancing Horse*, perhaps the “running” horse of the inventory. If galloping, it is likely to have been by Fanelli; certainly he made fine bronzes of this relatively rare subject.⁹²

The four *Venuses* are impossible to identify (except, perhaps, the one on a triangular pedestal already mentioned), but we know that Rockingham bought two in 1771 for eight guineas each and another one two years later from the sculptor Richard Hayward for the same price (a high one for a bronze). One of them is likely to be the *Venus* that we have already mentioned as crowning a coin cabinet (figs. 3–4). The man warming himself by a lamp must be a version of *The Allegory of Winter* now generally attributed to Alessandro Vittoria.⁹³ A lamp in bronze was bought by Rockingham for £10 from James Stuart, together with the marble *Silenus* in 1765, but that was perhaps an antique bronze lamp.⁹⁴ A “lucernalia” attributed to Michelangelo among the bronzes from the Grimani collection may refer to the figure of *Winter*.⁹⁵

Even if only half of the conjectures I have made concerning the identity of these bronzes are correct, Lord Rockingham amassed one of the most impressive collections of bronzes in England in the eighteenth cen-

tury, especially when considered together with the other larger bronzes at Wentworth.

When the records of what Rockingham bought and of what was later sold from Wentworth are checked against the inventory, some problems remain. The sculptor Charles Harris was paid twenty guineas for a bust of *Hadrian* in June 1777,⁹⁶ but which “bust of a man” it corresponds with is not clear. There were three bronze busts in the catalogue of the sale in 1949. Which of them was the one in the “Grand Floor Room north west backwards”: an *Agamemnon*, 27 inches (68.6 cm) high (lot 613), a Grecian lady with ringlets and laurel which sounds very like an *Antico*, 32 inches (81.3 cm) high (lot 618), or the portrait of “Sir Thomas Gascoigne, Bart by Louis Valadier, Rome, 1778,” 26 inches (66 cm) high (lot 614)?⁹⁷ The last of these was presumably inscribed, and so it is surprising that the compilers of the inventory did not identify subject and founder if they saw them. Perhaps it was acquired by Lord Fitzwilliam rather than Lord Rockingham.

Also in the 1949 sale was the “fine Marble Alto-Relievo carved in bold relief with male classical figures in procession, the foremost astride an elephant” (lot 452). This highly restored fragment, perhaps originally a sarcophagus front, representing *The Indian Triumph of Bacchus* (fig. 17), was purchased by Spink's and sold by them in 1953 to J. Paul Getty; his estate gave it to the Museum in 1978. It may well be the “History piece in Basso Relievo in tabature in the Low Room adjoining

the South Tower” at Wentworth, for the dimensions of this sculpture were 3 feet (91.4 cm) square. This is an unusual size and one which does approximately correspond with the Getty Museum’s relief. The relief was among those that the French sculptor Lambert-Sigisbert Adam (1700–1759) acquired from the Cardinal de Polignac and that had probably been excavated in Rome in the late 1720s. It had not been restored by Adam or his workshop by 1742, when it is described in a list of fragments in his studio, but it had been by 1755, when it was published as an engraving in Adam’s *Recueil des sculptures antiques* as plate 4. It had not been sold in 1759 and was probably acquired by Rockingham in 1763 or 1764 from Adam’s estate.⁹⁸

In the 1986 sales there were marble busts of the *Apollo Belvedere* and of the *Pseudo-Seneca*, one of which is also now in the Getty Museum (fig. 18).⁹⁹ They may be seen on tall Ionic columns in photographs of the Sculpture Room (fig. 7). Of similar size and on an identical square-waisted white marble socle is the copy of the *Bust of a Man* (the so-called *Demosthenes*, or *Aratus* or *Lysimachus*) in the Farnese collection, signed by Wilton in 1758, also sold in 1986 and now displayed with them in the Getty Museum (fig. 19).¹⁰⁰ This is likely to have been the companion piece of a “bust of a bearded Immortal” also by Wilton and dated 1758, which was sold in 1949 (lot 470),¹⁰¹ although the catalogue does not give dimensions that would confirm this. If these constitute, as we suspect, a set of busts, then it may correspond with the “four busts in Marble” in the “Grand floor centre room” in the London house. The six antique busts in another room may also be identified as a group acquired from Lyde Browne, which will be discussed later.

An important and expensive purchase made by Lord Rockingham a few years before his death was the *Diana* by Nollekens. It was certainly at Wentworth by 1834, but it is not in the inventory. Perhaps it was still in the sculptor’s studio, waiting to be delivered when Lord Rockingham died. It was a large piece and perhaps intended as part of a group. Such an explanation cannot account for the lack of any reference to the (what is for us) most remarkable of all the sculptures in Rockingham’s possession, the extraordinary bronze tondo *The Virgin and Child with Four Angels* (fig. 20), made by Donatello in 1456 for Giovanni Chellini and today in the Victoria and Albert Museum; it is identified as in Rockingham’s collection from J. K. Sherwin’s etching of the 1770s—an etching that is also interesting evidence of the esteem in which the tondo was held.

It has been conjectured that Rockingham bought the Donatello bronze in Florence on the Grand Tour, but it

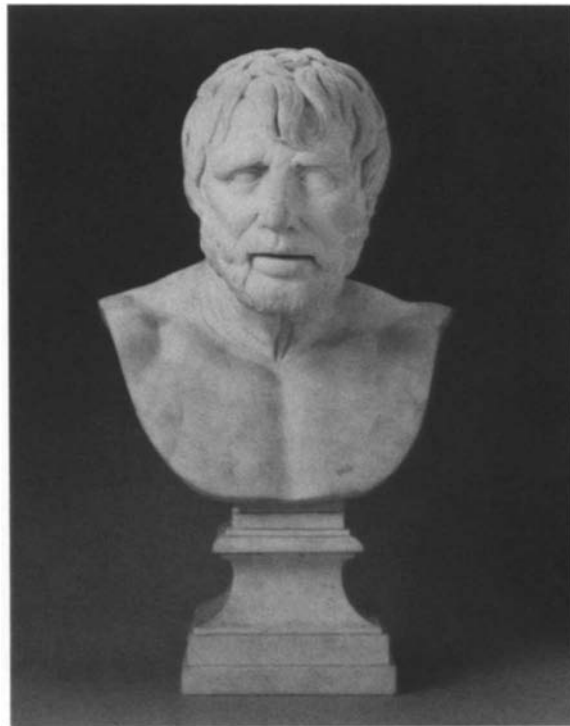


Figure 18. Eighteenth-century copy of the *Pseudo-Seneca*. Marble, H: 44 cm (17⁵/₁₆ in.) on white marble socle, H: 16.5 cm (6¹/₂ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 87.SA.111.

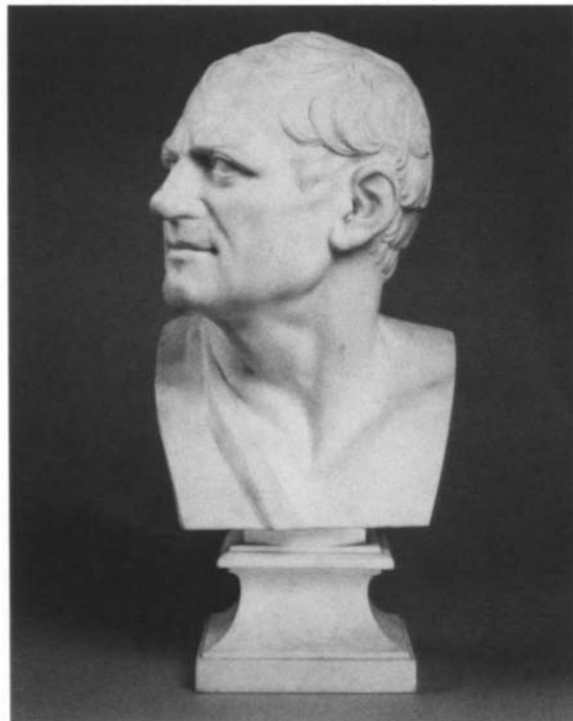


Figure 19. Joseph Wilton (British, 1722–1803). *Bust of a Man*, 1758. Marble, H: 43 cm (16¹⁵/₁₆ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 87.SA.110.



Figure 20. Donatello (Italian, circa 1386–1466). *The Chellini Madonna (The Virgin and Child with Four Angels)*, 1456. Bronze, Diam: 28.5 cm (11¼ in.). London, Victoria and Albert Museum A.1-1976.

has recently been demonstrated that it was sold in March 1764 by the London auctioneers Langford and Sons as part of a group of bronzes acquired by Niccolò Gaddi.¹⁰² From the same source Rockingham could have acquired his round and oval bronze reliefs. The best explanation for the omission of the Chellini roundel from the inventory that I can think of is that it was kept with Rockingham's coins and medals. It is slightly less than a foot (30.5 cm) in diameter and so could have fitted into the drawer of a medal cabinet, and the interest, for connoisseurs, of its hollowed reverse may well have discouraged Rockingham from mounting it so that it could be framed on the wall as were other small bronze reliefs in his collection.¹⁰³

A complete enough account of Rockingham's collection exists for us to venture some generalizations concerning it. It was built up steadily and consistently throughout his life, and at the age of forty he was keenly acquiring precisely the same sort of sculpture that had attracted him as a young man on the Grand Tour. Many of the works were bought as ornaments for the architecture at Wentworth—plaster casts and copies made in Florence and Rome, tablets and medallions subsequently acquired in London—but other pieces seem to have been bought without reference to their eventual display.

A great many items in the collection were copies—

indeed routine copies—after the antique, but some of these were freely interpreted or embellished (the white marble *Centaurs* and the Soldani bronzes are the best examples of this). There were relatively few genuine antique items, and these varied in quality from the shoddy seated male figure to the splendid colossal draped female identified as Ariadne. Many of them seem to have been very extensively and imaginatively restored. The collection was above all exceptionally rich in bronzes, and especially in Florentine ones, including a number by or after Giambologna. The most important modern sculptures that it included were the group of goddesses by Nollekens, to which we will turn in the last part of this article, and the great *Samson and the Philistines* (fig. 2) by Vincenzo Foggini, last custodian of a great Florentine tradition that this group seems to embody. It is not fanciful to propose that Rockingham was well aware of this sculpture's relation to compositions that were best known in bronze statuettes, for as we have seen he seems to have started collecting such statuettes in 1749. Moreover, it is intriguing to note that in the Sculpture Room at Wentworth by 1834 there were some "Figures in Wax" representing "Samson slaying the philistines."¹⁰⁴

The character of this Sculpture Room (fig. 7), which survived into this century, may reflect some of Lord Rockingham's plans for his sculpture, but it is unlikely that these plans had been fully worked out by the time of his death. The only evidence of his ideas on this subject is to be found in a manuscript headed "Ideas of Lord Rockingham for decorations at Wentworth." He wanted the Gallery at Wentworth to be hung with blue fabric with a gold border;¹⁰⁵ such a border would also be used for the chairs, which would be upholstered in blue silk. The two marble *Centaurs* were to be placed at one end of the Gallery, and he wanted two or four marble tables to be placed between the windows, but with the *Antinous* and another colossal bust, in two of the piers, in place of tables and on "ornament stands" in these positions.

THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS GROUP

Lyde Browne, one of the keenest collectors of antiquities in England in the eighteenth century, seems to have begun his collecting in Italy at about the same time as Rockingham, in the late 1740s, and by 1768, when he was appointed a director of the Bank of England, his collection, recorded in a catalogue written in Latin, consisted of over eighty works of sculpture and numerous vases, all kept in his villa at Wimbledon. He continued to collect antiquities, most of them supplied by Thomas Jenkins from Rome, and his catalogue of



Figure 21a. Artist unknown, probably Italian. *Paris*. Highly restored statue, perhaps partly Roman, of the second century A.D. Marble, H: 133 cm (52⁵/₁₆ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 87.SA.109.

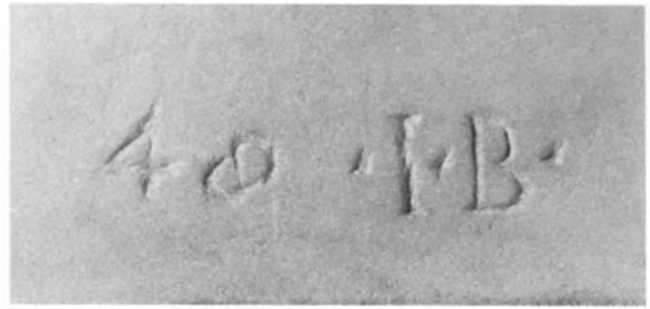


Figure 21b. Detail of figure 21a, showing numbers and letters chiseled on the stump of the tree.

1779 included 236 items of sculpture. When he died in 1787 he was in the process of selling the collection en bloc to Catherine the Great, and it is now to be seen in the Hermitage.¹⁰⁶

He had frequently parted with pieces, and there is a note at the end of his first catalogue that thirty portrait busts had left his collection. Ten of these had passed to the collection of the Earl of Egremont. Six others, together with a splendid statue of Paris (“Statua Paridis Venustissima”) holding an apple in his right hand and a shepherd’s crook in his left, belonged by then to “the most noble Marquis of Rockingham.”¹⁰⁷ The six busts may have formed a set, or have been treated as one, and are likely to be the six antique busts in the “grand floor room north west backwards” in Rockingham’s town house. Surprisingly, the transaction does not seem to be recorded in the “vouchers for works of art acquired by Lord Rockingham,” although there is a receipt dated July 10, 1767, for sixty-three pounds (sixty guineas) for two antique heads sold by Lyde Browne.¹⁰⁸ The other four may have been acquired at the same time, but Lyde Browne was indirectly involved in an earlier transaction: the “two small marble statuettes sold his Lordship” by Wilton for fifty guineas on March 13, 1762, were, as has been mentioned, “on acc^t of Lyde Browne Esq.”¹⁰⁹ Wilton may well have been an important link between the two men, although they were presumably acquainted (both, for example, were members of the Society of Antiquaries).

The *Paris* (fig. 21a) was sold in 1986 (having perhaps been offered for sale in 1949)¹¹⁰ and is now in the Getty Museum. The tree-trunk support with its fleshy bark has a distinctly eighteenth-century character and in any case is of a condition that would be improbable in an antique work. It is of the same marble as the body, which has, however, been patched up as if it were restored. The head does look as if it might be ancient, perhaps also the feet and a portion of the plinth; certainly they look convincingly weathered. The statue

had excited a certain interest both in Rome and London, reflected (or perhaps promoted) by several highly finished drawings that were made of it.¹¹¹ Winckelmann published it in his *Monumenti antichi inediti* of 1767, but with the proposal that it had been wrongly restored and was not in fact originally Paris but a young priest.¹¹² The statue was, he noted, in Lyde Browne's collection. It might, of course, have been sold by then to Rockingham, but the sale is quite likely to have taken place shortly after this book was published, at a time when we do know that some at least of Lyde Browne's busts were sold to Rockingham. Moreover, it is not impossible that Lyde Browne sold it because he realized that it was a pastiche or fake.

48.I.B. is chiseled on the back of the tree trunk (fig. 21b). There has been much speculation concerning the initials, and the wild idea has even been aired that it is the signature of Giambologna!¹¹³ Dates were not commonly abbreviated in this way and very seldom precede a name. The inscription looks far more like an inventory number than a date and signature, and the most obvious explanation is surely that the *I.B.* is an Italian mason's error for *L.B.* (for Lyde Browne) and that it was once number 48 in his collection.

Rockingham does not seem to have doubted that the statue represented Paris, and indeed the head, if antique, is appropriate in youthful appearance and type of cap. At the time of his death it was displayed in a room in his London house, together with statues of *Venus*, *Minerva*, and *Juno* by Nollekens (figs. 22–24), all on mahogany pedestals. These were the three goddesses between whose beauty the shepherd Paris had to choose, and clearly the four figures were intended to form a group. When the three goddesses were sold, in separate lots, in 1986, they were all bought by the same dealer and have passed, together with the *Paris*, to the Getty Museum, so that the group survives. It was not intended as a pictorial group such as the nymphs surrounding Apollo in the grotto in Versailles; the plinths make this most unlikely. More probably the figures were intended to be set against, or a little in front of, a wall in a small rectangular room, as indeed they seem to have been in Rockingham's town house. If the *Venus* were placed against a wall to the right hand of *Paris*, and *Minerva* against that to his left, then both goddesses would be looking toward him, and he would be looking toward *Venus*, to whom he gave the prize. *Juno* would be on the wall opposite, and since she would have been furthest away her appearance of staring into the distance would not be inappropriate; she did in any case find the contest beneath her. The action of each figure is suspended as they await the fateful verdict, but

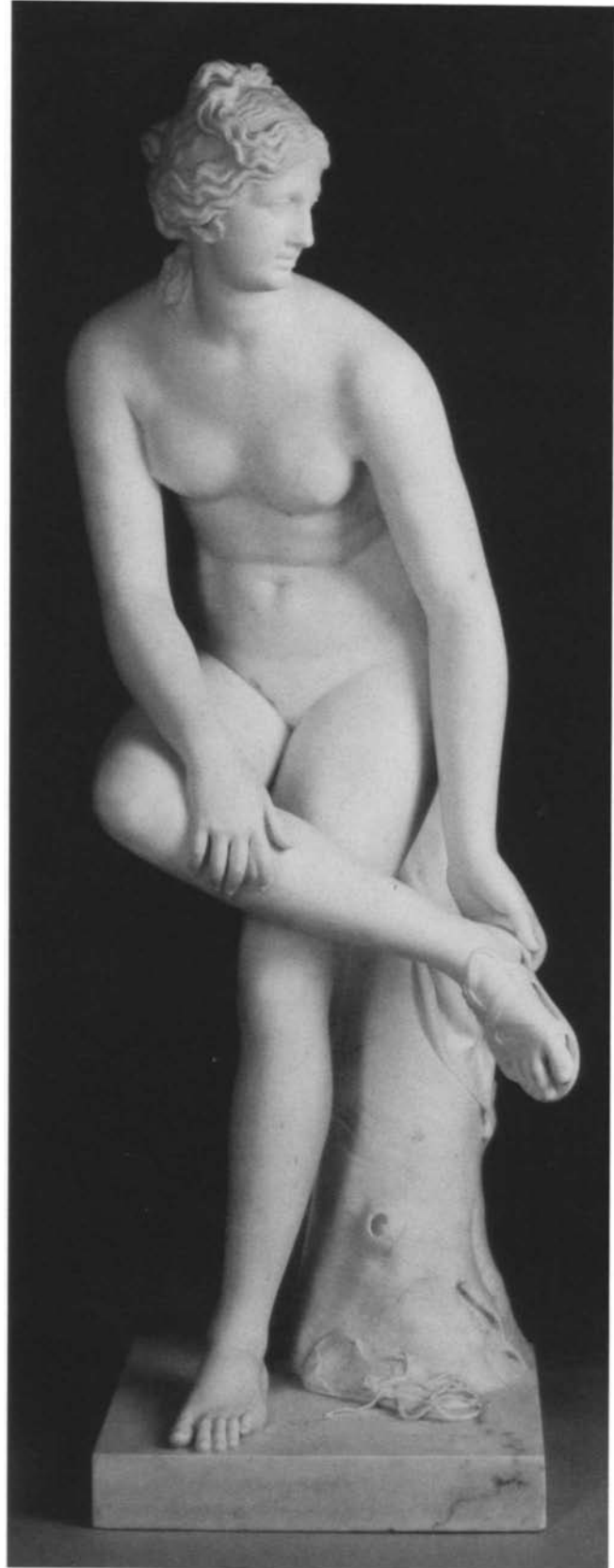


Figure 22. Joseph Nollekens (British, 1737–1823). *Venus*, 1773. Marble, H: 124 cm (48¹³/₁₆ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 87.SA.106.



Figure 23. Joseph Nollekens. *Minerva*, 1775. Marble, H: 144 cm (56¹¹/₁₆ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 87.SA.107.



Figure 24. Joseph Nollekens. *Juno*, 1776. Marble, H: 139 cm (54³/₄ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 87.SA.108.



Figure 25a. Joseph Nollekens. Side view of *Venus* (fig. 22).



Figure 25b. Joseph Nollekens. Side view of *Venus* (fig. 22).

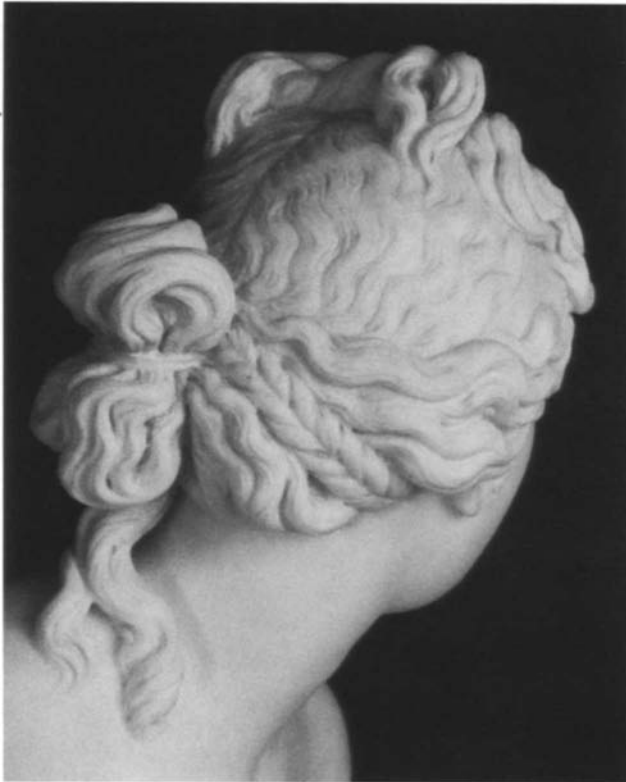


Figure 25c. Joseph Nollekens. Back of head of *Venus* (fig. 22).

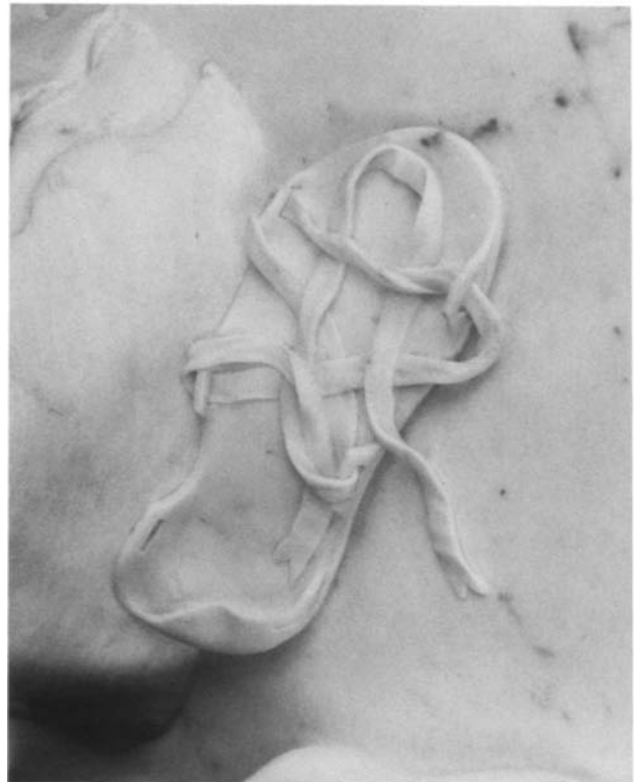


Figure 25d. Joseph Nollekens. Sandals worn by *Venus* (fig. 22).

this gives to each an instability unusual for an independent gallery sculpture of a goddess. It is not such as to be too disturbing, however, and there is no evidence that the narrative intention was recognized by Rockingham's successors when the statues were arranged together with another goddess by Nollekens, the *Diana*, in the Sculpture Room at Wentworth.¹¹⁴

It was very common for sculptures in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century to be given a pedestal upon which they could be turned. The earliest example I know of in England is the antique *Diana* in the sculpture gallery at Holkham Hall. Lord Rockingham's *Centaur*s seem to have been designed to be moved in this way, as has been noted, and it would not be surprising if this were the case with Nollekens's statues. In any event, they seem to have been carved with a number of views in mind. The spiral movement in each figure is subtle and not in one direction; one could turn them either way.

In the case of the *Venus*, the profile view of her head (fig. 25b) has been very carefully considered, and the back of her hair (fig. 25c) is clearly composed with as much attention as the sweet disorder of the thongs of the sandal that she has shed (fig. 25d). In the case of *Minerva* the shield is not only carefully finished on the front with a Medusa head but on the inside, where its handles are visible from behind as well as in front (fig. 26). The fall of drapery over the shield is of special elegance, and the upcurve of the drapery caught over it gives dramatic interest to the rear view of the figure. Juno (fig. 27a), apparently engaged in reluctantly unwinding her drapery, moves her arms in two directions and her head one way and her body the other. The sculpture exhibits no uninteresting views and the rear view (fig. 27b) is endowed with almost as much majestic indignation as the front.

Rockingham had always been a patron of native talent, but that does not adequately explain this commission to Nollekens; Wilton, after all, was never given a comparable commission although Rockingham bought work from him over a period of twenty years. When in Rome, Nollekens had worked closely with Jenkins, and it is clear from his drawings of antique sculpture that he was very familiar with works in Lyde Browne's collection, presumably in Rome as well as later in London. Perhaps he was recommended to Rockingham by Lyde Browne, but a more likely connection is James Stuart, who seems to have acted on Nollekens's behalf in London, arranging for the exhibition of works that he sent from Rome. It may be that the *Silenus upon a Goat* secured for Rockingham by Stuart in 1765 was sent from Rome by Nollekens; perhaps it was a work that

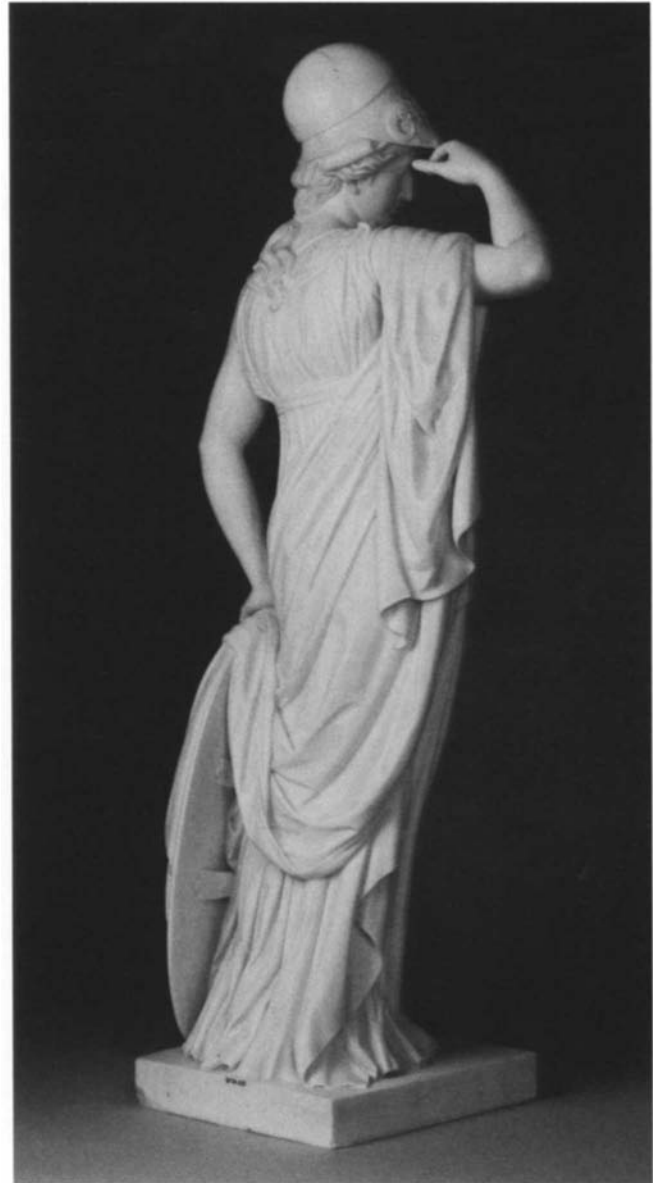


Figure 26. Joseph Nollekens. Side view of *Minerva* (fig. 23).



Figure 27a. Joseph Nollekens. Side view of *Juno* (fig. 24).

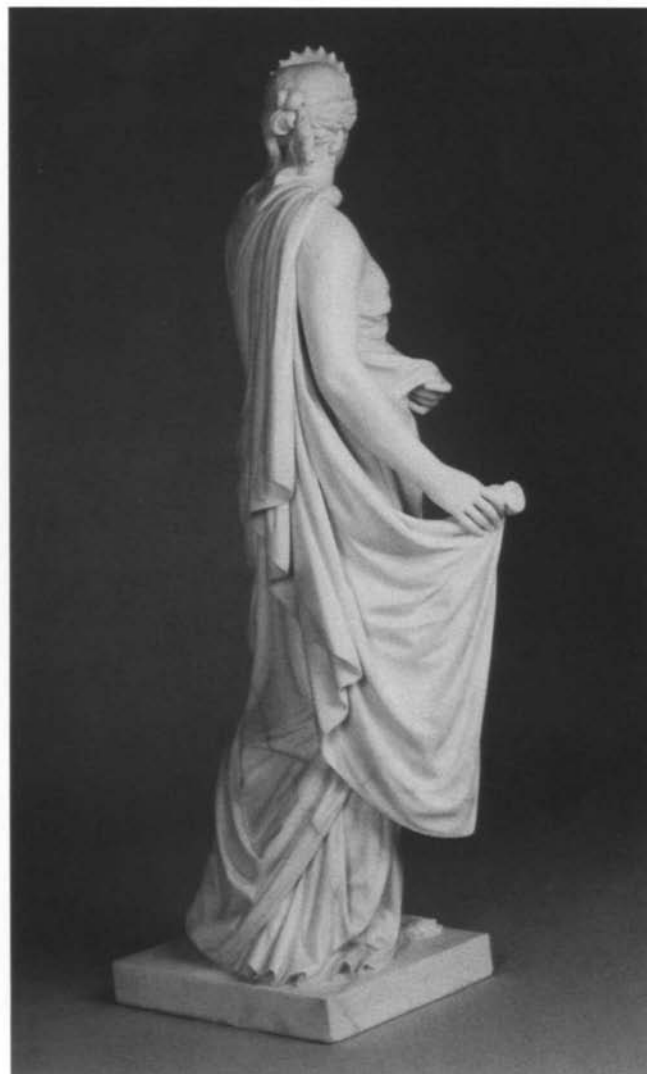


Figure 27b. Joseph Nollekens. Side view of *Juno* (fig. 24).

Nollekens himself had restored. Stuart was certainly the chief architect employed by Rockingham at Wentworth, and he acted very much as *arbiter elegantiarum*: it would have been within his power to recommend Nollekens for a commission of this kind. Moreover, Stuart was very closely connected with Lyde Browne, and when in Rome in 1748 he engraved one of the first antiquities to enter Browne's collection.¹¹⁵

It is not unlikely that Nollekens had planned his group when he was in Rome between 1762 and 1770, or in any case before he knew of Rockingham's *Paris*. If so, then he would have originally designed a *Paris* of his own. Such a figure would probably have been seated, as in almost all representations of the subject of the Judgment since Raphael, and as in Raphael's source, an ancient sarcophagus relief. Nollekens's nude seated *Mercury* (fig. 28), purchased by Charles Pelham in 1783,¹¹⁶

may well have been adapted from such a figure, for the pose is exactly appropriate for a *Paris* but with a winged hat and purse substituted for a Phrygian cap and apple. In any case, the *Mercury* looks like a fragment from a narrative in just the way that the Wentworth goddesses do.¹¹⁷

Nollekens also made a small terra-cotta sketch model of the *The Judgment of Paris* (fig. 29), perhaps at the same date, although I know of no reference to it before 1823, when it was in his studio sale.¹¹⁸ In this model, Paris is represented seated wearing a Phrygian cap and holding the apple close to his chest as the goddesses crowd in upon him. Venus bends down to receive the apple, one hand placed seductively upon the bewildered boy's shoulder. As in the larger group, she is both the most nude and most supple of the goddesses. Juno, better wrapped, denounces him and points a menacing finger at his chest. Minerva, with one hand on Juno (such is



Figure 28. Joseph Nollekens. *Mercury*, 1783. Marble, H: 104.7 cm (41¼ in.). Lincolnshire County Council, Recreational Services: Usher Gallery, Lincoln.

the comradeship of shared defeat), hastens away but looks back at Paris with disdain. The sinuous elegance and harmonious balance of the composition do not diminish the dramatic impact that derives from the nearly indecorous freedom of the goddesses' behavior, such as is found in no earlier version of the subject in any medium and such as Nollekens would not perhaps have felt to be appropriate on a larger scale.

When in Rome, Nollekens had engaged in restoring and copying antiquities. His drawings reveal that he was also studying the Baroque monuments by Bernini and his followers.¹¹⁹ His own original work manages to reconcile these different types of sculpture. In 1768, Nollekens won the gold medal at the Academy of Saint Luke for a terra-cotta group of Juno descending on a cloud between Jove and a contented cow and demanding to know what her husband is up to (the cow is in



Figure 29. Joseph Nollekens. *The Judgment of Paris*, undated. Terra-cotta, 23 x 16.5 cm (9 x 6½ in.). London, Victoria and Albert Museum A.21-1955 (gift of Reginald Pott).

fact Jove's beloved, Io). The sculpture is now only known in drawings (figs. 30–31), but it is clear enough from these that Nollekens's sculpture is nothing like an antique group: the sweep of the composition, the rhetoric of the gestures, the device of the clouds, the idea of very high relief, are all entirely modern in feeling. And yet the drapery of Jove and both heads, especially that of Juno seen in profile (which is very like the head of Juno carved for Rockingham), are deeply indebted to antique sculpture. It is a mistake to measure Nollekens by the standards of Canova or David. This terra-cotta, and indeed his subsequent gallery sculpture, should really be compared with the paintings by Anton Raphael Mengs that represent a similarly successful stylistic compromise.

Nollekens's love of spiral movement is implicit even in this high relief composition. It is explicit in the turn of the head and the hair blown over the shoulder in his early busts, above all that of Garrick of 1765 which was so admired in Rome.¹²⁰ Many of his most successful



Figure 30. Joseph Nollekens. Drawing of his relief of *Juno Remonstrating with Jove Concerning Io*, 1768 (erroneously inscribed as 1769). Black chalk, 22.9 x 30 cm (9 x 11¹³/₁₆ in.). Paris, Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais 1971-T.20 recto.

works—the monumental group of Mrs. Howard of Corby, comforted by religion; the pensive figure of Mrs. Pelham¹²¹ leaning against a tree trunk; the terracotta sketch of the *Laocoon*—take as their starting point an antique sculpture such as the *Niobe*, the *Zingara*, a cross-legged muse, the fighting *Gladiator*, the *Laocoon*, and at once modify the pose and the sentiment so that they become part of a graceful spiral composition. The goddesses made for Lord Rockingham are thus typical of Nollekens, but since the movement is confined to each figure, it is not surprising to find that he also made a version of the same subject with all the figures participating in the same rotating movement.

The order in which Nollekens executed the statues for Lord Rockingham is indicated by the dates chiseled on them, which are also the years in which each one was shown at the Royal Academy exhibition: the *Venus* first (dated 1773), the *Minerva* next (dated 1775), and the *Juno* third (dated 1776); and this is confirmed by the payments to Nollekens recorded by the vouchers. The sculptor received 200 guineas (£210) for the *Venus* on June 3, 1773. On February 16 of the following year he received £100 for the *Minerva*, and on June 22 he re-

ceived 100 guineas (£105) for unspecified work, presumably also for the *Minerva*, and a note of February in the following year indicates that £205 had already been paid for this statue—£5 short of its cost. Another £57 was added, presumably to take account of other work and services (such as the provision of pedestals). On January 24, 1776, £100 was paid for the *Juno*, and the same sum on June 28, 1776, for unspecified work that may be assumed to be for the *Juno*, for a note on May 28 indicates that £10 is owed to Nollekens for this figure, which would make the cost 200 guineas and so in line with the cost of the *Venus*.¹²²

Rockingham must have been pleased with Nollekens's work because he commissioned another goddess from him, a *Diana*, payments for which commenced with £100 on March 24, 1775—before any payments for the *Juno*. For the *Diana*, Nollekens was paid 300 rather than 200 guineas. The second payment was made on June 3, 1776. The full price was noted on May 28, 1778, when £125 was calculated as due to the sculptor, and this sum was paid in July 1779.¹²³

The *Diana* (fig. 32), which is dated 1778, was sold in 1986 with the other goddesses and is now in the Vic-



Figure 31. Joseph Nollekens. *Head of Juno*, 1768. From the relief recorded in figure 29. Black chalk, 19 x 13 cm (7½ x 5½ in.). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, "Sketchbook" 1462, fol. 115.

toria and Albert Museum. It is far more animated in pose and expression and must have been made for the center of a room. It is hard to believe that it was an independent work. Was the goddess conceived of as shooting at one of Rockingham's antique sculptures? Or did Rockingham have it in mind to commission a companion figure from Nollekens, which his political activities and then his sudden death prevented? Whatever the case, the *Diana* must have been influenced by the running *compagnes de Diane* made early in the eighteenth century for the gardens of Marly. These sculptures were in fact *compagnes* of a copy of the famous antique *Diane Chasseresse* and thus represent a precedent for the way in which Nollekens supplied modern companion pieces for an antique statue.¹²⁴ And just as the *compagnes* related to each other from afar, turning the gardens of Marly into a large stage, so Nollekens turned the room in which his sculptures were placed into a

stage across which the Judgment of Paris was enacted. This may sound like a Baroque idea, but the most notable instance of sculpture displayed in this way was the arrangement of the antique *Niobe* group, made after its restoration in the late sixteenth century, in the garden of the Villa Medici in Rome. (The *Niobe* group, incidentally, requires the presence of a *Diana* slaying the children with her arrows, and this may have been the very action that Nollekens had in mind in creating his statue of this goddess.)

We may be fairly sure that no one before Nollekens had attempted to devise a narrative out of separate sculptures in a garden or gallery in England. On the continent such a "staging" had occurred in the garden, but had it ever been seen in a sculpture gallery? It is probable that something of the sort was to be found in the Villa Borghese, in Rome, especially with the arrangement of the highly restored polychrome antique sculptures there in the early seventeenth century. (One figure of a Moor was sometimes thought to be inviting another figure, of a gypsy, to dance!)¹²⁵ But perhaps the most important precedents for compositions of the kind represented by Nollekens's *Judgment* group and perhaps intended in the case of his *Diana* are to be found in small bronzes. That Nollekens was interested in such sculptures is certain, for the pose of the *Diana* is adopted from a common seventeenth-century bronze statuette of Cupid of which he made a series of studies in one of his so-called sketchbooks;¹²⁶ suggestively, it follows several drawings of antique statues of *Diana*.

That Nollekens had studied the inventions of Giambologna as well as antique sculpture is obvious from the half-seated, precariously balanced *Venus*. The pose may be compared with that of Giambologna's *Architecture* or *Geometry* known in small bronzes, including one, of remarkable quality, in Rockingham's collection, in which the figure is reinterpreted as a *Venus* (fig. 4). Given that Rockingham was such an admirer of Giambologna, is it not just possible that if Nollekens did invent the figures after returning from Rome, he discussed with Nollekens the use that might be made of the great Florentine sculptor's compositions? Such a suggestion seems less extraordinary if we consider that in the previous decade Stubbs had created for Lord Rockingham, in addition to paintings of his racehorses, a huge picture of a horse attacked by a lion, probably the first, certainly one of the first, and surely the most ambitious of his paintings of this theme, for which his inspiration was an antique group probably known to him in the famous small bronze by one of Giambologna's followers.¹²⁷

The very least of which we can be sure is that Rock-



Figure 32. Joseph Nollekens. *Diana*, 1778. Marble, H: 126 cm (49 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.). London, Victoria and Albert Museum A.5-1986.

ingham, with his love of both Giambologna and of the antique, would have been an unusually sympathetic patron for Nollekens. There is good reason to suppose that he was the first patron to encourage Nollekens to undertake imaginative gallery sculpture; indeed, among the items in Nollekens's sale of July 4, 1823, is a "female draped Figure with Emblems, the first model Mr. Nollekens, after his return from Rome, executed in marble for the Marquis of Rockingham."¹²⁸ Other noblemen, above all Lord Yarborough, gave Nollekens such commissions, but it was a tragedy for him that Lord Rockingham died when he did. Not that even Lord Rockingham could have enabled him to realize in more finished form the numerous narrative groups that he modeled in clay—his *pensieri*, as he termed them. For that an English manufacturer of high quality biscuit

porcelain or bronze was required.

The Judgment of Paris could only have been created at a time when the antique was regarded as the inspiration for the modern sculptor but the modern sculptor was still encouraged to interpret, and restore, the antique with freedom. The sculptor's deference to a classical theme that was embodied in a fragment is combined with his confidence in his ability to complete such a theme, and it is this that makes the group a fascinating cultural document as well as a great work of art.

Nicholas Penny is Clore Curator of Renaissance Painting at the National Gallery, London. His Catalogue of the European Sculpture in the Ashmolean Museum, 1540 to the Present Day will be published in three volumes in 1992.

NOTES

1. Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments in Sheffield City Libraries, M2. Copies of the correspondence of Lord Malton and the Marquis of Rockingham. In common with other manuscript material in these muniments, these are quoted with the kind agreement of Olive, Countess Fitzwilliam's Wentworth Settlement Trustees, and the Director of the Sheffield City Libraries. The archivist and his assistant in the Sheffield City Libraries were exceptionally helpful to me.
2. "O.B.," "Wentworth Woodhouse, Yorkshire, a seat of Earl Fitzwilliam," *Country Life*, Mar. 31, 1906, pp. 450–462; H. A. Tipping, "Wentworth Woodhouse, Yorkshire, the Seat of Earl Fitzwilliam," *Country Life*, Mar. 10, 1946, pp. 854–857.
3. Manuscripts cited in note 1.
4. N. Penny, "Imposing Decor," *Country Life*, June 14, 1990, pp. 251–253. The set was procured by Horace Mann for Lord Lyttleton at Hagley.
5. H. Honour, "English Patrons and Italian Sculptors in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century," *Connoisseur* 1958, p. 223.
6. F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven and London, 1981), nos. 7, 34, 50, 88. The casts are listed in the manuscript "Catalogue of Pictures and Statues in Wentworth House" dated 1834, misc. 230 in the muniments cited in note 1.
7. The sculpture was sold at Christie's, London, July 15, 1986, lot 96. The entry on the sculpture in the catalogue (anonymous but by Charles Avery) complements that by the same author in the *The Treasure Houses of Britain*, exh. cat. (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1985/86), no. 214. For the antecedents of the sculpture, see M. Baker, "'A piece of wondrous art': Giambologna's *Samson and a Philistine* and Its Later Copies," *Antologia di belle arti*, n.s. 23–24 (1984), pp. 62–71. The group returned to Christie's on December 5, 1989, as lot 204. Its acquisition by the Victoria and Albert Museum was announced in March 1991.
8. Honour (note 5), p. 223.
9. Manuscripts cited in note 1.
10. Honour (note 5), pp. 224–225.
11. Manuscripts cited in note 1.
12. The cabinet and the bronze on top of it are catalogued in my forthcoming *Catalogue of European Sculpture in the Ashmolean Museum, 1540 to the Present Day*. It was the final lot (no. 501) in the

- sale of *Roman Brass Coins and Medallions*, Christie's, London (Spencer House), May 30–31, 1949.
13. Manuscripts cited in note 1.
 14. R. J. Hopper, "The Second Marquis of Rockingham as a Coin Collector," *The Antiquary's Journal* 62 (1982), p. 322. See also C. Vermeule and D. von Bothmer, "Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marbles in Great Britain," *American Journal of Archaeology* (1960), pp. 345–346. This also includes an account of Greek vases in the same collection.
 15. See the account of the Rockingham fortunes in E. A. Smith, *Whig Principles and Party Politics: Earl Fitzwilliam and the Whig Party, 1748–1833* (Manchester, 1975), pp. 29–31.
 16. A. Young, *A Six Month's Tour Made Through the North of England* (London, 1770), pp. 278–294, 301–302.
 17. A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (Cambridge, 1882), p. 665, mentions the bust of *Antinous* from the Mead collection but nothing else except the cabinet of Roman coins. He obviously had not visited the house, probably because Gustave Waagen had inexplicably reported no ancient marbles as being there (*Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, 3 vols. [London, 1854], III, p. 337).
 18. Manuscript as titled in the text in the archive cited in note 1.
 19. *Ibid.*, fols. 63v–64r.
 20. Many such vases survive in British country houses. They are generally assumed to be nineteenth-century purchases. See the manuscript inventory cited in note 18, fols. 13r and 29r. They must correspond with the "transparent Tuscan vases" bought from Richard Hayward in April 1773. "Vouchers for Works of Art," a bundle of numbered manuscript notes, bills, and receipts in the archive cited in note 1, no. 40.
 21. For the "Flowers of Bristol," see the manuscript inventory cited in note 18, fol. 51v. For the fluorspar vases, see *ibid.*, fol. 7v, and fluorspar obelisks, fol. 53r. The vases must correspond with the pair of "Cleopatra vases" and the essence pot bought from Boulton and Fothergill in October 1770 (vouchers cited in note 20, no. 40). It is probable that the Derbyshire alabaster which it seems that Lord Rockingham wished to present to Prince Borghese in the mid-1770s through James Byres was fluorspar; see Hopper (note 14), p. 327.
 22. Manuscript inventory cited in note 18, fol. 5.
 23. It is the only statue mentioned in the description of the house in *The Universal Magazine* in this year (p. 169).
 24. This point is made by J. Kentworthy-Browne in the valuable note "Marble Statuary from Wentworth Woodhouse," pp. 56–57, in the Christie's sale catalogue cited in note 7.
 25. Manuscript inventory cited in note 18, fol. 13r: *Important Sale of a Large Portion of the Contents of Wentworth Woodhouse Yorkshire (By Order of Earl Fitzwilliam's Wentworth Estates Company)*, conducted at the house July 4–9, 1949, by Henry Spencer and Sons of Retford, Workshop, and Sheffield. There were 2,005 lots in all. The sculpture was sold on the second day (July 5).
 26. J. Pope-Hennessy, *Cellini* (London, 1985), pls. 129–130, pp. 227–229. The sculpture is in the Bargello.
 27. Haskell and Penny (note 6), no. 26.
 28. N. Penny, *Church Monuments in Romantic England* (New Haven and London, 1977), pp. 61–64.
 29. *Giuseppe Ceracchi*, exh. cat. (Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome, 1989), p. 87. There is also a version at Belvoir Castle, usually identified as the bust shown at the Royal Academy exhibition of 1777.
 30. Manuscript inventory cited in note 18, fol. 13r; catalogue of sale cited in note 25.
 31. Catalogue of sale cited in note 25.
 32. Vouchers cited in note 20, no. 97.
 33. *Ibid.*, no. 42 (payment for "medals for Guadaloupe etc."); no. 32 (for chimneys).
 34. *Ibid.*, no. 30.
 35. Manuscript inventory cited in note 18, fol. 13v.
 36. M. Jones, ed., *Fake*, exh. cat. (British Museum, London, 1990), pp. 32–33 (entry by Susan Walker). See the review of the exhibition by N. Penny, *Burlington Magazine*, July 1990, pp. 504–506.
 37. J. T. Smith, *Nollekens and His Times* (London, 1949), p. 129.
 38. Manuscript inventory cited in note 18, fol. 28r.
 39. Catalogue of sale cited in note 25.
 40. *Fine Antiquities, including the property of the late Geoffrey Bennison, Esq.* There were only two items sold by the trustees of the Fitzwilliam settlement: lots 150 and 151.
 41. Vouchers cited in note 20, no. 50.
 42. Catalogue of sale cited in note 25.
 43. J. B. Hartmann, *Antike Motive bei Thorvaldsen* (Tübingen, 1979), pp. 64–74.
 44. Manuscript inventory cited in note 18, fol. 28r.
 45. Vouchers cited in note 20, no. 2.
 46. Haskell and Penny (note 6), no. 29.
 47. *Ibid.*, no. 41.
 48. *Ibid.*, no. 44.
 49. M. Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain, 1530–1830* (Harmondsworth, 1981), pp. 112–113.
 50. Haskell and Penny (note 6), no. 15.
 51. Catalogue of sale cited in note 25.
 52. "Two Men Slaying a Bull" is listed on p. 4 of the manuscript "Catalogue of Pictures and Statues in Wentworth House" dated 1834, misc. 230 in the muniments cited in note 1.
 53. Manuscript inventory cited in note 18, fols. 28r and v; catalogue of sale cited in note 25.
 54. A. Kelly, *Mrs. Coad's Stone* (Upton-upon-Severn, 1990), unnumbered plates on p. 67.
 55. See my review of Kelly (note 54) in *Burlington Magazine*, Dec. 1980, pp. 879–880.
 56. His pathetic letter to Rockingham, attached to the vouchers cited in note 20, no. 1, is quoted in the review cited in note 55.
 57. Vouchers cited in note 20, nos. 1, 36, 54, 66, 77, and, for the *Gladiator*, no. 93. For its position at the foot of the stairs in 1834, see the catalogue cited in note 52, p. 4, nos. 5–6. The source of the second *Gladiator* is unknown to me.
 58. Hopper (note 14), pp. 327 and 331.
 59. T. Clifford and T. Friedman, *The Man at Hyde Park Corner: Sculpture by John Cheere, 1709–1787*, exh. cat. (Temple Newsham, Leeds and Marble Hill House, Twickenham, 1974), no. 45.
 60. Manuscript inventory cited in note 18, fols. 28r and 28v.
 61. Vouchers cited in note 20, no. 81.
 62. The marble was described as "Porto Doro" (also sometimes called "Portor," a black marble with yellow veins from Genoa), as "Spanish Brocotel" (a yellow and pink marble with a pattern like crumpled brocade), and "sciano" (perhaps a misunderstanding of "Siciliano" and in fact Sicilian jasper, that is, *breccia di Trapani*).
 63. Manuscript inventory cited in note 18, fol. 47v.
 64. Haskell and Penny (note 6), nos. 20–21.
 65. Catalogue of sale cited in note 25, illustrations at the end of the second day's sale.
 66. Haskell and Penny (note 6), no. 2.
 67. Catalogue of sale cited in note 7, nos. 80–81.
 68. Vouchers cited in note 20, no. 58.
 69. R. Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors* (London, 1951), p. 409. The spelling of the artist's name is unconvincing and varies, but no other artist with a similar name seems to be recorded in any of the standard reference works.
 70. Catalogue cited in note 7, lot nos. 78, 79, 82, 83, 91. For the antique prototypes of the *Meleager*, *Flora*, and *Faun*, see Haskell and Penny (note 6), nos. 60, 41, 39.
 71. Manuscript inventory cited in note 18, fol. 50r.
 72. *Ibid.*, fol. 50v.
 73. *Ibid.*, fol. 51r.

74. *Ibid.*, fol. 51v.
75. Vouchers cited in note 20, no. 17, bought from "Philips."
76. Manuscript inventory cited in note 18, fol. 52r. Tassie's pastes are mentioned in the vouchers cited in note 20, nos. 4 and 11.
77. Manuscript inventory cited in note 18, fols. 52r and v.
78. *Ibid.*, fol. 53v. The transaction with Wilton is recorded in the vouchers cited in note 20, no. 57.
79. Manuscript inventory cited in note 18, fol. 52r.
80. Vouchers cited in note 20, no. 33.
81. R. Gnoli, *Marmora romana* (Rome, 1971), p. 168.
82. Hopper (note 14), pl. 319. Hopper (who had no idea that Rockingham was a collector of sculpture) supplies no alternative explanation for this reference.
83. J. Montagu, *Alessandro Algardi*, 2 vols. (New Haven and London, 1985), II, pp. 315–322.
84. The *Venus Marina* marked I.C. and attributed to Girolamo Campagna in the Untermyer collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York, is a notable example of such a bronze.
85. See nos. 177–178 of *Giambologna, Sculptor to the Medici*, exh. cat. (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1978), ed. C. Avery and A. Radcliffe.
86. Haskell and Penny (note 6), no. 20.
87. Vouchers cited in note 20, no. 81.
88. Catalogue of sale cited in note 25. For bronzes of this type by Giambologna, see *Giambologna* (note 85), pp. 109–117, nos. 60–67.
89. Catalogue of sale cited in note 25.
90. C. Avery, *Baroque Sculpture and Medals in the Gallery of Ontario* (Toronto, 1988), no. 18, p. 63.
91. Vouchers cited in note 20, no. 81.
92. J. Pope-Hennessy, *Essays on Italian Sculpture* (London and New York, 1968), pp. 166–171 (esp. p. 167).
93. *Ibid.*, p. 186, fig. 226.
94. Vouchers cited in note 20, no. 97.
95. *Ibid.*, no. 81.
96. *Ibid.*, no. 82.
97. Catalogue of sale cited in note 25. Versions of this bust are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and at Temple Newsam, Leeds.
98. *Ibid.*, see also Vermeule and von Bothmer (note 14). Information concerning de Polignac and L.-S. Adam has been kindly communicated to me from notes in the files of the J. Paul Getty Museum compiled by Peter Fusco.
99. Catalogue of sale cited in note 7, lots 89–90.
100. *Ibid.*, lot 88.
101. Catalogue of sale cited in note 25.
102. J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Study and Criticism of Italian Sculpture* (Princeton, 1980), p. 89, for the conjecture; M. Baker, "Giambologna, Donatello and the Sale of the Gaddi, Marucelli and Stosch Bronzes," *Städel Jahrbuch* 12 (1989), pp. 179–196, for the recent demonstration.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 105, n. 29, supplies an exact provenance.
104. Manuscript cited in note 52, p. 11, item 27.
105. MS Misc. 232 in the muniments cited in note 1.
106. X. Gorbunova, "Classical Sculpture from the Lyde Browne Collection," *Apollo*, Dec. 1974, pp. 460–467; O. Neverov, "The Lyde Browne Collection and the History of Ancient Sculpture in the Hermitage Museum," *American Journal of Archaeology* 88 (1984), pp. 33–42.
107. *Catalogus Veteris Aeri Varii Generis Monumentorum Quae Cimeliario Lyde Browne . . . Apud Wimbledon Asservantur*, 1768, p. 16. The passage was kindly pointed out to me by Gerard Vaughan. It is discussed by Neverov (note 106), p. 39.
108. Vouchers cited in note 20, no. 27.
109. *Ibid.*, no. 57.
110. Catalogue of sale cited in note 40, lot 151. Cf. lot 454 of catalogue of sale cited in note 25: "A fine marble statue 'Paris with apple in hand.'"
111. One drawing by Giovanni Battista Cipriani, in the British Museum, is reproduced by Neverov (note 106), pl. 14, fig. 57. Another, in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (*Foreign Catalogue, Plates* [Liverpool, 1977], p. 325, no. 5092), was drawn to my attention by Timothy Stevens.
112. J. Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi inedite* (Rome, 1767), p. 205, plan 152.
113. Although I know of no scholar who took this theory seriously, it was widely circulated in the press, for example, by S. Melikian in the *International Herald Tribune*, July 26–27, 1986, and by J. Roy in *L'express*, Aug. 1–7, 1986, p. 47.
114. At least no acknowledgment of the group is given in the list of statues by "Nollekens" on p. 10 of the manuscript catalogue of 1834 cited in note 52 (items 1–4, *Venus, Minerva*, a "female figure," *Diana*, followed by no. 5, *Paris*, "antique").
115. J. T. Smith, *Nollekens and His Times* (London, 1949), p. 5. Smith claims that Stuart performed this favor "in consequence of an early intimacy" but that Nollekens was indignant that Stuart had not included his work in the new Royal Academy exhibition. Smith himself supplies evidence that this did not bring about a breach in their friendship. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
116. Neverov (note 106), p. 34, n. 11.
117. J. Lord, "Joseph Nollekens and Lord Yarborough: Documents and Drawings," *Burlington Magazine*, Dec. 1988, pp. 915–919. See also Christie's, London, Apr. 9, 1987, lot 87, for a terra-cotta variant.
118. *A Catalogue of the Whole of the Highly Valuable Collection of Antique and Modern Sculpture of the late Joseph Nollekens, Esq., R.A. Dec.*, Christie's, London, July 3–5, 1823, lot 36, day 2 (July 4). Victoria and Albert Museum, A.21–1955, gift of Reginald Pott.
119. J. Kentworthy-Browne, "Establishing a Reputation: Joseph Nollekens: The Years in Rome—I," *Country Life*, June 7, 1979, pp. 1844–1848, and "Genius Recognized: Joseph Nollekens: The Years in Rome—II," *Country Life*, June 14, 1979, pp. 1930–1931.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 1847, fig. 4. The bust is at Althorp, Northamptonshire.
121. N. B. Penny, "English Church Monuments to Women Who Died in Childhood," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 38 (1975), p. 320 and pl. 46(a); *idem.* (note 28), pp. 50–55, pls. 36–37; F. Haskell and N. Penny, *The Most Beautiful Statues*, exh. cat. (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1981), p. 39, no. 54.
122. Vouchers cited in note 20, nos. 37, 53, 90, 119, 126. These payments were quoted by R. Seddon, "Some Payments by an 18th Century Collector," *The Antique Collector*, Apr. 1972, p. 81.
123. *Ibid.*, nos. 37, 122.
124. This point is made more fully by me in a review article, "The Classical Tradition and the Garden Ornament," *Art History* 5 (June 1982), pp. 243–246.
125. S. Pressouyre, "Le 'Moro' de l'Ancienne Collection Borghese: Une sculpture de Nicolas Cordier retrouvée à Versailles," *Fondation Eugène Piot: Monuments et mémoires* (1969), pp. 77–91.
126. D. B. Brown, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings IV: Two Earlier British Drawings* (Oxford, 1982), p. 486, no. 1463, fols. 77v, 78–80. I am not certain that this and no. 1462 are correctly described as sketchbooks. They seem to me to have been bound up from loose drawings. Before the binding, Nollekens seems to have identified the subjects in ink (not always accurately); these inscriptions have sometimes been cropped by the binder.
127. J. Egerton, *George Stubbs, 1724–1806*, exh. cat. (The Tate Gallery, London, 1985), p. 92.
128. Catalogue cited in note 118, lot 41, day 2 (July 4). In the copy of this catalogue in the archives at Christie's, "Emblems" has been crossed out.

Hendrick ter Brugghen's *Bacchante with an Ape*: The Painter's Working Method and Theme

Ariane van Suchtelen

One of the most striking images in the Dutch galleries of the J. Paul Getty Museum is a painting by the Utrecht artist Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588–1629) (fig. 1). This painting, dated to 1627, is generally considered to be among the best that this artist ever produced. Painted in warm colors, with radiant red and different shades of white, yellow, and blue, the picture depicts a young woman who is squeezing a bunch of grapes into a gilded cup, a gesture that is mimicked by an ape in the lower left corner. Seen somewhat from below, the woman smiles at the viewer, while her forward-leaning posture allows us ample view into her décolletage; her presence is powerful. The painting's subject can be interpreted as an Allegory of Taste, also containing a warning against such vices as impudence, lust, and drunkenness. X-rays recently taken of the painting (fig. 2) reveal that the artist made a major change of composition as he worked: the entire lower left corner, containing the monkey and the fruit in front of him, was not originally planned by the artist and must have been added at a later stage, so to speak as an afterthought. In this article the meaning of ter Brugghen's painting will be discussed in light of this newly found material evidence.

The iconography of the painting has been interpreted in numerous ways, and traditionally the female figure has been described as a bacchante. For instance, B. Nicolson refers to her as such and draws attention to the fact that since the Middle Ages the ape had been associated with drunkenness and was sometimes represented in the company of Bacchus.¹ J. R. Judson also focuses on the ape—the symbol of the fool and of drunkenness—in his interpretation of ter Brugghen's painting.² He reads it as “an illustration of the foolish actions of the drunkard,” more particularly the irrational act of squeezing grapes that, without fermentation, obviously cannot produce wine. L. J. Slatkes understands ter Brugghen's painting as an Allegory of Taste and can see no specific relation to Bacchus, the god of wine.³ For Slatkes the ape represents not only the physical sense of taste but also, in broader terms, good taste, in the sense

of the ability to distinguish between good and evil. According to Slatkes, the pear and the walnut before the animal, with their respective negative and positive connotations, offer confirmation of this view. For L. Freeman Bauer, the reading of the painting as an Allegory of Taste does not cover its meaning.⁴ However, the ape, notoriously lacking reason, does possess a keen sense of taste, which easily leads to drunkenness and sexual lawlessness. In this context the woman extends an invitation to intemperance and tempts the viewer, forcing him to make a moral choice. S. Bann calls the female figure a bacchante but repeats the idea that the painting represents the sense of taste on an underlying level.⁵ In this context, the ape symbolizes gluttony.

Obviously the painting can be interpreted in numerous different, partly overlapping ways. One reading does not necessarily exclude the others; temptation and taste, intemperance and wine, are naturally interrelated. In my view the key to the understanding of ter Brugghen's painting can be found precisely in this polyinterpretability. And for the contemporary viewer the appeal of the picture was certainly connected to the ambiguity of its meanings.⁶ However, it would seem worthwhile to examine to what extent certain recently discovered material evidence can help us interpret the painting. In tracing back the process by which the painting was created, new light can perhaps be shed on ter Brugghen's intentions.

As in the course of time the paint surface of the picture has become more transparent, in some areas slightly abraded, a number of pentimenti have become visible to the naked eye. Thus, one can see that the artist moved the left contour of the woman's red garment about three centimeters (slightly more than an inch) to the right. Because the scarf around her head has become a little transparent, it can be seen that the garments draped around her body originally extended higher up on her neck; later they were partly hidden under the scarf. Originally her sleeve covered her left arm up to her wrist; it was later rolled back about three



Figure 1. Hendrick ter Brugghen (Dutch, 1588–1629). *Bacchante with an Ape*, 1627. Oil on canvas, 102.9 x 90.1 cm (40½ x 35½ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 84.PA.5.



Figure 2. Hendrick ter Brugghen. *Bacchante with an Ape*. X-ray of the painting, made by the Department of Paintings Conservation at the J. Paul Getty Museum.

centimeters. (The red color of the sleeve can now be seen through her wrist.) One can also see a pentimento in the cloth covering her chest, which originally came up a bit higher. Underneath the ape, a layer of red paint can clearly be observed, as in the craquelures of the tablecloth. Also underneath the white cloth in the area to the left of her shoulder, above the ape's head, one can see a layer of red paint showing through, perhaps suggesting that the garment in that area was first painted in red. The ape seems to have three hind paws; the left one is standing up and the right one is double. This, as well, must be a change of composition that has become visible because of the increasing transparency of the paint. The vine leaves and the bunch of grapes on the table are very translucent; one can clearly see the painted garment underneath. In the blue cloth covering the woman's knees an underlayer in a red-brown color can be perceived.

In Hendrick ter Brugghen's oeuvre, pentimenti can be observed in many paintings.⁷ Usually the changes modify the composition, slightly altering contours or adjusting the position of hands or objects. Such changes show that the artist was often still deciding about the final composition of the picture while painting. (This working method can sometimes be a tool in determining which of several versions of a painting was the first and which the replica, as no more experimenting is necessary with a second version.⁸) In certain paintings the pentimenti reveal a somewhat greater change of composition; in the *Bagpipe Player* at the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne, pentimenti can be observed around the contour of the entire figure, revealing that originally the whole figure was bigger.⁹ L. J. Slatkes noticed, after scrutinizing ter Brugghen's *Concert* in the Hermitage, that it was originally painted as a duet; the left figure was added by the artist at a later stage.¹⁰ In a few cases the changes in the composition also imply modifications or changes of iconography. In the *Annunciation* in Diest, Belgium, pentimenti show that the depicted reel was not initially in its present position. Now placed underneath the crown that is held by the angels, the object gains additional significance as a traditional symbol of the cross; with the crown, it is a prefiguration of the Crucifixion.¹¹ A complete change of subject matter came to light in X-rays of ter Brugghen's *Scene of Mercenary Love*.¹² Originally the old man in the painting was dressed in oriental clothes with a turban on his head; the painting must have represented Judah and Tamar and was based on a composition by Dirck van Baburen.

The X-rays that were taken of ter Brugghen's painting at the Getty Museum (fig. 2) reveal that the drap-

eries of the woman's clothes were worked out all the way down into the lower left corner, continuing underneath the table and the ape; from the shoulder the lines flow down, defining the contours of the draperies. The X-rays reveal that ter Brugghen, after having added the table, slightly retouched the surrounding areas. The folds under the woman's elbow were worked out, but these folds were later retouched in the area around the table, now taking into account its contours. The vine leaves must have been added at an even later stage. Of the pentimenti that can be discerned with the naked eye, the one along the left contour of the woman's clothes has been recorded very well on the X-rays. The changes in the woman's turban also become clearly visible; its left part was probably added at a later stage, which would explain why the garment around her body was initially painted all the way up her neck. The curved fold of the scarf, coming from the right, originally went further down, as is evident on the X-rays. The draperies on her left shoulder seem to have been realized in a hesitant, seeking manner. The most obvious change here consists of a contour line that went up from the fringes on the right; with some effort this can also be observed with the naked eye. However, the change observed in the woman's wrist does not show on the X-rays, proving that what registers on the X-rays is dependent on the pigments used (and thus emphasizing the fact that X-rays need to be studied in combination with the painted surface).

The X-rays confirm the image of a painter who was constantly exploring and seeking for the right solutions, designing and correcting on the canvas. However, a notable detail is the depiction of the spot of shadow of a fold on the woman's shoulder, around which a little white paint has been heaped. On the X-ray this spot is darker as well, which means that it had been marked already in the beginning of the painting process in a darker paint and that the white of the light area was painted around it. This detail proves that ter Brugghen could also work in a very calculating way, quite unlike the exploratory style in which much of the painting was realized.

The addition of the table with the ape and the fruit constituted a fundamental change of composition in ter Brugghen's painting. One can speculate about the artist's motivations. Did he find the composition unbalanced? Did the woman seem to lean forward too much and so seem in need of a support, a table? But the compositional effectiveness of this addition is arguable; certainly it somewhat disturbs the painting's spatial illusion, as the woman is seen from a lower viewpoint than the table with the ape and the fruit. Therefore it

seems more likely that the artist's motives were of an iconographical nature; the ape and the fruit were necessary to clarify the theme of the painting.

As we have seen, the ape can be interpreted in a number of different—and predominantly negative—ways.¹³ It can personify the sinner, the fool, and the degenerate person; it is associated with the sense of taste, with drunkenness, and with lust. Similarly, the pear and the walnut, shown prominently in front of the animal, should probably be interpreted in a negative sense that is related to the ape and the woman. According to Jacob Cats's commentary on an emblem, dated to the year in which ter Brugghen painted his work, an ape can be tempted with nuts just as a lover can be lured by his mistress.¹⁴ And the pear, too, has negative associations because of its tendency to rot quickly.¹⁵

The presence of the ape helps to clarify the significance of the female figure in another important way. Many of the Caravaggesque half-figure paintings that were produced in Utrecht in the early 1620s have tentatively been connected to the five senses (without there ever being a question of a complete series). Thus, a portrait of a musician could logically be related to the sense of hearing, while a merry drinker may have represented the sense of taste. However, Hendrick ter Brugghen's painting at the Getty Museum can be interpreted as a portrayal of one of the senses with more certainty because of the presence of the ape. This animal directly connects ter Brugghen's painting to the sixteenth-century Flemish graphic tradition of depicting the five senses as a series of female personifications.¹⁶ In these prints, reclining ladies are accompanied by animals and other attributes; taste always has a monkey, fruits, and vegetables, as in a series by Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris, dated to 1561, the earliest example known. Hendrick Goltzius of Haarlem introduced the theme in the Northern Netherlands in the last quarter of the century, his first series of prints depicting the senses dating to 1578. A set of prints by Jan Saenredam after drawings by Goltzius (dated to 1595/96) seems to have been the most important of these series as a source of inspiration for ter Brugghen; these prints are closest to the painting under discussion in terms of composition, spirit, and iconography.¹⁷ Each of the scenes represents an amorous couple, seen in three-quarter length, with all the traditional attributes of the five senses, including animals (fig. 3). Seductive women fill the foregrounds, with their suitors hanging over their shoulders. Accompanying texts elucidate the scenes and warn against the treacherous temptation of the depicted senses.¹⁸ By adding the attribute of taste, the ape, to his composition, Hendrick ter Brugghen has related his work to



Figure 3. Jan Saenredam (Dutch, 1565–1607) after Hendrick Goltzius (Dutch, 1558–1617). *Taste*, 1595/96. Engraving, 17.5 x 12.4 cm (6⁷/₈ x 4⁷/₈ in.). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.



Figure 4. Crispin de Passe I (Dutch, 1564–1637) after Maarten de Vos (Flemish, 1532–1603) and Joris Hoefnagel (Flemish, 1542–1600). *Bacchus*, 1590–1600. Engraving, 18.8 x 21.9 cm (7³/₈ x 8⁵/₈ in.). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen.



Figure 5. Philips Galle (Flemish, 1537–1612). *Impudentia*, 1590–1600. Engraving, approx. 15 x 9 cm (5⁷/₈ x 3¹/₂ in.). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

these sixteenth-century print series of the senses.

In ter Brugghen's painting, the sense of taste—the sense that, with touch, was in worst repute—can be related to the temptation of wine and carnal pleasures: the sexual provocation of the woman—the smile with which she looks at the viewer, the forward-looking, half-uncovered body—is clearly related to the wine she prepares in her cup.¹⁹ Earlier representations of the sense of taste had usually included the tasting of apples, with the obvious reference to the Fall of Man. By including wine in his image, ter Brugghen has instead chosen to employ Bacchanalian iconography.²⁰ Such a decision is entirely appropriate: the links between Bacchus and the sense of taste are powerful, as can be seen in a print from a series by Crispin de Passe I (1564–1637) after Maarten de Vos and Joris Hoefnagel. In this series, figures of Venus, Ceres, Bacchus, and Aeolus personify respectively the four seasons.²¹ In the upper corners of the frieze around the Bacchus scene (fig. 4), two monkeys have been depicted, one of them eating an apple, as in traditional representations of the sense of taste.

Not only does the little ape function as an attribute of taste; among the vices that it can personify is that of impudence, relevant in the context of the seductive woman portrayed in ter Brugghen's painting. Karel van Mander wrote: "Den Aep/oft Simme beteykent den ondeughenden mensch . . . Met den Aep wort ooc beteykent onschamelheyt: want hij zijn onschamel bloot lidt yeder laet sien/en ander onschamel dinghen in yeders aensien doet" ("The ape means the vicious person. . . . An ape can symbolize impudence as well; because he shows his shameful part to everybody/ and he does other shameful things in everybody's presence").²² Philips Galle (1537–1612) illustrated this theme in his engraving *Impudentia* (fig. 5), in which an ape, showing his bottom, is sitting on the lap of a woman with uncovered breasts and legs apart.²³ And in an engraving by Jacques de Gheyn II, dated to 1595/96 (fig. 6), a chained ape is an attribute of a lady who represents *Vanitas*, as the motto on the banderolle held by an angel in the background confirms.²⁴ The ape symbolizes the woman who has been trapped in the chains of sin.²⁵

The ape in ter Brugghen's composition not only connects it to traditional representations of the sense of taste; it also comments on lust and associated vices, represented by the woman. But perhaps the key to its interpretation in ter Brugghen's painting is the ape's characteristic ability to imitate man. Ter Brugghen added the ape to the scene to depict him imitating the woman, thus showing the viewer the bad example of those who respond to the provocation of the sensory

pleasures, of lust and drink, offered by the woman. The animal ultimately personifies the person making the wrong choice and giving in to his lower instincts; by the addition of the ape and the fruit, the moral lesson of the painting has been clarified. Hendrick ter Brugghen's painting at the Getty Museum calls for temperance and mistrust of sensory pleasures that easily lead man astray. However, this moral lesson is contained in a painting that strikes us instantly by its cheerfulness, charm, and attraction, leaving it up to the beholder to decide how seriously to take the implicit warnings.

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NOTES

1. B. Nicolson, *Hendrick Terbrugghen* (London, 1958), no. A-47, p. 78.
2. J. R. Judson, "Allegory of Drinking," *Worcester Art Museum News Bulletin and Calendar* 34, no. 5 (Feb. 1969).
3. L. J. Slatkes in *Nieuw Licht op de Gouden Eeuw*, exh. cat. (Utrecht-Braunschweig, 1986–1987), no. 27, pp. 152–155.
4. L. Freeman Bauer, "Seventeenth-Century Naturalism and the Emblematic Interpretation of Paintings," *Emblematica* 3, no. 2 (1988), p. 214ff.
5. S. Bann, *The True Vine* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), p. 83ff. Bann assumed that the lower left corner was a later addition.
6. About the aesthetic pleasure derived from this kind of polyinterpretability in the seventeenth century, see E. de Jongh in *tot Lering en Vermaak*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1976), p. 25.
7. No separate study on material aspects of the artist's work has been published so far. However, Nicolson (note 1) usually gives relatively extensive information about the paintings' condition and sometimes about pentimenti, for which he had to rely in almost all cases on the naked eye. Between 1965 and 1966, the staff of the Centraal Museum in Utrecht systematically X-rayed all their old master paintings; the results of this study were published as *Röntgenonderzoek van de oude schilderijen in het Centraal Museum te Utrecht* (Utrecht, 1967), including four paintings by Hendrick ter Brugghen and two by his followers, pp. 138–143, 226–229 (the problematical *Penitent Saint Peter* was not yet in the museum's collections). Unfortunately, the exhibition catalogue *Nieuw Licht* (note 3) does not provide systematic information about the material aspects of the exhibited paintings, although sometimes one reads about pentimenti. At a symposium during this exhibition, C. Brown delivered a paper on ter Brugghen's *Jacob and Laban* (London, National Gallery), dated 1627: "The London 'Jacob and Laban' and ter Brugghen's Italian Sources," published in *Hendrick ter Brugghen und die Nachfolger Caravaggios in Holland* (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, 1987), pp. 89–97. Brown systematically discusses the material research on the painting—not exhibited at Utrecht-Braunschweig—done in the museum's conservation studio, giving an insight into the extraordinary pigments that



Figure 6. Jacques de Gheyn II (Dutch, 1565–1629). *Vanitas: A Woman with a Mirror at a Toilet-Table*, 1595/96. Engraving, 27.9 x 18.6 cm (10¹⁵/₁₆ x 7⁵/₁₆ in.). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

- the artist used for this painting. (No paint samples were taken of the Getty Museum's painting.)
8. As in the painting of *Sleeping Mars* (Nicolson [note 1], nos. A-71 and A-42 [and A-44, whereabouts unknown to Nicolson]), of which the version in Utrecht's Centraal Museum (A-71) must be the earlier: it shows several penitenti.
 9. *Ibid.*, A-17, p. 57, pl. 48.
 10. Slatkes in *Nieuw Licht* (note 3), p. 141. This painting appears in Nicolson (note 1), A-38, pl. 76.
 11. For a discussion of the painting and its iconography related to this material evidence, see Slatkes in *Nieuw Licht* (note 3), no. 32, pp. 167–170.
 12. *Ibid.*, no. 14, pp. 109–112; New York, Collection Shearson Lehman Brothers.
 13. H. W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London, 1952). See especially the ape as the sinner and the fool (p. 29ff.); the ape as the personification of Lust (“The Ape and the Fall of Man,” pp. 107–144); “The Sexuality of Apes” (pp. 261–286); the ape as Taste (“The Ape, the Senses and the Humours,” pp. 239–259); the ape representing drunkenness (p. 242ff.); and the ape as imitator (“Ars Simia Naturae,” pp. 287–325).
 14. Jacob Cats, *Proteus ofte Minne-Beelden verandert in Sinne-beelden* (Rotterdam, 1627), no. XLII, pp. 248–253. That the nut can be interpreted in both a positive and a negative sense is testified by an emblem and its commentary in a part of the same volume of 1627, titled *Emblemata moralia et aeconomica*, no. XXVIII, pp. 56–57, in which the nut symbolizes marital loyalty.
 15. S. Segal, *A Fruitful Past*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam/Braunschweig, 1983), p. 26ff.
 16. See C. Nordenfalk, “The Five Senses in Flemish Art Before 1600,” in *Netherlandish Mannerism*, ed. G. Cavalli-Björkman (Stockholm, 1985), pp. 135–154.
 17. E. K. J. Reznicek, *Die Zeichnungen von Hendrick Goltzius* (Utrecht, 1961), nos. 167–171, pp. 306–308, and F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts* (Amsterdam, 1949–), vol. 23, pp. 76–78, nos. 101–105.
 18. This tradition of moralizing about the senses, regarding them in a negative light—linked to the deceitfulness of sensory perception and also to the pleasures that the senses can provide—is rooted in classical antiquity. It is expressed in a very influential fable in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, in which Heracles is at the crossroads and a woman urges him to choose the easier way of life by tempting him with the pleasures of the senses. See L. Vinge, *The Five Senses: Studies in a Literary Tradition* (Lund, Sweden, 1975), p. 21ff.
 19. Hendrick ter Brugghen used the same woman as a model in another painting, dated to 1628 and now in the Basel Kunstmuseum; *Nieuw Licht* (note 3), no. 28, pp. 156–157.
 20. Jan van Bijlert was probably the first painter of this group of Caravaggio followers in Utrecht to depict the theme of the five senses united in one painting, which is dated circa 1630 (*Nieuw Licht* [note 3], no. 42, pp. 204–205). He represented Taste as a figure squeezing grapes into its mouth.
 21. Hollstein (note 17), vol. 15, p. 199, nos. 560–563.
 22. Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Haarlem, 1604; facs. ed., Utrecht, 1969). *Uytbeeldinge der Figueren*, fol. 128v.
 23. Cornelis Kilianus and Philips Galle, *Prosopographia*, s.l., s.p., no. 39, with text, translated from the Latin underneath the print: “Le singe monstre son cul, a un chacun; & moy ie me desnüé devant tout le monde sans vergongne ou honte quelconque.” In a special note, Galle encourages his readers to make use of his images: “Voici . . . les images . . . fort necessaires à tous peintres, engraveurs . . . afin que lors qu'il leur prendra fantasie de peindre ou feindre quelque chose.”
 24. Engraving (Hollstein [note 17], vol. 7, p. 125, no. 104) after a drawing, pen and ink with blue wash, 26 x 18 cm (10¼ x 7 in.), present whereabouts unknown. I. Q. van Regteren Altena, *Jacques de Gheyn: Three Generations*, vol. 2 (The Hague/Boston/London, 1983), no. 209, p. 54. The text underneath the print is by Hugo de Groot, aged 12, which allows the print to be dated to 1595/96. According to van Regteren Altena, the dog barking at the monkey symbolizes the uselessness of luxury, while the monkey represents unchastity and sin.
 25. See *tot Lering en Vermaak* (note 6), p. 125.

The Sanctification of Nature: Observations on the Origins of Trompe l'oeil in Netherlandish Book Painting of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

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This paper presents a new hypothesis about the origins and development of trompe l'oeil illumination in Netherlandish book painting.¹ Although many explanations have been offered for this remarkable phenomenon, this essay focuses on some aspects of the problem that have been previously overlooked in discussions of the imitation of nature in manuscripts.

A reconsideration may proceed fruitfully from an examination of one of the later products in the history of trompe l'oeil in Netherlandish manuscripts, the Bocskay *Schriftmusterbuch* illuminated by the painter Georg (Joris) Hoefnagel and acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1986 (figs. 1–4).² The text of this manuscript was written in the 1570s. It is one of two such versions of what might be described as an elegant sampler or model book of various kinds of handwriting, including Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and other, more exotic varieties of script (including mirror writing) that were presented to Emperor Maximilian II Habsburg. Between 1594 and 1596, the Netherlandish painter, humanist, and poet Hoefnagel completed this manuscript for Maximilian II's son and successor, Emperor Rudolf II Habsburg. This was the second such task Hoefnagel had carried out for the emperor, since during the immediately preceding period, between 1591 and 1594, he had added decorations to another, similar codex written by Bocskay, which now belongs to the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.³ Rudolf II was a very great patron and collector—one of the greatest in the history of European art—and for him Hoefnagel made suitably splendid embellishments.⁴ At the end of the Getty manuscript Hoefnagel added his own model alphabet, with illuminations. Hoefnagel also intervened in the body of the text, and it is his additions that provide the point of departure for this paper.

At the margins and in the interstices of the texts of this manuscript, Hoefnagel depicted various creatures

of the natural world. The objects painted in watercolor and body color include plants, flowers, seeds, nuts, insects, and even reptiles, such as snakes and lizards. These creatures are depicted with great attention to detail. They are executed in rich colors, fully modeled and finely delineated with minutely applied brushstrokes. Hoefnagel painted them with an eye for all their peculiarities. Many of the objects are shown with shadows cast on the page, so that the illusion is increased that they are three-dimensional objects set on the actual pages of the manuscript. The depiction of objects that cast shadows on the page is one of many tricks of trompe l'oeil illusionism that Hoefnagel used. Elsewhere he shows a plant with its stalk piercing the page, part of which is also depicted on the reverse (figs. 3–4). In its rich accumulation of naturalistic illumination and trompe l'oeil devices, the Getty manuscript represents a distinctive accomplishment in Hoefnagel's oeuvre. It is not an exaggeration to call this work a high point in the history of naturalistic illumination in European manuscripts.

Although still found in a manuscript, Hoefnagel's miniatures may also be considered the penultimate steps in the development of independent still-life painting, that is, the development of still life as an independent genre in full-scale easel painting. The ultimate step might be considered to be that found in some other miniatures by Hoefnagel from the 1590s, in which representations of vases and insects, flowers and plants, though still painted on a vellum page, are freed from any connection with a written text (fig. 5).⁵ The depictions of nature in these images might already be considered independent forms of representation. It was only a short step from this kind miniature to the oil painting on panel (or canvas) of the independent still life. Indeed, Hoefnagel is recorded in inventories of collections such as that of the Habsburg Archduke Leopold

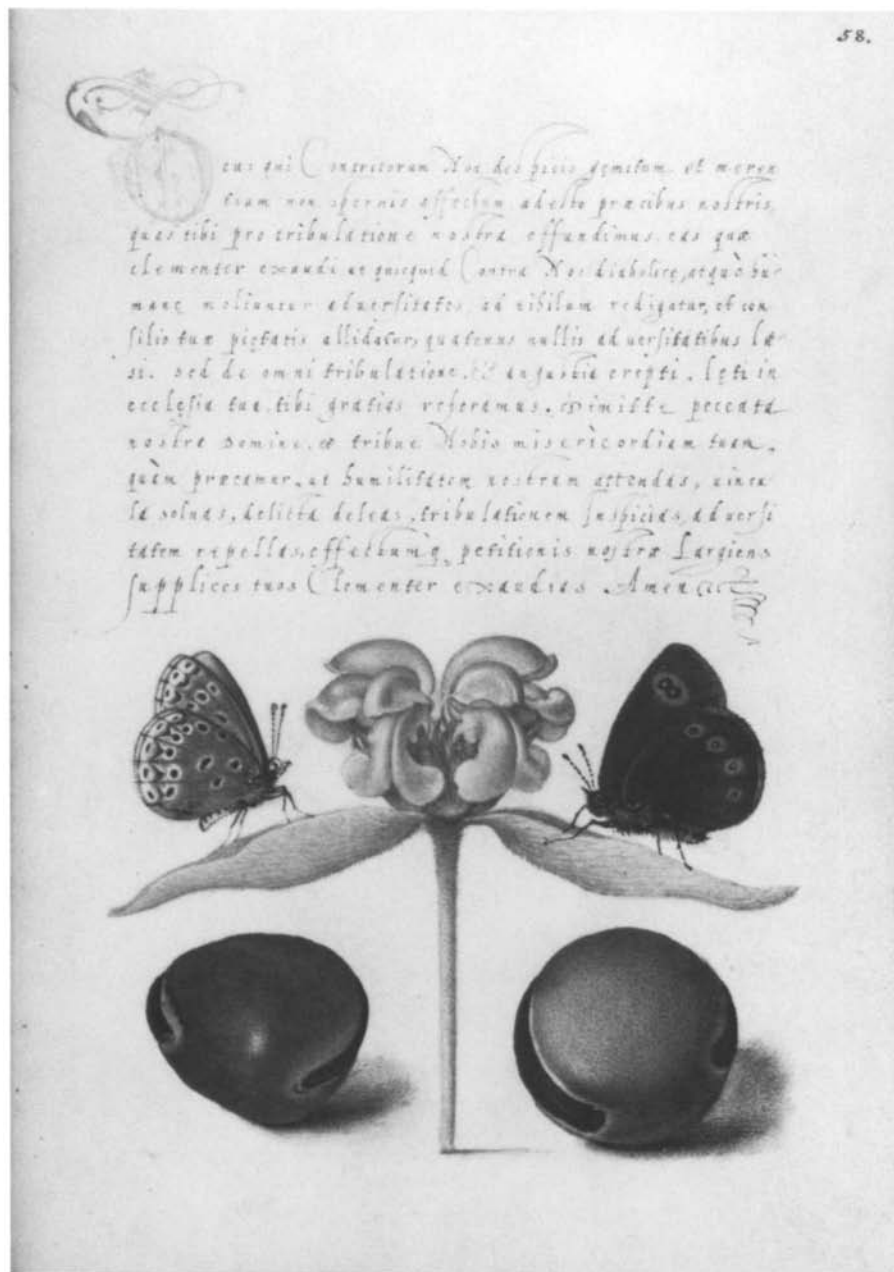


Figure 1. Georg (Joris) Hoefnagel (Flemish, 1542–1601). *Flower, Beans, and Butterflies*. From *Mira calligraphiae monumenta*, 1594–1596. Scribe, Georg Bocskay (Hungarian, active circa 1561; d. 1575). Ink and watercolor on vellum, 16.6 x 12.4 cm (6⁹/₁₆ x 4⁷/₈ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.MV.527; Ms. 20, fol. 58r.

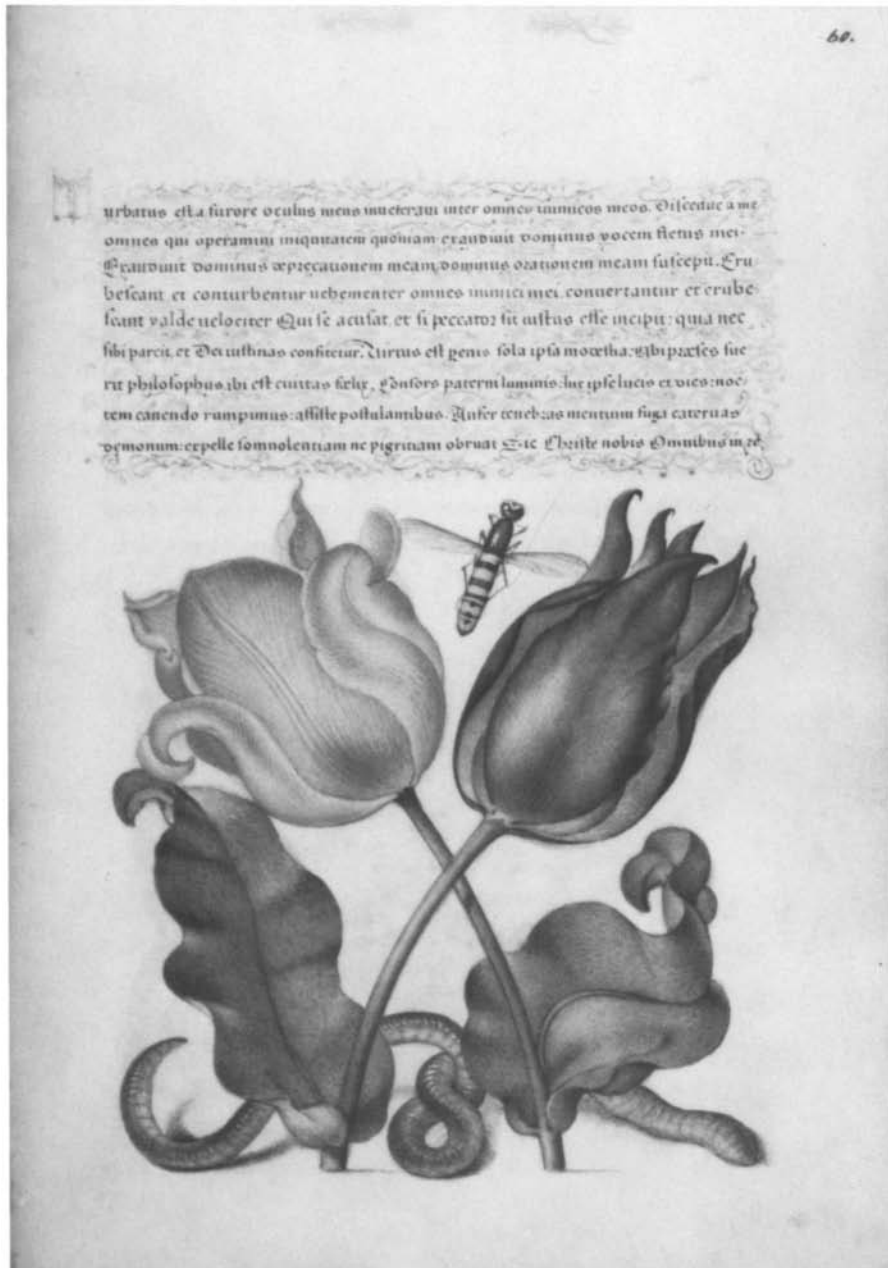


Figure 2. Georg Hoefnagel. *Tulips, Worm, and Insect*. From *Mira calligraphiae monumenta*, fol. 60r.



Figure 3. Georg Hoefnagel. *Cherries, Flowers, and Butterfly*. From *Mira calligraphiae monumenta*, fol. 61r.

Wilhelm as having made just this kind of painting.⁶ The Swedish scholar Ingvar Bergström long ago recognized Georg Hoefnagel's importance in this development, although no certain works of this sort by his hand survive.⁷

However, the first surviving paintings on panel by a Netherlandish artist are found in examples made soon after Hoefnagel's death, probably shortly after if not in 1600, in the work of Roelandt Savery, as in pictures dated 1603 (fig. 6).⁸ Savery, like Hoefnagel, was one of Rudolf II's court painters in Prague. A connection between these artists can be established, since Savery certainly knew Hoefnagel's manuscripts and used elements from them in his own paintings.

There are many things to be said about Hoefnagel's manuscripts and the place of his work in the development of the important new genre of independent still-life painting.⁹ This paper, however, uses Hoefnagel's work as an apt starting point for the interpretation of a major development in the history of naturalistic illumination in Netherlandish book painting, beginning

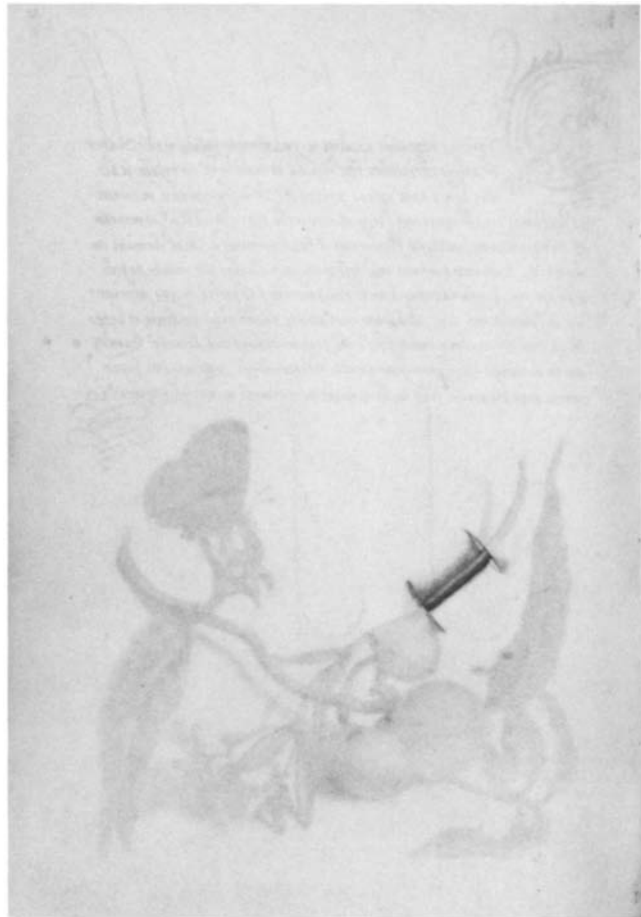


Figure 4. Georg Hoefnagel. *Stem*, verso of figure 3.

with a consideration of Hoefnagel's relation to tradition. For Hoefnagel's work may be regarded not only as one of the progenitors of the tradition of independent still life on panel: it has also long been recognized as one of the last, and greatest, descendants of another long tradition.

Hoefnagel's interventions in the Getty Museum manuscript can be seen as forms of *bas de page* and marginal illumination familiar throughout medieval book painting. While previous scholarship has already pointed out some of the visual sources for Hoefnagel's nature studies,¹⁰ this essay investigates further the place of Hoefnagel's work in relation to the history of Northern, and particularly Flemish, book painting. Viewing Hoefnagel in the light of this earlier tradition not only illuminates his own accomplishments; at the same time, it reflects back on certain aspects of illusionism in earlier manuscripts.

Hoefnagel's work may be compared specifically to so-called "Ghent-Bruges" manuscript illumination of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Several



Figure 5. Georg Hoefnagel. *Still Life with Flowers and Insects*. Detached miniature, monogrammed and dated 1594. Gouache (?) on parchment, 16.1 x 12 cm (6⁵/₁₆ x 4³/₄ in.). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

scholars have recognized that his paintings may be related to works associated with these Flemish manuscripts in their use of careful modeling and in their still-life-like representation. Beyond Hoefnagel's personal origins in the southern Netherlands, similarities in the meticulous manner of painting, the presence of trompe l'oeil devices (such as cast shadows or stems slipped through fictive slits in pages), and the naturalistic content in the marginal decoration point to Hoefnagel's connection with this tradition. Most importantly, it can even be demonstrated that Hoefnagel was directly familiar with actual examples of this sort of painting, since he added his own illuminations to already existing books of this kind.¹¹

Ghent-Bruges illumination and Hoefnagel's painting are mutually relevant in that both contributed to the development of illusionism in manuscript painting. The three-dimensional modeling of vegetative and other forms of natural ornament in the borders of late-fifteenth-century Flemish book painting carries further the transformation of the Gothic tradition of ornamen-



Figure 6. Roelandt Savery (Flemish, 1576–1639). *Still Life with Flowers in a Glass*, 1603. Oil on copper, 19 x 29 cm (7¹/₂ x 11⁷/₁₆ in.). Utrecht, Centraal Museum 247.

tation with flourishes and interlaces in the margins of manuscripts. Earlier in the fifteenth century, painters of manuscripts in Italy, France, and the Low Countries had included depictions of flowers resembling living specimens in borders. A prayer book illuminated by Michelino da Besozzo from the beginning of the century is decorated with delicate vines that twirl around the text, together with flowers that are mostly identifiable. But many of the flowers glitter with gold, are inappropriately associated with vines, and are laid out in a regular pattern that is closely related to the frame, so that they do not create a convincing illusion of nature.¹² In the *Très Riches Heures* of the Limbourg brothers, made for the Duke of Berry around 1415, the illusion of living flowers is enhanced by the presence of snails, which seem to have attached themselves to the flower stems. The flowers grow in more random patterns, like those found in nature. But they seem to be rooted in the frame of the miniature in an unlikely and unnatural fashion.¹³ Like Michelino's, the Limbourg brothers' images of flowers are still physically linked to

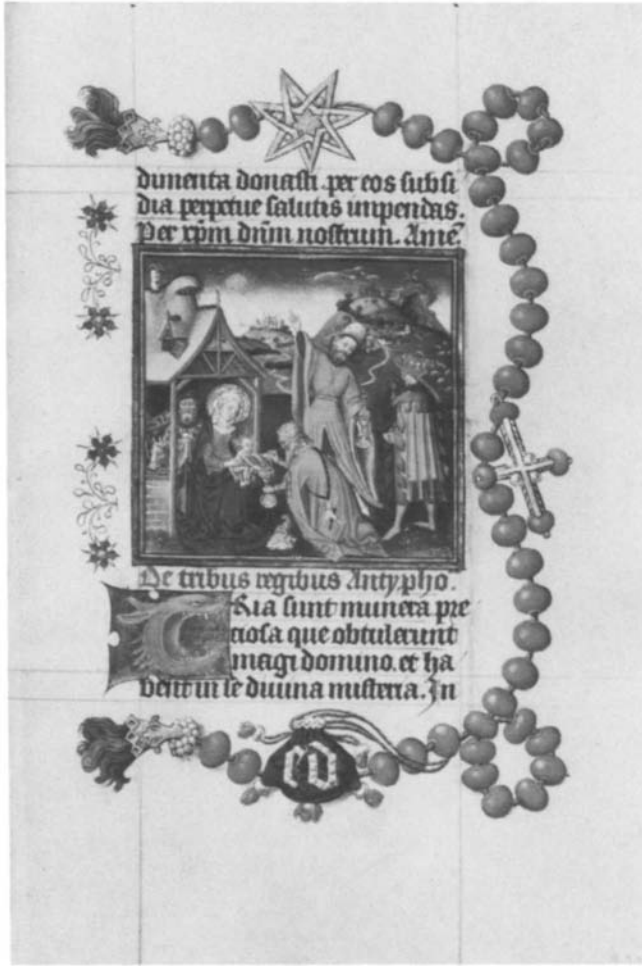


Figure 7. *The Adoration of the Magi*. Hours of Catherine of Cleves. Northern Netherlandish, circa 1440. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M. 917, p. 237.

the miniature and thus lack a life of their own.

The Master of the Hours of Catherine of Cleves offers an altogether different collection of objects and presents them in a different way. Bird cages, coins, fish, pretzels, eels, a rosary (fig. 7),¹⁴ detached heads, and even documents with their seals¹⁵ are but some of the objects painted in the margins, where they are detached from the miniature and text, with which they have, at best, an ambiguous relation. They are also modeled so as to suggest their existence in three dimensions. Because of their independence from the text and miniature and their illusionistic rendering, they might seem to be close to the marginalia found in Ghent-Bruges manuscripts, but they share little in common with them in terms of painting technique, subject matter, or meaning. Many of the objects in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves, such as the bird cages, are not shown to size, and even those objects close to their actual dimensions,

such as coins, do not cast shadows so as to suggest that they are actually lying on the page.

None of these developments can be directly associated with the inventions of the illuminators from Ghent and Bruges. In these marginalia, which are the center of our interest here, Flemish masters initiated the use of such devices as cast shadows and the illusion of objects piercing the page or being attached to it by a thread or a pin. They also increased the number and kind of creatures illustrated, made even greater efforts at depicting their details precisely, and showed objects at close to their actual size. Together these efforts create the illusion that the objects depicted are lying on the page: they deceive the eye and can therefore properly be called examples of *trompe l'oeil* illusionism. Although similar devices are known in earlier panel painting, their appearance in these manuscripts seems to represent their earliest occurrence in manuscript illumination.

Despite the significance of Ghent-Bruges manuscripts for the history of naturalistic illumination, there has been surprisingly little discussion of the reasons for its development. As Anne van Buren noted in a review of the art historical literature that she published in 1975, students of pictorial representation in Flemish manuscripts have concentrated on the morphology of forms or on specific details in the miniatures, not on the borders.¹⁶ Then again, some of the major hypotheses of the study of book painting involve the assumption that an inevitable decline set in with the fifteenth century. This was the view of Erwin Panofsky, who thought that the invention of perspective and its introduction into manuscripts doomed book painting,¹⁷ and also of Otto Pächt, who argued that the introduction of spatial illusionism into book illumination meant that a “heavy strain was put on the artistic organisation of the page.”¹⁸ According to Pächt, the flat expanse of the page contrasted with the illusion of recession into depth.

Perhaps the most widely accepted interpretation remains that promulgated more than forty years ago by Pächt in his study of the “Master of Mary of Burgundy,” so named from his association with manuscripts made for this important patron, the daughter of the last independent Duke of Burgundy and wife of Emperor Maximilian Habsburg. Pächt argued that the Master of Mary of Burgundy “obtained a new lease on life” for book painting by unifying the way a page was seen according to a consistent point of view.¹⁹ Consequently, this artist developed a three-part scheme of composition: the margins of the page present objects such as flowers with all the tricks of *trompe l'oeil* that we know from Hoefnagel; the text is shown as writing on a page; and the main miniature, usually depicting a



Figure 8. *Saint Barbara*. Hours of Engelbert of Nassau. Master of Mary of Burgundy and workshop, last quarter of the fifteenth century. Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. 219, fol. 41r.

scene from the Bible or the lives of the saints, is painted as if it were viewed through an opening in the page, as through an open window in its own illusionistic space. In this scheme, which can be found in many Ghent-Bruges manuscripts (figs. 8–11), there are three qualities of illusion presented in relation to one consistent point of view: the borders are depicted with objects shown as if they were in a space located in front of the flat surface of the page on which the text is written, the page with its text occupies a sort of middle layer, and the miniature with its figural composition is depicted as if it were a scene occurring behind both the page and the text.²⁰

Van Buren remarked that as of the time of her article only Sixten Ringbom seemed to have doubted this explanation in print.²¹ For Ringbom, the Pächtian interpretation was one made from a post-Cézanne (van Buren says post-Cubist) point of view. Ringbom doubted whether a fifteenth-century master would have per-



Figure 9. *The Virgin and Child and Angels*, with pilgrim badges, holy images, and other devotionalia painted on the border. Epigram and notes at the bottom written in Hoefnagel's own hand. Hours of Philip of Cleves. Sander Bening and workshop, before 1483. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Ms. IV 40, fol. 42r.

ceived the decorative framework as neutral, or indeed perceived any conflict between planimetric organization and an illusion of space. For Ringbom, the development of trompe l'oeil borders was rather “a perfectly natural extension of illusionism to the border,” a result of the application of the artist’s “skill on the decorative framework” that also relied on precedents in Northern panel painting.²² Recently Clark Hulse has also criticized Panofsky’s and Pächt’s interpretation of the development of spatial systems supposedly found in Netherlandish painting, as represented by the work of the Master of Mary of Burgundy, as “a retrospective construction of the modern scholar seeking to defend the status of painting in his own century.”²³ Van Buren rightly said that under the sway of Pächt’s analysis, aesthetics ruled the study of the Master of Mary of Bur-



Figure 10. *The Throne of Mercy*. Poems and notes at the bottom of fol. 53v written in Hoefnagel's own hand. Hours of Philip of Cleves. Sander Bening and workshop, before 1483. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Ms. IV 40, fols. 53v–54r.

gundy,²⁴ and hence, one may add, to a large extent the study of Netherlandish book illustration. Since it also ignores the question of the selection of objects found and the reasons for their appearance, Ringbom's analysis seems, however, no less "aesthetic."

But the existence of trompe l'oeil illusionism in the margins of pages altogether lacking miniatures would indicate that Ringbom's and Pächt's hypotheses need to be questioned. The three constituent elements appear in various combinations other than the tripartite arrangement described by Pächt. Even more frequently there are found pages with illusionistic borders and text but without a miniature (figs. 12–15). There are also pages in which the miniature is shown not as through a "window" but rather with the same sort of trompe l'oeil illusionism as the border, whose fictive space they seem to share (fig. 16), or with no marked recession into space (fig. 17). Miniatures depicted as if seen "through a window" are frequently found on pages that lack a text altogether but nonetheless have trompe l'oeil borders (figs. 18–20).

The system of representation in which naturalia are placed immediately next to a text that lacks a central miniature is most closely related to Hoefnagel's considerably later work (compare figs. 1–4 and 12). Other illusionistic devices, such as the depiction of stalks of flowers or plants penetrating a page, appear both in the earlier Ghent-Bruges manuscripts and in Hoefnagel's codex (compare figs. 3–4 and figs. 15 and 21). It is therefore hard to accept an argument for a historical development that leads away from this type of bipartite page organization, since this type of presentation continues to be found at the end as well as at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The relation of Hoefnagel's Getty codex to the Ghent-Bruges manuscript tradition thus throws open the question of historical evolution. Pächt's historical model implies a certain teleological bias, in which the supposedly more inventive stages of development are more highly regarded. Although Pächt thought that the Ghent-Bruges school had revived the tradition of manuscript illumination, his explanatory model still retained the

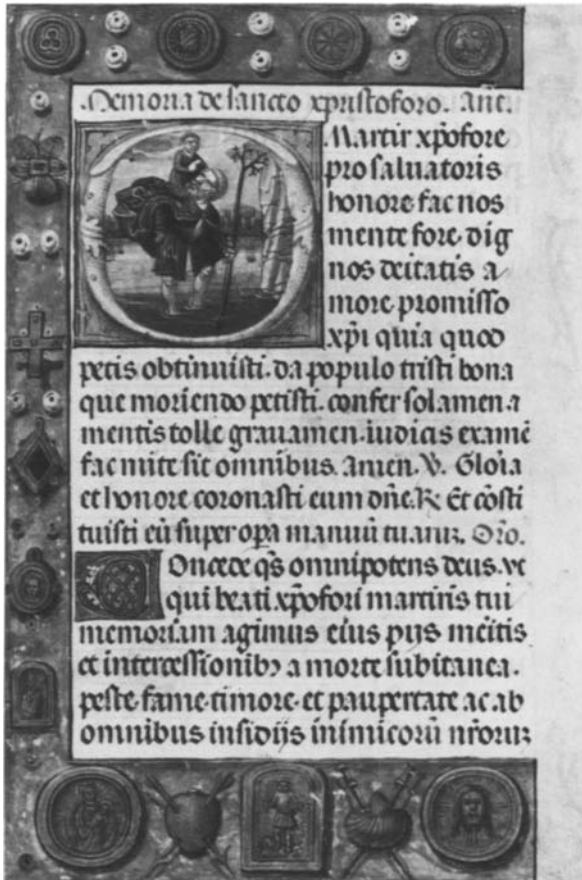


Figure 11. *Saint Christopher*, with shells, pearls, and pilgrim badges painted to seem as if pinned and sewn onto the page. Book of hours. Ghent-Bruges, circa 1530. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Ms. II 5941, fol. 95v.



Figure 12. Text with trompe l'oeil border. Hours of Engelbert of Nassau. Master of Mary of Burgundy and workshop, last quarter of the fifteenth century. Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. 219, fol. 57r.

conception that book painting had suffered a decline. He therefore argued that already with the later Ghent-Bruges manuscripts (those of the early sixteenth century), book painting no longer offered a suitable medium for the artistic ideas of the time.²⁵ But the obviously high quality of Hoefnagel's painting in the late sixteenth century, and his sophisticated and witty play with illusionistic devices, would seem to contradict the thesis that his work is a product of decline. Rather, the later temporal position of Hoefnagel's codex in the history of still life suggests that the outpouring of "energies," as Pächt put it, found in Ghent-Bruges manuscript illumination, continued through sixteenth-century book painting right up to the seventeenth century.²⁶ The curve of naturalistic book illumination may be plotted in a different trajectory against the course of development of independent still-life painting on panels.²⁷

The other major hypotheses that have been advanced in place of Pächt's and Ringbom's theses are no less

questionable. Several scholars have offered the suggestion that there may be a relation of the objects represented in the margins to the miniatures or the text or that the objects may have symbolic meanings.²⁸ Frank Büttner has attempted to connect the iconographic programs of the border decorations of late medieval manuscripts more closely to the textual content and miniatures.²⁹ However, when these examples are carefully examined, it begins to seem unlikely that the creatures and objects found in the margins of books of the Ghent-Bruges school could be related to the text on the page, any more than Hoefnagel's creatures could; in any case, this argument remains to be demonstrated more convincingly. Similarly, the arguments of Clark Hulse for a "spiritual rhetoric" that binds the miniature to the framing elements in the work of the Master of Mary of Burgundy would seem not to apply in many cases.³⁰ All of these proposals share the assumption that the text, miniature image, and border are related, and that the development of illusionism in the naturalistic margins

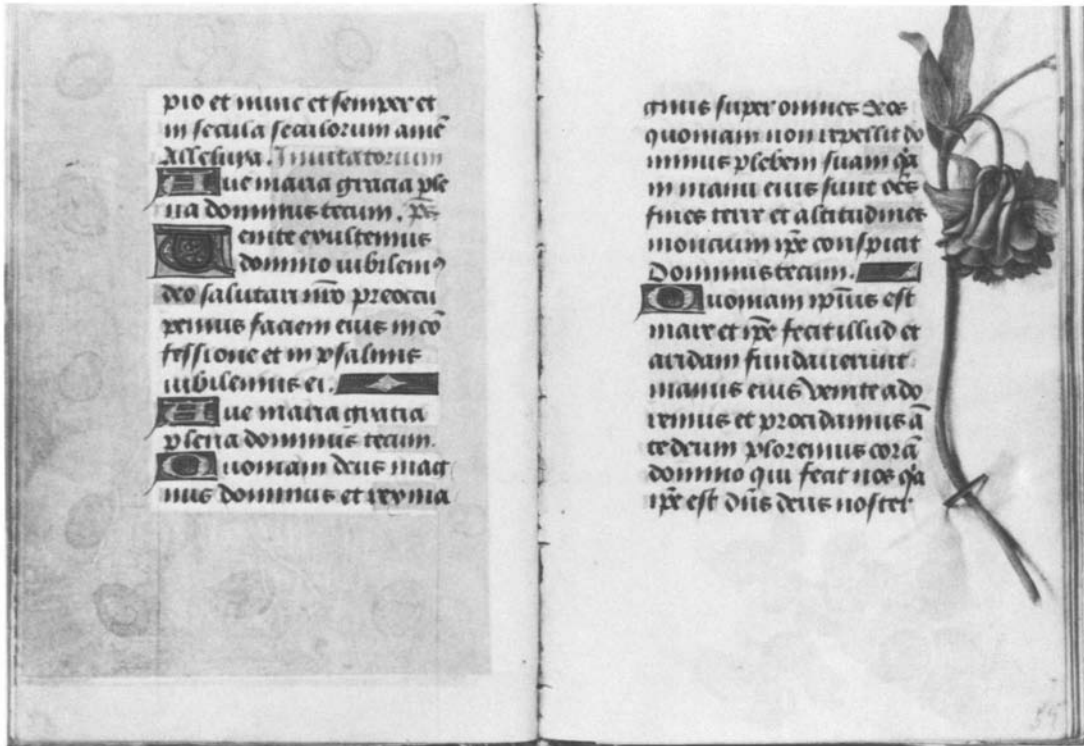


Figure 13. Text with painted flower depicted pinned onto the page. Illumination by Georg Hoefnagel. Hours of Philip of Cleves. Sander Bening and workshop, before 1483. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Ms. IV 40, fols. 56v–57r.

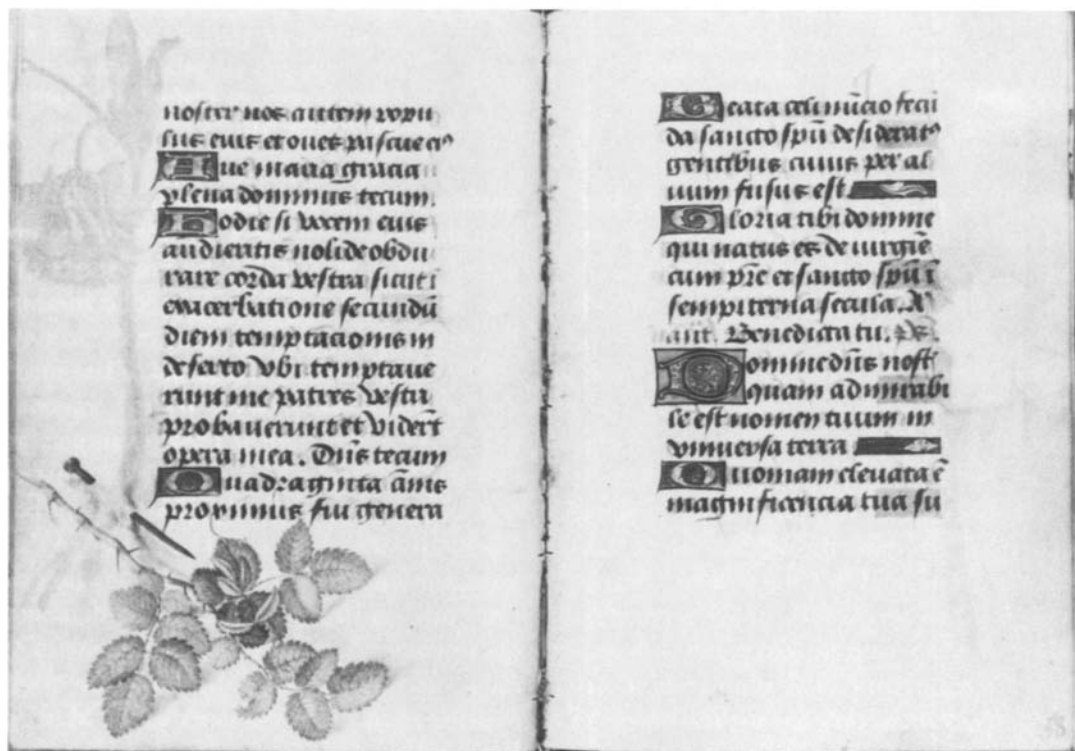


Figure 14. Text with pin painted to suggest it attaches the flower to the page (verso of fol. 57r, fig. 13). Illumination by Georg Hoefnagel.

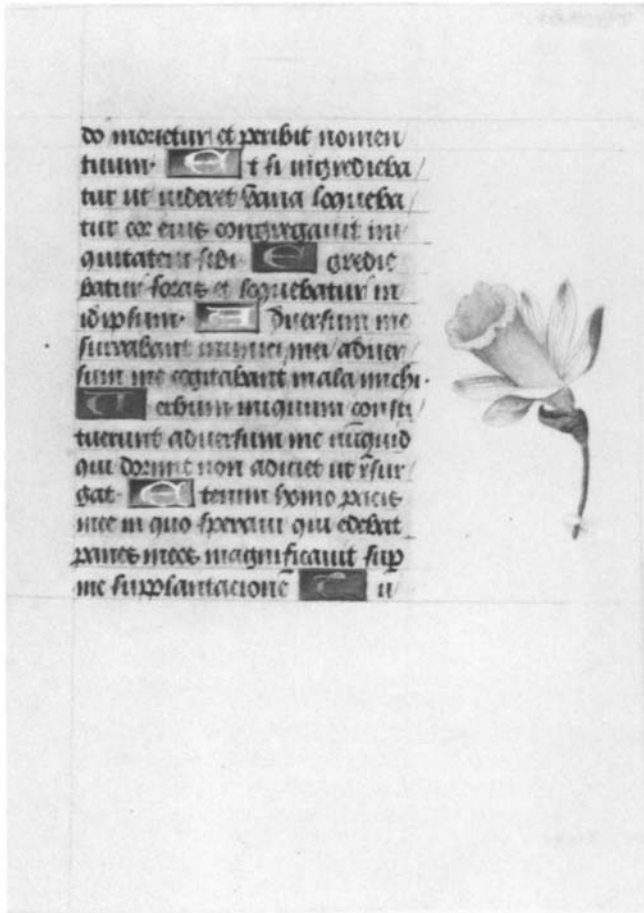


Figure 15. Text page and border with daffodil. Book of hours. Follower of Simon Marmion, circa 1490. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 23240, fol. 179r.



Figure 16. Text with *coquille Saint-Jacques* painted on the border. Book of hours. Simon Bening and workshop, circa 1500. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 28345, fol. 265r.

and in the interior miniature are associated. But these connections remain unproved and seem doubtful.

Whatever the merits of these arguments for explaining what is undoubtedly a complex phenomenon, we would like to suggest that the development of illusionism in the margins of books may be related to the function of these books. Like Hoefnagel's codices, the richly illuminated Ghent-Bruges manuscripts were made to be *Prachthandschriften*: they are splendid, precious items. Many of them were created originally for aristocratic patrons, such as Mary of Burgundy. Even when we come across works that may have been made for the market, we can assume that it could only have been a very rich man or woman indeed who could have afforded to possess such books.

Even more importantly—and in this they are to be distinguished from Hoefnagel's Getty manuscript—illuminated Ghent-Bruges manuscripts can be associated with devotional practices of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Many of them are books of

hours or other works intended for private devotion. As such, they may be better seen in the context of personal piety. As with certain liturgical objects and ecclesiastical ornaments, the production of this kind of book in such a sumptuous form may have been considered appropriate for its devotional use,³¹ at the same time that the work may also have demonstrated the owner's piety.³² Since they were intended for private devotion, devotional books could develop “a freedom in composition and contents.”³³ And this applies to their decoration as well as to their texts.

Private devotion is one familiar aspect of the religious life of the later Middle Ages; pilgrimage, defined as journeys to holy places or shrines, is another. In fact, these two tendencies seem to have converged in books of hours of the late fifteenth century. As the researches of Kurt Köster have demonstrated, devotional books seem to have been taken on pilgrimages. Köster has shown that they even became repositories for devotional images and pilgrim badges collected by



Figure 17. *The Virgin and Child*, with pilgrim badges, holy images, and other devotionalia painted on the border. Hours of Engelbert of Nassau. Master of Mary of Burgundy and workshop, last quarter of the fifteenth century. Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. 219, fol. 16v.



Figure 18. *The Annunciation*. Hours of Engelbert of Nassau. Master of Mary of Burgundy and workshop, last quarter of the fifteenth century. Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. 219, fol. 94v.

pilgrims at the sites they visited. These practices are evident in several well-known examples found in earlier, well-worn books of hours, some of which were made as early as the first part of the fourteenth century.

Beside the evidence that wear provides for their frequent use, and therefore for the personal significance they possessed for their owners, some of these books bear traces of other functions and associations. The habit of collecting pilgrim badges within a book goes beyond earlier practices such as that of attaching precious or holy objects to the cover of a manuscript. The less precious objects with which we are now concerned were collected and attached to the pages inside a book. Köster has shown that this phenomenon was part of a widespread practice in which metal pilgrimage devotional objects and other small devotional images, pictures, and medals, were actually sewn or pinned into manuscripts.³⁴

Many of these objects can even be identified with the actual pilgrimage sites to which the owners of the books presumably journeyed. Significantly, the pilgrimage devotionalia that have been found by Köster and Joachim Plotzek³⁵ most frequently appear in books of hours. When their original ownership has been as-



Figure 19. *The Descent of the Holy Spirit*, with pilgrim badges, holy images, and other devotionalia painted on the border. Hours of Louis Quarré. Sander Bening and workshop, circa 1488. Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Douce 311, fol. 21v.



Figure 20. *The Return from the Flight into Egypt*, with pilgrim badges and devotional images painted on the border. Book of hours. Simon Bening and workshop, first quarter of the sixteenth century. Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Museum L.A. 210, fol. 55v.

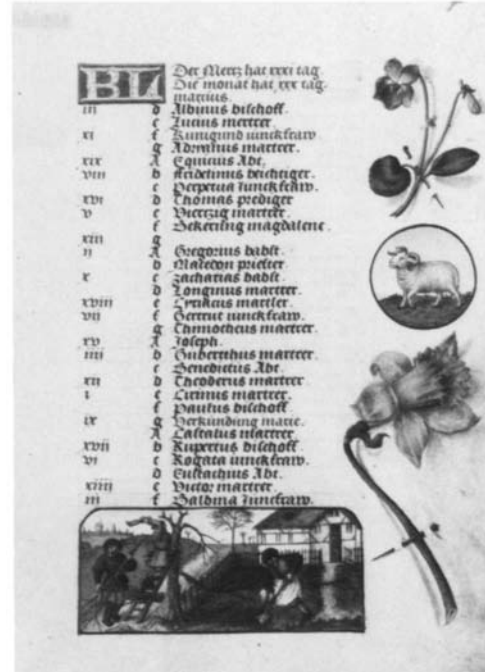


Figure 21. Calendar page for March. Book of hours. Ghent-Bruges, 1520–1530. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 2730, fol. 7r.



Figure 22. Pilgrim badge sewn onto page, with signature of Ferdinand I (detail). Prayer Book of Emperor Ferdinand I (hours and psalter). North French, early fourteenth century. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. S.N. 2596, fol. 1v.

certained, the books most often prove to have been made for the Burgundian dukes, members of their circle, or their Habsburg successors, who are known to have made many pilgrimages and whose piety is otherwise well demonstrated.³⁶

For example, we find a devotional badge with the name *Ferdinando* above the badge pasted in a book of hours from the beginning of the fourteenth century: *Ferdinando* is the signature of Emperor Ferdinand I, father of Maximilian II and grandfather of Rudolf II, Hoefnagel's patron (fig. 22).³⁷ This juxtaposition of badge and signature suggests both the emperor's personal attachment to this pilgrimage image and the practice he is likely to have followed in using the book in which the inscription appears as an object of devotion while on pilgrimages. He probably acquired the badge beneath his signature at a pilgrimage site. In other books from the Burgundian circle there are examples of this practice: traces of medallions and other images can, for instance, be found bordering the image of the Virgin in the so-called Prayer Book of Philip the Bold, from the second half of the fourteenth and the fifteenth century (figs. 23–24).³⁸ The practice continued into the sixteenth century; evidence of it can be found in the



Figure 23. *The Madonna on the Moon*. Prayer Book of Philip the Bold. French, circa 1415. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Ms. 11035, fol. 6v.

Hours of Emperor Ferdinand I (fig. 25).³⁹ We have also discovered evidence for the presence of a collection of pilgrim badges in an early-sixteenth-century book of hours at Princeton University (fig. 26). In this volume, the badges were not sewn in and there are no holes suggesting that they were pinned in; rather, the impressions left on the folios to either side of the objects indicate clearly that the objects were simply inserted in the books and were probably present there from a very early time.⁴⁰ Moreover, the blank pages at the beginning of the manuscript seem to have been included for the purpose of containing such items. Thus, the practice of collecting devotionalia at pilgrimage sites and of inserting them in books of hours seems to have continued even after these objects came to be depicted in the borders of such books.

This practice of inserting devotionalia and other images leads to a consideration of their relationship to devotional books.⁴¹ Tokens gathered on pilgrimages be-



Figure 24. Reconstruction of figure 23, with the location of badges indicated. From K. Köster, "Kollektionen metallener Wallfahrts-Devotionalien und kleiner Andachtsbilder," in *Das Buch und sein Haus I*. (Festschrift Gerhard Liebers) (Wiesbaden, 1979).

came invested with efficacious powers. It is likely that the presence of these images, like the miniatures in the books themselves, was intended to inspire pious contemplation, as well as to recall the memory of the pilgrimage itself and the holy image that was its goal.⁴² So the process of recollection and inspiration that images facilitated seems to have provided an impetus for the collecting of devotionalia, in addition to the specific anthropological functions that they fulfilled, including the apotropaic, prophylactic, and talismanic uses that recent literature related to this question has examined.⁴³

Some of the first Ghent-Bruges manuscripts with trompe l'oeil depictions in the margins imitate the very devotionalia—including painted crosses, religious medallions and plaquettes, pilgrim badges, and pilgrimage emblems—that are found attached to the pages



Figure 25. Pilgrim badges sewn onto page (detail). Hours of Emperor Ferdinand I. Flemish, circa 1520. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. S.N. 2624, fol. 253r.

of the earlier devotional manuscripts. Köster has identified many of these painted pilgrim badges with actual sites. He has also shown that these kinds of illustrations had appeared in manuscripts perhaps by the late 1470s, and they are known from many familiar examples of the 1480s, including the Hours of Philip of Cleves (figs. 9, 10, 13, 14)⁴⁴ and the Hours of Louis Quarré (fig. 19).⁴⁵ This tradition continued into the sixteenth century; elaborate and detailed depictions of religious medallions are found, for instance, in a book of hours in the Gulbenkian collection (fig. 20).

Depictions of pilgrim tokens and many other types of devotionalia seem to have occurred primarily in Ghent-Bruges manuscripts, which provide both the framework and the limits for the following discussion.⁴⁶ The association of these manuscripts with pilgrimages is also made manifest by the appearance of scallop shells, the so-called *coquille Saint-Jacques* or *pecten Jacobaeus*, laid out on pages, as for example in a Munich book of hours by Simon Bening (fig. 16).⁴⁷

These shells are reminders of the most famous medieval pilgrimage, that to Santiago de Compostela in Spain; pilgrims to the site often wore the scallop shell associated with the saint. Furthermore, it appears that saints associated with pilgrimage journeys, like Christopher, and others whose cults were the object of devotion at certain pilgrimage sites, like Jodocus, Gertrude, Adrian, and especially James, are particularly numerous in the calendars and suffrages in some of these manuscripts.⁴⁸

The depiction of these objects was not intended to be merely symbolic.⁴⁹ A number of illusionistic details suggest that they were specifically meant to recall the objects carried or collected on pilgrimage, like the shells attached to the pilgrim's hat or the devotionalia brought home. In some manuscripts, a painted hole can be seen in the top of the shell, or the shells are depicted as being pinned onto the page (fig. 11).⁵⁰ These representations remind us of the presence in manuscripts of actual objects from pilgrimages.

When we find devotional objects painted in such a way that the artist's creation of an illusion suggests that they are sewn or attached with a pin to the page, we may ask if this particular sort of *trompe l'oeil* decoration does not in fact imitate the earlier practice of attaching precisely this type of object to a book. This intriguing possibility, first suggested in passing by Joachim Plotzek, has been the impetus for our research, based on his and Köster's observations and our own discoveries. We have compiled evidence that the *trompe l'oeil* images have their origins in the actual practice of attaching objects to the page.⁵¹

One piece of evidence strongly suggesting that *trompe l'oeil* images copy collections of actual devotionalia is provided by the comparison of the metal badges that were sewn around an image of the Virgin and Child in the fifteenth-century Hours of Philip the Bold (fig. 23) and the painted badges around the images of the Virgin in the Hours of Engelbert of Nassau and the Hours of Philip of Cleves (figs. 17, 9). These examples demonstrate that the images of the Virgin were popular places both for the addition of actual pilgrim badges and then, later, for their *trompe l'oeil* imitations. This practice may be related to the special devotion to the Virgin that is, after all, reflected in the popularity of pilgrimage sites devoted to her and is embodied in the very texts of books of hours themselves: a major section of each book of hours is dedicated to the Hours of the Virgin.⁵² Marian devotion may also be associated with particular aspects of illusionism in earlier books of hours, such as a page in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves, where the owner's own rosary, an object specifically connected with Marian de-

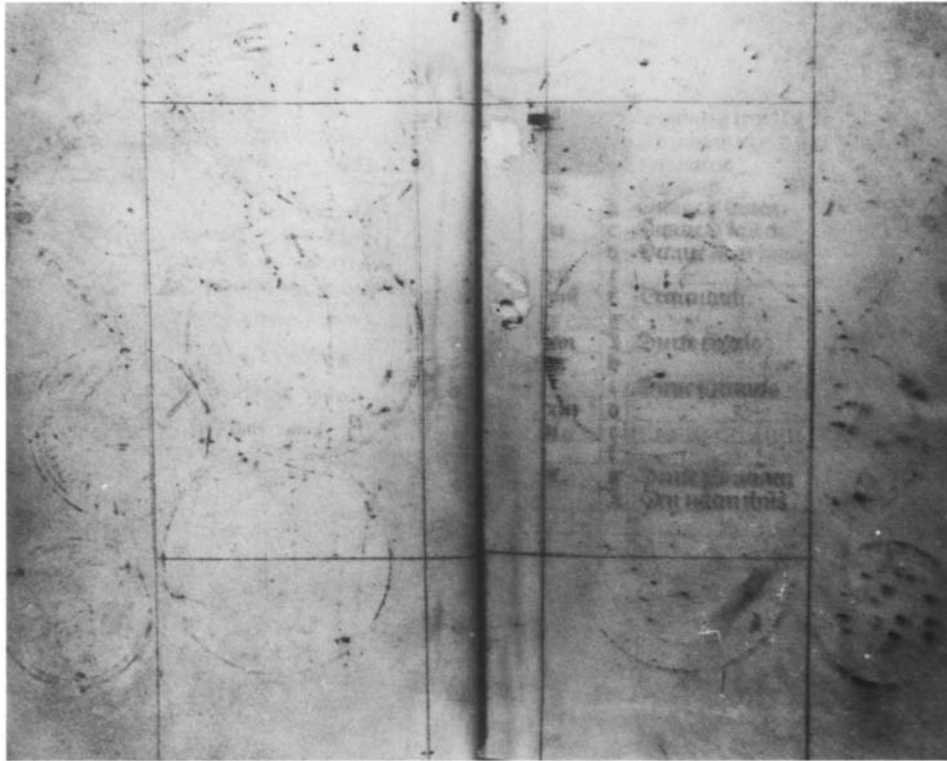


Figure 26. Impressions left by pilgrim badges pressed into manuscript. Book of hours. Ghent-Bruges, circa 1500. Princeton University, Firestone Library, Garrett 59, fols. 2v–3r.

votions, is probably represented in the margins of a page containing a scene of the Adoration of the Magi (fig. 7). The relation of painted badges to pilgrimages is also suggested by their appearance around images associated with journeys, such as depictions of Saint Christopher (fig. 11) or of the story of the Flight into Egypt (fig. 20).⁵³

Another, very personal and private use of the earlier, original manuscripts in which the actual pilgrimage objects were found suggests other possibilities for interpretation of trompe l'oeil imagery. The prayer book of Emperor Charles V, Rudolf II's maternal grandfather, contained—in addition to pilgrimage badges and devotional images—entries referring to details of family history. Besides these sorts of entries, in the book of hours made by artists of the Ghent-Bruges school for Archduke (later Emperor) Ferdinand I (circa 1520), there are also found family records and memorials, and even, in an envelope, a piece of his spouse Anna's veil.⁵⁴

The presence of these kinds of personal memorabilia in such a large number of books of hours suggests a common custom of collecting and preserving a wide variety of such objects in devotional books.⁵⁵ This leads to a further hypothesis that other objects illustrated in the margins of Ghent-Bruges manuscripts, in addition

to the badges already mentioned, also represent objects that had actually been preserved in manuscripts. Trompe l'oeil images of naturalia such as insects, flowers, and peacock feathers may represent items collected by the devout, together with the badges collected during pilgrimages. Indeed, these objects are painted in the margins of the very same manuscripts in which trompe l'oeil pilgrim badges and other devotionalia associated with pilgrimages have already been observed. For example, all of these naturalia appear in both the Hours of Engelbert of Nassau (figs. 8, 12, 17, 18) and the Hours of Philip of Cleves (figs. 9, 10, 13, 14).

Other scholars have already encountered flowers and insects pressed in books of hours, where they may have been placed early in the history of the book, but they have not accounted for the presence of these objects.⁵⁶ There is much evidence for the practice of collecting such objects in books from later times. Already in the sixteenth century in Italy, botanists had begun to collect dried specimens of plants and to place them in books, which are called *herbaria sicca*.⁵⁷ In an eighteenth-century German florilegium, both painted and real pressed plants appear, suggesting that a fictive image and an actual object were interchangeable in this context.⁵⁸ We may also recall the practice of pressing plants,

flowers, and even insects into books that are of personal significance, a practice unconnected with botanical interests.⁵⁹

Scholars of illuminated manuscripts have rarely concerned themselves with the use of books for such purposes. Köster provides the notable exception: he systematically recorded the occurrence of actual pilgrim badges in some devotional books, along with painted images of them. He did not, however, discuss the reasons why these objects were collected or replicated in books of hours, nor did he mention either collected or painted naturalia. It might even be said that art historical and textual researches have tended to neglect the objects preserved in books. It is to be expected, however, that if scholarship turns its attention more intensely to such issues, more objects will be found in books of hours. Contrary to popular belief, in illuminated manuscripts there was no separation of the sacred and what seems to us the secular realms. All things in nature might be considered to have belonged to the sacred.

There is much evidence that pilgrims brought back with them more than just tokens and religious images. The place of pilgrimage was regarded as a holy place, a bit of nature that had been sanctified by the appearance of the divine. The association of the sacred with a particular place could be extended to the other objects, or other sites, including flowers, trees, caves, and ruins. We know that near pilgrimage sites, or other holy places, crosses and other devotional objects were left by the devout. Furthermore, in the fifteenth century, ceremonies of sacrifice, confirmation, and consecration sometimes took place at numinous sites, such as crossroads, ruins, woods, and fountains.⁶⁰ Among objects brought home from pilgrimage there were not only holy oils and waters, tokens and other devotional images; there were also bits of earth, stones, plants, flowers, dust, and parts of the holy sites themselves.⁶¹ These objects, like the pilgrim badges, could presumably stimulate devotion. The association of flowers with devotion is suggested by one of the key manuscripts under discussion, the Hours of Engelbert of Nassau, in images of both Mary of Burgundy (fol. 1v) and Saint Barbara (fol. 41r; fig. 8) at their devotions. In these images, objects that were aids to contemplation are depicted near the pious ladies. Mary holds and reads her manuscript, most likely a book of hours, beside a ledge on which lie several objects. Next to her is her rosary; beside it are two cut flowers, reminiscent of the very cut flowers that appear in a similar random fashion in the margins of the manuscript. Next to them is a vase containing more cut flowers. If these flowers had

affective powers, how much more would those flowers have possessed that had been collected on pilgrimage and had thereby been sanctified by association with a holy locus or journey.⁶²

As a recent study of medieval pilgrimage has reminded us, a pilgrimage, defined as a journey for a religious motive, is the possession of a space by means of religious behavior.⁶³ In short, the pilgrimage is a sacralization of the space in which the pilgrim journeys. According to this frame of reference, objects collected along the way gain significance through their association with the pilgrimage.

Returning to the depiction of such objects in *trompe l'oeil*, we would suggest that when we find pearls and other gems painted in books of hours, we can assume that they have a traditional association with the holy images near which they appear. But other objects, such as peacock feathers or flowers, herbs, and even insects (especially butterflies), might represent objects collected on pilgrimages. We believe that it is possible that in addition to pilgrim badges and devotional images, some of the other objects depicted in the borders of Ghent-Bruges manuscripts might also illustrate items that were brought back from pilgrimages, including such remarkable forms as butterflies and dragonflies (figs. 8, 12) and peacock feathers (fig. 18). Flowers or insects may not only have provided ample opportunities for artists to display their virtuosity and mastery of illusionism; they may also have been presented as copies of actual specimens collected while on pilgrimage.

Several particular aspects of the *trompe l'oeil* devices found in manuscript margins point to this possibility. Many items are painted at their actual size, with cast shadows that enhance their verisimilitude. Not only are flowers shown in borders; for the first time in manuscript illumination, they are depicted as if they had actually been cut or plucked. Flowers and insects are often shown as if they had been laid out flat on the page, even seeming to have been pressed between the leaves of a volume. Others are shown as if they had been attached or stuck through the page, much like the practice with pilgrim badges, which are depicted as if they had been pinned to the page. It also seems significant that attached flowers of this sort are found, along with the other naturalia already mentioned, primarily in Ghent-Bruges manuscripts, such as a book of hours in Vienna (fig. 21)⁶⁴ and another in Munich (fig. 15).⁶⁵ Though this sort of representation could become a fashion or provide an excuse for virtuoso display (like the depiction of the notorious fly that disports itself on the panel or page), we would suggest that such plant and flower material found in Ghent-Bruges borders was inspired

by the pilgrims' practice of collecting flora.

We can only speculate as to how this artistic practice originated. Perhaps the image itself was meant as a substitute for the actual object, in much the same way that a badge stood for the cult image seen by the pilgrim. Like the figural images often found in the same Ghent-Bruges manuscripts, the marginalia may even have been believed to partake in the power of the original image, especially if the representation closely resembled the original. Perhaps the trompe l'oeil images of pilgrim badges and of naturalia associated with pilgrimage could also inspire recollection and devotion. Their depiction in life-size trompe l'oeil would certainly have stimulated memory most effectively, and recollection of the experience of a pilgrimage would, in turn, certainly have stimulated devout thoughts. If the actual pilgrim badges and devotionalia, as well as pressed flowers and other naturalia, had earlier been collected as mementos that could aid memory and devotion, the painted versions could have performed the same functions, but with certain advantages: they did not damage the book the way that actual objects would have, and a flower or insect, soon to wilt or decay, was more lastingly preserved by being painted than by being pressed between the pages of a book.⁶⁶

To return to Hoefnagel, Hoefnagel's manuscripts and the procedures they reveal provide evidence of natural objects being attached to illuminated manuscripts, at the same time that they demonstrate certain different practices. We may recall that several of the trompe l'oeil devices used by Hoefnagel suggest that flowers and plants were actually kept in the pages of books. Hoefnagel frequently employed the device of showing a flower, bud, or plant whose stem is shown in such a way that it seems to pierce the page. In several instances in codices by the artist now in Washington, D.C., and in the Getty Museum manuscript, the verso of the folio depicts the part of the plant that would have been seen on the reverse. Significantly, these plants are shown as living specimens, not dried ones (figs. 3–4).⁶⁷ In the Hours of Philip of Cleves, a Ghent-Bruges manuscript in which there had already been depicted pilgrim badges, peacock feathers, and pages with jewels, not only did Hoefnagel himself add trompe l'oeil devices such as the flower seen from both sides of a page; he also showed flowers and insects as if they had been pressed into the book. Hoefnagel's comments in this manuscript indicate that he was familiar with earlier Netherlandish works and was aware of their artistic origins.

Another remarkable feature is found in the Washington volume known as *Ignis (Fire)*, which contains

depictions of insects; this feature suggests that Hoefnagel's manuscripts may reflect earlier practices, as in the Munich, Vienna, or Philip of Cleves manuscripts. On several of the pages on which insects are shown, the actual wings of the creatures represented have been glued onto the page next to the body of the creature represented (fig. 27). The combination of painted and three-dimensional form, of the fictive and real, indicates that this is a further step in the history of naturalistic illumination in which the use of illusionistic devices might be regarded as a display of wit. Given the artist's ties with tradition, they also suggest that he was continuing an earlier practice.

In this regard, it is important to consider that, with the exception of the Hours of Philip of Cleves, the decoration of which Hoefnagel completed, and the missal he illuminated on commission for Archduke Ferdinand (of the Tyrol), Hoefnagel's marginalia are not executed in manuscripts intended for private devotion. While the Bocskay codices in Vienna and Malibu contain some specimens of sacred texts, they are handwriting model books. And while the texts in the manuscripts of the *Four Elements* now in Washington are also in part derived from the Bible, they are incorporated into emblems. Although these works still possess some spiritual, or rather ethical, associations, they are not sacred in the manner of traditional books of hours.

One must keep in mind that Hoefnagel was working after the historical divide of the Reformation. For Protestants of the later sixteenth century, devotional books such as the book of hours had ceased to be in use. Religious devotion was directed instead to reading the Bible. Theological texts, including the works of Luther and Melancthon, became the focus of attention. One of these texts was Melancthon's *Loci communes rerum theologicorum*, his book of theological commonplaces. Its accumulation of biblical texts and theological doctrines may be considered in a certain sense to have replaced the Catholic prayer books, including books of hours.

It was often in copies of this work that a new form of book originated: the *Stammbuch*, known in Latin as an *album amicorum* and in English as an autograph album. Stammbücher could be employed for family or personal matters, for example, to record family histories; earlier prayer books, such as Ferdinand I's, had performed this function, just as Bibles have in more recent times. Another, more familiar use of Stammbücher was to collect signatures, impressions, or images made by acquaintances and friends during travels. The fashion of keeping Stammbücher seems to have begun with students at Protestant universities, who for these purposes used extra blank pages that had been inserted into copies of the

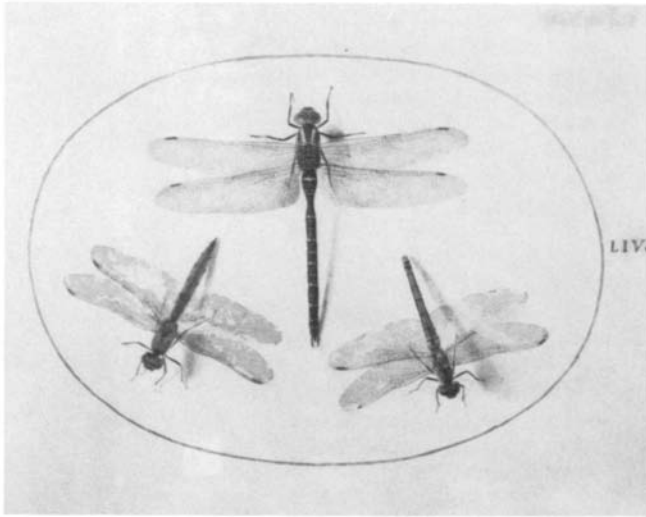


Figure 27. Georg Hoefnagel. *Painted Dragonflies with Real Wings Attached*. From *Animalia rationalia et insecta (Ignis)*, vol. 1, pl. LIV. Watercolor and gouache, with gold oval border, on vellum, 14.3 x 18 x 4 cm (5⁵/₈ x 7¹/₄ x 1¹/₂ in.). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art 1987.20.555, gift of Mrs. Lessing J. Rosenwald.

Loci communes. However, their travels did not take them on religious pilgrimages of a traditional sort; it would be the signature of a worthy professor or theologian, not a sanctified piece of nature, that would have a place in such a book.⁶⁸ And yet, *mutatis mutandis*, it may still be said that in this way books with religious associations retained their function as places for collecting and preserving objects, even after a time of confessional change. Eventually *Stammbücher* lost this connection, and the practice of keeping autograph books became widespread among travelers and sedentary folk alike, among those with theological interests and those with secular.

The development of this sort of book, with whose production Hoefnagel can also be identified, further helps to place his work within its tradition. While Hoefnagel's confessional allegiance remains somewhat unclear, he was most probably not a Catholic. When Hoefnagel went on trips—and he was a frequent traveler—they were not holy pilgrimages. Instead, he went on voyages to gain information and experience. The topographical views he made on his voyages were not imbued with sacred significance. And the miniatures with naturalistic content that he frequently made as *Stammbuchblätter* (entries in autograph albums) for his friends were full of another philosophical and religious view of the world, one that can be related to associations with humanists and interests in natural history,

political moderation, and religious irenicism.⁶⁹

Despite the evident connections that scholars have pointed out between Hoefnagel and Ghent-Bruges manuscripts, there is in fact a considerable distance between them. Although philosophical and religious elements are no doubt still present in Hoefnagel's manuscripts, other interests increasingly motivate the artist's depiction of nature. The world of nature is beginning to be desanctified. With Hoefnagel, we are on the way to the development of the still life that is independent of sacred associations, to the investigation of matter and of the processes of the natural world considered as ends in themselves. We are approaching the "scientific revolution" of the seventeenth century, with its view of a material, desanctified universe.

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NOTES

1. This paper is based on a lecture written by the two authors and originally delivered by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann at the J. Paul Getty Museum on January 10, 1990, and then translated into German and delivered by the same lecturer at the University of Zurich on May 7, 1990.
2. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.MV.527 (shelf no. Ms. 20), 150 fols., 16.6 x 12.4 cm (6⁵/₈ x 4⁷/₈ in.). This manuscript has been previously published by F. Ritter, "Ein Wiener Schriftmusterbuch aus dem 16. Jahrhundert mit Miniaturmalereien," *Mitteilungen des K. K. Österreichischen Museums für Kunst und Industrie, Monatsschrift für Kunstgewerbe*, N.F. 2, no. 17 (1887), pp. 336–342; E. Kris, "Georg Hoefnagel und der Wissenschaftliche Naturalismus" in *Festschrift für Julius Schlosser*, ed. A. Weixlgärtner and L. Planiscig (Vienna, 1927), p. 244; I. Bergström, *Dutch Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. C. Hedstrom and G. Taylor (London, 1956), p. 32; T. Szánto, "Ein grosser Schreibe-künstler des XVI. Jahrhunderts," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1963, p. 38; T. A. G. Wilberg Vignau-Schuurman, *Die emblematischen Elemente im Werke Joris Hoefnagels* (Leiden, 1969), vol. 1, p. 9; vol. 2, p. 11, n. 3; T. DaCosta Kaufmann, *L'école de Prague, La peinture à la cour de Rodolphe II* (Paris, 1985), pp. 248–249, cat. 9–9; I. Bergström, "On Georg Hoefnagel's Manner of Working, with Notes on the Influence of the Archetypa Series of 1592," in *Netherlandish Mannerism* (Stockholm, 1985), pp. 177, 178, fig. 3; T. DaCosta Kaufmann, *The School of Prague: Painting at the Court of Rudolf II* (Chicago and London, 1988), pp. 85, 207–208, cat. 9.9; L. Hendrix, "An Introduction to Hoefnagel and

- Bocskay's *Model Book of Calligraphy* in the J. Paul Getty Museum," in *Prag um 1600. Beiträge zur Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Rudolfs II.* (Freren, 1988), pp. 110–117; *Prag um 1600, Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Kaiser Rudolfs II.*, exh. cat. (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 1988–1989; Freren, 1988), pp. 132–133, cat. 600 (entry by T. Vignau-Wilberg).
3. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe 975; for this manuscript, see chiefly Wilberg Vignau-Schuurman (note 2), with references to earlier publications. Subsequent publications of this manuscript include DaCosta Kaufmann *L'école de Prague* (note 2), p. 247, cat. 9–5; Bergström (note 2), p. 177ff.; Kaufmann, *School of Prague* (note 2), p. 205, cat. 9.5; *Prag um 1600* (note 2), pp. 130–132, cat. 599.
 4. For the background to the view of Rudolf II's patronage presented here, see Kaufmann, *The School of Prague* (note 2).
 5. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 56c; see *Ashmolean Museum Annual Report*, 1951, p. 63; I. Bergström, *Maestros Espanoles de Bodegones y Floreros del Siglo XVII* (Madrid, 1970), p. 49, fig. 34; idem, "Flower-pieces of Radial Composition in European 16th and 17th Century Art," in *Album Amicorum J. G. Van Gelder* (The Hague, 1973), p. 22; *Stilleben in Europa*, exh. cat. (Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster, 1979–1980; Staatliche Kunsthalle, Baden-Baden, 1980), pp. 26, 556, no. 3; L. J. Bol, "'Goede onbekenden'. hedendaagse herkenning en waardering van verscholen, voobijgezien en onderschat talent," *Tableau 3* (1980), p. 445, fig. 10; F. Koreny, *Albrecht Dürer und die Tier- und Pflanzenstudien der Renaissance*, exh. cat. (Graphische Sammlung Albertina Vienna, 1985), pp. 24–249, cat. 91; *Prag um 1600, Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Rudolfs II.*, exh. cat. (Kulturstiftung Ruhr Essen, 1988), p. 359, cat. 222.
 6. See for example the inventory references cited in *The School of Prague* (note 2), pp. 210, 214. A good discussion of the issue of Hoefnagel's possible independent still lifes is found in Bol (note 5), p. 444ff.
 7. Bergström, *Dutch Still-Life Painting* (note 2), p. 36ff. Bergström presents the archival and visual evidence for still-life paintings by Hoefnagel. Though one of the existing works that he proposes cannot be credibly attributed to Hoefnagel, there has, however, recently come onto the art market in Paris a large still life in miniature that is the size of a painting, signed Hoefnagel, and dated 1610; therefore most likely a work by Joris's son, Jacob. This painting is discussed in T. DaCosta Kaufmann, "Addenda Rudolphina," in the *Festschrift* for Miklos Mojzer (forthcoming).
 8. For Savery and other nature painters in Prague, see the summary in DaCosta Kaufmann, *The School of Prague* (note 2), pp. 74–89, with further references. Other examples of independent still-life painting in miniature were executed by Netherlandish artists for Rudolf II, including paintings in a manuscript by Jacques II de Gheyn (Paris, Institut Néerlandais), for which see F. Hopper, "Jacques de Gheyn II and Rudolf II's Collection of Nature Drawings," in *Prag um 1660, Beiträge zur Kunst und Kultur* (note 2), pp. 124–131. See also the studies cited in the next notes.
 9. The most extensive comments on these subjects will no doubt soon appear in the introduction to the facsimile of the Getty manuscript being prepared by Dr. Lee Hendrix of the Getty Museum and Dr. Thea Vignau-Wilberg of Munich. We may, however, briefly note some of the general lines of interpretation that have already been made of Hoefnagel's work. In Dr. Vignau-Wilberg's dissertation (T. A. G. Wilberg Vignau-Schuurman, "Die Emblematischen Elemente im Werke Joris Hoefnagels" [Leiden, 1969]), which was devoted chiefly to the Bocskay codex now in Vienna that may be considered a mate to the Getty codex, she discusses at length the humanistic elements in Hoefnagel's emblems: Vignau-Wilberg demonstrates both the classical and biblical sources of his and Hoefnagel's other manuscripts. In her own doctoral dissertation (M. L. Hendrix, "Joris Hoefnagel and the *Four Elements*: A Study in Sixteenth-Century Nature Painting" [Princeton University, 1984]), which was largely about the Washington manuscripts, Dr. Lee Hendrix discusses the specific naturalistic qualities of these manuscripts: she was the first to point out that the sources of most of the images had been taken not directly from observation of nature but from earlier Netherlandish and German illustrations. In this regard, Dr. Hendrix transformed the older discussions of Hoefnagel's works as products of scientific naturalism. (These discussions had specifically cited the Getty Museum manuscript.) While correcting this earlier view, Hendrix emphasizes the ornamental quality of Hoefnagel's designs, something we can appreciate from the way the marginal decoration of the Getty manuscript often functions to set off the text. Both of these authors have also discussed the general symbolic content of Hoefnagel's works. To their comments have been added interpretations of the philosophical, that is Neo-Stoic, politically moderate, religious, and rhetorical aspects of the manuscripts, as a kind of competitive emulation of earlier sources, in T. DaCosta Kaufmann, "The Nature of Imitation: Hoefnagel on Dürer," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 82–83 (1986–1987) (published 1989), pp. 163–187.
 10. The most comprehensive discussion of this question remains the still-unpublished dissertation of Hendrix (note 9), which has been in part corrected by P. Dreyer, "Zeichnungen von Hans Verhagen dem Stummen von Antwerpen. Ein Beitrag zu den Vorlagen der Tierminiaturen Hans Bols and Georg Hoefnagels," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 82/83 (1986–1987) (published 1989), pp. 115–144. See also D. Thoss, "Georg Hoefnagel und seine Beziehungen zur Gent-Brügger Buchmalerei," *ibid.*, pp. 199–211.
 11. The relation of Hoefnagel's use of trompe l'oeil devices to that of the earlier tradition of book illumination in Hoefnagel's additions to the fifteenth-century hours of Philip of Cleves is noted by L. Delaissé, *Le siècle d'or de la miniature flamande*, exh. cat. (Brussels, 1959), cat. 274; Bol (note 5), p. 444; *Quinze années d'acquisitions* (Brussels, 1969), no. 93; T. Vignau-Wilberg, "Die Randilluminationen und Initialen," in *Das Gebetbuch Kurfürst Maximilians I. von Bayern. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München Clm 23646* (Frankfurt and Stuttgart, n.d. [1986]), p. 85, n. 15; and Thoss (note 10). Neither Vignau-Wilberg nor, more significantly, Thoss cites the discussion of this issue in Bol or in Hendrix (note 9), pp. 37–39; 84, n. 28; p. 209, n. 7.
 12. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M 944: C. Eisler, introduction to *The Prayer Book of Michelino da Besozzo* (New York, 1981).
 13. Chantilly, Musée Condé Ms 28, fol. 168v; see for a convenient illustration M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbours and Their Contemporaries* (London, 1974), pl. vol., ill. 592.
 14. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M. 917 and M. 945: J. Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (New York, 1966); F. Gorissen, *Das Stundenbuch der Katherina von Kleve: Analyse und Kommentar* (Berlin, 1973); R. G. Calkins, "Parallels Between Incunabula and Manuscripts from the Circle of the Master of Catherine of Cleves," *Oud Holland* 92 (1978), pp. 137–160; idem, "Distribution of Labor: The Illuminators of the Hours of Catherine of Cleves and Their Workshop," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 69 (1979), pt. 5; A. Châtelet, *Les primitifs hollandais: la peinture dans les Pays-Bas du Nord au XV^e siècle* (Freiburg, 1980), pp. 51–59; *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, exh. cat. (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1990), nos. 45–46, pp. 152–157.
 15. Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek Ms. 400; *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting* (note 14), no. 48, pp. 160–170, ill. 77.
 16. A. H. van Buren, "The Master of Mary of Burgundy and His Colleagues: The State of Research and Questions of Method," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 38 (1975), p. 309.

17. E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Development* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 28.
18. O. Pächt, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy* (London, 1948), esp. pp. 19, 25ff.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
21. Van Buren (note 16), p. 288.
22. S. Ringbom, *From Icon to Narrative*, Acta Academiae Aboensis, ser. A, vol. 31, no. 2 (Abo, 1965), p. 198f.
23. C. Hulse, *The Rule of Art: Literature and Painting in the Renaissance* (Chicago and London, 1990), p. 53.
24. Van Buren (note 16), p. 288.
25. Pächt (note 18), p. 42.
26. For Pächt's argument, see his *Master of Mary of Burgundy* (note 18), p. 32.
27. See *ibid.*, pp. 32, 42.
28. Van Buren (note 16), p. 306; and also Vignau-Wilberg (note 11), pp. 97, 101–104.
29. F. Büttner, "Ikonographisches Eigengut der Randzier in spätmittelalterlichen Handschriften: Inhalte und Programme," *Scriptorium* 49 (1975), p. 197ff.
30. Hulse (note 23), p. 49ff.
31. For similar arguments regarding the patronage of liturgical or devotional objects, see H. (Virginia) Roehrig Kaufmann et al., *Eucharistic Vessels of the Middle Ages*, exh. cat. (Busch-Reisinger Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1975), pp. 14–15; E. Klemm, "Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des 12. Jahrhundert," in *Regensburger Buchmalerei. Von frühkarolingischer Zeit bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, exh. cat. (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, 1987), pp. 42–43.
32. V. Reinburg, "Prayer and the Book of Hours," in R. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, exh. cat. (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 1988), pp. 39–44, esp. p. 40.
33. It has been argued that they had this freedom because they were relatively free from liturgical bounds or clerical control; see Ringbom (note 22), p. 31.
34. K. Köster, "Religiöse Medaillen und Wallfahrts-Devotionalien in der flämischen Buchmalerei des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts. Zur Kenntnis gemalter und wirklicher Kollektionen in spätmittelalterlichen Gebetbuch-Handschriften," in *Buch und Welt, Festschrift für Gustav Hofmann zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht* (Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 459, 532, and *idem*, "Kollektionen metallener Wallfahrts-Devotionalien und kleiner Andachtsbilder, eingenäht in spätmittelalterliche Gebetbuch-Handschriften," in *Das Buch und sein Haus I. (Festschrift Gerhard Liebers)* (Wiesbaden, 1979), pp. 77–130.
35. J. M. Plotzek, *Andachtsbücher des Mittelalters aus Privatbesitz*, exh. cat. (Schnitzgen Museum, Cologne, 1987), pp. 51–54.
36. Köster, "Metallener Wallfahrts-Devotionalien" (note 34), p. 110, makes this point about provenance.
37. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Ms. Ser. Nov. 2596, fol. 1v: Köster, "Medaillen" (note 34), pp. 485–486; O. Pächt and D. Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften der ÖNB: Französische Schule*, vol. I (Vienna, 1974), text, p. 130; plates, nos. 191 and 221; Köster, "Metallener Wallfahrts-Devotionalien" (note 34), p. 107.
38. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Ms. 11035, fol. 6v: F. Lyna, "Un livre de prières inconnu de Philippe le Hardi (Bruxelles, Ms. 11035–37)," *Mélanges Hulin de Loo* (Brussels, 1931), pp. 249–259; C. Gaspar and F. Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1937 and 1945), I: pp. 419–423; II: pl. XCVIIIa; *Trésors de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique* (Brussels, 1958), p. 43f., no. 19; Köster, "Metallener Wallfahrts-Devotionalien" (note 34), pp. 87–95.
Another example from this period is provided by the special devotion of members of the House of Burgundy to the Holy Face (Vera Icon). For instance, Margaret of Bavaria was well known for adding devotional images of the Veronica to her books of hours: see M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* (London and New York, 1967), p. 201, ill. 666; and Gaspar and Lyna, pp. 403, 421.
39. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. Ser. Nov. 2624: E. von Sacken, *Die K. K. Ambraser-Sammlung*, vol. 2 (Vienna, 1855), p. 211; Köster, "Medaillen" (note 34), pp. 486–487; *idem*, "Metallener Wallfahrts-Devotionalien" (note 34), pp. 108–110.
40. Princeton University Library Garrett Ms. 59: P. Webber, "Medieval Netherlandic Manuscripts in Princeton University Library," *Archief- en Bibliotheekwezen in België* 53 (1982), pp. 101–105; A. Bennett, J. Preston, and W. Stoneman, *The Word Illuminated: A Selection of Religious Medieval Manuscripts at Princeton* (forthcoming).
41. For a consideration of the notion of devotionalia, see L. Kriss-Rettenbeck, "Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte der Devotionalien," in *Umgang mit Sachen. Zur Kulturgeschichte des Dinggebrauchs (Regensburger Schriften zur Volkskunde*, vol. 1 (Regensburg, 1983), pp. 213–234.
42. A similar phenomenon has been recorded with respect to objects collected at Buddhist pilgrimage sites (S. Tambiah, *Forest Monks and the Cult of Amulets* [Cambridge, 1985]). For help with anthropological evidence, we would like to thank James Boon of Princeton University and Luis Millones, Lima, Peru.
43. See L. and R. Kriss-Rettenbeck and I. Ilich, "Homo Viator—Ideen und Wirklichkeiten," in *Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen. Themen zu einer Ausstellung des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums und des Adalbert Stifter Vereins, München* (Munich and Zurich, 1984), pp. 10–22, and D. Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago and London, 1989), pp. 99–135.
44. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Ms. IV 40: E. Laloire, "Le livre d'heures de Philippe de Clèves et de la Marck, Seigneur de Ravestein," in *Les arts anciens de Flandres*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1906), pp. 172–187; Köster, "Medaillen" (note 34), pp. 464–465; *Quinze ans d'acquisition*, exh. cat. (Brussels, 1969), no. 93; Bol (note 5), p. 444, ill. 9; Hendrix (note 9), pp. 37–39, 175; Vignau-Wilberg (note 11), pp. 85–87; Thoss (note 10).
45. Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Douce 311: O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, vol. 1: *German, Dutch, Flemish, French and Spanish Schools* (Oxford, 1966), no. 362, p. 27; Köster, "Medaillen" (note 34), pp. 465–467; P. Wescher, "Beiträge zu Sanders und Simon Bening und Gerard Horenbout," *Festschrift Friedrich Winkler* (1959), pp. 126–135; Pächt (note 18), p. 60.
46. Köster, "Medaillen" (note 34) and *idem*, "Gemalte Kollektionen von Pilgerzeichen und religiösen Medaillen in flämischen Gebet- und Stundenbüchern des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts. Neue Funde in Handschriften der Gent-Brügger Schule," in *Liber Amicorum Herman Liebaers*, ed. F. van Wijngaerden et al. (Brussels, 1984), pp. 485–517.
47. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. Lat. 28345: F. Winkler, *Die flämische Buchmalerei des XV, und XVI Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1925), p. 187; Köster, "Medaillen" (note 34), pp. 469–471.
48. We are grateful to Adelaide Bennett Hagens for sharing this observation with us with respect to Garrett 59 of the Firestone Library, Princeton University (see note 40).
49. Köster has identified many of the badges illustrated in books of hours and provided a catalogue of the most frequently identified badges; "Medaillen" (note 34), pp. 489–499.
50. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Ms. II 5941: Köster, "Medaillen" (note 34), p. 476.
51. Plotzek (note 35), p. 52. The importance of Plotzek's suggestion is emphasized in a review by V. R. Kaufmann in *Speculum* 65

- (1990), p. 487.
52. For overviews of Marian devotion, see L. S. Beissel, *Die Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland während des Mittelalters* (Freiburg i. B., 1909), and H. Greiff, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion* (London and New York, 1964).
 53. Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Inv. L.A. 210: Köster, "Medallien" (note 34), pp. 474–476.
 54. Köster, "Metallener Wallfahrts-Devotionalien" (note 34), p. 108.
 55. V. Reinburg, "Popular Prayers in Late Medieval and Early Reformation France," Ph.D. diss. (Princeton University, 1985), passim; Plotzek (note 35), pp. 51–52, 83ff.
 56. We are grateful to James Marrow for informing us of his unpublished discoveries of flowers and insects in books of hours, and for his many helpful suggestions that aided our researches.
 57. In his comments on the botanical and horticultural aspects of Hoefnagel's Getty codex, to appear in the commentary on the facsimile publication of the manuscript, D. Onno Wijnands notes that the "tradition of preserving plant specimens in a *herbarium siccum* originated in Tuscany during the time of Luca Ghini's (1490–1556) teaching at Bologna and Pisa."
 58. Heidrun Ludwig has kindly pointed out to us that *Blütenblätter* are found pressed in the pages of an anonymous flower book of the eighteenth century that also contains paintings of flowers and plants: (library of the) Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, 2* Hs 137 689, fol. 26 and 104.
 59. For other aspects of man's changing relation to nature, see K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England, 1500–1800* (London, 1983), especially pp. 223–241, for attitudes about plants and flowers.
 60. See L. Kriss-Rettenbeck, *Ex Voto. Zeichen Bild und Abbild im christlichen Votivbrauchtum* (Zurich and Freiburg i. Br., 1972), pp. 36–39.
 61. See for example J. Zihlman, "Was sie von Einsiedeln heimbrachten. Religiös-Volkskundliches über Wallfahrtsandenken," in *Der Hinterländer. Heimatkundliche Beilage des Willisauer Boten* 14, no. 5 (1976), pp. 33–37. (We would like to thank Professor P. C. Claussen for assistance in obtaining a copy of this article.) See also Kriss-Rettenbeck et al. (note 41), p. 15, with further references on p. 21, ns. 36, 44.
 62. Anthropological evidence from non-European pilgrimage sites provides further evidence that flowers and other naturalia collected at pilgrimage sites have been considered holy. Sites abound in South America, for example, where flowers are picked and sold as devotional objects, as we are informed by Professor Luis Millones.
 63. M. H. Vicaire, "Les trois itinéraires du pèlerinage au xiii^e et xiv^e siècle," in *Le pèlerinage (Cahier de Fanjeaux)* 15 (Toulouse and Fanjeaux, 1980), p. 18:

On peut définir le pèlerinage de façon tout à fait générale: une marche pour motif religieux. Comme tel, le pèlerinage est une prise de possession de l'espace dans une intention et par un comportement religieux, une sacralisation de cet espace et des gestes qui s'efforcent de le dominer.

For more on the relation of images and pilgrimage, see V. Turner and E. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York, 1978).

64. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 2730: Thoss (note 10), p. 204ff, ill. 115, 221; idem, *Flämische Buchmalerei. Handschriftenschatze aus dem Burgunderreich*, exh. cat. (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, 1987), no. 84, pp. 130–131, ill. 103.
65. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 23240: Thoss (note 10), p. 204ff, ill. 214.
66. Mary Carruthers's suggestion that marginal decoration such as we are discussing here was intended as an aid to memory was

brought to our attention during the last stages of preparation of this article. While her remarks are not specifically concerned with pilgrimage or the memory of a devotional experience, her points would seem to lend support to our thesis. See *The Book of Memory: A Study of Medieval Memory Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 246–248.

67. This point should be emphasized, because Wijnands wishes to consider Hoefnagel's collection of drawings of living plants a *herbarium vivum coloribus pictum* that mimics a *herbarium siccum*. Yet Hoefnagel's plants are in fact different from these other examples precisely in that they are shown as alive rather than dried, and in this regard they can be better compared not to the tradition of the herbal but the book of hours. Moreover, the illusionistic devices found in this sort of book antedate the origins of the *herbarium siccum*. (The Hours of Philip of Cleves must date from the 1480s at the latest.)
68. For a treatment of the origins of Stammbücher in this regard, see P. Amelung, "Die Stammbücher des 16./17. Jahrhunderts als Quelle der Kultur- und Kunstgeschichte," in *Zeichnung in Deutschland. Deutsche Zeichner 1540–1640*, ed. H. Geissler; exh. cat. (Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, 1979), vol. 2, pp. 211–222, with extensive references.
Hulse (note 23), p. 41ff., regards emblem books as having replaced books of hours.
69. For Hoefnagel's beliefs, see Vignau-Wilberg Schuurman (note 9), Hendrix (note 9), and Kaufmann (note 9).

“Mea Sorte Contentus”: Rombout Verhulst’s *Portrait of Jacob van Reygersbergh*

Frits Scholten

After the middle of the seventeenth century, interest in sculpture in the Netherlands grew markedly. High-quality funeral monuments were erected, commissioned privately as well as by the state, while at the same time the demand for garden sculpture increased significantly. More and more, sculptural portraits came to be preferred. One of the most important busts of this period was acquired in 1984 by the Getty Museum: the portrait of Jacob van Reygersbergh by Rombout Verhulst, made in 1671 (figs. 1a–c). Two aspects of this work will be discussed in this article: the sitter and his background and the original function of the bust.

There were various reasons for the increasing interest in sculpture after 1650. One general factor, of course, was the great economic growth that the Netherlands experienced, especially after the Treaty of Munster (1648), enabling the upper and middle classes to enjoy new luxury. At the same time, the rise of classicism, which manifested itself in diverse cultural forms from the 1630s on, played an important role. In the circles around Prince Frederick Henry of Orange in The Hague, the court style developed a more international orientation. François Dieussart (circa 1600–1661), from the Southern Netherlands, was the foremost representative of court sculpture, particularly because of his classical portraits of the prince and his entourage.¹

However, the most important stimulus to the interest in sculpture was the new town hall of Amsterdam, built between 1648 and 1660 in a classicizing style, as a manifestation of the power of what was virtually a city-state. In 1650, the Antwerp sculptor Artus Quellinus (1609–1668) settled in Amsterdam, invited by the city council to carry out an extensive sculptural decoration program for the new town hall. Quellinus stayed in Amsterdam for almost fifteen years, heading up a studio that could boast of some of the city’s most talented young sculptors. Apart from producing the work for the town hall, Quellinus’s studio also took on a great deal of sculptural work for the government, for churches, and for private patrons.² The contribution of Quellinus to the development of Dutch portrait sculpture

is especially impressive: a series of portraits of Amsterdam burgomasters and their wives and a majestic bust of the Grand Pensionary of Holland, Johan de Witt, make up an important part of this ancillary production. In these portraits Quellinus combined a classical, monumental idiom with some of the latest Baroque compositional devices, such as the inclusion of the arms of the sitter.³ The impression that Quellinus’s sculpture made in Amsterdam is perhaps best expressed in the numerous poems that Joost van den Vondel and Jan Vos dedicated to his work. They particularly praised the mayoral portraits of “Artus Fidias” for their psychological eloquence.⁴

Rombout Verhulst (1625–1698) was born in Mechelen and for the most part trained in the Quellinus studio in Amsterdam. It was Verhulst, above all, who profited from the favorable climate for sculpture in the Netherlands in the first decades after 1650. He developed his master’s teaching into a very personal style. Verhulst’s handling of marble is generally richer than that of Quellinus, with a greater variation of texture. His sculpture is usually more realistic than the work of Quellinus and makes less use of the dramatic. He became a specialist in tomb sculpture, portraits, and garden sculpture and was particularly innovative in the arrangement of marble funeral ensembles. A group of church monuments erected to naval heroes and private individuals forms the core of his oeuvre.⁵ After his Amsterdam period, from 1650 to 1658, he worked in Leiden until 1664. He then moved to The Hague, where he stayed until his death. With the exception of his funeral portraits and related terra-cotta studies, the portrait oeuvre of Verhulst is remarkably small. This indicates that the market for sculpted busts in Holland was relatively limited in the second half of the seventeenth century. Only one portrait, thought to represent Artus Quellinus, is known from his Amsterdam period.⁶ This marble portrait is fully signed and is dated 1656. A terra-cotta *modello* of this work also exists.⁷ However, both versions of the portrait lack the psychological impact of the Amsterdam portraits by Quellinus, mainly



Figure 1a. Rombout Verhulst (Dutch, 1624–1698). *Portrait of Jacob van Reygersbergh*, 1671. Marble, H: 63 cm (24³/₄ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 84.SA.743.



Figure 1b. Side view of figure 1a.



Figure 1c. Detail of figure 1a.

because of the dull handling of the surface and the size of the busts. Both portraits may be seen as examples of Verhulst's development toward increasing naturalism and away from (presumed) Italian influence.⁸ The blank eyeballs, on the other hand, can be accounted for by the classicism that still dominated the Amsterdam artistic scene.

The 1673 portrait of Vice-Admiral Sweers is the only independent bust by Verhulst that was incorporated in a funeral monument (fig. 3). The portrait itself has a rather sharp and "dry" quality that could indicate that the work was executed by pupils. The Sweers bust follows a standard type of portrait, comprising a block-shaped socle that is connected to the bust by formal drapery: in fact, it is a simplified form of the type Quellinus introduced in Amsterdam for his series of Amsterdam burgomasters. In this respect, the Sweers bust can best be compared with Quellinus's 1658 portrait of Nicolaes Witsen, now in the Louvre.

The only other signed busts in Verhulst's oeuvre are the dynastic set of four portraits of three princes of

Orange and Mary Stuart, all dating from 1683.⁹ Scholars have doubted the authenticity of these works on the basis of their low quality and lack of inspiration.¹⁰ On the other hand, the fact that Verhulst's will of 1697 lists a model of the portrait of King William of Orange indicates that he did indeed produce this kind of court sculpture. Nevertheless, these four Orange-Stuart portraits do not provide a standard of comparison for the general level of Verhulst's output.

Another portrait that can be attributed to Verhulst is the impressive bust of the Jewish banker Antonio Lopes Suasso (1614–1685) (fig. 4), who lived in The Hague and was closely linked to the court of King William of Orange.¹¹ Stylistic features such as the treatment of the large *allongé* wig and the drapery, as well as the smooth and naturalistic finish of the face, are characteristic of his style. Even a remarkably realistic detail, the slightly opened mouth, fits the stylistic repertory of the sculptor. In a less prominent way this motif can be found on the effigy of the funeral monument to Johan van Kerckhoven of 1663. The attribution of the Suasso bust to



Figure 2. Rombout Verhulst. *Portrait of Jacob van Reygersbergh (modello)*, 1671. Terra-cotta, H: 55 cm (21 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum N.M. 11557.

Rombout Verhulst is supported by the fact that the Suasso family also possessed a garden statue of Juno by Verhulst.¹² The restrained but successful way in which the sculptor has conveyed the character of the sitter in the whole design of the bust makes it one of the finer examples of late-seventeenth-century Dutch sculpture. The modern, French-style dress of the sitter points to a date for this bust well into the last quarter of the century, probably shortly before Suasso's death in 1685.

Finally, four terra-cotta busts by, or ascribed to, Verhulst should be mentioned. First there are the two 1663 portraits of Willem van Liere and Maria van Reygersbergh, undoubtedly made as studies for the effigies on the funeral monument in Katwijk (figs. 5–6) but at the same time intended as independent busts.¹³ Second, we have two anonymous male portraits, likely to have been *modelli* for marble busts. One of them could well represent an Amsterdam regent, being a mature version of the so-called “Artus Quellinus” bust and following the standard “Amsterdam composition scheme,” as described above.¹⁴ The other portrait was convincingly attributed to Verhulst and likely dates from the 1660s.¹⁵ The conviction with which the sitter has been depicted and the persuasiveness of the work as a portrait estab-



Figure 3. Rombout Verhulst. *Monument to Vice-Admiral Isaac Sweers*, 1673. Marble. Amsterdam, Oude Kerk. Photo: Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, Zeist.

lish this bust as one of the finer examples of Verhulst's portrait style.

Verhulst's portrait of Jacob van Reygersbergh (figs. 1a–c) is outstanding among these extant works and pre-eminently demonstrates the virtuosity and naturalism of his style.¹⁶ These are expressed in the calm and yet monumental character of the portrait and in the careful finish of the marble surface. The tender plasticity of the face, turned to the right, is characteristic of Verhulst: the portrait seems almost to have been modeled in marble. The suppression of every tendency to idealize is apparent both in the representation of the iris and pupil in the eyeball and in the noticeable lump in the corner of the right eye (fig. 1b).¹⁷ The hair is given little depth and is carved in flowing locks, almost like dough, a

stylistic feature of the sculptor also found in most of his funeral portraits. The smooth finish of the armor—which could only be worn by the nobility—and the attention to detail in the lace *cravate* are in strong contrast to the texture of the face.

There is also a terra-cotta version of this portrait of van Reygersbergh that differs from the marble bust only in details (fig. 2).¹⁸ This version undoubtedly served as a *modello*, after which the sculptor carved his marble portrait. Comparison of the *modello* and the marble bust points up the great technical skill of the sculptor. Details modeled in clay are copied in marble with apparent ease, without in any way compromising the characteristics of the sitter. The *modello* was probably handed over to the sitter with the completed portrait and continued its own life as an independent piece of sculpture. This procedure is documented for other works by Verhulst.¹⁹

The problem of the relation between the socle and the truncation of the bust is formally resolved by using two symmetrical volutes in auricular style, which are supported by a blocklike socle. This formal truncation is new and unusual in Dutch classicist portrait sculpture after Hendrik de Keyser (1565–1621).²⁰ In his Amsterdam portraits, Quellinus introduced a subtle and apparently natural form, in which the socle is largely hidden by a hanging drape, held up by a bent arm. This was, of course, the result of his knowledge of the latest developments in Roman Baroque portrait sculpture.²¹ Dieusart had, in his Hague period, already made use of such a modern scheme, although the socle still remained visible.²² Given this development, Verhulst's choice of a formal framing of the van Reygersbergh bust is somewhat unexpected.

The 1671 portrait of Jacob van Reygersbergh is the last known work of a series of commissions that Rombout Verhulst received from a small circle of patrons. This group was close-knit through family and professional ties. Recent research into Verhulst's patronage has brought to light an important network of private patrons in Holland between 1660 and 1670. It seems that Verhulst was very dependent on such private patronage during his time in Leiden and The Hague and that the sources of his patronage shifted from Amsterdam to The Hague.²³ The role of the van Reygersbergh family was probably decisive in securing these commissions.

Jacob van Reygersbergh came from the province of Zeeland, as inscribed on the back of the bust.²⁴ He was born on April 10, 1625, in Middelburg, son of Johan van Reygersbergh (circa 1573–1632) and Jacoba de Waerd. His father studied law at the recently founded University of Leiden. One of his fellow students was Hugo



Figure 4. Rombout Verhulst. *Portrait of Antonio Lopes Suasso*, 1680–1685. Marble, H: 77 cm (30¼ in.). Amsterdam, Joods Historisch Museum 86000560.

Grotius, the famous Dutch law scholar who later fled to France because of his political ideas. Grotius married a member of the van Reygersbergh family, but his exact relation to Johan and his son Jacob is not clear. After his studies, Johan van Reygersbergh took up the post of bailiff for Zeeland, a high position in the civil service of one of the most prosperous provinces of the Netherlands.

His son Jacob van Reygersbergh married Maria van Gheel (b. 1632), the daughter of a patrician family with strong ties in Amsterdam. Maria bore Jacob two children, Jacoba and Johan. Jacoba was also destined to marry a member of the van Gheel family.²⁵ The inscription on the bust informs us that Jacob was sent to the States General at The Hague as representative of the province of Zeeland on September 17, 1663. This was undoubtedly the climax of his political career, establishing the role of the van Reygersbergh family in provincial and national politics.

We know little about Jacob's other activities. His position in the Assembly of the United Provinces (the States General) implies that he was also a member of the Provincial States of Zeeland. As a representative of his province he was a director of the Admiralty. Moreover, Jacob was the owner of the manors of Couwerve



Figure 5. Rombout Verhulst. *Portrait of Maria van Reygersbergh (modello)*, circa 1663. Terra-cotta, H: 45 cm (17⁵/₈ in.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum N.M. 11957b.

and Crabbedijke and the castle of Westhove near Domburg, all in Zeeland. He carried the title of Lord of Couwerve and Crabbedijke.²⁶

These provincial links did not prevent him from establishing himself in Voorburg near The Hague in 1660. He acquired the small country residence Fonteyenburg on the Vliet for the sum of 1,000 guilders on January 5 of the same year.²⁷ During the seventeenth century many country houses were built by wealthy citizens of The Hague, Delft, and Leiden along the river Vliet. This kind of *villeggiatura* was a manifestation of the changing social life of the Dutch upper-middle class. In 1667, van Reygersbergh even bought a second country house, Leeuwenbergh, from the Hague notary and mayor Kettingh. This residence still exists, although nineteenth-century alterations have completely changed its appearance. Both of these houses along the Vliet were sold by Jacob van Reygersbergh's children five years after his death.²⁸

In 1663 Rombout Verhulst completed a funeral monument for Maria van Reygersbergh (fig. 5), to be erected in the church of Katwijk-Binnen. Maria was a sister of Jacob's and widow of Willem van Liere, Lord of Katwijk. It was the first private commission for such a large-scale work in the second half of the seventeenth century (fig. 6). The figure of Willem van Liere is

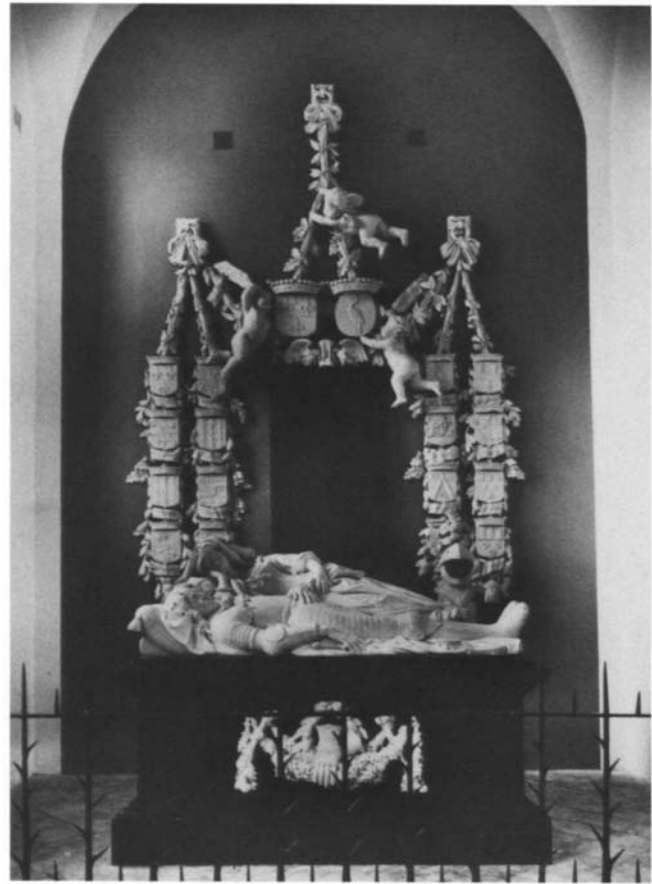


Figure 6. Rombout Verhulst. *Monument to Willem van Liere and Maria van Reygersbergh*, 1663. Marble. Katwijk-Binnen, Reformed Church. Photo: Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, Zeist.

shown as *gisant* with the mourning figure of his widow, Maria, as *demi-gisant*, surrounded by coats of arms and putti. Such a new and imposing monument must have made a deep impression, and indeed, a year later Verhulst was to be given a new commission: a similar monument of two recumbent effigies for the deceased Groningen nobleman Carel Hieronymus van In- en Kniphuisen, commissioned by his widow, Anna van Ewsum. The monument was erected in the little church of Midwolde in 1669. There seems to be little doubt that Jacob van Reygersbergh played a role in the initiation of this second monument. Carel van In- en Kniphuisen had been the representative for Groningen in the States General in 1663, the same meeting at which Jacob van Reygersbergh represented Zeeland. The two men must have known each other well, and the erection of the monument in Katwijk-Binnen, with which Jacob van Reygersbergh was certainly acquainted through his sister, must therefore have also been known to the Groningen widow Anna van Ewsum. It may well be possi-



Figure 7. Rombout Verhulst. *Monument to Johannis van Gheel*, 1668. Marble. Spanbroek, Reformed Church. Photo: Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, Zeist.

ble that Jacob van Reygersbergh took the initiative, unusual in itself, to suggest to Anna van Ewsum that she should order a monument, and he may even have put her in touch with Rombout Verhulst.²⁹

In 1668, Verhulst received the commission for a mural monument in memory of Johannis van Gheel, Lord of Spanbroek, who died in that same year (fig. 7). A family tie with Jacob van Reygersbergh may also have influenced the creation of this monument: Johannis van Gheel was the father-in-law of Jacob van Reygersbergh. It is not known whether van Gheel decided, while still alive, to have this monument erected, inspired by the van Reygersbergh monument in Katwijk-Binnen, or whether his children took the initiative. In either case, the influence of van Reygersbergh seems inevitable.

Little more than a year later, Verhulst delivered a mural monument for the Zeeland aristocrat Hendrik Thibaut; his wife, Isabella Porrenae; and their daughter, Jacoba (fig. 8). Here again, the relationship with the van Reygersbergh family is significant: Jacoba Thibaut

was married to David van Reygersbergh, a nephew of Jacob van Reygersbergh. What is more, there was also a connection between the Thibaut family and that of van Gheel.³⁰ These family connections and the clear similarity between the mural monuments to Thibaut and to van Gheel of the year before make another good case for Jacob van Reygersbergh as the link to Verhulst.

The Getty Museum bust of 1671 must be seen against the background of these four private monuments by Verhulst, in which van Reygersbergh is likely to have played a major role. The obvious reason for this commission could have been the wish to have a portrait done by Verhulst, the sculptor especially favored in van Reygersbergh's circle. More particularly, it might have been the terra-cotta busts of his sister Maria (fig. 5) and her deceased husband that inspired the portrait of van Reygersbergh. The desire for a funeral monument may have prompted van Reygersbergh to commission the bust. But if it was unusual in seventeenth-century Holland to have a private funeral monument erected, it was



Figure 8. Rombout Verhulst. *Monument to Hendrik Thibaut, Isabella Porrenaeer, and Jacoba Thibaut, 1669. Marble. Aagtekerke, Reformed Church. Photo: Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, Zeist.*

even more unusual to order a portrait bust. There is, therefore, reason to pose the question of what motivated Jacob van Reygersbergh to have a portrait of himself made in marble.

Most of the independent portrait busts made in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century had a representational character. They appeared almost exclusively in court circles at The Hague or in the classically inspired milieu of the Amsterdam regents. These institutions were the most highly respected and powerful in the country. Van Reygersbergh did not belong to them. The only other sculpted portraits of any significance made during the period are found in a funeral context. Thus, there is some reason to suppose that the bust of Jacob van Reygersbergh was made with the intention of incorporating it into a monument after his death.³¹

Before 1671, Verhulst experimented with portrait medallions in relief for some mural monuments. These led, in 1673, to the first mural monument, which included a portrait bust: the memorial to Vice-Admiral

Isaac Sweers in the Oude Kerk of Amsterdam (fig. 3).³² This type of monument had not been seen before in the Netherlands; Verhulst must have been acquainted with foreign examples.³³ The possibility that the bust of Jacob van Reygersbergh was originally intended for such a monument, even though it was never built, fits well into the typological development of Verhulst's oeuvre. The unusual truncation of the Getty Museum bust, present too in the terra-cotta *modello* and thus conceived as part of the work at the outset, can be explained by the intention to place it in the context of a mural monument. In a niche, surrounded by a marble cartouche (a general feature of Verhulst's funeral monuments), the two volutes joining the bust at the socle can also be seen as a connection between the bust and the frame of a niche.³⁴

After the death of Jacob van Reygersbergh in 1675, an inscription was added on the back of the bust, the kind of text found on a tomb to identify the subject. It was probably written at the same time as the Latin device

on the front of the socle: *MEA SORTE CONTENTUS* ("I am content with my lot"). This motto would have been an appropriate expression of the Neostoicism of van Reygersbergh. It would only gain its full meaning after his death. Similar texts are often found on tombs.³⁵ The post mortem addition of the inscription on the back and the front of this bust could indicate that the original idea was relinquished of integrating the bust in a much larger monument with a fittingly extended text. The inscriptions emphasize the memorial quality of the bust, which thus acquires the character of a cenotaph, without compromising the original significance of the work as a representative portrait. Indeed, the contentment with life and the acceptance of death expressed by the Latin motto lend an explicit significance to Verhulst's depiction of the Zeeland regent as calm and introspective.

With the bust of Jacob van Reygersbergh—whether an independent work or a part of a larger funeral monument—the Getty Museum possesses a portrait by a key figure in the world of seventeenth-century Dutch sculpture. The bust represents one of the most successful expressions of the realistic portrait style that dominated the Netherlands from the second half of the seventeenth century until the introduction of the French court style under William and Mary.

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NOTES

1. C. Avery, "François Dieussart (c. 1600–61), Portrait Sculptor to the Courts of Northern Europe," *Studies in European Sculpture* (London, 1981), pp. 211–222.
2. For Quellinus's Amsterdam period, see E. Neurdenburg, *De zeventiende eeuwse beeldhouwkunst in de Noordelijke Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, 1948), pp. 173–200; K. Fremantle, *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam* (Utrecht, 1959), pp. 143–168; and W. Halsema-Kubes, "Die von Artus Quellinus und Bartholomäus Eggers für Johann Moritz geschaffenen Skulpturen," *Soweit der Erdkreis reicht, Johann Moritz von Nassau-Siegen, 1604–1679*, exh. cat. (Städtisches Museum Haus Koekkoek, Cleves, 1979), pp. 213–222.
3. Neurdenburg (note 2), pls. 158, 159. Eight Amsterdam portraits by Quellinus are known: Joan Huydecoper (1654; Amsterdams Historisch Museum, Amsterdam), Nicolaes Tulp (1654–1656; two versions: Amsterdams Historisch Museum [model] and Six collection, Amsterdam), Cornelis Witsen and his wife, Catharina Opsy (1658; Musée du Louvre, Paris), Cornelis de Graeff and his wife, Catharina Hooft (1660; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), Andries de Graeff (1661; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), and Johann de Witt (1665; Dordrechts Museum, Dordrecht). The busts of Andries and Cornelis Bicker from 1650 are only known through a poem by Joost van den Vondel of the same year, while Jan Vos praises the unknown bust of Hendrik Trip, probably also by Quellinus.
4. Joost van den Vondel, *Volledige dichtwerken en oorspronkelijke proza*, ed. Albert Verwey (Amsterdam, 1986), pp. 827–836, and Jan Vos, *Verzamelde Gedichten*, vol. 1. (Amsterdam, 1726), pp. 202, 265, 283, 289, and 299. Vondel even added to his poem on the bust of Tulp a Latin motto from Virgil's Aeneas: "Vivos ducent de marmore vultus" ("From the marble they will reveal the lively features of the faces"), and he described the bust in these words: "Sculpture assists memory, as one can discern in the bust both the spirit and life of our Tulp."
5. For Rombout Verhulst, see M. van Notten, *Rombout Verhulst, beeldhouwer 1624–1698, een overzicht zijner werken* ('s-Gravenhage, 1907) [French ed.: idem, *Rombout Verhulst, sculpteur 1624–1698, sa vie et ses oeuvres* (La Haye, 1908)]; Neurdenburg (note 2), pp. 201–225; B. Brenninkmeyer-De Rooy, "Notities betreffende de decoratie van de Oranjezaal in Huis Ten Bosch," *Oud Holland* 96 (1982), no. 3, pp. 135–136; F. T. Scholten, *Rombout Verhulst in Groningen, zeventiende-eeuwse praalgraven in Midwolde en Stedum* (Utrecht, 1983); and idem, "Twee vroege statuettes van Rombout Verhulst," *Antiek*, Feb. 1991, pp. 345–353.
6. See van Notten (note 5), pp. 18–19, fig. 8, and *Europäische Barockplastik am Niederrhein, Grupello und seine Zeit*, exh. cat. (Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf, 1971), no. 273.
7. Van Notten (note 5), fig. 9.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
9. *Mauritshuis, The Royal Cabinet of Paintings: Illustrated General Catalogue* (The Hague, 1977), nos. 364–367.
10. Van Notten (note 5), p. 86, and Neurdenburg (note 2), p. 221.
11. The bust is on loan from the Amsterdams Historisch Museum to the Joods Historisch Museum, Amsterdam, inv. 86000560; see D. Swetschinski and L. Schönduve, *The Lopes Suasso Family, Bankers to William III* (Zwolle-Amsterdam, 1988). A. Staring, "Een onbekend werk van Johannes Blommendael," *Delftsche studiën* (Assen, 1967), p. 252, attributed the Suasso bust to Johannes Blommendael, a pupil of Verhulst's.
12. On October 25, 1790, "a marble statue, representing Juno, by Verhulst Anno 1680, high 6 feet 2 inches" was sold from the estate of the late Mr. Abraham Jeronimo Lopes Suasso at The Hague. (Information kindly supplied by Reinier Baarsen, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.)
13. See J. Leeuwenberg and W. Halsema-Kubes, *Beeldhouwkunst in het Rijksmuseum* (Amsterdam, 1973), no. 313.
14. Sold at Frederik Muller and Co., Amsterdam, Nov. 25–28, 1913, no. 1258.
15. Van Notten (note 5), p. 84 and fig. 47.
16. The bust (marble; H: 63 cm [25 in.] is signed *R. Verhulst fec: Anno 1671*; part of the collection Paul Lebaudy, Paris, from 1900 to 1984, it was sold at Hôtel Drouot, Paris, on June 6, 1984, to Alain Moatti and subsequently purchased by the J. Paul Getty Museum in the same year (*The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 13 [1985], p. 257). It was published by van Notten (note 5), pp. 49–51, Neurdenburg (note 2), p. 210, and Leeuwenberg and Halsema-Kubes (note 13), no. 314.
17. In his Amsterdam portraits, Quellinus always left the eyeballs blank, while Dieussart in most of his portraits chose to indicate the pupils. Interestingly, for a short period in the 1630s, Bernini left the eyes of his portraits uncarved, notably in his bust of Thomas Baker (Victoria and Albert Museum, London).
18. The two main differences are the inclusion of the socle and the indication of the pupils in the marble version.
19. The terra-cotta *modelli* of Willem van Liere and his widow, Maria van Reygersbergh, used for the monument at Katwijk-Binnen, are still preserved (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam); see Leeuwenberg and Halsema-Kubes (note 13), no. 313. A terra-

- cotta bust in connection with the monument of Carel Hieronymus van In- en Kniphuisen and Anna van Ewsum is listed in the 1737 inventory of their belongings; see Scholten 1983 (note 5), p. 62. Verhulst kept the *modello* for the bust of Vice-Admiral Isaac Sweers in his workshop but bequeathed the work in 1697 to the Lord of Duyvenvoirde, Arent van Wassenaer, a grandson of Maria van Reygersbergh (see van Notten [note 5], p. 55). Other portrait studies in terra-cotta by Verhulst are known for the monuments of De Ruyter and van Gendt (see van Notten [note 5], pp. 62, 68).
20. The dynastic set of four busts of three princes of Orange and of Mary Stuart, dated 1683 and ascribed to the Verhulst workshop, seem to be the only known Dutch portraits with this type of formal truncation; see n. 9 and van Notten (note 5), p. 86.
 21. Cf. A. Grisebach, *Römische Porträtbusten der Gegenreformation* (Leipzig, 1936), nos. 67, 70, 72, and G. Winter, *Zwischen Individualität und Idealität, Die Bildnisbüste* (Stuttgart, 1985), pp. 163–175.
 22. Avery (note 1), p. 212 and figs. 7–8.
 23. Between 1660 and 1670, Verhulst produced eight funeral monuments, six of which were private commissions. Of these, the monuments in Katwijk-Binnen (1663) and Midwolde (1664–1669) cost 6,315 guilders and 7,500 guilders respectively, which was probably more than half of Verhulst's gross income in this decade.
 24. The inscription reads *DIT IS HET AFBEELTSSEL VAN IACOB VAN REIGERSBERGH, GEBOREN IN MIDDELBURGH DEN.X.APRIL.1625. WEGENS DE PROVINTIE VAN ZEELANT GEDEPUTEERDT TER VERGADERINGH VAN HAER HOOGH-MOGENTHEDEN DEN .17.BER DES IAERS 1663 STURF DEN .29.APRIL 1675* ("This is the image of Jacob van Reigersbergh, born in Middelburg on April 10, 1625. Representative for the province of Zeeland at the assembly of the High and Mighty [States General] on September 17, 1663 [...] Died on April 29, 1675").
 25. Most of the information concerning the van Reygersbergh and van Gheel families was found at the Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie (The Hague), Ms. Smissaert, fol. 48, 63, 134, 241, and 245, and in B. Rijgersberg, '*Van Reygersberghe*' (Zoetermeer, 1988 [privately printed]), pp. 23–25. Jacoba van Reygersbergh married Cornelis van Gheel in 1683. For the Thibaut family, see G. Leonhardt, *Het huis Bartolotti en zijn bewoners* (Amsterdam, s.a.), pp. 85–89.
 26. Rijgersberg (note 25), p. 25.
 27. A. W. de Vink, "Voorburgsche buitenplaatsen," *Die Haghe* (1903), pp. 324–325.
 28. C. H. Voorhoeve, *Lusthoven en oude huizen langs de Vliet* (The Hague, s.a.), p. 31.
 29. See Scholten 1983 (note 5), p. 37.
 30. Willem Thibaut was present at the baptism of the three children of Maria van Gheel and Jacob van Reygersbergh; see Ms. Smissaert (note 25), fol. 245.
 31. There are two other seventeenth-century Dutch examples of the incorporation of an independent portrait into a funeral setting: the 1664 bust of Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, which was originally made for the garden of the Mauritshuis in The Hague but in 1669 was transferred to the *Fürstengruft*, the funeral crypt of the duke in Siegen (see Halsema-Kubes [note 2], pp. 222–223), and the statue of Duke Georg Wilhelm van In- en Kniphuisen, which was made before 1692 but afterwards (most likely on the occasion of the death of the duke in 1709) was added to the existing funeral monument in Midwolde (see Scholten 1983 [note 5], pp. 43–46).
 32. Van Notten (note 5), pp. 54–56.
 33. Apart from many Italian examples, this type of monument enjoyed considerable popularity in England in the first half of the seventeenth century; see K. A. Esdaile, *English Church Monuments, 1510–1840* (London, 1946), figs. 57–59, 89–91, 95–98, and M. Whitney, *Sculpture in Britain, 1530 to 1830* (London, 1988), figs. 39, 56. In the Southern Netherlands, some examples can be found; see A. Jansen, "Inleiding tot de studie van de zeventiende eeuwse grafmonumenten," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire* 40–42 (1968–1970), p. 225.
 34. It should be noted, however, that the Sweers bust does not have this formal truncation.
 35. See, for example, P. Ariès, *Het uur van onze dood* (Amsterdam, 1987), pp. 237–238.

The *Chambre des Portraits* Designed by Victor Louis for the King of Poland

David Harris Cohen

The J. Paul Getty Museum recently acquired an early Neoclassical console table made of silvered bronze with gilt-bronze decoration. The original design for the console table, which was to be made of polished steel with gilt-bronze decoration, was part of an important commission to redecorate the portrait gallery in the Royal Palace in Warsaw, one of several rooms in the king's apartment that were to be in the fashionable Neoclassical style. It was to be prominently placed in the area between the windows of the gallery.

Eighteenth-century furniture made of polished steel is very rare, having been considered a novelty at the time. The members of the *communauté de maîtres serruriers* worked in both iron and steel, producing a wide range of tools and architectural elements.¹ Furniture, though, was not included in their usual production, and for this reason relatively few examples have survived. The material was difficult and complicated to work, and it was impossible to mass produce a particular item. Each piece had to be individually forged, thereby making the finished product extremely expensive.

The history of the redecoration of the Royal Palace in Warsaw was only partially known at the time the Museum acquired the console table. Because of the long distance between Paris and Warsaw, a great deal of written and visual documentation on the commission was necessary, much of which has, fortunately, survived. Research into these documents has brought to light the intricate web of politics and intrigue that surrounded the commission; it has also clarified how such a huge project was undertaken and who was involved and in what capacity, revealing how complex the relationships were between the client, the designer, and the craftsman.

This console table and the project's documentation help provide a more complete understanding of the evolution of style in interior architecture and design during the early Neoclassical period in France. Designers, craftsmen, and architects were grappling with a new vocabulary that was gaining in popularity. The Museum's console table, with its essentially Rococo

shape decorated with Neoclassical ornament, illustrates the transitional character of so many objects produced at this point in the history of European design.

It is important to understand something of the historical circumstances that surrounded the commission to redecorate the palace. On October 5, 1763, Augustus III, King of Poland, died.² Because the Polish throne was not hereditary, the election of a new king would potentially change the balance of power in Europe. After eleven months of intrigue throughout the courts of Europe, Stanislas Auguste II Poniatowski was elected (fig. 1).³

The new king's family had risen to positions of great power during the reign of Augustus III. In 1740, Augustus III had entrusted Stanislas Auguste's father, Stanislas Ciolek Poniatowski, with a diplomatic mission to France. Leaving Poland in December of that year, he remained in Paris until May 1741, during which time he met Madame Geoffrin, the wife of a rich *fermier-général*, whose *salon* on the rue Saint-Honoré played an important role in setting the literary and artistic tone of Paris at this time. Twelve years later, Stanislas Auguste himself traveled to Paris.⁴ Though he was introduced into society by Madame de Bezenval, née Bielinski, and the comte de Friesen,⁵ it was Madame Geoffrin to whom Stanislas Auguste was most indebted for his artistic education. In addition to visiting the studios of painters and architects and attending the theater, Stanislas Auguste undoubtedly met some of the leading artists in her *salon*.⁶ His relationship with Madame Geoffrin was the basis for an important correspondence that began after his return to Poland and would continue to influence the future king's decisions on artistic matters.⁷

Stanislas Auguste never returned to Paris, though he was able to see Madame Geoffrin once again when he officially invited her in 1766 to visit Poland after his coronation.⁸ By this time, Stanislas had already ordered paintings and furnishings from Paris for the Royal Palace in Warsaw and for his other palaces of Lazienki and Ujazdow, both on the outskirts of the capital city. Some



Figure 1. Marcello Bacciarelli (Italian, 1731–1818). *Portrait of King Stanislas Auguste II Poniatowski in Coronation Robes*, circa 1790. Oil on canvas, 157 x 125 cm (61¹³/₁₆ x 49¹/₄ in.). Cracow, National Museum Ila-362.

of the orders for the Royal Palace had been placed by his agent, Casimir Czempinski, even before his election as king in 1764.⁹ Madame Geoffrin was consulted on these early orders, but her ideas not only differed from those of Czempinski but were also too costly for the budget imposed on the project. She made it clear, though, that she felt herself to be the liaison between the Polish king and the artistic community in Paris, a position that she jealously guarded against possible competition.¹⁰

Madame Geoffrin's self-proclaimed role as advisor and mentor created problems for Stanislas Auguste, his agent, and the artists he employed in Paris. Czempinski chose not to consult her when ordering designs from the silversmith Thomas Germain. Consequently, Czempinski's letter of February 22, 1765, addressed to the king, explains that "Madame Geoffrin s'est indisposé cruellement contre moy et m'ayant fait venir chez elle, s'est étendue jusqu'aux invectives dures."¹¹ Even Germain himself was obliged to defend his reputation and his actions against the accusations of the architect and

designer Victor Louis (1731–1807), who had told Madame Geoffrin of Czempinski's arrangement. According to Germain:

C'est avec le plus grand étonnement que je viens d'être éclairé sur la conduite irrégulière du S^r Louis architecte, il cherche à détruire dans l'Esprit de Votre Majesté M^r Czempinski et moi. . . . je m'en flattois d'autant plus que j'avois lieu de croire que le S^r Louis m'étoit attaché par la reconnaissance à d'autres obligations qu'il me devoit il joignoit celle de l'avoir choisi pour les travaux de votre Majesté. quelles imputations a t il pu faire contre M^r Czempinski et contre moi. . . . faut il que l'ambition ou La jalousie, ou l'amour du gain rendent les artistes calomnieux les uns envers les autres. ce n'étoit pas du S^r Louis que je devois attendre de mauvais procédés et je crois s'il a put me noircir qu'il rougira le premier d'avoir tenté de me desservir au pres de votre Majesté. la confiance des Cours étrangères qui m'occupent, l'étendue de mes entreprises, la sûreté de mon établissement, mon âge, mon état ma considération parmi les artistes justifient ma probité et mes ouvrages connus confirment mes talens.¹²

It is unclear how Victor Louis was brought into the project of redesigning the Royal Palace in Warsaw. Czempinski writes that Germain had introduced him to Louis, who was subsequently commissioned to do the designs for the palace throne room. Germain's letter cited above corroborates this.¹³ However, Stanislas Auguste mentions in a letter to Madame Geoffrin, dated September 15, 1765, that "vous [Madame Geoffrin] me l'avez recommandé."¹⁴ Whatever the circumstances, Louis was obviously successful in ingratiating himself with Stanislas Auguste and Madame Geoffrin. In the July 29, 1765, edition of *L'Avant-coureur*, the following announcement appeared:

ARCHITECTURE

Monsieur Louis, célèbre Architecte, a été choisi par la Cour de Pologne pour faire plusieurs embellissemens dans la Capitale, & pour diriger les Fêtes qui s'y préparent. Ce choix fait honneur aux artistes François. M. Louis ne perd point de vue les travaux qui lui ont été confiés à Paris, & son retour est fixé à la fin de Septembre.¹⁵

At the time this announcement was published, Victor Louis was actually on his way to Warsaw. He remained in the capital from early August to mid-September, during which time he and the king were able to discuss the interior decoration of the Royal Palace.¹⁶ Stanislas Auguste praised Louis, stating in his letter of September 15 to Madame Geoffrin that the architect had "rectifié le goût sur plusieurs articles. . . il va être mon bureau d'adresses à Paris pour tout ce qui regarde les

arts. . . . Il vous dira qu'il n'est point impossible du tout de faire une très-belle chose de mon château, et il vous les prouvera par ses dessins."¹⁷ Subsequently, the king mentioned

qu'il n'a d'autre charge de ma part que d'exécuter les plans et projets dont il m'a laissé les croquis et dont il doit m'envoyer les dessins et modèles détaillés et finis avec soin avant que de faire exécuter en nature. . . . les commissions dont vous voulez bien prendre soin sont très-distinctes des siennes, lesquelles, pour être bien faites, demandent un homme tout entier, qui réponde en dirigeant le tout.¹⁸

Madame Geoffrin was obviously wounded by the king's decision to appoint Louis rather than herself as his Paris agent. She expressed her anger vigorously.¹⁹ In a letter dated January 15, 1766, the king tried to placate her by explaining why he had taken such a step:

Louis dit des folies et me prête des phrases et des idées que je n'ai jamais eues. . . . Et bien, Louis a la tête un peu tournée parce que je l'ai peut-être un peu trop bien traité! . . . si vous aviez pu voir de vos yeux le local du bâtiment dont il s'agit et entendre par vous même les détails, trop volumineux pour être écrits, de mes raisons pour chaque pièce, assurément que je me serais trouvé heureux que vous eussiez bien voulu vous charger de gouverner Louis dans cette entreprise. Mais, faute de tous ces notions minutieuses, il serait nécessairement arrivé que souvent les choses n'auraient pas répondu à mes idées, parce qu'à la moindre objection que vous auriez faite, Louis aurait eu un prétexte pour dire que, n'ayant pas les mains libres, il ne peut pas répondre de l'effet de mes volontés, but pour lequel j'ai exigé que Louis ne fasse rien exécuter sans m'en avoir préalablement envoyé les dessins.²⁰

Nonetheless, her relationship with the architect deteriorated and the two remained at odds throughout the entire project. She stated in her letter of January 24, 1766, "Sur l'article de Louis, j'aurais trop de choses à répliquer, j'ennuierais Votre Majesté peut-être jusqu'à l'impatience. . . . j'ai vidé mon sac dans les premiers moments de ma colère, et je ne le remplirai plus de cette ordure."²¹ She continued in a later letter:

Comment pouvais-je penser de sang-froid qu'un gredin à qui je fais la fortune en l'envoyant près de Votre Majesté revint complé de vos bontés avec une insolence et une ingratitude. . . . J'étais . . . résolue, en lui fermant ma porte, de fermer aussi ma bouche et de ne pas prononcer son nom; mais quand j'ai su que la sienne était sans cesse ouverte pour dire des impertinences en disant qu'il était dans la plus grande intimité avec Votre Majesté; que vous n'aviez pas pu vous passer de lui un seul instant pendant son séjour à votre Cour; qu'il était

de tous vos plaisirs et dans votre plus intime confidence . . . qu'il n'avait plus besoin de moi auprès de Votre Majesté; qu'il aurait tous ses pouvoirs directement, et que je n'étais fâchée contre lui que par jalousie. . . .²²

Louis left thirty-two sketches in Warsaw that illustrate his first ideas on the interior design of each room, the urban renewal around the Royal Palace, and the reconstruction of the exterior elevations. Approximately a year later, in 1766, Louis sent the king twenty-six finished drawings of interior elevations, the majority of which were for only five of the rooms: the *chambre des seigneurs*, the throne room, the portrait gallery, the king's bedroom, and a small *boudoir*, numbered 10, 12, 13, 14, and 15, respectively, on Louis's large plan of the first floor of the palace (figs. 2a–b).²³ With these elevation drawings were approximately fifty others by or attributed to Jean-Louis Prieur (circa 1725–after 1785) of furniture, wall lights, clocks, and other objects for these five rooms.²⁴ Comparison of the early sketches done in Warsaw and the later finished drawings executed in Paris the following year reveals important information on the evolution of the architect's ideas.

Louis was responsible for the overall design as well as all other aspects of the rooms that were to be redone. He oversaw the ordering of the *boiserie*—its carving, painting, and gilding—the fabric wall coverings, all the hardware for the windows and doors, the making of the seating furniture for each room, the clocks, and the gilt-bronze candelabra that were to decorate the marble fireplaces, marble pedestals, console tables, and gilded *guéridons*.

Various written documents describe individual details of each room. Much of the work was completed or at least well under way by mid-July 1768, as reported in the *vérification* that lists in great detail all that was being worked on in Paris and by whom.²⁵ Most of what had been made after Louis's designs was not shipped until 1777–1778, after the king's secretary, Glayre, went to Paris to settle the debts incurred by the orders. The inventory drawn up at the time of shipment describes what was sent to Warsaw.²⁶ The king himself discussed the question of what was completed, what was still being worked on, and what should be shipped for use in the new designs, in an undated document entitled "Note pour les Numéros 12. 13. et 14."²⁷ This document refers to nine drawings by Prieur of furniture or other objects that help to illustrate the king's comments.²⁸

By this date, Louis's designs for the interiors had been replaced by ones supplied by the court architect Dominik Merlini (1730–1797).²⁹ It is unclear why

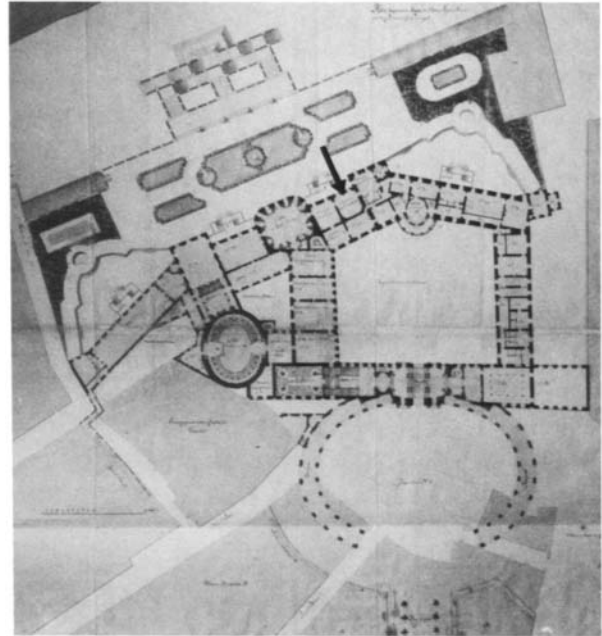


Figure 2a. Victor Louis (French, 1731–1807). Plan of piano nobile of the Royal Palace, Warsaw, 1766. India ink and watercolor, 127 x 116.5 cm (50 x 45⁷/₈ in.). GRBUW, T. 192 no. 2. The arrow indicates the *chambre des portraits*.

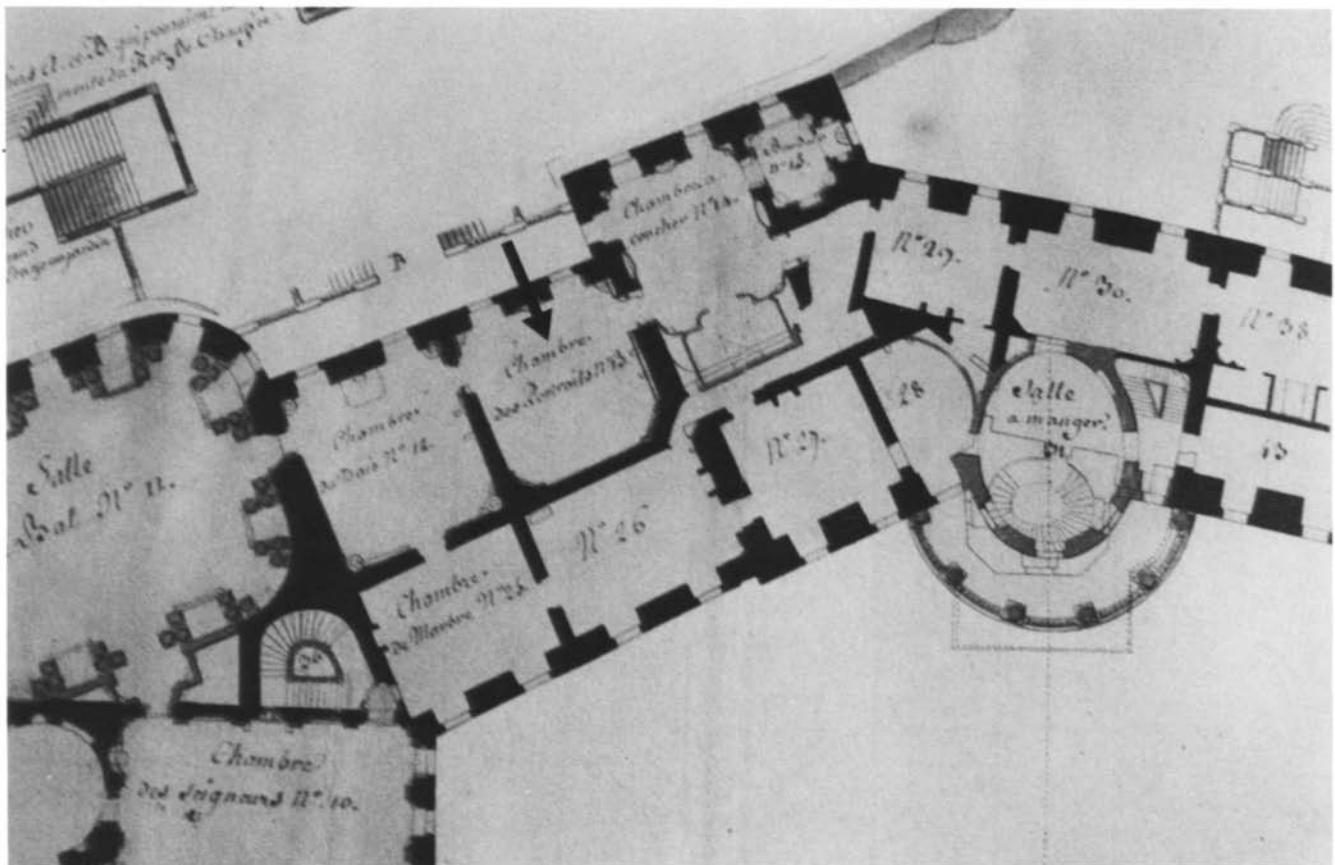


Figure 2b. Detail of figure 2a. The arrow indicates the *chambre des portraits*.

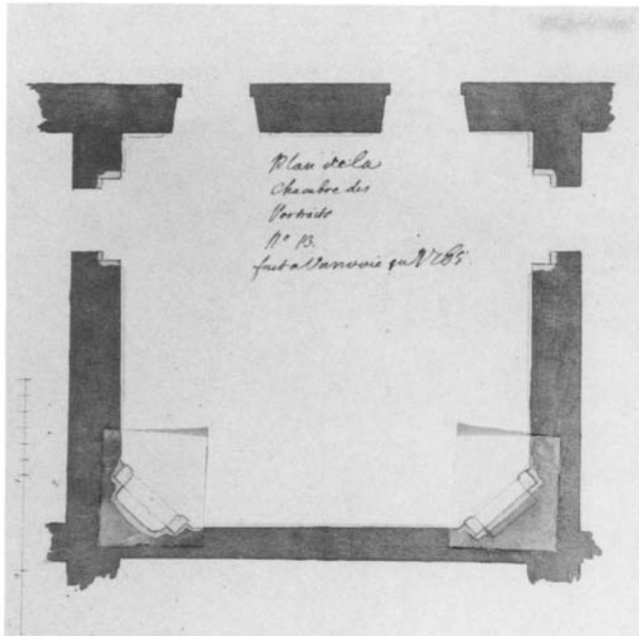


Figure 3. Victor Louis. Floor plan of the *chambre des portraits*, 1765. India ink and red ink, 42.4 x 30 cm (16¹/₁₆ x 11⁹/₁₆ in.). GRBUW, T. 192 no. 45.

Louis's plans were not used, although the high cost must have played a role in this decision, as well as the deteriorating political situation in Poland.³⁰

The *chambre des portraits*, number 13 on Louis's plans (fig. 2a),³¹ was placed between the throne room and the king's bedroom. The 1765 floor plan shows an almost square room with canted corners opposite the windows to accommodate two matching chimneypieces (fig. 3). The elevation drawn at the same time shows that there were to be mirrors above the fireplaces, taking up approximately two-thirds of the height, with the remaining area filled with a framed panel. A large picture frame topped with putti raising garlands of polychrome flowers and a double-headed eagle was placed in the center of the long wall. It was to contain a portrait of Catherine the Great, who had been Stanislas Auguste's mistress and had been instrumental in his election as king (fig. 4).³² The same type of polychrome garlands were to surround all the fabric-covered walls and the doors and window openings and surmount the full-length mirror placed between the windows (fig. 5).³³ The side walls were to be similarly decorated, with the double doors surmounted by a decorated rectangular panel (fig. 6).³⁴ A sketch of the ceiling painting was also made, showing an assemblage of the gods (fig. 7).

At the beginning of 1766, Louis was twice sent a detailed floor plan of the room (fig. 8).³⁵ It reveals the extent to which the architect had to work around the

existing architecture of the palace. The windows were small and their spacing from the side walls was not identical; the walls of the room were not even parallel. Louis was able to overcome these problems with his skillful handling of interior space and the decorative vocabulary at his command.³⁶ The king received two finished elevations and one floor plan for the *chambre des portraits* sent from Paris (figs. 9–11). Louis had again retained most of his earlier ideas, though they had become more refined. One major difference is the treatment of the mirror between the windows. The 1765 sketch shows a full-length mirror in a frame that appears to be hung on the wall. The mirror in the later design, shown as an integral part of the wall paneling, is only three-quarter length, with the top portion taken up by a painting (fig. 12). This new design echoes the handling of the two other mirrors over the mantels and the vertical division of the doors, which themselves have been modified to include one large vertical panel over a smaller square one rather than the original three panels.

Attention, though, focuses on the extraordinary fabric on the walls, which was also to be used for the *portières* on the windows and doors and for the upholstery of the seating furniture. This fabric was designed by "M. Gaucheron, *Dessinateur célèbre dans le genre des Etoffes*," and manufactured by Duperele in Lyons. Czempinski wrote the king on March 2, 1765:

Sire

Etant moy meme a Lyon j'ai vu combien M^r Duperele fabriquant s'occupait de l'execution de tenture pour Votre Majeste Velour et fond Jaye rebrodé les fleurs ressortirons infiniment, et ce sera un des Meubles le plus brillant qu'il s'est jamais vu, la bordure sera analogue, les fauteuils Canapées et autres seront d'etoffe font d'argent, fabriqué de façon a n'etre pas eteint par le brillant de la tapisserie, qui a la Lumiere fera un effet prodigieux, selon le Calcul fait a vue d'Oeil, cette Tenture coutera environs Soixante mille livres.³⁷

The room's fittings are described and valued in the 1777 shipment to Warsaw:

huit portières de velours de couleurs nuées [?] a fond d'argent doubles de satin blanc et bordées d'un large galon d'or, avec une frange d'or en haut et en bas, il y a pour l'ornement de ces portières huit grandes cocardes brodées en or avec chacune deux glandes et leurs tresses pour leur service de mains, de plus 32 glandes entiers et 32 demi-glandes d'or qui doivent être attachés dans les festons 4450

sept pièces de Tapisseries de velours pareil à fond de jais, scavoir trois grandes pièces et quatre petits faites pour les places de la chambre dite du portrait 3550³⁸

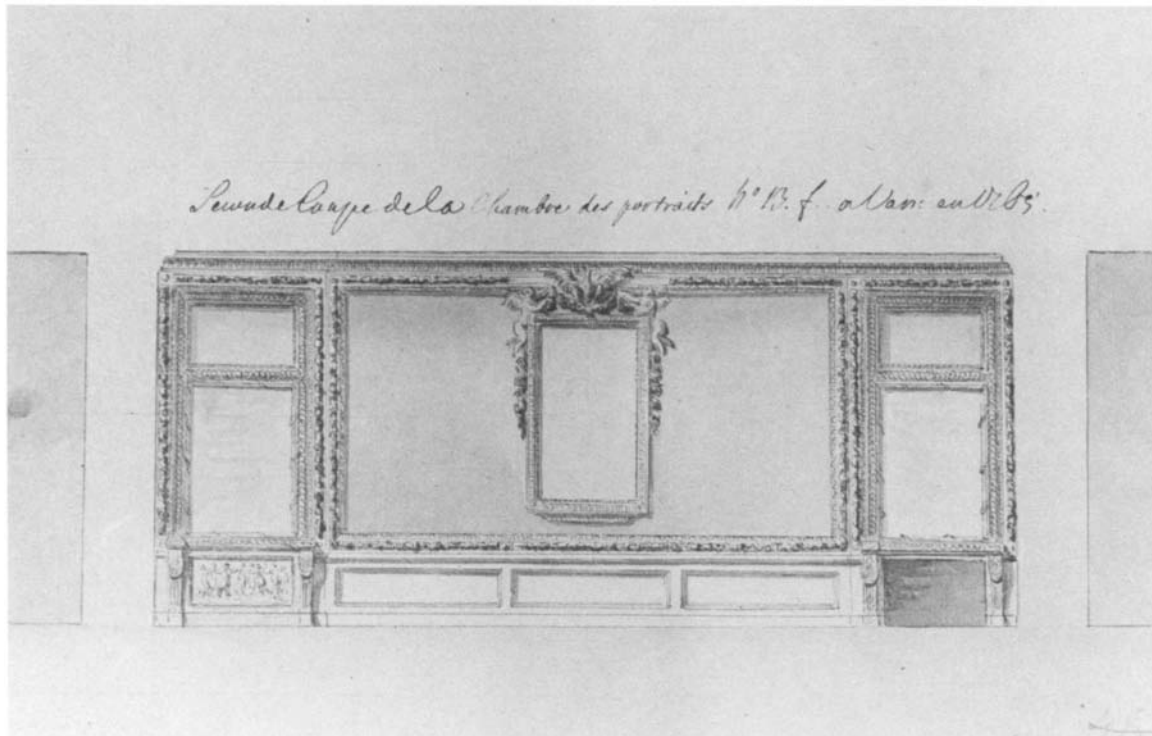


Figure 4. Victor Louis. Second elevation of the *chambre des portraits*, 1765. India ink and watercolor, 22.5 x 30.5 cm (8⁷/₈ x 12 in.). GRBUW, T. 192 no. 50.

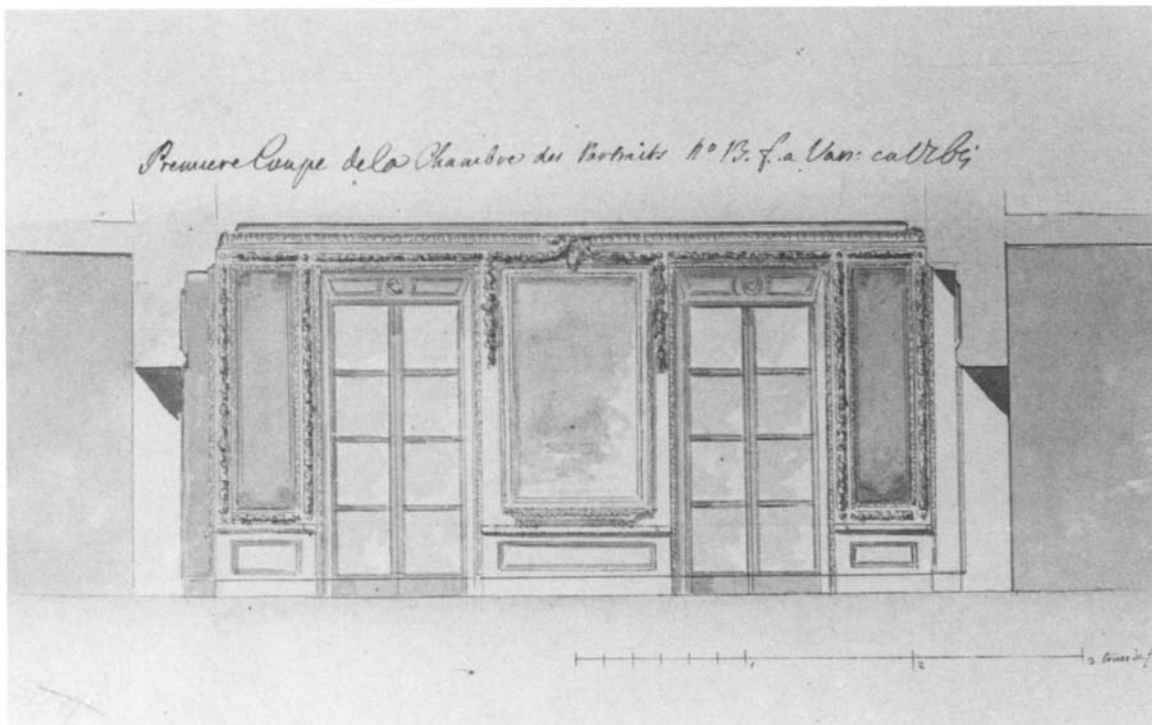


Figure 5. Victor Louis. First elevation of the *chambre des portraits*, 1765. India ink and watercolor, 22.5 x 31 cm (8⁷/₈ x 12³/₁₆ in.). GRBUW, T. 192 no. 52.

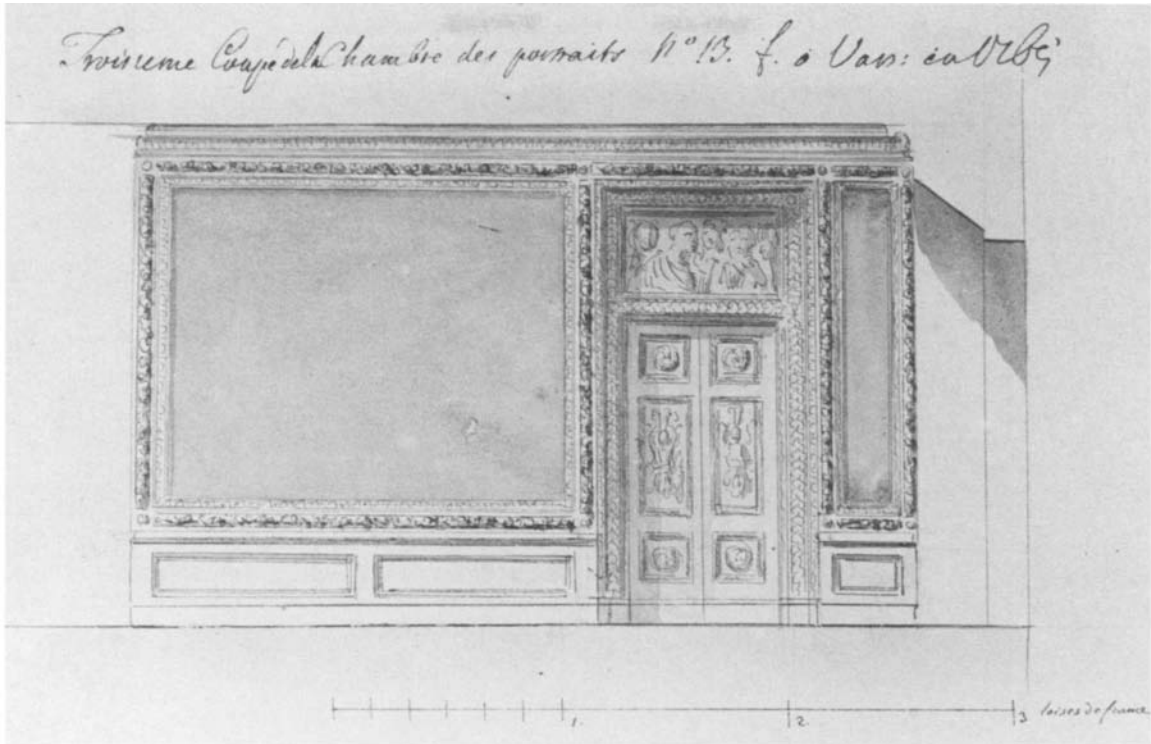


Figure 6. Victor Louis. Third elevation of the *chambre des portraits*, 1765. India ink and watercolor, 23.5 x 30 cm (9¼ x 11⅜ in.). GRBUW, T. 192 no. 51.



Figure 7. Victor Louis. Ceiling design for the *chambre des portraits*, 1765. India ink and watercolor, 45.2 x 44.7 cm (17⅜ x 17⅝ in.). GRBUW, T. 192 no. 31.

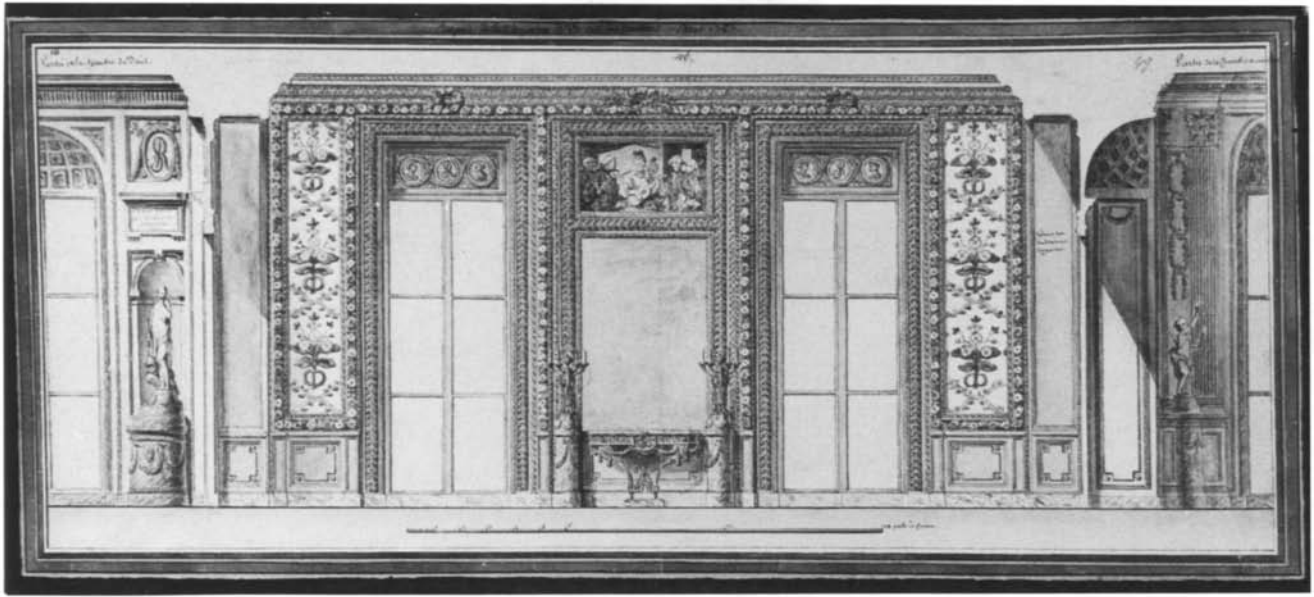


Figure 9. Victor Louis. Elevation of the window wall of the *chambre des portraits*, 1766. Watercolor, 30 x 67.3 cm (11³/₁₆ x 26¹/₂ in.). GRBUW, T. 192 no. 49. See figures 12 and 17 for details.

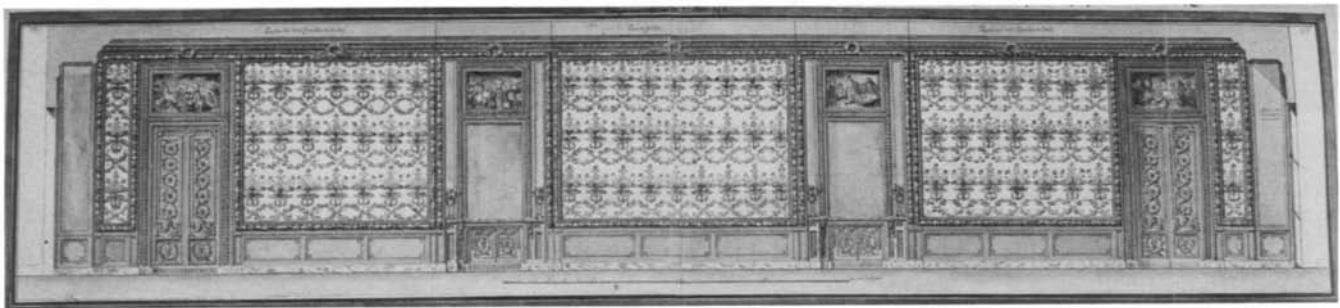


Figure 10. Victor Louis. Elevation of side and back walls of the *chambre des portraits*, 1766. Watercolor, 30 x 128 cm (11³/₁₆ x 50³/₈ in.). GRBUW, T. 192 no. 48.

The king requested that the polychrome floral moldings that were made to harmonize with the fabric also be shipped.³⁹ “Les sieurs Guibert et Coullonjon” had carved four hundred feet of this molding “de fleur majeures Traités d’après Nature” (fig. 13), along with “Cinq Cent Deux pieds d’Oves” and “Cinq Cent Deux Pieds de Perles.” They also carved the doors’ large upper panels with interlaced garlands, each one bearing at its center a large rosette of laurel grains and a royal mantle surmounted by a crown. The lower panel was carved with the king’s monogram surrounded by two branches and ribbons. The royal monogram was also placed in the central roundel in the panels over the window, with eagles in the two outer roundels.⁴⁰ The paneling and the moldings for this room as well as for the others were gilded and painted by Nicolas Topin.⁴¹

The 1766 floor plan indicates the placement of the furniture and fixtures that were to be in the room (fig.

11). The two mantelpieces, letter *A* on the plan, were to be made of *bleu turquin* marble decorated with gilt-bronze garlands, moldings, and rams’ heads, with a pair of polished steel doors decorated with moldings and the king’s crowned monogram, all in gilt bronze (fig. 14). An annotation on the drawing indicates that these doors were not hinged but were to slide into the wall when not needed.⁴² Long, thin mirrors were inset into the wall to either side of the large mirror, thus reflecting the light of candelabra placed on the mantel. Jadot in Paris made a full-scale model in limewood.⁴³ Jacques Adam, *sculpteur marbrier du Roy*, supplied and carved the marble⁴⁴ and Philippe Caffieri, *sculpteur du Roy*, supplied the gilt-bronze ornaments.⁴⁵ It is not known whether the mantels were shipped to Warsaw, although the king was interested in them even after the room’s design had been changed.⁴⁶

A pair of standing *guéridons* in the corners near the

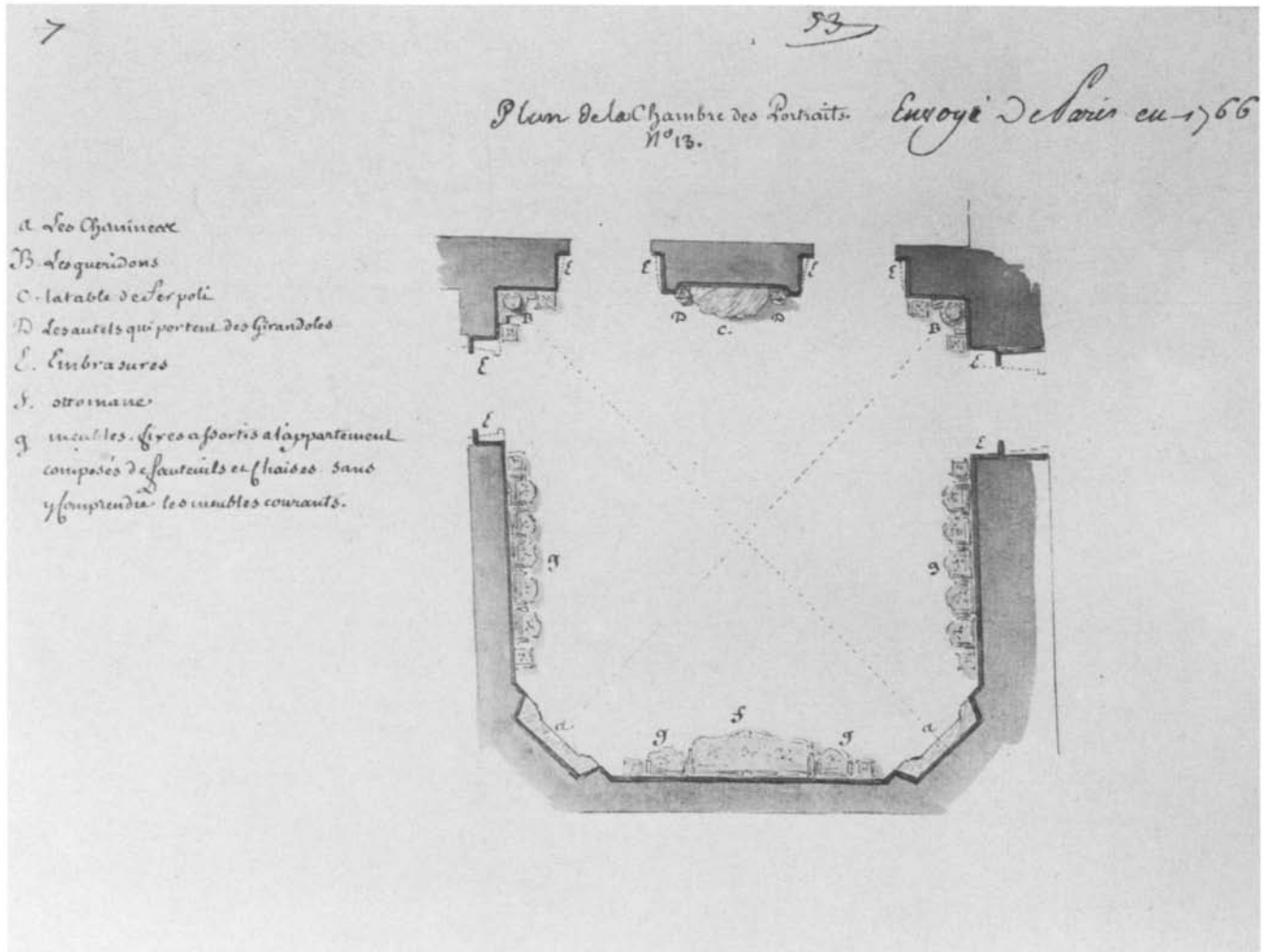


Figure 11. Victor Louis. Floor plan of the *chambre des portraits*, 1766. India ink and watercolor, 20.8 x 31.5 cm (8³/₁₆ x 12³/₈ in.). GRBUW, T. 192 no. 46.

windows of the room, indicated by the letter *B* on the floor plan (fig. 11), consist of two life-size female figures made of lead with a bronze patina, standing on either side of a large vase placed on a white marble base (fig. 15). Each figure holds a cornucopia in one arm and with the other raises a dish on which was to be placed an eight-light candelabrum in Bohemian glass that would have supplied some of the lighting in the room. Another drawing of the stands, mentioned by the king in his request to have them sent to Warsaw,⁴⁷ shows a different configuration in relation to the white marble bases (fig. 16). Their description in the 1777 shipment to Warsaw, in which they accompanied the *guéridons* themselves, confirms this design change.⁴⁸

Six candelabra, two placed on each mantelpiece and two on columns to either side of the console table between the windows, supplied additional light (figs. 9, 17). Great care was taken with the design of these can-

delabra. Jadot made a wooden model of the corner formed by the mantel top, the long vertical side mirror, and the large mirror molding to help Caffieri in modeling them.⁴⁹ They are described in his workshop in 1768:

1° de six trepieds antiques Contenant—3 p. de haut formés par trois Consoles formant Enroulement dans Le haut d'où partent des bornes d'abondance chargées de fruits raisins en grandes formant bobèches et de guirlandes pendantes sur les trois faces representantes les Fleurs, Le tout terminé par une cassolette qui sont . . . portées par un cul de lampe, Le tout très bien cizelé et Doré Dormoulu, nous les avons estimés En Egard à tous les ornem^s 24,000#⁵⁰

The candelabra were sent to Warsaw in 1777 and today form part of the collection in the Royal Palace (fig. 18).⁵¹

Jacques Adam supplied and cut the marble for the *bleu turquin* columns⁵² on which two of the candelabra were to be placed, while Caffieri probably supplied the

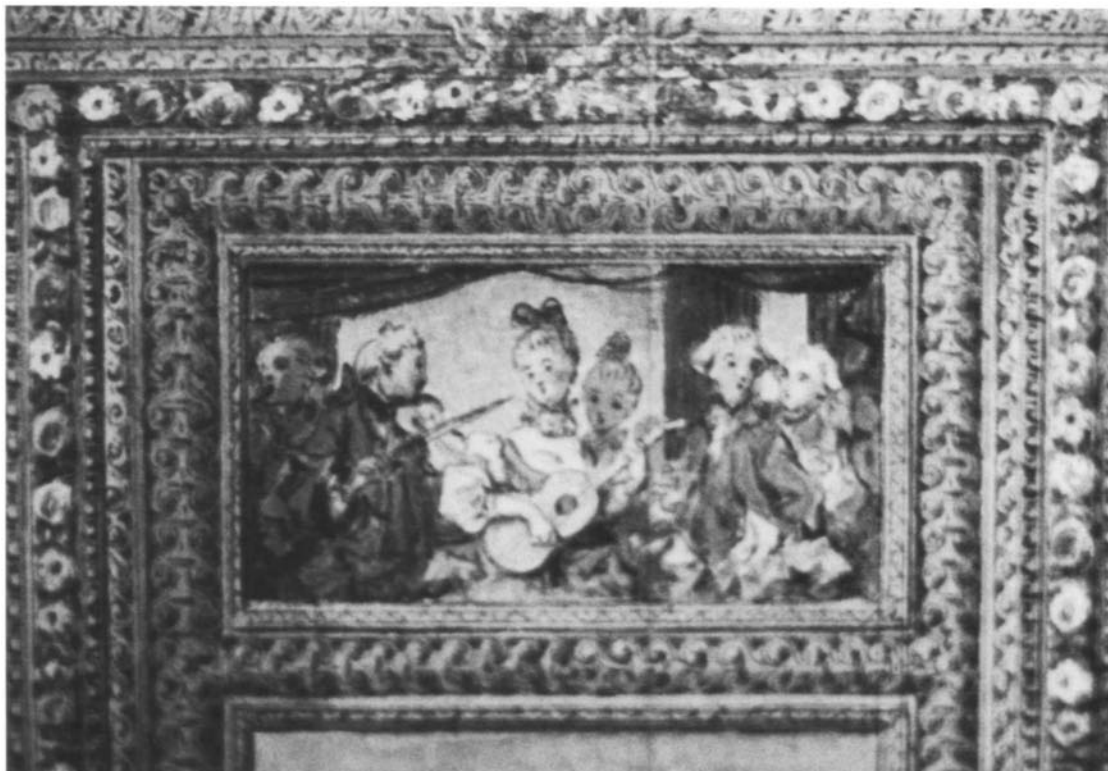


Figure 12. Detail of figure 9.

gilt-bronze drapery and floral garlands tied up with ribbons.⁵³ The columns are indicated by the letter *D* on the floor plan (fig. 11) and by the letter *C* by the king in his request to have them shipped to Warsaw (fig. 19).⁵⁴ (The column in the drawing does not correspond exactly to the one that survived in Warsaw until World War II [fig. 20].⁵⁵ Unfortunately, it is not known what transformation these columns might have undergone.)

The console table placed between the windows, letter *C* on the floor plan (fig. 11), was made of polished steel embellished with gilt-bronze ornament. Only one such table was needed in Louis's overall plan, and its placement is clearly shown on the elevation of the window wall of this room (fig. 9). A detailed drawing attributed to Prieur shows the console table in elevation and plan (fig. 21),⁵⁶ and another more schematic drawing shows it in elevation only (fig. 22).⁵⁷

An advertisement in *L'Avantcoureur* of November 1767, identifies the maker of the console table for the Royal Palace in Warsaw as Pierre Deumier, *serrurier des bâtiments du Roi*.⁵⁸ Approximately three years earlier, in 1763, a console table of similar design had also been advertised by Deumier. It is described as

un pied pour porter une table de marbre à double consoles, avec volutes en cornes de bélier, enrichie d'avant corps & moulures prises, sur les masses, surmountées



Figure 13. Honoré Guibert and Denis Coulonjon. Detail of molding for the *chambre des portraits*, circa 1766–1768. Carved and gilded wood. Warsaw, Royal Palace.

d'une frise avec rond entrelassé & rosettes. Le bas est terminé par un vase antique de ronde bosse avec branches de chêne. Les consoles sont garnies de différentes pièces d'ornements, & dans le milieu est une tête de femme coiffée à l'antique; des branches de laurier forment guirlande au pourtour.⁵⁹

A revival of the practice of using large architectural elements made of polished steel took place during the first few years of the 1760s. The church of Saint-Roché had already installed a handrail for its pulpit when “le Sieur Doré” was commissioned in 1761 to produce a choir screen in polished steel and gilt bronze.⁶⁰ One year later, at Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, where he had already produced a grill, Deumier was commissioned

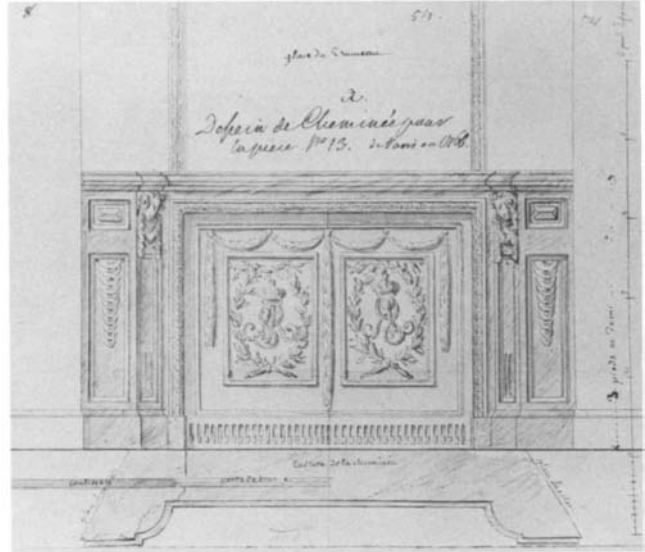


Figure 14. Attributed to Jean-Louis Prieur (French, 1725–after 1785). Fireplace, 1766. India ink and watercolor, 18.5 x 22.5 cm (7⁵/₁₆ x 8⁷/₈ in.). GRBUW, T. 192 no. 54.

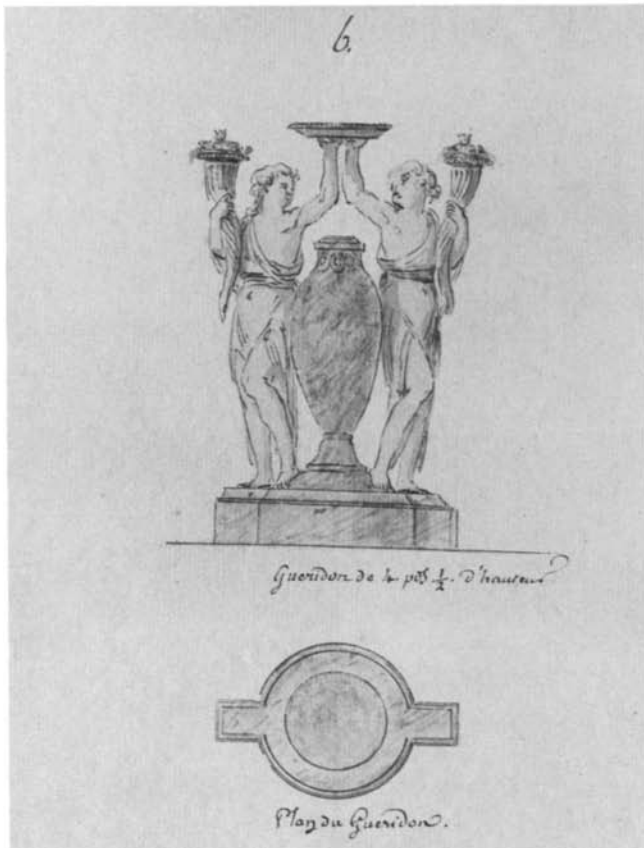


Figure 15. Jean-Louis Prieur. Guéridon and base, 1766. India ink and watercolor, 22.3 x 18.9 cm (8³/₄ x 7⁷/₁₆ in.). GRBUW, p. 183 no. 264.



Figure 16. Jean-Louis Prieur. Guéridon and base, 1766. India ink and watercolor, 21.6 x 16 cm (8¹/₂ x 6⁵/₁₆ in.). GRBUW, p. 183 no. 263.

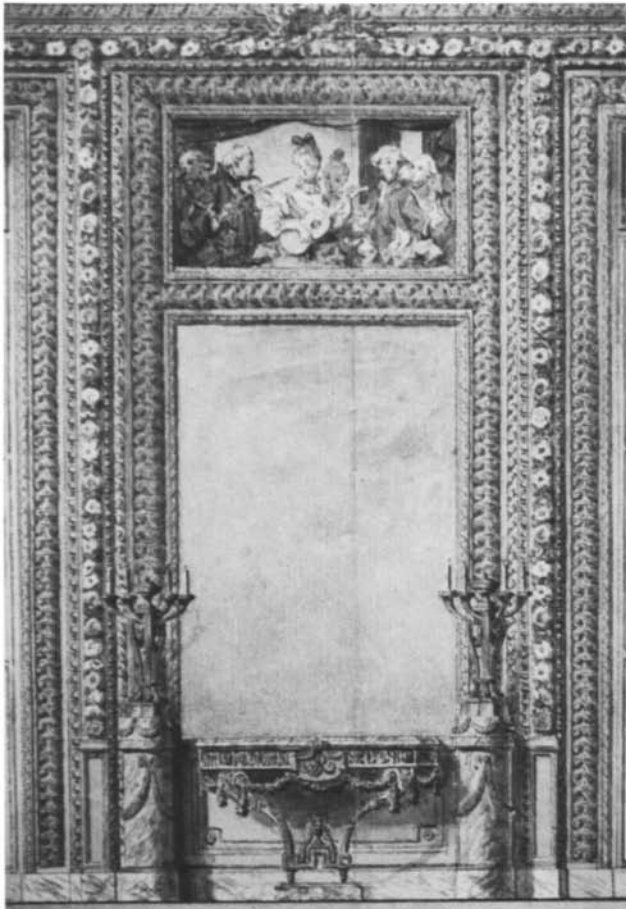


Figure 17. Detail of figure 9.

to make a balustrade for the choir area.⁶¹ In 1767,

Le Sieur d'Eumiers, Serrurier du Roi, demeurant place du Carrousel, qui avait déjà travaillé en fer poli & en cuivre, avec beaucoup d'art, un pied en console pour support d'une table de marbre, ouvrage précieux que les Amateurs ont admiré à Paris, & qui était destiné pour la Pologne, vient d'exécuter dans le même goût une très riche grille pour le Choer de S. Germain l'Auxerrois, c'est-à-dire pour la porte d'entrée & pour les deux portes latérales.⁶²

Deumier was obviously proud of both the table he had made for Poland and of the grills he had done at Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois. He requested that the marquis de Marigny go see the latter.⁶³ In publishing the console table and his various other works, Deumier stated that he wished to give "aux personnes riches le desir d'embellir leurs maisons de morceaux qui soient dus à la nation, & qui honorent les artistes." Furthermore, *L'Avantcoureur* established that

La Serrurerie inventée uniquement par le besoin, est devenue entre les mains des Français, un art de décoration, qui par la richesse & la beauté du travail attire



Figure 18. Philippe Caffieri (French, 1714–1774). Candelabrum, 1766–1768; one of six. Gilt bronze, H: 96 cm (37¹⁵/₁₆ in.), W: 65 cm (25⁹/₁₆ in.), Diam: 44 cm (17³/₁₆ in.). Warsaw, Royal Palace.

souvent l'attention des gens de goût. Dès le siècle dernier nos Artistes s'étaient distingués par les magnifiques Grilles de l'Eglise de Paris & de l'Abbaye de Saint Denis, & par celles des Châteaux de Versailles & de Maisons. On a encore enchéri de nos jours en donnant au fer qui entre dans ces sortes d'ouvrages le poli & l'effet de l'acier, par la précision avec laquelle on le travaille.⁶⁴

A life-size model of the console table was made in Paris by Jadot.⁶⁵ The table itself was completed and delivered to Warsaw by February 1769, by which date the *bleu turquin* marble top and oval stand shown in the two drawings had been supplied by Jacques Adam.⁶⁶ It was apparently never used in any of the interiors, though it remained part of the royal collections until at least 1795, when it is described in storage in the "Inventaire des Effets mobiliers dans le Garde-meubles au Chateau de Varsovie qui sont à vendre."⁶⁷ It is also described in 1798 in the death inventory of Stanislas Au-

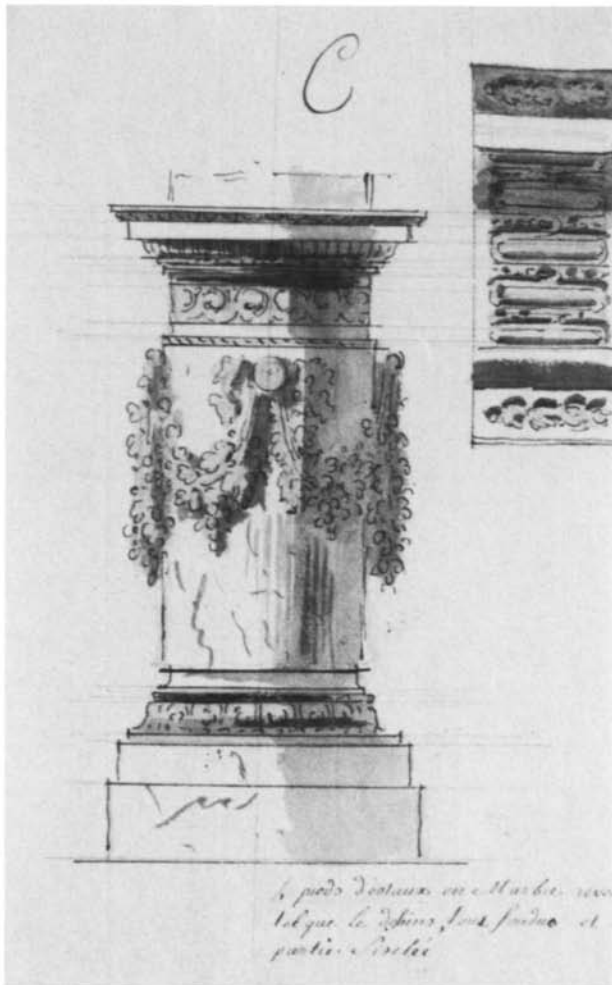


Figure 19. Jean-Louis Prieur. Pedestal, circa 1766. India ink and watercolor, 31.2 x 25.5 cm (12⁵/₁₆ x 10 in.) (entire sheet). Detail of GRBUW, p. 183, no. 155.

guste.⁶⁸ After this date, the table can no longer be traced, though it has been assumed that it was taken to Russia sometime during the nineteenth century during the occupation of Poland. In 1921, the Treaty of Riga between Poland and Russia specified that all objects of artistic, cultural, historic, or scientific value had to be returned to Poland.⁶⁹ Subsequently, many of Poland's, specifically Stanislas Auguste's, art objects and paintings were returned, identified to a certain extent from his death inventory.⁷⁰ The console table, though, was not found at this time. Recently, a console table corresponding to its description was located in the furniture storage of the State Hermitage in Leningrad, but it has not as yet been possible to confirm its provenance.⁷¹

An idea of the console table's original appearance can be gained from the others of the same model in public and private collections.⁷² The J. Paul Getty Museum's

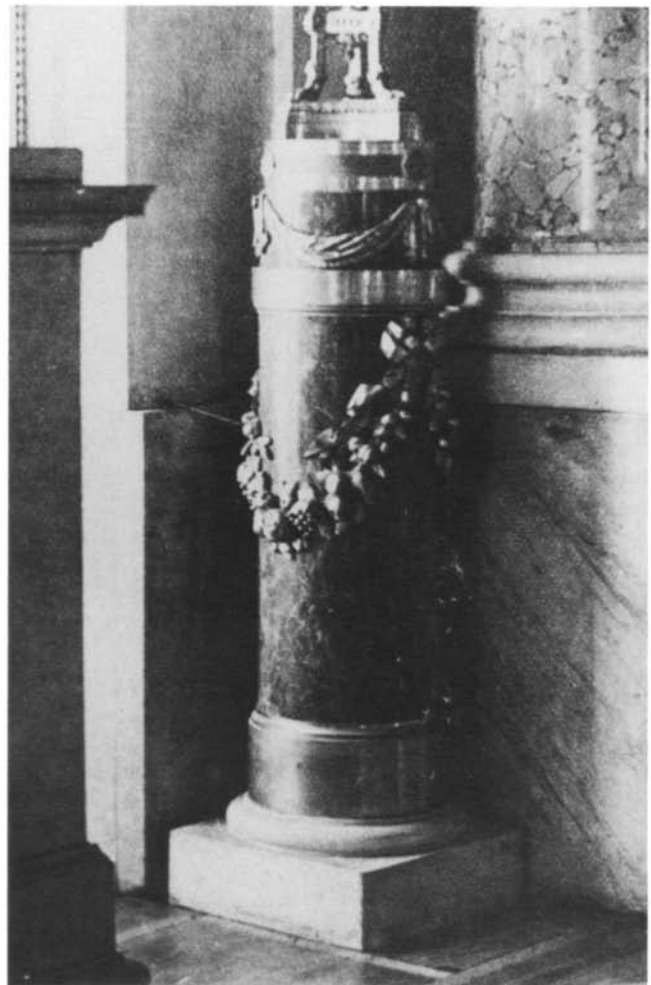


Figure 20. Jacques Adam and Philippe Caffieri. Pedestal, circa 1766–1768. *Bleu turquin* marble with gilt-bronze mounts, H: 133 cm (52³/₈ in.); Diam: 44 cm (17¹/₄ in.). Warsaw, Royal Palace, before 1939.

example is made of silvered bronze, with the apron centered with a gilt-bronze female mask instead of Stanislas Auguste's monogram (fig. 23a).⁷³ Deumier possibly produced several of these tables in polished steel or silvered bronze after the initial one for Warsaw, though no firm documentation has come to light. The extremely complex interior construction, which can be found on the Getty console table and on several others, would confirm that they were all produced by the same maker (fig. 23b).

Though not indicated on any of the elevations, a wall cartel was to be placed in the *chambre des portraits*. The 1766 design incorporates a clock with horizontal dial, and six wall lights held up by figures of children placed on either side of the king's coat of arms (fig. 24). The king must have liked this design since he stated: "Il se trouve une Pendule destinée pour cette Chambre, *sub*

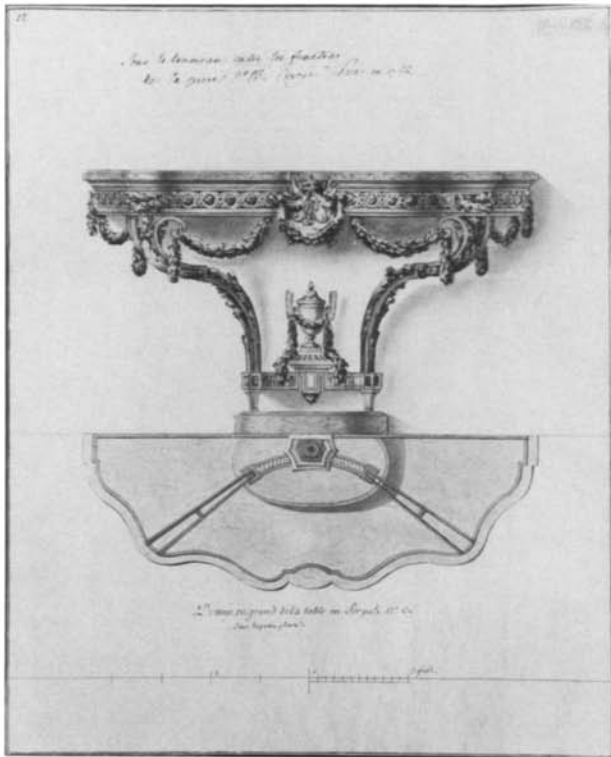


Figure 21. Attributed to Jean-Louis Prieur. Console table, 1766. India ink and watercolor, 46.6 x 37.5 cm (18³/₈ x 14³/₄ in.). GRBUW, p. 183 no. 144.



Figure 22. Attributed to Victor Louis. Console table, circa 1766. India ink and watercolor, 22.5 x 18.7 cm (8⁷/₈ x 7³/₈ in.). GRBUW, p. 183 no. 145.



Figure 23a. Pierre Deumier (French, active 1760s). Console table, circa 1766. Silvered and gilt bronze with *bleu turquin* marble top, modern oval base. H: 78 cm (34¹/₂ in.), W: 129.5 cm (51 in.), Diam: 49 cm (19¹/₄ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 88.DF118.



Figure 23b. Interior detail of figure 23a.



Figure 24. Jean-Louis Prieur. Cartel, 1766. India ink and watercolor, 64.5 x 49 cm (25³/₈ x 19⁵/₁₆ in.). GRBUW, p. 183 no. 207.

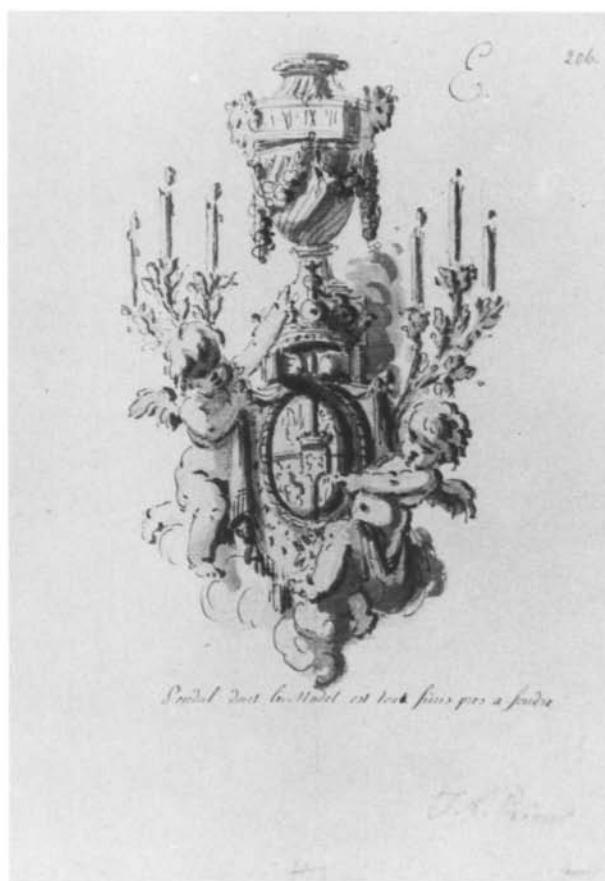


Figure 25. Jean-Louis Prieur. Cartel, circa 1766. India ink and watercolor, 31.7 x 23.4 cm (12¹/₂ x 9³/₁₆ in.). GRBUW, p. 183 no. 20.

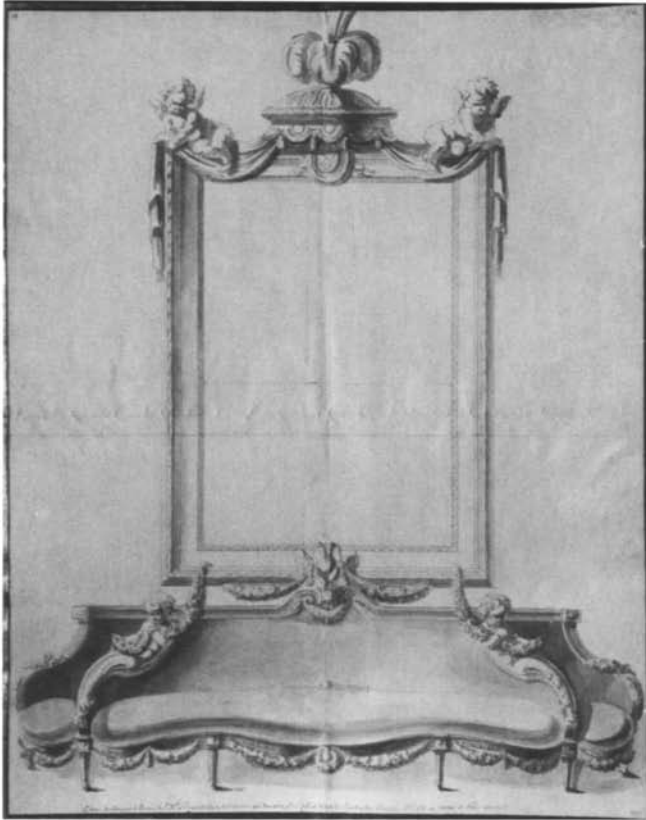


Figure 26. Jean-Louis Prieur. Picture frame and *canapé*, circa 1766. India ink and watercolor, 88.2 x 66.9 cm (34³/₄ x 26⁵/₁₆ in.). GRBUW, p. 183 no. 176.

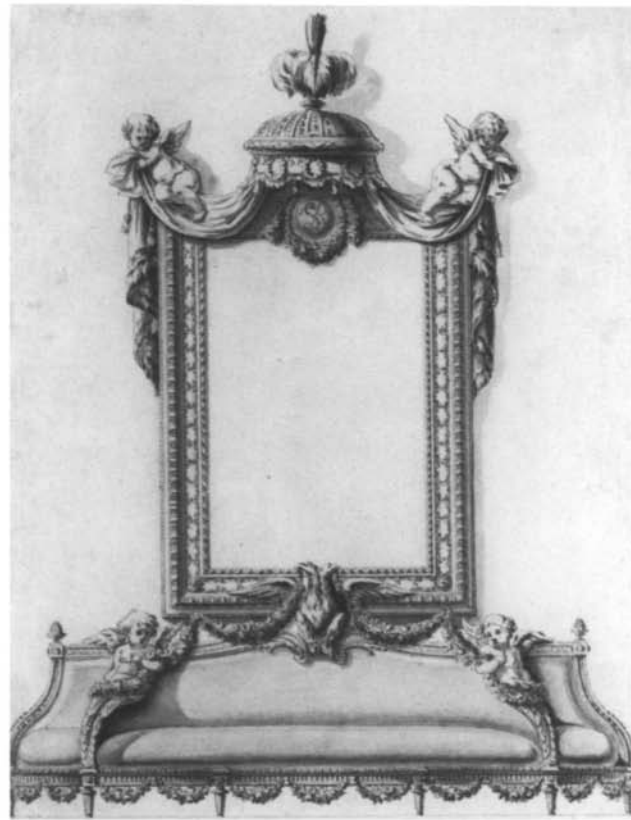


Figure 27. Attributed to Jean-Louis Prieur. Picture frame and *canapé*, circa 1766. Pen and ink on paper, 40.4 x 30.8 cm (15¹⁵/₁₆ x 12¹/₈ in.). New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum 1911-2*8-68.

Littera E . . . comme elle [la pendule] est de bon gout, il la faut envoyer si elle est achevée.⁷⁴ The drawing referred to is slightly different from the one sent from Paris in that the shape of the vase and its decoration have been changed (fig. 25).⁷⁵ Despite the fact that the model of the cartel was completed and ready to cast, it is not known whether it was finished and shipped to Poland. It does not appear in any subsequent records or in any of the inventories of the Royal Palace.⁷⁶

The room's floor plan (fig. 11) shows that seating furniture was to be placed around the perimeter. Under the framed portrait of Catherine the Great on the wall opposite the windows was placed a large *canapé à confidents* (letter F on the floor plan, where it is called an "ottomane"). Furthermore, the letter G on the floor plan indicates that "meubles. fixes assortis à l'appartement composés de fauteuils et Chaises sans y Comprendre les meubles courants," consisting of twelve armchairs and twelve stools, were to be distributed along the four walls.⁷⁷

Great care was taken in the making of the picture

frame and the seating furniture. The sculptor Coulonjon made at least two life-size terra-cotta models measuring fourteen feet (426.7 cm) in height by twelve and a half feet (381 cm) in width of the frame and the *canapé*. It is not known who supplied the uncarved frame, which was then completed by Coulonjon.⁷⁸ The *menuisier* Louis Delanois supplied the *canapé*,⁷⁹ which was carved by Coulonjon⁸⁰ and gilded by Nicolas Topin.⁸¹

Two drawings survive that show how the frame and *canapé* looked together (figs. 26–27).⁸² They were conceived as a single unit, joined not only by the common use of motifs such as garlands and children but also by a physical linking of the carved elements between the bottom of the frame and the top of the *canapé*. Neither one would have been complete without the other. This was somewhat less true of the armchairs and stools, though they too were conceived as integral parts of the design of the wall elevations. No drawing has survived that illustrates these "sièges meublants," though their design must have been virtually identical to that of the *canapé*. Great care was also taken in their design and making. Coulonjon made two life-size models of the

armchairs, one in wax and the other in walnut with no ornamentation, so that a new pattern of decoration in wax that had been approved could be placed on it. Delanois again supplied the undecorated frames⁸³ that Coulonjon carved⁸⁴ and Nicolas Topin gilded.⁸⁵ It is not known what other furniture, or “sièges courants,” was intended for this room, though it is possible that the twelve smaller armchairs of identical design were to be placed on the carpet decorated with a gold acanthus motif on a blue ground.⁸⁶

The picture frame and the seating furniture were only partially completed by the time the king discussed their shipment to Warsaw. With the new design of the room, the king felt that the “grand Cadre pour le Portrait, avec le Canapé dessous . . . sont absolument inutiles.”⁸⁷ The armchairs and stools were already packed, but the king requested that they be unpacked and that a decision be made as to whether they should be shipped to Warsaw. If not, their fabric upholstery, which was designed to harmonize with the walls of the room, was to be removed and sent along with the matching window and door curtains.⁸⁸ It was decided to ship the set and the frame with the rest of the objects sent in 1777,⁸⁹ some of which remained in storage in the palace until at least 1795.⁹⁰

The design of the *chambre des portraits* must have been completed by February 1766,⁹¹ at which time Madame Geoffrin was shown a reduced model of the room made by Jadot in Paris.⁹² She expressed her displeasure with the design in no uncertain terms.

Madame Geoffrin had been accused of encouraging the use of mirrors in the Royal Palace because she owned a large share of the mirrorworks at Saint-Gobain, a charge she later denied.⁹³ However, one of her main objections to the design of the room was indeed the handling of the mirrors. She believed that a mirror should not be surmounted by a painting, as this would make the mirror look like a window. Rather, since its purpose was to visually enlarge the interior space, the mirror should reach the ceiling molding in order to reflect the height of the room. Furthermore, she felt that “tous ces petits morceaux de glace étroits, qu’il [Louis] plaçait dans l’embrasure des croisées et des pans coupés étaient inutiles, puisqu’ils ne représentaient rien.”⁹⁴ Nor did she like the choice of fabric, which she maintained should have been a simple red or green appropriate for a picture gallery. According to Madame Geoffrin, “il [Louis] fallait qu’il se connût bien peu en tableaux pour ne pas savoir qu’aucun coloris de tableau, fût-ce celui de Titien, ne soutiendrait un tapisserie à fond de jais blanc couverte de fleurs dont les couleurs sont de la plus grande vivacité.”⁹⁵

Despite her many other objections, though, Victor Louis’s proposal was obviously accepted by the king, since so much of the work for this and the other rooms was completed and delivered as designed. A great deal of money was spent. The breakdown of the payments to the various suppliers illustrates what kind of finances were required for each aspect of the entire commission:

	Ouvrages	
	faits ou consideres Comme sils Letoient #	faits ou Enpartie faites #
Menuiserie par le S ^r Jadot	37642.19.4	37642.19.4
fontes Cizelures et dorure d’or Moulu par le S ^r Caffierry	80660."."	47800."."
Peinture et dorure sur bois par Le S ^r Topin	79022.19.5	66577.9.5
Sculpture en bois par Le S ^r Coullonjon et Guibert	77449.11."	77449.11."
Serrurerie par Le S ^r Perrez	24247.9."	24247.9."
Dorure Dor Moullu sur metaux par Le S ^r Charié	17152."."	17152."."
Serrurerie en dorure Dor moulu par Le S ^r Deumier	25714.12."	18598.12."
Marbrerie par Le S ^r Adam	10629.5."	10629.5."
Et Menuiserie des Meubles par Le S ^r Dela Nois	6362."."	6362."."
Il resulte de Ceque dessus que Tous les ouvrages ordonnés par M. Louis pour S.M. Le Roy de Pologne aux d. Entrep ^{ts} Monteront Lorsquils Seront Entierrem ^t finis a La Somme de trois cent Cinquante huit mille Trois Cent quatre Vingt Livres quinze Sols Neufs Deniers, Non Compris ceux du S ^r Prieur que Nous Navons point Estimes par les raisons que nous venons denoncer cy		358380#.15."
Et Ceux desd. ouvrages actuellement faites ou Enpartie faits par Nous Estimés en Leur Etat actuelle Montant a La Somme de Trois Cent Six mille quatre Cent Cinquante Neuf Livres Cinq Sols Neuf Deniers cy		306459#.5.9
A L’Egard des ouvrages du S ^r Prieur que nous avons point estime par La raison que disent, Ils montent Daprès larrangement fait avec Luy et M. Louis a La Somme de Cinquante Sept Mille Cinq Cent Livres—		57500#."." ⁹⁶

After the orders were placed for the interior walls, the furniture, and other objects, the king decided that the project was to be radically changed. It was probably too late, though, to stop many of the artists from completing their commissions. Despite so much being completed, the wall elevations were never installed, and some of the furniture was never even used in the decoration of the palace.⁹⁷

Louis's preliminary sketches of 1765 made in Warsaw and Prieur's final drawings sent to Warsaw in 1766 illustrate an important moment in Parisian interior and object design. Though some of the drawings still retain aspects of the Baroque and Rococo styles, both men were part of the more advanced group of artists working in the new and fashionable early Neoclassical style at a pivotal moment in its development. Their work illustrates the new ideas current at the time. Though the project was cancelled and the installations never made, the designs for the commission represent one of the most complete and homogeneous ensembles to have survived from the eighteenth century.

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NOTES

I owe a great debt to both Professor Stanislas Lorentz and François-Georges Pariset. Their publications on the Parisian orders of Stanislas Auguste and the redecoration of the Royal Palace in Warsaw include important information that was vital to my research and that played an important role in my understanding of the eighteenth-century relationships between Warsaw and Paris. New information in the present article is integrated with a great deal of their pioneering work. Whenever possible, references are made to the original archival sources rather than to these authors' various publications, except in those instances when relevant discussions develop a particular point or idea. Also, archival references retain their original spelling and punctuation where possible.

The majority of drawings that illustrate this article are preserved in the Gabinet Rycin Biblioteki Iniwerysteckiej w Warszawie (Print Cabinet in the Library of the University of Warsaw). The abbreviation GRBUW is used in the captions and notes when referring to documents in this collection. See T. Suleryska and S. Sawicka, *Katalog Rysunków z Gabinetu Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie: Czes' 1: Varsaviana*, Biblioteka Muzealnictwa i Ochrony Zabytków, seria a, tom 4 (Warsaw, 1967), pp. 80–99, where the entire collection of drawings is inventoried. (Hereafter Suleryska-Sawicka, *Katalog*). The illustrations in this article correspond to the following entries in the *Katalog*: fig. 2a: p. 86, no. 280; fig. 3: p. 84, no. 268; fig. 4: p. 84, no. 270; fig. 5: p. 84, no. 269; fig. 6: p. 84, no. 271; fig. 7: p. 87, no. 290; fig. 8: p. 85, no. 276; fig. 9: p. 87, no. 288;

fig. 10: p. 87, no. 288; fig. 11: p. 87, no. 287; fig. 14: p. 91, no. 309; fig. 15: p. 92, no. 315; fig. 16: p. 92, no. 314; fig. 19: p. 92, no. 313; fig. 21: p. 91, no. 312; fig. 22: p. 91, no. 311; fig. 24: p. 93, no. 320; fig. 25: p. 93, no. 319; fig. 26: p. 91, no. 310.

I have incurred many debts during the research for this article, first and foremost to Karin Blanc, Program Director of the European Bureau of the Getty Trust. The entire project would have been impossible without her untiring and enthusiastic help.

My trip to Warsaw to research the article would have been much less fruitful without the help of Maryla Szletyńska, who made appointments and served as general interpreter. Others who have been of assistance in my research are Christian Baulez of the château de Versailles; Dr. Bruno Pons; Dr. Bożenna Majewska-Maszkowska and Dr. Andrzej Rottermund, both of the Royal Palace, Warsaw; Elżbieta Budzińska of the Gabinet Rycin Biblioteki Iniwerysteckiej w Warszawie; Dr. Tadeusz Chrząstowski of the National Museum, Cracow; Christian Taillard, Bordeaux, France, who is writing a *thèse d'état* on the work of Victor Louis; and Dr. Ulrich Leben.

1. See the *Encyclopédie*, s.v. *serrurier* (vol. 15 [1765], pp. 118–119), where it states that the *communauté's* statutes were created in November 1411. The wide range of products is evident in the *Encyclopédie's* fifty-seven prints illustrating the tools and some of the finished products.
 2. Born 1696; elector of Saxony from February 1733, under the name Frederick Augustus II; elected king of Poland on October 5, 1733, and crowned in Cracow on January 17, 1736.
 3. The fourth son of Stanislas Ciolek Poniatowski, *grand maître de l'artillerie* as well as treasurer of Poland, and Princess Constance Czartoryska, the daughter of Prince Casimir Czartoryski, he was born in Wolczyn, Poland, on January 17, 1732. See *Correspondance Inédite du Roi Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski et de Madame de Geoffrin (1764–1777)*, notes by Charles de Mouÿ (Paris, 1875; reprint, Geneva, 1970), p. 4. (Hereafter *Correspondance*.)
 4. He arrived in Paris on August 31, 1753, and stayed until the end of January 1754. See *Correspondance*, p. 3.
 5. The former was his mother's cousin, the latter was the nephew of the *maréchal de Saxe*, illegitimate son of Augustus the Strong, who had been king of Poland from 1696 to 1733. See J.-P. Paléwski, *Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski: Dernier roi de Pologne* (Paris, 1946), p. 49.
 6. Palewski (note 4), p. 49.
 7. *Correspondance*.
 8. M. Martin, *Une française à Varsovie en 1766: Madame Geoffrin chez le Roi de Pologne Stanislas-Auguste*, Centre d'Etudes Polonaise de Paris, Mémoire no. 1 (Paris, 1936), pp. 5, 30–35, and 70–75. She left Paris on May 21, 1766, visited Vienna, and arrived in Warsaw on June 22, spending approximately seven weeks there with the king. She departed on her return journey on September 13, re-visiting Vienna before arriving in Paris at the end of October.
 9. He was described as a "marchand de varsovie." His first trip to Paris extended from approximately May or June to September 1764. See F.-G. Pariset, "Les découvertes du Professeur S. Lorentz sur Victor Louis à Varsovie," *Revue historique de Bordeaux et du Département de la Gironde*, Oct.–Dec. 1956, p. 284, and idem, "Problèmes posés par Victor Louis," *Revue historique de Bordeaux et du Département de la Gironde*, Jan.–Mar. 1958, p. 39.
- Letters from Czempinski to Stanislas Auguste, dated July 28, August 10, and August 12, 1764, are addressed to "Monseigneur," the title used for a prince, and not "Sire," the title used for a king. These letters are preserved in the National Archives, Warsaw, Zb. Popielow 230, fols. 143r–147v, fols. 141r–141v, and fols. 139r–140r, respectively. See also S. Lorentz, "Victor Louis et Varsovie," *Revue historique de Bordeaux et du Département de la Gironde*, Jan.–Mar. 1958, pp. 39–40, where they are partially quoted. According to *Jean-François Marmontel: Correspondance*, vol. 1 (1744–1780), ed. John Renwick (Clermont-

- Ferrand, 1974), p. 124, Stanislas Auguste was crowned king on November 25, 1765.
10. *Correspondance*, letter dated Aug. 10, 1764.
 11. National Archives, Warsaw, Zb. Popielow 230, fols. 133r–135v. See also Lorentz (note 9), p. 40.
 12. National Archives, Warsaw, Zb. Popielow 230, fols. 137r–138v. Partially reprinted in Lorentz (note 9), p. 41.
Victor Louis completed his architectural training in Italy (1756–1759) and returned to Paris, where he was making a name for himself in the Neoclassical style when he was chosen by Stanislas Auguste. His most important works came later in his career and include the new theater in Bordeaux (completed in 1780) and the interior galleries of the Palais Royal in Paris (1781–1784). For the only published monograph on Louis, see C.N. Marrionneau, *Victor Louis—Architecte du théâtre de Bordeaux: Sa vie, ses travaux et sa correspondance, 1731–1800* (Bordeaux, 1881).
 13. National Archives, Warsaw, Zb. Popielow 230, fols. 134v–135r, for Czempinski's letter. Germain states (note 11):

quant à ce qui concernoit l'architecture, je crus ne pouvoir rien faire de mieux que d'adopter le S^r Louis, qui passoit pour avoir du talent, je le chargeroi en conséquence du plan de la Salle qui a été remis a votre Majeste, j'étois persuadé qu'il nous serait attaché et qu'il travailleroit de concert avec moi et les artistes habiles que je me suis associés pour concourir à la perfection et à l'économie dans l'execution des ouvrages projecttés.
 14. *Correspondance*, p. 176.
 15. *L'Avantcoureur*, no. 30 (July 29, 1765), p. 464.
 16. Louis's visit lasted approximately six weeks. He left Warsaw soon after September 15. See S. Lorentz, "Prace Architekta Louis'a Dla Zamku Warszawskiego," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 13, no. 4 (1951), p. 50, where it is stated that Louis arrived during the second half of July.
 17. *Correspondance*, pp. 176–177.
 18. *Correspondance*, Jan. 1, 1766, pp. 194–195.
 19. The relevant letter is lost.
 20. *Correspondance*, Jan. 15, 1766, pp. 196–197.
 21. *Correspondance* p. 208.
 22. *Correspondance*, Feb. 3, 1766, pp. 211–212.
 23. This plan shows the *piano nobile*. The architect's original, grandiose plans must have been severely limited, allowing him only to concentrate on these five rooms. See Lorentz (note 16), pp. 53–58, for a discussion of the relationship between the 1764 plans for the reconstruction of the entire Royal Palace by the court architect Fontana and those produced by Louis.
 24. S. Lorentz, "Victor Louis à Varsovie," in *Urbanisme et architecture: Etudes écrites et publiées en l'honneur de Pierre Lavedon*, ed. H. Laurens (Paris, 1954), pp. 234–235, for a general discussion of the drawings.
 25. National Archives, Paris, Z⁹ 921, "Visite et Estimation des differents ouvrages fait pour S.M. Le Roy de Pologne par Differens Entrep^r de Paris sous Les Ordres de M^r Louis son arch^{te} M Mouchet Expert M^r Maugin G[reffier]," begun July 14, 1768, and finished Feb.–Mar. 1769. (Hereafter "Visite et Estimation.")
 26. National Archives, Warsaw, Zb. Popielow 231, fols. 64r–67r, "Registre des Meubles et effets arrivés de Paris d'après les commissions exécutés par le S^r Louis Architecte en 1777 et 1778." (Hereafter "Registre.") The accuracy of this list can be questioned since certain objects, though listed as having been part of the shipment(s) made in 1777 and 1778, were probably in Warsaw well before. Glayre's trip to Paris to clear up the king's debts is briefly discussed in *Mémoires du roi Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski*, vol. 2 (Leningrad, 1924), p. 477, and J. Fabre, *Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski et l'Europe des lumières: Etude de cosmopolitisme* (Paris, 1952), p. 426.
 27. "Note pour les Numeros 12. 13 et 14," GRBUW, attached to inv. T. 192, no. 33–35; see also Sulerzyska-Sawicka, *Katalog*, pp. 83–84, nos. 265–267. (Hereafter "Note.") This document must date from sometime before the shipment(s) made to Warsaw in 1777–1778 (note 26) but after the completion of the estimates in mid-1769 (note 25). F.-G. Pariset, "Jeszcze o Pracach Wiktora Louisa dla Zamku Warszawskiego," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 24, no. 2 (1962), p. 136, dates this document from 1779 and states that the objects were already in Warsaw by the time it was written. This is impossible, since the whole purpose of the document is to let Glayre know what would be needed from the objects still in Paris. Pariset also discusses the importance of another undated document (National Archives, Warsaw, Zb. Popielow 230, fol. 154r) in which the king seems to reverse several of his orders expressed in the "Note" mentioned above. Whether or not Glayre convinced the king to change his mind is not of the utmost importance to the history of this order.
 28. Annotated with the letters A through I. Drawing A is also annotated: *Receuil en 9 feuilles de différens meubles pour les Nos 12. 13 et 14. Inventés Par Prieur. Paris 1766*. Some drawings illustrate objects already shown in the collection, though they are generally not identical. It is not known why these second versions were made.
 29. W. Tartarkiewicz, *Dominik Merlini* (Warsaw, 1955).
 30. *Correspondance*, p. 89. The treaty between Russia, Prussia, and Austria agreeing to the first division of Poland was signed in St. Petersburg in 1772 and the actual partition took place in 1773.
 31. See note 23.
 32. Inscribed *Seconde Coupe de la Chambre des Portraits N^o 13. f. a Vars: en 1765*.
 33. Inscribed *Premiere Coupe de la Chambre des Portraits N^o 13. f. a. Vars: en 1765*.
 34. Inscribed *Troisieme Coupe de la Chambre des portraits N^o 13. f. a Vars: en 1765*. It is impossible to ascertain whether the overdoor was to be in relief or painted.
 35. Inscribed *Plan des mesures exactement levées de la Chambre a Portrait No. 13 dont une Copie a été envoyée le 22. Janvier 1766. par La poste a Paris et une seconde copie par Monsieur de Loyko le 24. Janvier*. The throne room and the king's bedroom had also had plans of this type drawn up (GRBUW, T. 192, no. 22 and T. 192, no. 23; see Sulerzyska-Sawicka, *Katalog*, p. 85, nos. 275 and 277, respectively, for these plans). Louis was also sent another detailed drawing showing the measured profiles of these three rooms (GRBUW, T. 192, no. 44; see Sulerzyska-Sawicka, *Katalog*, p. 89, no. 303). It is not known whether this drawing was sent with the three detailed floor plans since the inscription does not indicate a date: *Profils des pieces N^o 12. 13. et 14. tracés par M^r de Montalembert dont il a envoyé une Copie a M^r Louis, et en a gardé une Copie pour Lui meme*.
 36. This is certainly one reason why the king mentions to Madame Geoffrin that Louis would indeed be able to make something beautiful out of his palace. See note 17.
 37. National Archives, Warsaw, Zb. Popielow 230, fols. 148r–149v. It is difficult to believe that this fabric, so different from and so much more luxurious than the other fabric ordered by Czempinski, was not made specifically for Louis's design, where it plays such an important role. This would be impossible, since Louis did not submit his designs until 1766, approximately two years after this letter was written. Gaucheron is identified as the fabric designer in a notice in *L'Avantcoureur*, no. 21 (May 26, 1766), p. 330: "Le dessein qui fait la partie essentielle de toute espèce de décoration est aujourd'hui si cultivé en France, que nos artistes produisent toujours quelque nouveauté pinquante. M. Gaucheron, Dessinateur célèbre dans le genre des Etoffes, vient de dessiner un meuble pour la cour de Pologne, qu'on peut assurer joindre le goût à la magnificence; c'est un fond de jay blanc sur lequel sont répandues avec la plus grande intelligence des fleurs nuées de différents velours. Le sieur Gaucheron de-

meure sur Saint Honoré, chez M. Le Noir Notaire.” (I would like to thank Christian Baulez for bringing this notice to my attention.) Lorentz (note 16), p. 47, while mistakenly indicating that the background of the fabric for the seating furniture was to be gold instead of silver, does not discuss the relationship between Czempinski and Louis and what, if anything, was used in Louis’s designs from the earlier orders.

38. “Registre,” fol. 65r. The king states that the wall fabric was already in Warsaw (see note 27), despite the fact that it is listed in the 1777 shipment. See Pariset (note 27), p. 140, for a discussion of this question.

The wall fabric was carefully measured to fit, as indicated in a drawing showing the areas of each wall that were to be covered and their precise dimensions (GRBUW, T. 192 no. 53; see Sulzryska-Sawicka, *Katalog*, p. 85, no. 278).

The fabric remained in the palace until at least 1795, when it is described in the “Inventaire Général des meubles et effets mobiliers, qui sont dans le Chateau de Varsovie tant dans les Appartemens qu’occupe Sa Majesté que dans les autres logemens occupés par ceux à qui Elle les a accordés” (National Archives, Warsaw, Ks. J. Ponietowskiego 185, p. 96):

Meubles qui ont été destinés pour une Salle dite du portrait au Chateau de Varsovie

Six portières qui font 138 aunes de velours à fond d’argent frisé a #

Cinq cents onces de galon sur ces portieres

huit cent six onces de frange d’or

Trente deux demi Glands

Huit grandes Cocardes brodées en paillettes d’or qui ont chacune deux glands, & une tresse d’or

Cent Soixante cinq aunes environ de velours à fond brodé en jais. pour la tapisserie . . .

Une reste des portieres de celles qui ont servi pour l’ameublement de Lazienki faisant environ 13. aunes du même velours.

The wall fabric is described as velvet embroidered with “jais,” which normally would be jet beads, thus producing a black background. The elevations of the room clearly show that the background color is white. Madame Geoffrin provided the explanation in her letter of February 3, 1766, in which she described the fabric as “une tapisserie à fond de jais blanc” (*Correspondance*, p. 213). The word “jais” when used with an adjective such as “blanc” indicates a white glass used like jet beads; see *Trésor de la langue française: Dictionnaire de la langue du XIX^e et XX^e siècle (1789–1960)*, vol. 10 (Paris, 1983), p. 632. I would particularly like to thank Karin Blanc for this information.

39. “Note.” They are described as “dorées et relevées avec des fleurs de couleur.”
40. “Visite et Estimation,” fols. 94r–95v. The finished elevation (fig. 12) indicates that the two outer roundels were decorated with classical profiles rather than eagles. Honoré Guibert and Denis Coulonjon, *sculpteur*, made all the paneling and moldings for the king’s apartments. Little information is available on these two artisans, though the document states that Coulonjon was *directeur de l’Académie de Saint-Luc* (fol. 102r). Also see Bill G.B. Pallot, *L’art du siècle au XVIII^e siècle en France* (Paris, 1987).
41. “Visite et Estimation,” fols. 56v–60r. No further information is available on this artisan.
42. Sulzryska-Sawicka, *Katalog*, does not mention that this drawing is also inscribed with the letter A. See S. Eriksen, *Early Neo-Classicism in France* (London, 1974), p. 307, p. 71, where the author discusses some of the changes made to the design of the doors.
43. “Visite et Estimation,” fols. 14r–14v:

48. Le Modele du Chambranle des Cheminées en bois de tilleul avec ses Deux Consolles en Traverse de meme gran-

deur de l’execution orné de moulures et cannelures, pour modeller des bronzes et servir de guide au Marbrier, nous estimons La Somme de quarante livres cy 40#.”

49. Les deux portes pour remplir Led. Chambranle des Cheminées de la grandeur de L’execution pour servir a faire les bronzes et guider Le Serrurier, ce que nous estimons La Somme de Trente Livres cy 30#.”

Jadot was a *menuisier en bâtiments* in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine.

See Pallot (note 40), p. 48, for an engraving of Jadot’s workshop.

44. “Visite et Estimation,” fols. 137v–138r. The marble cost 29 livres, the actual carving cost 241 livres 2 sols. Adam was living at 16, rue des Dames du Calvaire au Marais at the time of the writing of this document. S. Lami, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l’école française au dixhuitième siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1910), p. 18, states that Adam, who was elected a member of the Académie de Saint-Luc in 1746, lived on the rue Popincourt in 1786.
45. “Visite et Estimation,” fols. 27r–27v and fol. 33r. When viewed by the inspectors, the gilt bronze was not finished. They reduced Caffieri’s asking price of 16,000 livres to 14,000 livres. The king’s monogram had been calculated separately, at 80 livres for each pair of doors.
- Caffieri was one of the most famous *bronziers* of the period. See Eriksen (note 42), pp. 157–158, for information on his work.
46. “Note”: “Si les 2. Cheminées de marbre, avec les Portes d’Acier poli et les ornements de bronze, sont faites, il faut les envoyer; sinon on s’informerá combien il en couteroit pour les finir.” The 1777 shipment (“Registre”) has a vague description of marble mantels being delivered: “Trois cheminées de marbre qui ne sont pas fini garni de bronze ciselée et non doré . . . 200.” Since there were only four mantels in the suite of rooms, this shipment of three unfinished ones must have contained at least one, if not both, of the *bleu turquin* examples.
47. “Note.” Despite the redesigning of the room, the king mentions that “Dans les Encoignures auprès des Fenêtres, se trouvent marqués 2. Vases accompagnés de Deux Figures dans le dessein *sub Littera D*, qu’il faudroit envoyer s’ils sont achevés, sinon, & [l’on s’informerá combien il en couteroit pour les faire achever].”
48. “Registre,” fol. 66v: “Deux autres piedestaux a pans coupée de marbre blanc garnie de bronze ciselée et non doré qui doivent servir pour les figures en plomb bronzée en brun . . . 120 [. . .] Deux groupes de deux figures chacun en plomb, ce sont deux femmes qui soutiennent un disque elles sont bronzé en brun et doré . . . 300.” Models of the marble bases were made in Paris by Jadot. See “Visite et Estimation,” fol. 14r. The present whereabouts of the *guéridons* and the bases are unknown. See Pariset (note 27), pp. 144–145, for a discussion of these lights.
49. “Visite et Estimation,” fol. 14r: “51. Deux panneaux Emboiteur de Chesne Tenant l’un de glace pour modeller Les Trepieds qui doivent se poser sur la tablette desd. cheminées, ce que nous estimons La Somme de neuf Livres cy 9#.”
50. “Visite et Estimation,” fol. 26v. See Eriksen (note 42), p. 352, fig. 206, where he discusses Caffieri’s making of these candelabra and the fact that they were originally supposed to be silvered.
51. “Registre,” fol. 65v, “six grandes athennienes à tête de bellier portant quatre lumières, de bronze doré d’or moulu et très bien ciselées . . . 1600.” Caffieri’s description does not include the “tête de bellier,” nor do the candelabra themselves. They are signed by Caffieri; one is dated 1766, one 1767, two 1768, and two are undated. See M.W. Przewoźna, “Bronzarbeiten ‘à la grecque’—die Bestellungen des Warschauer Hofes in den Jahren 1766–1768,” *Vergoldete Bronzen—Die Bronzarbeiten des Spätbarock und Klassizismus*, vol. 2 (Munich, 1986), p. 559, where two of the signatures are illustrated.
52. “Visite et Estimation,” fols. 140v–141r.

53. "Visite et Estimation," fol. 27r: "Bronzes sur 2 pedestaux pour Chambre des Portraits . . . 4000#." This brief description could indicate either the white marble stands for the candelabra in the corners of the room or the *bleu turquin* pedestals. Because of the high price, it probably does indicate the latter pair.
54. For the king's description, see "Note": "il y a deux Piedestaux de marbre, en forme d'Autel, ornés de festons de bronze, *sub Littera C*, portant des Girandoles aussi de bronze, qu'il faudra envoyer, si elles sont finies; sinon, l'on s'informerá combien il en couteroit pour les faire achever." The drawing is inscribed *4 pieds d'esteaux en Marbre revetus de bronze tels que le dessein, tout fondu et en grande partie Siselé*. There is some confusion about the inscription, which specifies that there were four columns, but only two in *bleu turquin* were called for.
55. These were the only pedestals of *bleu turquin* marble ordered and are always described as being full columns. The description in the "Registre," when they were apparently shipped, specifies "Deux billots ou demi colonnes de marbre bleu turquin forment garni de bronze doré d'or moulu." The discrepancy is unexplained. Pariset (note 27), p. 144, discusses these differences but offers no explanation for them. The photograph here reproduced is from S. Iskierski, *Les bronzes du château royal et du palais de Lazienki à Varsovie* (Warsaw, 1929), fig. 2.
56. See Eriksen (note 42), p. 392, fig. 409, where the drawing is only partially reproduced.
57. See Eriksen (note 42), p. 391, fig. 407. Pariset (note 27), p. 141, discusses the differences between these two drawings.
58. *L'Avantcoureur*, no. 46 (Nov. 16, 1767), p. 727: ". . . Le Sieur d'Eumiers, Serrurier du Roi, demeurant place du Carrousel, qui avait déjà travaillé en fer poli & en cuivre, avec beaucoup d'art, un pied en console pour support d'une table de marbre, ouvrage précieux que les Amateurs ont admiré à Paris, & qui était destiné pour la Pologne." Deumier also supplied the door furniture for Warsaw as well as other metal hardware for the picture frame for the *chambre des portraits* and the bronze framing for pieces of mirror set into two archways probably intended for the *boudoir*. Little else is known about Deumier or his work. Eriksen (note 42), pp. 171–172, states that he was active in the 1760s and discusses the Warsaw commission. Both Pierre Deumier père and Pierre Deumier fils signed official documents concerning work done or land purchases throughout the 1770s and 1780s, found in the Archives Nationales, Paris, Z^U 952, Z^U 987, Z^U 994, Z^U 1013, Z^U 1020, Z^U 1042, Z^U 1047, Z^U 1054, Z^U 1089, Z^U 1111, Z^U 1196, Z^U 1201, and Z^U 1285. Both are called *serruriers du roi et de la ville* (Z^U 994), and one owned buildings on the rue Neuve des Mathurins, Chaussée d'Antin, at 16, rue d'Argenteuil and on the rue des Moisseaux (Z^U 1047). Joseph Perez, *maître serrurier*, was a witness to one of the documents (Z^U 994; see below).

F.–G. Pariset, "Notes sur Victor Louis," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français*, 1959, p. 55, incorrectly attributes the original console table to the *maître serrurier* Joseph Perez for no apparent reason. Perez, living on the rue Sainte Croix de la Bretonnière, *paroisse* Saint-Merry, was indeed commissioned to work on the project for the Polish court but did not supply any furniture. Rather, he produced window furniture of two different designs that, at the time of the "Visite et Estimation," was being gilded in the rue Coquillière, *paroisse* Saint-Germain, workshop of Charié, *M^e Doreur Argenteur* (note 25, fol. 106r). These were part of the 1777–1778 shipment of objects to Warsaw. They are described as

sept belles et grandes espagnolettes de bronze doré d'or moulu très bien ciselées avec leur vis mantonets canon et poignées pour sept fenêtres 700

six autres espagnolettes de fer couleur d'eau avec leur vis mantonets canon et poignées de bronze très bien ciselées et doré d'or moulu pour six fenêtres 400

He also supplied a large number of screws and brackets and various metal pieces that were to be used in the construction of the seating furniture for the *chambre des portraits* ("Visite et Estimation," fol. 119r).

59. *L'Avantcoureur*, no. 32 (Aug. 8, 1763), pp. 503–504. Eriksen (note 42), pp. 171–172, was the first to publish this information.

The advertisement continues:

Le sieur Deumier travail depuis long temps à perfectionner ce morceau, par lequel il s'est proposé de donner une idée de la perfectibilité de la serrurerie, qui a été regardée jusqu'à présent comme un travail purement mécanique, & se tenant point du tout au génie. Les grands morceaux qui ont paru depuis quelques années ont commencé à détruire le préjugé. Le sieur Deumier seroit très flatté d'y contribuer par ses productions. Si celle qui ose de mettre aujourd'hui sous les yeux du public a quelque mérite, comme il peut le croire d'après les témoignages d'un grand nombre de curieux & d'amateurs, il se croit capable de prouver que l'art de travailler le fer, peut être porté au plus haut degré de perfection, malgré les difficultés qu'il y a de le mettre en oeuvre, puisqu'il est le seul de tous les métaux qui ne peut se fondre en conservant ses premiers principes; mais sous une main habile ce métal obéit comme la cire, & reçoit les formes les mieux dessinées & les plus agréables . . .

60. *L'Avantcoureur*, no. 2 (Jan. 12, 1761), pp. 24–25. See Eriksen (note 42), pp. 172–173. Germain Doré was made *maître-serrurier* in 1760.
61. *L'Avantcoureur*, no. 26 (June 26, 1762), p. 413.
62. *L'Avantcoureur*, no. 46 (Nov. 16, 1767), p. 727.
63. *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de L'Ile-de-France*, 1935, p. 21. The marquis de Marigny (1727–1781) was appointed the *directeur général des bâtiments, jardins, arts, académies et manufactures royales* in 1751.
64. *L'Avantcoureur* (note 58), p. 727.
65. "Visite et Estimation," fol. 14r: "53. Le Modele en grand pour de pied de Table Entre Les Deux Croisées avec Tablette pour servir de guide au Marbrier, et fait des panneaux pour juster [?] Les glaces et guider Le fondeur pour Les bronzes, Ce que nous estimons La Somme de Trente Livres cy 30#." "
66. "Visite et Estimation," fols. 141v–142r:

Une table de bleu turquin, chantournée de 4p ½ sur 2 pied et 18^l d'après Lesd. dimensions Ennoncées aud. Memoire, et Conforme aus Mesures que M. Louis Nous a déclaré avoir Donné, Cette table est posée sur Le pied de Serrurerie fait par Le S^r Deumier L'un et L'autre sont actuellement en Pologne D'après ces dimensions nous Estimons Led. Table La Somme de Cent Soixante Livres cy 160." "

Un Socle Contournée de marbre bleu pour porter led. pied, formant pied de Lutrin que nous Estimons pour Cube de marbre et façon, La Somme de Cent quarante Livres cy 140." "

The *bleu turquin* marble was coordinated with the column on each side of the table and the *faux-marbre* in *bleu turquin* painted by Nicolas Topin on the baseboards of the room. See "Visite et Estimation," fol. 59r. Also see "Registre," fol. 66r, where a steel table is again described as being part of the 1777–1778 shipment of objects sent to Warsaw: "Une table d'acier a dessus de marbre bleu turquin garni de bronze doré d'or moulu . . . 800." Because of this latter description, there was some question as to whether there were two console tables made. This is highly doubtful, since Louis's plans clearly show only one. Furthermore, all subsequent inventories describe only a single console table.

67. See "Inventaire" (note 38), p. 91: "Une table faite toute d'acier poli d'ornements de bronze doré en or moulu dans la Cartouche

- desquels sont les armes de Sa Majesté avec un dessus de marbre bleu turquin & un socle de meme marbre large de 2¼ aunes."
68. Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, Paris, Ms 146: "Inventaire de Stanislas Poniatowski II de Pologne 1798," p. 125: "no. 77. Une table faite toute d'acier poli garnie de bronze doré dans le cartouche desquelles sont les armes du R[oi] avec un dessus de marbre bleu turquin 250 [ducats]." A ducat was worth slightly more than ten livres, therefore making the table worth approximately 2,500 livres.
69. Fabre (note 26), p. 1.
70. See note 68.
71. Seen by Karin Blanc in August 1990. Unfortunately, it apparently no longer retains its central plaque decorated with the monogram of Stanislas Auguste. Tamara Rappe, curator of furniture at the State Hermitage, has not yet replied to a letter dated September 10, 1990, confirming whether this is indeed the table originally made for the *chambre des portraits* in the Royal Palace in Warsaw.
72. Two console tables are in the collection of Baron Elie de Rothschild, Paris. They have gilt-bronze female masks in the center of the apron and are made of polished steel, as was the original. Pariset (note 27), p. 141, incorrectly states that only one is polished steel. Two in silvered bronze, also with gilt-bronze female masks in the center of the apron, are in the collection of the Musée Nissim de Camondo, Paris, cat. no. 190. They were purchased in 1917 from Jacques Seligmann. Pariset, p. 141, incorrectly states that they are in polished steel. Another two are on display in Marble House in Newport, Rhode Island. They were donated to the Newport Preservation Society after their purchase in 1957 by Harold S. Vanderbilt from the New York dealers French & Company. One, made of polished steel, has a leaf-and-berry mount in the center of the apron and the other, made of silvered bronze, has an escutcheon decorated with three fleur-de-lys. Theodore Dell has stated that the latter console table is definitely not eighteenth century in date.
- A final two are now part of the French national collections at the château de Versailles, France. One of these was originally silvered and is now gilded. Neither one dates from the eighteenth century.
73. Ex-collection Arturo Lopez-Willshaw, sold at Sotheby's, Monaco, June 23, 1976, lot 108. Acquired at that sale by the British Rail Pension Fund, from which the Museum acquired it in 1988 through private treaty. Several of the console tables made after the original in polished steel for Warsaw were made of silvered bronze. This was probably done to lower the cost of the table, since bronze was less expensive.
74. "Note."
75. The drawing is inscribed *E. Pendul dont le Model est tout finis pres a fondre*, and *J.-L. Prieur*.
76. The 1795 inventory of the royal palace (note 38) does list two cartel clocks made in Paris, each with "vason," but the descriptions are too vague to identify the cartel with the one made for the *chambre des portraits*.
77. The floor plan actually shows only ten stools, though all the records indicate that twelve were ordered. There were actually thirteen large armchairs and thirteen smaller ones made, the thirteenth of each type being models. See "Visite et Estimation," fol. 143v, under the objects supplied by Delanois.
78. "Visite et Estimation," fols. 104r-104v.
79. See S. Eriksen, *Louis Delanois, menuisier en sièges (1731-1792)* (Paris, 1968), p. 54, in which the appropriate section from Delanois's *Livre-journal* is reprinted. The appropriate section in the "Visite et Estimation," fols. 142r-144r, is slightly different. Both documents indicate that there were two *canapé* frames made, the second possibly as a model only. See "Visite et Estimation," fol. 143v, where it is specified that extra armchairs were made as models only. See also Pallot (note 40), p. 44, where the various models are discussed.
80. "Visite et Estimation," fol. 103v.
81. "Visite et Estimation," fol. 79r.
82. See Pallot (note 40), p. 195, for a brief discussion of the drawing.
83. See note 79.
84. "Visite et Estimation," fols. 102r-102v.
85. "Visite et Estimation," fols. 80v and 86v.
86. Eriksen (note 79) and "Visite et Estimation," fol. 143v. Pariset (note 27), p. 140, states that part of this seating furniture was intended for the king's bedroom. Unfortunately, he does not give any source for this information, and no reference to seating furniture in the bedroom has been found. On the other hand, since all the seating furniture was to be covered with the same fabric, it seems logical that they would have been intended for the same room, i.e., the *chambre des portraits*. Furthermore, the floor plan of this room (fig. 11) indicates that there were to be "meubles courants," which would therefore support this hypothesis. Lorentz (note 16), p. 61, describes the carpet for the room.
87. "Note."
88. "Note":
- Comme les Tabourets et les Fauteuils sont finis et même embalés; M^r Glayre en fera déballer un ou deux pour juger en quel état ils sont; s'il ne croit pas devoir les envoyer, Il en fera Oter l'Etoffe et l'envoyera avec les Rideaux et les Portières, qui sont de velours à fond d'argent avec des crépines, qu'Il ordonnera de découdre, a fin quelles ne gâtent pas l'Etoffe. La Tapisserie est à Varsovie.
89. "Registre," fols. 65r-65v:
- Un grand canapée a confident superieurement sculpté et doré il est a chassis garni en Toile. L'etoffe i manque 120
- douze grands fauteuils a chassis supérieurement sculpté dont il n'y en a que six de doré, couvert de velours de quatre couleurs nuancées a font d'argent et des housses de gros de Tour vert 1090
- Douze autres fauteuils plus petit dont les fonds sont a coussins couverts du même velours que les précédents à l'exception des bras auquel il manque l'etoffe que nous n'avons pas recu ils ont des housses de gros de Tour 1000
- Douze tabourets desquels il n'y en a que huit de garnis et couverts du même velours que les fauteuils avec des housses de ces tabourets aucun n'est doré 320
- Also see fol. 66v:
- Un grand cadre pour le portrait superbement sculpté et doré (à Ujazdoue) 200
90. See "Inventaire" (note 38), p. 96, where only four large armchairs, twelve regular armchairs, and fourteen stools are listed (two of which were made as models only):
- Meubles qui ont été destinés pour une Salle dite du portrait au Chateau de Varsovie [. . .]*
- Quatre grands fauteuils à bras superieurement sculptés couverts de la même étoffe que les portières avec une housse de gros de tours vert
- Douze fauteuils en cabriolet plus petit dont les fonds sont à coussin de plume couvertes de la même étoffe que les precedents à l'exception des bras avec des housses de gros de tours vert dont la pluspart est mouillée & pourris dans le transport
- Quatorze tabourets pareils & couverts de la même étoffe
91. *Correspondance*, Feb. 3, 1766, pp. 210-214.

92. "Visite et Estimation," fols. 14r-14v:

52. a été fait Le Modele Entier de Led. Salle des portraits
reduit au 6 Lignes pour pieds orné de toute Son architec-
ture, croisées, portes et Cheminées, fourny et ajusté
Toutes Les Glaces [. . .] des portes, Croisées Che-
minées et Trumeau et Les Verres des Croisées, Deux
Caises pour embaler Led. Model, Ce que nous estimons
La Somme de Quatre Cent livres cy 400#."

93. See note 91.

94. *Correspondance*, pp. 212-213. See also the room's floor plan (fig. 11), where these mirrors are indicated by the letter *E*.

95. *Ibid.*

96. "Visite et Estimation," fol. 144v.

97. The new plans by the architect Merlini did not even include a portrait gallery. See note 29 for information on this architect.

Ecstasy in the Wilderness: Pier Francesco Mola's *The Vision of Saint Bruno*

Dawson W. Carr

Pier Francesco Mola's *The Vision of Saint Bruno* (figs. 1a–d) is a simple and eloquent image. The founder of the Carthusian order is shown reclining in the wilderness. In the distance, two of his brothers walk together, but Bruno has been meditating in solitude, with a book, a cross, and a skull on the ground before him. He turns from his devotions to look into the sky, where a vision of heaven, announced by cherubim, is breaking through the clouds. Upon seeing it, Bruno reaches out longingly. He is not frightened but is lost in a sweet, mystical ecstasy.

The mood of the painting, at once serene and ecstatic, centers on the languid figure. The pose, and particularly the gesture, are taken up by Bruno's surroundings in a complex counterpoint that echoes his rapture.

The panorama of the countryside in rich browns and ochers is set off by an ultramarine sky, shot through with warm sunlight playing through the clouds. Mola connects the heavenly vision and the saint's gesture by means of a great cloud that swoops from the cherubim back into space and descends on the mountain behind Bruno's hand. The cloud casts a shadow across the landscape, including the area around Bruno. The play of light on the figure and, particularly, the eloquent shadows cast by the fingers of his upraised hand make clear that the light illuminating the saint cannot derive from the sun but emanates instead from the vision.

One of Mola's largest canvases, *The Vision of Saint Bruno* immediately proclaims itself a masterwork of color, design, and expression. It also demonstrates that Mola was among the most sophisticated practitioners of painterly painting in seventeenth-century Rome. It was a work conceived to be the best that the artist could offer, and indeed, the numerous copies executed in Mola's time indicate that it was his most popular work.

The following pages will consider how this powerful and sensuous image of a relatively obscure eleventh-century hermit came to be among Pier Francesco Mola's greatest works. After a brief sketch of the life of Mola and of the man he depicts, the painting's creation will be considered in light of Mola's career and the art of his

time. The technique and the date of the work will be examined. An attempt will then be made to read the painting within the context of the culture in which Mola lived. Finally, the early history of the work will be considered, because it is now possible to identify its first owner as well as the probable means by which he acquired the painting. In Appendix 1, the condition of the work will be discussed, while Appendix 2 contains a catalogue of the versions of *The Vision of Saint Bruno*.

THE ARTIST

Pier Francesco Mola was born in 1612 in the village of Coldrerio in the canton of Ticino, just south of Lugano.¹ His father, Giovanni Battista Mola, was an architect, and in 1616, when Pier Francesco was four, he moved his family to Rome. Mola is reported to have learned the rudiments of painting in apprenticeships with two competent Roman artists, Prospero Orsi and Cesare d'Arpino, but little trace of their art can be found in his known works.²

Beginning in 1633, Mola led a somewhat peripatetic existence in northern Italy, only returning to Rome definitively in 1647, when he was thirty-five.³ In this period he continued his training and began his career as an artist, although not without reference to the prevailing taste in Rome. Particularly important to his development were two years spent in the studio of Francesco Albani in Bologna, probably in the 1630s. There he learned the principles of the classical style that Annibale Carracci had established in Rome around 1600 and that remained the cornerstone for art produced in the city well into the following century. Of at least equal importance was a stay in Venice, where he studied and emulated the sensuous colorism and surface texture of the painters of the preceding century.

From the start of his career, Mola showed a gift for landscape. In early works (see fig. 2), the figures are dominated by their setting in the tradition of the classical landscapes of Albani.⁴ Yet there are no pure landscape paintings in his oeuvre; he seems to have always aspired to be a figure painter in the grand manner.⁵



Figure 1a. Pier Francesco Mola (Italian, 1612–1666). *The Vision of Saint Bruno*, circa 1660. Oil on canvas, 194 x 137 cm (76³/₈ x 53⁷/₈ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 89.PA.4.



Figure 1b.



Figure 1c.



Figure 1d.



Figure 2. Pier Francesco Mola. *Elijah and the Widow of Zarephath*, early 1640s. Oil on canvas, 65.4 x 48.9 cm (25³/₄ x 19¹/₄ in.). Sarasota, Ringling Museum SN 139, bequest of John Ringling.



Figure 3. Pier Francesco Mola. *Saint Barnabas Preaching*, circa 1652. Oil on canvas, 210 x 130 cm (82⁵/₈ x 51¹/₈ in.). Rome, Santi Ambrogio e Carlo al Corso. Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome.

By 1650, three years after his return to Rome, he proved his mastery of the figure in compositions that all but do away with landscape, such as the looming *Turkish Warrior* (Paris, Musée du Louvre).⁶ While Mola had earlier depended on private collectors, he gained some important public commissions, including a major altarpiece (fig. 3).⁷ His public career culminated in the large fresco of *The Meeting of Joseph and His Brothers* (fig. 4) of 1656–1657, commissioned for the Quirinal Palace by Pope Alexander VII and carried out under Pietro da Cortona.⁸

For his public commissions, Mola adopted a more formal style than he was practicing in the same years in easel paintings for private collectors. These easel paintings are more biased toward the Venetian tradition in color, format, and particularly in the active role played



Figure 4. Pier Francesco Mola. *The Meeting of Joseph and His Brothers*, 1656–1657. Fresco, 475 x 475 cm (187 x 187 in.). Rome, Palazzo del Quirinale, Galleria di Alessandro VII. Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome.

by landscape. In the painting most like *The Vision of Saint Bruno*, Mola represents the lovers Bacchus and Ariadne (fig. 5) in an adaptation of the poses of Titian's lovers in *The Three Ages of Man* (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, on loan from the Duke of Sutherland).⁹ Mola's pictures of this type are quite unlike anything else being produced in Rome at the time. To the collector looking for a landscape painting, the market provided a wide variety of types, including the high classical landscapes of Poussin and Claude and the wild, untamed scenes of a proto-Romantic group of painters including Gaspard Dughet and Salvator Rosa. But Mola's works represented a different, often more enigmatic sensibility.

As he approached the height of his creative powers, Mola's fortunes tragically declined. His troubles began in 1659, when he sued Prince Camillo Pamphili over the payment for his nearly completed vault fresco for the Stanza dell'Aria of the Palazzo Pamphili at Valmontone.¹⁰ Not only did the prince have his fresco replaced with the work of another artist, but the lawsuit dragged on to a verdict against Mola in 1664, draining his health and finances. Although he received the support of other artists and was elected *principe* of the Accademia di San Luca in 1662, he was virtually ostracized by the aristocratic patrons who had previously employed him. He received no more major commissions and had to resign



Figure 5. Pier Francesco Mola. *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 1655–1659. Oil on canvas, 114.4 x 86.4 cm (45 x 34 in.). Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum 477.

from the academy owing to illness in 1663. He died in 1666 at the age of fifty-four.

Mola was a man of independent spirit. He never married, and he chose to live apart from the neighborhoods inhabited by artists in Rome. He never showed allegiance to any one school of painting, and there is nothing to indicate that he shared the passion of his friend Pietro Testa for art theory.¹¹

In general, it might be said that his work is a synthesis of Venetian and Bolognese-Roman traditions. Many seventeenth-century Roman artists had been attracted to the sensuous qualities of the Venetian art of the preceding century. The classical style of Annibale had its Venetian elements, and the colors, compositions, and techniques of the Venetian style had played a role in the evolution of artists as diverse as Pietro da Cortona and Poussin. However, no other painter of Mola's generation was quite so imbued with the spirit of Venetian Cinquecento painting. Nonetheless, he was and remained a Roman, and he responded quite directly to the art and artists around him. In his best works, his sources are assimilated into a highly personal, enchanting vision.

REPRESENTATIONS OF HERMIT SAINTS

Mola's penchant for landscape painting was perfectly suited to the representation of an enduring theme in Christian art, the hermit in the wilderness. The depiction of hermit saints had long been a favorite with painters for the opportunity it provided to display their skill at landscape and for the challenge of capturing the heightened psychological states of men and women who live in solitude. With the Renaissance and the rise of landscape painting, the depiction of Christian hermits became a kind of subgenre in its own right, and the Venetians particularly embraced this type of picture for its emotive potential. Titian's art provided a profound example of the use of landscape to evoke the mood of one of these hermit scenes (fig. 6). The popularity of such paintings continued to grow, and most seventeenth-century painters produced them.

Mola's works of this type include important hermits from the Old Testament (fig. 2); John the Baptist, the initiator of the Christian hermit tradition;¹² and Jerome, the early Christian hermit popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for his penitential nature (fig. 7).

The status of hermit images in the Renaissance and Baroque periods was tied, in part, to the Counter-Reformation ideal of returning to the pure, intensely felt religion of early Christianity. The eremitic existence had provided the principal model for ardent religious life before the establishment of monasteries.

In this period, hermits were usually depicted in a landscape, even if a minimal one. The development of themes set outdoors in the art of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries coincided with the development of a Christian optimism that saw nature as a manifestation of God and his goodness.¹³ Widely read devotional treatises by Carlo Borromeo and Roberto Bellarmino advocated contemplation of nature as a primary means of raising the soul to God.¹⁴ It was an effort to involve all Christians in the hermit's world, if only briefly.

The popularity of these pictures also perhaps resulted in part from a revival of Stoicism. In common with Christian hermits, Stoic philosophers had placed the pursuit of virtue above all else, rejecting wealth and earthly comforts in favor of a simple life lived in harmony with nature. Seneca in particular had stressed the need to withdraw from the world into contemplation. The Neo-Stoic movement began among intellectuals in the Renaissance and reached maturity in the early seventeenth century with the publication of treatises by Justus Lipsius and Gaspar Scioppius, who attempted to reconcile the virtuous life of Stoic philosophy with Christian virtue.¹⁵ Neo-Stoicism was also adopted by a number of painters; in Mola's Rome, the most noteworthy examples included Nicolas Poussin and Salvator Rosa, who painted themes relating specifically to Stoic principles.¹⁶ Conventional Stoic subjects do not appear in Mola's work, but there is little doubt that he was familiar with the philosophy.¹⁷

The noble hermits of the Bible and early Christianity were often depicted by great landscape artists, but Mola seems to have been the first artist to extend the genre to include the Carthusians. The subject was quickly taken up by his followers, who produced numerous landscapes populated with Carthusians.¹⁸ Even as Mola was creating his masterwork, Bruno's successors were living on the edge of Rome. As the modern equivalents of the older Christian hermits, the Carthusians were ideally suited to Mola's aesthetic purposes.

SAINT BRUNO AND THE CARTHUSIAN ORDER

Bruno was born about the year 1030 in Cologne.¹⁹ He received an exemplary education in the cathedral school at Rheims, where he returned in 1056 as a professor of theology. His brilliant academic career led to his appointment as chancellor of the archdiocese in 1074. In addition to academic honors, he was praised as an incomparable teacher by his students, including a future pope. Bruno was forced to flee Rheims in 1076, when he and other cathedral canons denounced their powerful archbishop for simony. When the archbishop was deposed four years later, Bruno returned and was offered



Figure 6. Titian (Tiziano Vecelli [Italian, 1490–1576]). *Saint Jerome Penitent*, circa 1530. Oil on canvas, 80 x 102 cm (31½ x 40⅞ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre 750. Photo: Musées Nationaux, Paris.



Figure 7. Pier Francesco Mola. *Saint Jerome Penitent*, early 1650s. Oil on canvas, 128 x 188 cm (50⅜ x 74 in.). Lugano, Collection of Bruno Scardeoni.

his post, which he declined.

During the turmoil of this period, he had come to a decision to forsake the active life and retire to the wilderness to lead the contemplative life of a Christian hermit. He resigned his benefice and persuaded six friends to accompany him. Their search for perfect solitude eventually led to the diocese of Grenoble, where in 1084 Bishop Hugh gave them a valley situated high in the remote Chartreuse Mountains of the French Alps. There they established what would become the Grande Chartreuse, the mother house of the order.²⁰

On the difficult site, which is covered with snow most of the year, Bruno and his companions built a primitive church and small hermitage cells a little distance from one another. Within the practical context of contemporary monasticism, Bruno tried to re-create the life of heroic asceticism of the biblical and early Christian hermits.

Bruno enjoyed only six years at the Grande Chartreuse before he was called to Rome to advise his former pupil, Pope Urban II. At the papal court Bruno longed for solitude, and following his refusal of yet another high ecclesiastical office, the pope gave him leave to retire once again to establish a new hermitage. This time, Bruno and some disciples were given the valley of La Torre in the wilderness of Calabria, on the toe of the boot of Italy. There he established another monastery, which still exists, far from other human habitation in the midst of a beautiful, dense forest.²¹ Here Bruno spent his last years and it was here that he died on October 6, 1101.

Bruno wrote no rule because he did not intend to found a new monastic order, but the example of his life served as a source of inspiration for succeeding generations of Carthusians.²² Remarkably, the pattern of Carthusian life has remained unchanged for over nine hundred years because the order has always carefully conformed to Bruno's original purpose and methods. Carthusians withdraw from the world not to avoid life but to live it in the presence of God. This is achieved primarily through spiritual exercises in the silence and solitude of individual hermitages, complemented with liturgical celebrations in choir (although such celebrations are much reduced in comparison with the practices of other orders).²³

In keeping with their primary function as hermitages, charterhouses were ideally established in places remote from centers of habitation, although some were built within the walls of cities. In Mola's time, this was true of the Carthusian community in Rome. The Certosa di Santa Maria degli Angeli was established in 1561 in the ruins of the Baths of Diocletian, where Bruno



Figure 8. Jacques de la Feuille. *Plan of Rome* (Amsterdam, circa 1700). Detail showing the Certosa di Santa Maria degli Angeli in the ruins of the Baths of Diocletian. Santa Monica, Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Resource Collections.

had set up a hermitage during his years of service to Pope Urban II.²⁴ While the locale was more rural in Mola's time than it is today (fig. 8), Michelangelo's renovations of the church gained the monastery more fame than the Carthusians desired. Today, the Carthusians are gone. The art of pagan Rome is contemplated in the main cloister, now part of the Museo delle Terme, and tourists fill the aisles of the church. But some former hermitage cells still exist behind the museum. In Mola's day, the Carthusians could be seen on the edge of Rome, perhaps during their weekly walks in the country; it was only at these times that the strict rule of silence was relaxed.

Because the Carthusians shun worldly honors, Saint Bruno was never formally canonized. While his cult was approved by Pope Leo X for the Carthusians in 1514, it did not become widespread until the Counter-Reformation, when his life of austere devotion was promoted as exemplary. He was made a saint in 1623, when the celebration of his feast day was extended to the Universal Church by Pope Gregory XV.

Before the seventeenth century, much extraordinary art was produced for Carthusian monasteries, particularly those that house the tombs of royal families, like the Chartreuse de Champmol near Dijon and the Certosa di Pavia near Milan. But, while Bruno was occasionally depicted in a book illustration or in the form of a statue, he only rarely appeared in large paintings before the seventeenth century.²⁵



Figure 9. Simon Vouet (French, 1590–1649). *Saint Bruno Receiving the Rule of the Carthusian Order*, circa 1625. Oil on canvas, 255 x 165 cm (100³/₈ x 64⁵/₁₆ in.). Naples, Certosa di San Martino, Chapter House. Photo: Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici e Storici di Napoli.

In the wake of the approval of Bruno's cult for all Catholics in 1623, new paintings were commissioned for charterhouses across Europe, including important new cycles of his life.²⁶ Many independent images were also created for a variety of uses. In Italy, artists who depicted the new saint tended to use poses and compositions based on altarpiece formulas, regardless of the intended uses of the paintings. One of the earliest independent paintings of Bruno produced after his "canonization" was Simon Vouet's *Saint Bruno Receiving the Rule of the Carthusian Order* (fig. 9), created about 1625 for the Certosa di San Martino in Naples.²⁷ The small copper panel (fig. 10), which Ribera based on Vouet's composition, was apparently created for private devotion at San Martino.²⁸ Perhaps the most spectacular of the new altarpieces was Guercino's for the charterhouse of Bologna (fig. 11), in which, as in Vouet's canvas, Bruno has a vision of the Virgin Mary, the patron of the Carthusians.²⁹



Figure 10. Jusepe de Ribera (Spanish, active in Naples, 1591–1652). *The Vision of Saint Bruno*, 1643. Oil on copper, 38 x 27 cm (15 x 10½ in.). Naples, Museo di San Martino. Photo: Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici e Storici di Napoli.

THE VISION AND ITS MEANING

The representation of mystical experience is one of the most prominent themes of Baroque devotional iconography.³⁰ Of course, painters had depicted saints in ecstasy before, in masterworks like Giovanni Bellini's *Saint Francis* (New York, Frick Collection),³¹ but beginning in the late sixteenth century, more and more artists began to explore the psychology of mortal man overcome by the presence of the divine. Sometimes depictions of visions were literal interpretations of the subject's description of actual experience, like Bernini's *Ecstasy of Saint Teresa* (Rome, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Cornaro Chapel).³² At other times, a "vision type" was applied more generically, even to saints who were not visionaries.

The particulars of some of Saint Bruno's visions were recorded by followers and painted by artists, but the hagiographic sources do not mention a vision approximating the one in Mola's picture.³³ Rather than evok-



Figure 11. Guercino (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri [Italian, 1591–1666]). *Saint Bruno's Vision of the Virgin and Child*, 1647. Oil on canvas, 392 x 233 cm (154¾ x 91¼ in.). Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale.

ing a specific event, Mola's painting succinctly illustrates the guiding principle of Bruno's life and that of his followers: through constant prayer and meditation in silence and solitude, one could achieve union with God.

Mola announces God's approach in two ways: the presence of cherubim and the great billowing cloud. Chubby little diaphanous beings like those appearing to Bruno (fig. 1d) were used rather generally in devotional paintings of the seventeenth century, but in a narrative context such as this, they can have only one function. Cherubim are part of the highest order of angels; disembodied, they surround the throne of God in perpetual adoration. Their appearance here signals God's



Figure 12. Pier Francesco Mola. *Saint Bruno Levitating in the Wilderness*, circa 1640. Oil on canvas, 73.6 x 97.8 cm (29 x 38½ in.). London, Collection of Sir Denis Mahon.



Figure 13. Pier Francesco Mola. Study for *The Vision of Saint Bruno*, circa 1660. Red chalk and red wash on laid paper, 22.3 x 17.8 cm (8¾ x 7 in.). Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum AE 1803.

imminent presence.

The great, billowing cloud is a novel element in Mola's composition. It descends to earth before the mountains, evoking the great cloud images of the Old Testament. Such clouds were enduring signs of God's presence, manifestations of the glory of Yahweh that settled on Mount Sinai at the time of the giving of the Ten Commandments.³⁴

The sense of impending communion with God is also accentuated by the light illuminating the saint. Mola manages to capture its greater intensity across Bruno's upraised hand, where, closer to the source, the light is strong enough to cast sharp shadows, while, below, it permeates the saint's garment, resulting in softer shadows. More subtle than Caravaggio's dramatic floods of light, Mola's gentle beams of light resemble the symbolic illumination employed by the painters of sixteenth-century Venice.³⁵

In expectation of the presence of God, Bruno's face expresses joyous wonder (fig. 1b); his toothless mouth faintly smiles and his eyes begin to well with tears. Though Mola explored the *affetti*—the depiction of the range of human emotions—in his official commissions for frescoes and altarpieces (figs. 3–4), the great majority of his evocative landscapes contain figures with enigmatic expressions that are at once engaging and mysterious (fig. 5). Here, too, the exaltation of Bruno is understated in comparison with the ardent rapture seen in many Baroque representations of religious ecstasy. Yet Bruno's expression of bliss is communicated with a directness that makes it seem sincere.

Bruno's gesture conveys yearning and welcome. Like many Baroque artists, Mola presents the remarkable thing *about* to happen, the moment before union with the divine. This expectancy must have touched contemporaries, because Bruno's experience was one that devout Christians of his time longed for more than any other and believed was possible to achieve. Representing the ultimate in Christian spirituality, such a union with God had only been available, it was thought, to special people like Bruno, who were often removed from the world. However, in Mola's time, the Counter-Reformation Church tried to bring the piety of the cloister into the world and involve all individuals in the quest for contemplative union with God.³⁶ New manuals were prepared so that devout Catholics unable or unwilling to renounce the world for the hermitage could attempt to experience God directly. Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* is only the most famous of a number of Counter-Reformation treatises, many of which were influenced by Carthusian spirituality, especially regarding the need for solitude, silence, prayer,

and self-denial in order to achieve union with God. Mola's painting suggests the potency of Bruno's faith and method.

THE EVOLUTION OF
THE VISION OF SAINT BRUNO

Although the chronology of Mola's work is problematic, it seems clear that the artist explored the subject of Bruno in the wilderness early in his career and only returned to it many years later. Mola painted his first image with a Carthusian subject (fig. 12) seemingly about 1640, perhaps while working with Albani. It shows Bruno levitating on a cloud, his arms outstretched in a stock pose of divine wonder.³⁷ Later, Mola used this pose again in a composition, known primarily in a red chalk drawing in Darmstadt (fig. 13), which balances the figure and the landscape in much the same way as does *The Vision of Saint Bruno*. The levitating saint has been brought to earth and is given a prominence in the foreground before intertwined trees.

The Darmstadt drawing is traditionally cited as an early study for *The Vision of Saint Bruno*,³⁸ and it clearly reflects the development of Mola's thinking on the theme of a Carthusian saint in a landscape. But in contrast to the composition of the Getty Museum painting, the figure has been given a symmetrical gesture, which is emphasized by the frontal disposition and the central placement of the trees. This composition may have developed into another independent painting, although no original is known.³⁹

The direct development of the reclining pose in *The Vision of Saint Bruno* begins with a composition executed toward the end of the 1640s, a few years after the *Saint Bruno Levitating in the Wilderness*. In this small, more broadly painted picture, Mola depicts Carthusians in a landscape (fig. 14);⁴⁰ one sits reading, while another reclines outside a cave in a pose similar to Bruno's in the Getty Museum painting. This Carthusian is based on the figure in the *Saint Bruno Levitating*, only now turned in profile and combined with the reclining posture that would reach full development more than a decade later in *The Vision of Saint Bruno*. The Carthusian gazes into the light in mystical rapture, gesturing in response to an unseen presence.⁴¹

The reclining pose of Bruno is unusual for a saint in the wilderness. More often, hermits stand, kneel, or sit while reading, praying, or doing penance. In the depictions of Bruno mentioned above (figs. 9–11), other artists employed stock poses of adoration or supplication. Mola probably found inspiration for his reclining figure in an altarpiece by his friend Pietro Testa, *The Vision of Sant'Angelo Carmelitano* (fig. 15).⁴² This work depicts the



Figure 14. Pier Francesco Mola. *Landscape with Carthusians*, circa 1645. Oil on canvas, 51.5 x 68 cm (20 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 26 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.). London, Collection of Sir Denis Mahon.



Figure 15. Pietro Testa (Italian, 1612–1650). *The Vision of Sant'Angelo Carmelitano*. Oil on canvas, 463 x 240 cm (182 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 94 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.). Rome, San Martino ai Monti. Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome.



Figure 16. Pier Francesco Mola. Study for *The Vision of Saint Bruno*, circa 1660. Pen and wash on paper, 12.6 x 17.3 cm (5 x 6³/₄ in.). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst.



Figure 17. Pier Francesco Mola. Study for *The Vision of Saint Bruno*, circa 1660. Red chalk, brush, and brown ink on light beige paper, 10.8 x 16 cm (4¹/₄ x 6¹/₄ in.). Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum FP 822.



Figure 18. Pier Francesco Mola. Study for *The Conversion of Saint Paul*, circa 1655. Brown pen and wash with red chalk on laid paper, 26.9 x 38.2 cm (10⁵/₈ x 15¹/₈ in.). San Francisco, Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts 1963.24.141.

experience of a thirteenth-century hermit who lived in the desert where Christ had fasted.⁴³ It was installed in the Carmelite church of San Martino ai Monti in 1646, the year before Mola's return to Rome. Mola had already depicted Bruno levitating in ecstasy, and, as he considered the subject of Carthusians in a landscape, perhaps Testa's less dramatic rendering of the ecstatic state appealed to him.

For *The Vision of Saint Bruno*, Mola worked out the specific pose of the saint in three drawings. He apparently first conceived the saint facing left. From the Darmstadt drawing (fig. 13), which shows the saint turned slightly to the left, Mola developed a reclining figure with an outstretched arm that anticipates the final composition in a pen-and-brush drawing in Copenhagen (fig. 16). The drapery of the figure suggests that it represents Bruno, although the gesture and expression are one of surprise at some unseen presence to the side rather than the easy, joyous reaching out of the later painting.⁴⁴ In a bold brush drawing (fig. 17) Mola repeats the basic disposition of the figure, but now Bruno clearly looks upward. In contrast to the final disposition of the figure, his arm is not raised and his palm is directed upward in invocation.⁴⁵

The development of the pose of Bruno, particularly his upraised arm, is tied to Mola's conception of a saint thrown back by the force of his vision. Mola had executed a fresco of *The Conversion of Saul* in the Ravenna chapel in Il Gesù, in the early 1650s.⁴⁶ A compositional sketch (fig. 18) for the fresco shows that the artist originally conceived the main figure with the upraised hand to indicate his acceptance of divine will; he lowered the



Figure 19. Pier Francesco Mola. Study for *The Vision of Saint Bruno*, circa 1660. Pen and ink over black chalk on paper, 23.6 x 18.4 cm (9¼ x 7¼ in.). Leningrad, Hermitage 4770.

hand to the figure's chest in the fresco.⁴⁷

About 1658, just before he painted *The Vision of Saint Bruno*, Mola employed the reclining pose with the upraised arm in mythological scenes involving earth-bound figures and skyborne apparitions. He may be said to have fully explored the repertory of such gestures in his multipart representation of *The Element of Air*, the ill-fated fresco for Camillo Pamphili at Valmontone.⁴⁸

The final composition of *The Vision of Saint Bruno* was essentially established in a chalk-and-pen study in Leningrad (fig. 19).⁴⁹ The figure is disposed before crossed trees, more centrally placed than in the final version, and the saint gestures toward the sky (though a sky without cherubim). The basic pose is fully developed, except for details, like the exact positioning of the upraised hand. The palm trees appear in the middle ground, but there is also a church, a detail that appears in one of the later versions of the subject (see Appendix 2, no. 4).

In the tradition of Central Italian practice, Mola began by thoroughly working out the composition on

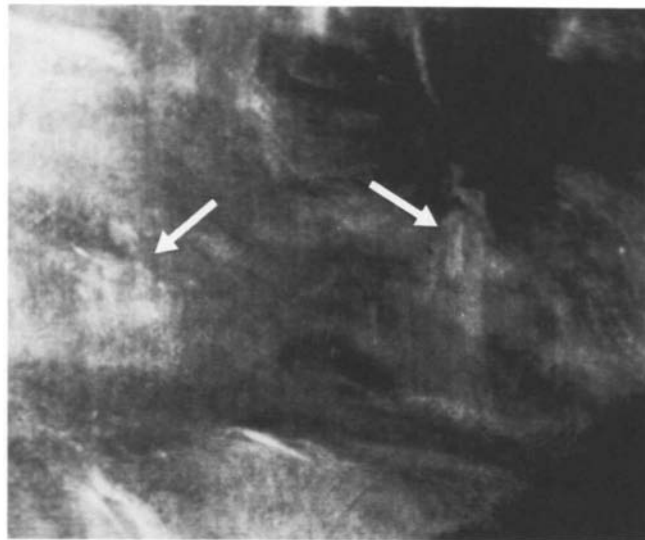


Figure 20. Infrared reflectogram of figure 1a. Detail of the area beneath the palm trees showing two figures painted out by Mola.

paper. He may have executed other studies for *The Vision of Saint Bruno*, because the X-radiograph of the composition (fig. 30) shows that no significant changes were made while the artist was working on the canvas. Other than the adjustment of one of the fingers of the upraised hand, only one alteration was discovered through scientific examination. Infrared reflectography revealed that the artist originally placed a pair of Carthusians just before the palm trees (fig. 20) and then painted them out.⁵⁰ One is seated, one stands, very much like the pair in the background of Mola's *Saint Bruno Levitating in the Wilderness* (fig. 12). Mola may have planned to use them instead of the figures over Bruno's head or in addition to them.

Judging from the last known preparatory drawing (fig. 19), Mola apparently decided to employ the diagonal composition that is so integral to *The Vision of Saint Bruno* only in the final stages of planning. This compositional formula was favored by Baroque artists when depicting the sudden appearance of the divine; the examples of Carthusian religious imagery mentioned above (figs. 9–11) all derive from this standard type. Mola had used it in many paintings and sketches, including two altarpieces, *The Vision of Saint Dominic in Soriano* (Rome, SS. Domenico e Sisto) and *Saint Michael Casting Out Lucifer* (Rome, San Marco). In *The Vision of Saint Bruno*, he invests the old formula with a new ease by employing the reclining pose and inserting more space between the saint and his vision, thus heightening the sense of expectancy.

Mola did not include a heavenly apparition in any of



Figure 21. Guido Reni (Italian, 1575–1642). *The Ecstasy of Saint Andrea Corsini*, 1629. Oil on canvas, 233 x 155 cm (91 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 61 in.). Florence, Palazzo Corsini.

the known drawings for *The Vision of Saint Bruno*. Originally he may have conceived Bruno's gesture as responding only to light, just as he did with the enraptured monk in the early *Landscape with Carthusians* (fig. 14). The addition of the cherubim was partly inspired by visionary pictures like Guido Reni's *Ecstasy of Saint Andrea Corsini* (fig. 21), then in the Barberini collection.⁵¹ It shows the former Carmelite friar as bishop of Florence, kneeling before an altar and experiencing essentially the same vision that was granted to Bruno in Mola's painting. Mola had already explored man's interaction with such a divine apparition in *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (fig. 22), in which Joseph gazes at three cherubim.⁵²

In converting his small landscapes with Carthusians to the grand scale of the *Saint Bruno*, Mola seems to have been inspired by Andrea Sacchi's large altarpiece of



Figure 22. Pier Francesco Mola. *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, 1650–1655. Oil on canvas, 73.5 x 98.5 cm (28 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 38 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.). Leningrad, Hermitage 1530.

The Vision of Saint Romuald (fig. 23).⁵³ Alexander VII had Sacchi execute a copy for his collection in 1658, and Mola may well have known about the commission on the eve of painting his *Saint Bruno*. Sacchi's classical but sensuous art had served as a major influence on Mola's formation and practice. In this instance, the older master's painting provided a model for the play of creamy robes against the rough textures of the landscape, as well as motifs like the great tree and the palms. The main figure may have inspired Mola's thinking about Bruno's gesture. The reference to Sacchi's painting was appropriate enough, because Saint Romuald was also the founder of an order of hermits, the Camaldolese, which never had the international importance of the Carthusians but was well known in Italy. Sacchi, however, emphasized Romuald's sharing of his vision with his brothers, while Mola concentrated on the intensity of the private experience.

More influential on the overall composition was the example of Titian's most famous and influential work of the seventeenth century, *The Martyrdom of Saint Peter Martyr* (fig. 24).⁵⁴ Comparison of the two works shows that Titian's painting served as Mola's inspiration, not only in the use of landscape to establish the mood of the painting but also in the reflection of human forms and gestures in nature.

In both images, the gesture of the principal figure derives remarkable power from the upward thrust of the central tree. The different narrative requirements of Mola's subject allowed him to concentrate the whole composition on the single form of Bruno. In particular, Mola echoes the saint's gesture in the sweeping cloud in



Figure 23. Andrea Sacchi (Italian, 1599–1661). *The Vision of Saint Romuald*, 1631. Oil on canvas, 310 x 175 cm (122 x 68⁷/₈ in.). Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana.

the sky and the swaying palms in the middle distance. The thrust from the figure toward the vision is further emphasized by the placement of the skull, which repeats the shape of the saint's head and the immaterial forms of the cherubim.⁵⁵

The example of Venetian Cinquecento painting is also evident in the warm, golden light playing through the clouds. But the sense of Venetian color is virtually confined to the sky. The bright blue and gold are balanced against a palette typical of Mola. It is restricted to tones ranging from the cream of the saint's habit to the warm browns and ochers of the landscape.⁵⁶



Figure 24. Martino Rota (Dalmatian, circa 1520–1583) after Titian. *The Martyrdom of Saint Peter Martyr*. Engraving, 40 x 26.8 cm (15³/₄ x 10⁹/₁₆ in.). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.50.16–155, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1917.

THE TECHNIQUE

In *The Vision of Saint Bruno*, Mola demonstrates his virtuoso command of paint. Most Roman artists of the time preferred a relatively polished finish, but Mola's work displays a genuine appreciation of the qualities of paint and the techniques that emphasize paint's physical properties.

Mola formed the streaks of light in the clouds and each leaf on the trees with subtly modulated brushstrokes. Broad, upward swipes with the brush created the ridge line of the mountains in the distance, while the gullies in the light-filled canyon were formed with scumbling and carefully delineated highlights. For the folds of the Carthusian habit, Mola employed subtle glazes for the shadows. Some of the highlights were created with thick, fluid paint, others with a dry, dragged technique using a stiff-bristled brush. The figure's receding leg is thinly brushed over the ground without

glazing (fig. 1a). Most impressive of all are the dramatic glazing and impasto highlights that create the old, wrinkled flesh of the saint's head and hand (figs. 1b–c).

Mola's method of applying paint in the *Saint Bruno* depends primarily on his experience of the broken brushwork developed by Venetian sixteenth-century masters. The goal of this technique was the simultaneous creation of a heightened sense of illusionism and a conspicuous, artful interplay between layers of paint. Venetian illusionism exploited the eye's ability to fill in missing detail and perceive a greater sense of atmosphere, and, by the time Mola painted the *Saint Bruno*, he had learned this lesson well. He also understood how to obtain convincing optical effects through variations of the surface. When the picture is perceived from the distance necessary to take in the image as a whole, the rough, seemingly free brushwork modeling the saint's head (fig. 1b) and hand (fig. 1c) coalesces into the vivid presence of flesh immersed in atmosphere. The glazing and impasto highlights were apparently conceived to read from at least three meters back from the canvas.

However, compared with Venetian prototypes, Mola's paint is more fluidly applied, especially in the flesh tones, in the manner of Bolognese painters. Again, in this aspect of his art, Mola achieved a personal synthesis of Venetian and Bolognese practice.

THE DATING OF *THE VISION OF SAINT BRUNO*

The chronology of Mola's works is quite difficult to establish because very few are documented. While there is no external evidence to aid in the determination of the date of execution of *The Vision of Saint Bruno*, it has generally been assumed that it was painted in the last years of the painter's life.⁵⁷ This is because the painting demonstrates a more mature vision, with a more unified composition and a more powerful statement of emotion than in most of the artist's earlier works.

It is likely that *The Vision of Saint Bruno* was created in the years around 1660, not long after Mola filed his suit against Camillo Pamphili and before the illness of his last years. Mola's biographers comment that toward the end of his life his own production dropped off while that of his shop increased. This is confirmed by the existence of six painted versions probably produced in Mola's workshop (see Appendix 2).

Ann Sutherland Harris has suggested that, following the rift with Camillo Pamphili, Mola may have seen himself in a situation resembling Bernini's after his fall from grace following the death of Urban VIII.⁵⁸ Bernini's towers for the facade of Saint Peter's had developed cracks and were demolished, like Mola's fresco for



Figure 25. Jacob Ferdinand Voet (Belgian, 1639–1700?). *Portrait of Flavio Chigi*, early 1670s. Oil on canvas, 133 x 97 cm (52³/₈ x 38¹/₈ in.). Ariccia, Palazzo Chigi. Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici di Roma.

the Palazzo Pamphili at Valmontone. The disgraced Bernini redeemed his reputation with spectacular work, and Mola, too, may have set out to create a painting of such stunning power and beauty that he would again find favor among patrons and collectors. This would explain the numerous preparatory sketches as well as the extraordinary jump in scale from the size of his usual works painted without a commission.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF *THE VISION OF SAINT BRUNO*

Mola's *The Vision of Saint Bruno* has the character of a small devotional picture (cf. fig. 10), but its large size and its clarity of form, gesture, and expression elevate it to the level of grand history painting. The deeply felt expression of religious sentiment was unusual for Mola and raises the question of the purpose for which the painting was created. It is the perfect size for a private chapel, or a side chapel in a church, but it does not seem to have been conceived for devotional use. Com-



Figure 26. Giovanni Battista Falda (Italian, 1648–1678). *Piazza Santi Apostoli with Bernini's Palazzo Chigi* from *Il nuovo teatro delle fabbriche et edifici . . . di Roma moderna* (Rome, 1699), fol. 4. Santa Monica, Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Resource Collections.

positions dominated by landscape were only rarely used in a liturgical context.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the tone of Mola's painting resembles that of his small easel pictures, filled with atmosphere and color; it is not at all in the more formal, rhetorical mode he used in altarpieces and official commissions (figs. 3–4).

As suggested above, the painting's unusual size and expressiveness may have resulted from Mola's desire to redeem his reputation. While the painting was perhaps made on commission, the early history of the work tends to point to its having been painted on speculation, as a masterwork which would surely find a prestigious buyer.

It is possible to point to the original owner of *The Vision of Saint Bruno* with some certainty. Based on the testimony of Pascoli, the first to mention the painting, it was long assumed that *The Vision of Saint Bruno* was executed for Prince Agostino Chigi.⁶⁰ Pascoli no doubt saw the painting after it entered his collection, but the prince was not the painting's first owner. Perusal of the Chigi inventories has shown that the painting was originally in the collection of Agostino's cousin, Cardinal Flavio Chigi (fig. 25), and it passed to the prince only upon the cardinal's death in 1693.⁶¹ The painting was recorded in Flavio's inventory of May 1, 1692, as number 89, "Un Quadro di Tela di p[al]mi 8, e 6 cornice tutta dorata, con cornice [sic], e figura, di S. Bruno, che giace in terra, con due [sic] Cherubini per l'aria, mano del Mola."⁶²

Flavio Chigi (1631–1693) was the well-intentioned but undistinguished nephew of Pope Alexander VII.⁶³ The cardinal's collection was eclectic and included not only paintings but major antiquities and a *Wunderkammer*, with ethnographic objects from around the world.⁶⁴ As a collector of paintings, Cardinal Chigi was no match for the illustrious cardinal-nephews of the preceding Borghese and Barberini pontificates, but he nonetheless created a fine picture collection, fulfilling one of the prime functions of a papal nephew: to enrich the family's private collection while the pope was occupied with the grand art of the papal state.⁶⁵

Cardinal Flavio's principal residence was a palace on the Piazza Santi Apostoli (fig. 26), and he is primarily remembered for the facade he commissioned from Bernini.⁶⁶ It is most probable that *The Vision of Saint Bruno* was displayed in a gallery at the Palazzo Chigi and not used as a devotional image. This was not at all unusual. For instance, when Philip IV of Spain had to fill his new Buen Retiro Palace with paintings, one gallery of the palace was given over to landscapes, and twenty-three anchorite subjects were commissioned from Roman artists, including Poussin, Claude, and Gaspard Dughet.⁶⁷

The Vision of Saint Bruno might have been commissioned by Cardinal Chigi, but there is no indication of Chigi devotion to Saint Bruno or the Carthusian order. If Mola did create *The Vision of Saint Bruno* to redeem his reputation, he must have been gratified that it was



Figure 27. Il Baciccio (Giovanni Battista Gaulli [Italian, 1639–1709]). *The Blessed Giovanni Chigi in the Desert*, 1672. Oil on canvas, 374 x 274 cm (147¹/₄ x 107⁷/₈ in.). Ariccia, Palazzo Chigi. Photo: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici di Roma.

bought by one of the most prestigious collectors of his day. We know that the cardinal held the painting in high esteem because it was included among forty-nine pictures from his collection shown at the annual exhibition in the cloister of San Salvatore in Lauro in 1692.⁶⁸

A later work commissioned by the cardinal confirms his special regard for Mola's painting and his appreciation of the way in which it captured the spirit of Saint Bruno. In 1671, the cardinal commissioned Giovanni Battista Gaulli, Il Baciccio, to paint an illustrious member of his family, the Blessed Giovanni Chigi, an Augustinian hermit at Valdaspra in the fourteenth century (fig. 27).⁶⁹ It is clear that Baciccio, then at the beginning of his career in Rome, based his depiction of the Chigi family hermit on Mola's *Saint Bruno*, perhaps at the suggestion of the cardinal.

Having established Cardinal Flavio as the first recorded owner of the painting, we can begin to specu-

late upon the means by which he came to own it. One of Mola's closest friends, Nicolò Simonelli (d. 1671), served as majordomo to Cardinal Chigi,⁷⁰ and it would seem probable that it was through him that the papal nephew came to possess Mola's masterwork.

Simonelli had a long career as an administrator in the households of cardinals of the Holy See. His work enabled him to cultivate an interest in art and to form a noteworthy personal collection of drawings, paintings, antiquities, and objets d'art. He developed a reputation as a connoisseur and gave advice on artistic matters to his patrons, ultimately serving as curator of Cardinal Chigi's collection of art and curiosities.

Simonelli also cultivated friendships with artists. In addition to Mola, he befriended three other independent spirits of Seicento art: Salvator Rosa, Pietro Testa, and Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione.

Simonelli used his contacts in high places and his friendships with artists to deal in pictures. On a visit to Rome in 1664, the French traveler Balthasar de Monconys recorded in his journal that he had toured artists' studios with Simonelli, who introduced him to Poussin and Claude and sold him pictures, including a painting in the style of Mola.⁷¹

Mola chronicled his relationship with Simonelli in a number of caricatures that are among the best examples of his mastery of this genre.⁷² In one (fig. 28), he shows Simonelli in his role as an art dealer.⁷³ He stands, crutches thrown to the ground (he suffered from gout), showing a sketch of a nude to a gentleman who humbly defers to his expertise. Behind him is his stable of artists, a motley group of every size and description. In the window, observing it all, is Mola. After taking in the basic image, one notices that the client and the artists are connected to Simonelli with strings. This was perhaps Mola's way of commenting on his friend's power and on the way in which the strings of the dealer connect artists and patrons.⁷⁴

Not long after Mola painted *The Vision of Saint Bruno*, he created another personal caricature that responds to his masterwork, its owner, and its meaning. In this drawing, he demonstrates that the composition of a vision descending to a saint can be reversed, like fate, so that the apparition haunts a hapless mortal. In a self-caricature of 1664 (fig. 29),⁷⁵ we see the painter, crutch in hand, fleeing from the Furies. The tools of his art have been cast to the ground, and escaping before him is Fortune, pushing her wheel. The inscription tells us that the drawing records Mola's reaction when he learned that Cardinal Chigi had chosen another artist, Giovanni Angelo Canini (1617–1666), to accompany his entourage to France.⁷⁶ Although Simonelli may



Figure 28. Pier Francesco Mola. *Caricature of Simonelli as Art Dealer*, 1660–1666. Pen and brush in brown ink on paper, 18.3 x 26.4 cm (7³/₁₆ x 10³/₈ in.). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 915.



Figure 29. Pier Francesco Mola. *Mola Fleeing the Furies*, 1664. Pen and brush in brown ink over red chalk, 18.7 x 25.8 cm (7³/₈ x 10¹/₈ in.). London, private collection.

have arranged the sale of *The Vision of Saint Bruno* to the cardinal, his influence was, apparently, not great enough to secure this boon for his friend. Perhaps the cardinal thought he could acquire a painting by Mola but not employ him in an official capacity after the lawsuit with Pamphili. Then again, the cardinal's decision may simply have reflected his lack of confidence in Mola's health. Whatever the reason, Mola's desire for

recognition was thwarted, and he used his art to reflect his frustration, poking a little fun at himself in the process.⁷⁷ Sadly, it would seem that in the artist's final years Fortune did indeed desert him, because he was unable to profit fully from the acclaim aroused by *The Vision of Saint Bruno* or to realize for a second time a work of such high distinction.



Figure 30. X-radiograph of figure 1a.

APPENDIX 1:

THE CONDITION OF THE PAINTING

Since its acquisition by the Getty Museum in 1989, the painting has been cleaned, restoring its sense of depth and its brilliant surface quality.⁷⁸ It is remarkably well preserved, probably because it remained in the Chigi collection until the twentieth century and was seldom moved. An X-radiograph (fig. 30) shows that the only major losses have occurred in the area over the saint's upraised hand. The after-cleaning photograph (fig. 31) shows this, other small isolated losses, and vertical surface damage running from the cherubim into the landscape below. This was probably caused by caustic abrasion when lime-based whitewash, commonly used to cover walls and ceilings in Italian palaces, was accidentally dripped on the surface. The painting retains a nineteenth-century paste lining that is stable and has not flattened the impasto. The landscape to the right seems to have darkened somewhat over time, obscuring detail and slightly altering the overall balance of light and dark.

As was Mola's usual practice, particularly for larger paintings, a dark, reddish brown ground was applied to a coarse canvas support. This ground was created with traditional iron earth pigments supplemented with madder lake particles.

The brownish cast of the dark green leaves is a common feature of Mola's paintings, and it is sometimes assumed that this hue is the result of a discolored copper resinate glaze. Examination of tiny samples from several leaves using X-ray fluorescence pigment analysis and polarized light microscopy revealed an absence of copper. The samples were found to be composed of green earth (*terre verte*) with burnt umber. Therefore, the brownish color of the leaves is presumably the intention of the artist, perhaps meant to subdue the appearance of the foliage, especially against the sky.

The brilliant blue of the sky, created with natural ultramarine, was found to have faded slightly over the years: the removal of the old retouching above Bruno's hand, which had covered considerable original paint, revealed a brighter blue.

APPENDIX 2:

VERSIONS OF *THE VISION OF SAINT BRUNO*

In the seventeenth century, it was not unusual for painters to repeat their works on demand. For instance, in 1658 Andrea Sacchi executed a version of his *Vision of Saint Romuald* (fig. 23), an altarpiece originally painted in 1631. The copy was ordered by Pope Alexander VII and ended up in Cardinal Chigi's collection, probably hanging near Mola's *Saint Bruno*.⁷⁹



Figure 31. Figure 1a after cleaning.

Naturally, when the patron was important, the master played a greater role in the execution of the copy, but copies were often left entirely to the workshop.

Many of Mola's compositions exist in multiple versions, and issues of authenticity, especially as they pertain to Mola's shop, have not been fully addressed. Attempts have been made to assign artistic identities to names associated with the workshop, but without convincing results. Sometimes the works in question were clearly created by the shop or by an independent hand; sometimes the question of the participation of the master himself is perplexing.

Mola's ill-health and financial distress in his last years are important considerations regarding the copies of *The Vision of Saint Bruno*, because the painting was probably executed in the years immediately following the start of his trouble with Camillo Pamphili in 1659. Passeri states that Mola's reputation suffered in his later years because "he would have his works copied by others and then, after only a few strokes of his own, sell them as by his own hand."⁸⁰ None of the paintings listed below approaches the quality and expressive force of Mola's original. They seem to indicate that Mola in his final years was not concerned with maintaining a high level of quality in the works coming out of his workshop.

The Vision of Saint Bruno was clearly Mola's most popular work because no other picture by him exists in as many versions. Six of the seven painted versions listed below might have come from Mola's shop; only no. 7 was surely not painted in Mola's time. Recorded in the inventory of Mola's studio at the time of his death was a copy of the composition that may have served as the model for all the others. It was clearly listed as a copy in a standard size (*tela d'imperatore*, or roughly 135 by 85 cm [53½ by 33½ in.]).⁸¹ Three of the six versions listed below would qualify (nos. 1, 4, and 6).

This list records all versions of *The Vision of Saint Bruno* known to the author. Painted versions are presented first, with drawn copies following. All three drawings listed below were produced after Mola's death.

Painted Versions

1. Madrid, Collection of the Duquesa de Villahermosa, oil on canvas, 136 x 99 cm (53½ x 38¹⁵/₁₆ in.) (fig. 32).⁸² The two monks in the distance have been moved from above Bruno's head in the original to a spot just before the palm trees.⁸³ Based on photographs, Cocke judged this painting to be autograph.⁸⁴ I have not seen this version either, but it is clearly one of the better copies after the original painting. It was perhaps



Figure 32.



Figure 33.



Figure 34.



Figure 35.



Figure 36.



Figure 37.

laid in by the shop and then retouched by the master, although even the modeling of the head and hand is blotchy and does not share the finesse of the original. Based on its size, this may be the copy recorded in the inventory of Mola's belongings after his death (see also nos. 4 and 6).

2. Northumberland, Alnwick Castle, oil on canvas, 40.5 x 32 cm (15¹⁵/₁₆ x 12⁵/₈ in.) (fig. 33). Waagen considered this to be a sketch for *The Vision of Saint Bruno*.⁸⁵ Mola is not known to have used oil sketches in the preparation of his compositions, but even if he did, this rather rudimentary copy bears no trace of his hand. It was attributed by Cocke to Francesco Giovane (1611–1669), a pupil in Mola's shop.⁸⁶ As we know virtually nothing about this artist other than his name, there is no real evidence for establishing his artistic personality.

3. Paris, Musée du Louvre 397, oil on canvas, 94 x 70 cm (37 x 27⁹/₁₆ in.) (fig. 34). This version was acquired by Louis XIV in 1685 from the painter Hérault. By 1695 it was displayed in a round frame that masked the corners.⁸⁷ The mark of this frame is still visible on the surface of the canvas. Owing to its location, this version, the smallest after no. 2, accounts for much of the fame of Mola's image after the eighteenth century. J. M. W. Turner sketched it in pencil (no. 9 below), and Théodore Géricault painted a small oil copy (no. 7 below).

For Cocke, this version is "mainly autograph," while Brejon accepts it as an autograph reduction.⁸⁸ It is the best of the copies in capturing the overall spirit of the original, although the facial expression has become more severe. Like all the copies, it does not capture the effect of the wisp of drapery lying on the ground at Bruno's feet. The surface is dull and lifeless, owing in part to discolored and dirty varnish. It does not show signs of abrasion from cleaning but rather was executed in thin layers of paint not typical of Mola. The pseudo-fluent touches in the head and hand do not show the acuity of visual perception or the finesse of the master as displayed in the original, but they do represent great familiarity with it. It might indeed be Mola copying himself, or it might simply be the work of a good copyist.

4. Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphili 161, oil on canvas, 138.5 x 101 cm (54¹/₂ x 39³/₄ in.) (fig. 35). All modern scholars agree that this is either a studio version or a later copy.⁸⁹ The proportions of the figure are misunderstood, producing a stunted Bruno with a long arm. His expression is stern, not joyous. The forms throughout are hard, resulting from the crude modeling. The subtle echoing of the figure by the trees and other shapes in the landscape is almost totally lost. To the right of the figure, the landscape has been altered considerably, although not without reference to conventions established by Mola. It incorporates a church in the canyon, as Mola did in fig. 19, which may imply that it came from his shop. Also added to the landscape are two Carthusians conversing outside the church and another walking in the middle distance and gesturing to them.

5. Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana 1931, oil on canvas, 174 x 122 cm (68¹/₂ x 48 in.) (fig. 36). Cocke characterized this work as a studio version.⁹⁰ Except for the foreground, which has been extended slightly, this is one of the most faithful copies of the

original in that it does not alter the background figures or the landscape elements. However, no trace of Mola's touch is evident. The cherubim have solidified, the shadows across Bruno's palm have gone awry, and the expression is insipid.

6. Stamford, Burghley House, the Marquis of Exeter, oil on canvas, 130 x 95 cm (58³/₁₆ x 37³/₈ in.) (fig. 37). This is one of the better copies; Cocke characterized this painting as having been laid in by the studio and then retouched by Mola.⁹¹ Like no. 4 above, it shows that copyists had difficulty re-creating the saint's languid pose. Bruno seems here to be in more of a fetal position, and the short body length does not balance the large head and upraised arm. The shape of the head has become almost grotesque, but the modeling is the best among the copies, perhaps confirming Cocke's attribution. In this version, one Carthusian monk is positioned to the right of the palm trees, in place of the two monks depicted above Bruno in the original. This painting is approximately the same size as the copy listed in Mola's studio (see also nos. 1 and 4 above).

7. Present location unknown. Théodore Gericault, copy after no. 3 above, oil on canvas, 46 x 38 cm (18¹/₈ x 14¹⁵/₁₆ in.). One of the many copies made by Gericault after other artists. In this case, Mola's proto-Romantic sensibility must have appealed to the artist.⁹²

Drawings after the Composition

8. Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut 423 (figs. 38–39). These red chalk drawings on both sides of a single sheet were characterized as Mola's final studies for *The Vision of Saint Bruno* by Cocke, Genty, and Grigorieva.⁹³ The attribution of the drawing to Mola was questioned by Voss and Turner.⁹⁴ The medium is unusual for Mola and, unlike other preparatory drawings by the artist, these do not really vary from one side of the sheet to the other or from the painting. I see no trace of Mola's draftsmanship in the regularized hatching.

9. London, Tate Gallery, J. M. W. Turner, pencil sketch after no. 3 above, from the "France, Savoy, Piedmont" sketchbook, LXXIII, p. 2 (fig. 40). No doubt attracted by Mola's vision of man in nature, Turner executed this quick pencil sketch of the composition in the Louvre.⁹⁵

10. Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts 794-1-3152, 294 x 21.3 cm (11⁵/₈ x 8³/₈ in.) (fig. 41). This drawing was executed at least a century after Mola's death. It shows only two cherubim and is probably a copy of the Louvre version (no. 3 above), in which the topmost cherub is very faintly depicted.

Variants

Once the commanding composition was established, Mola and his shop adapted it for a number of variants devoted to Saint Jerome: *The Saint Jerome Hearing the Trumpet of the Last Judgment* (private collection, Budapest) and *The Vision of Saint Jerome* (Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome) are attributed to Francesco Giovane by Cocke.⁹⁶ *The Vision of Saint Jerome* (private collection, ex-collection Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth) has likewise not won general acceptance as an autograph work.⁹⁷



Figure 38.



Figure 39.



Figure 40.



Figure 41.

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NOTES

The author is grateful to Professor Elizabeth Cropper and Professor Ann Sutherland Harris for reading the text and making many helpful suggestions.

1. For the most comprehensive appraisal of Mola as an artist to date, see G. Briganti et al., *Pier Francesco Mola, 1612-1666*, exh. cat. (Lugano and Rome, 1989). See also the monograph by R. Cocke, *Pier Francesco Mola* (Oxford, 1972), supplemented with the reviews of S. Randolph in *Arte illustrata* 5 (1972), pp. 346-354, and A. Sutherland Harris in *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974), pp. 289-292.
2. Mola's principal biographers were Giovanni Battista Passeri, who knew him, see J. Hess, *Die Künstlerbiographien von Giovanni Battista Passeri* (Leipzig and Vienna, 1934), pp. 367-372; and L. Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti moderni* (Rome, 1730-1736), vol. 1, pp. 122-129 [facsimile editions: Rome, 1933, and Amsterdam, 1965], who did not know Mola but often presents reliable information. Pascoli, p. 122, mentions only the Cavalier d'Arpino as Mola's teacher in Rome.
3. A. B. Sutherland, "Pier Francesco Mola—His Visits to North Italy and His Residence in Rome," *Burlington Magazine* 106 (1964), pp. 363-368.
4. Like its pendant, also in Sarasota, the subject of fig. 2 is taken from the story of Elijah and the Widow of Zarephath (1 Kings 17:8-16), and not Elisha and the Rich Woman of Shunem (2 Kings 4:8-37) (L. Laureati in Briganti et al. [note 1], p. 157, no. I.9, with prior bibliography). The figure group is derived from Giovanni Lanfranco's monumental *Elijah and the Widow of Zarephath* (Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 76.PA.1), then in the Sacrament Chapel of San Paolo Fuori le Mura, Rome.
5. Mola's only pure landscapes are in drawings. See, for instance, the *Landscape with a View of Brusada* (London, British Museum, inv. no. 1898-12-16-1). The only true interior in Mola's art is in the fresco *Saint Peter in Prison* (Rome, Il Gesù, Ravenna Chapel).
6. See Laureati in Briganti et al. (note 1), pp. 162-163, no. I.12.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 169-173, no. I.19.
8. N. Wibiral, "Contributi alle ricerche sul cortonismo in Roma: I pittori della Galleria di Alessandro VII nel Palazzo del Quirinale," *Bollettino d'arte* 45 (1960), pp. 123-165. On Mola's contribution, see A. Tantillo in Briganti et al. (note 1), pp. 213-215.
9. On Mola's painting, see Laureati's entry, *ibid.*, pp. 184-187. Titian's picture was then in the Pamphili collection, Rome.
10. L. Montalto, "Gli affreschi di Palazzo Pamphilj in Valmontone," *Commentari* 4 (1955), pp. 267-302.
11. See E. Cropper, *The Ideal of Painting: Pietro Testa's Düsseldorf Notebook* (Princeton, 1984).
12. Mola created at least three depictions of the preaching of the Baptist: London, National Gallery, no. 69; Lugano, Thyssen-Bornemisza Foundation; and Paris, Musée du Louvre, no. 395. See Laureati's entries in Briganti et al. (note 1), nos. I.5, I.6, I.21. Mola's composition in the Louvre is based on Veronese's version of the same subject in the Galleria Borghese.
13. On the development of Christian optimism, see A. Dupront, "Autour de Saint Filippo Neri: De l'optimisme chrétien," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 49 (1932), pp. 219-259, and A. O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (New York, 1960). For

- its expression in art, see P. M. Jones, "Federico Borromeo as a Patron of Landscapes and Still Lives: Christian Optimism in Italy ca. 1600," *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988), pp. 261–272.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 270–271.
 15. J. L. Saunders, *Justus Lipsius, The Philosophy of Renaissance Stoicism* (New York, 1955).
 16. See, particularly, A. Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin* (Washington, D.C., 1967), pp. 157–176, and W. Wassing Roworth, *Pictor Succesor: A Study of Salvator Rosa as Satirist, Cynic, and Painter* (New York and London, 1978), esp. ch. 3. See also L. Salerno, "Il dissenso nella pittura: Intorno a Filippo Napoletano, Caroselli, Salvator Rosa e altri," *Storia dell'arte* 5 (1970), pp. 34–65, and *idem*, *Pittori di paesaggio del seicento a Roma/Landscape Painters of the Seventeenth Century in Rome*, trans. C. Whitfield and C. Enggass (Rome, 1977–1978), vol. 1, pp. XLV–XLVI.
 17. On Mola and Neo-Stoicism, see Salerno, 1970 (note 16), pp. 42–43. A comprehensive study of Mola's depictions of philosophers is needed before the question of Stoic influence can be adequately addressed.
 18. This kind of picture evolved into works like Hubert Robert's *Hermit Praying in the Ruins of a Roman Temple* (Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.PA.605), painted circa 1760–1764, which shows a Carthusian being teased by peasant girls.
 19. On Bruno's life see *Acta Sanctorum*, October, vol. 3 (Antwerp, 1770), pp. 491–777. Available to the layman in the 1650s were L. Surius, *Vita del gran patriarca S. Bruno Cartusiano*, trans. M. Pentimalli, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1622), and J. Corbin, *L'histoire sacrée des Chartreux, et du très-illustre Saint Bruno leur patriarche* (Paris, 1653). The standard history of the order is B. Tromby, *Storia critico-cronologica diplomatica del patriarca S. Brunone e del suo ordine cartusiano*, 10 vols. (Naples, 1773–1779). For an excellent modern bibliography, see A. Gruys, *Cartusiana, un instrument heuristique* (Paris, 1976).
 20. The mountains provided the name not only for the monastery but also for the order itself, *Le Chartreux* (and for the brilliant yellow-green color of the herb liquor made by the monks). In Italy, the Carthusians are known as *certosini* and a monastery is called a *certosa*. In English usage, a Carthusian monastery is called a charterhouse.
 21. The nearest town is called Serra San Bruno. See *Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano: Basilicata Calabria*, 4th ed. (Milan, 1980), pp. 556–557.
 22. The early life of the order is chronicled in C. Le Cousteulx, *Annales ordinis cartusiensis (1084–1429)*, 8 vols. (Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1887–1891).
 23. For a helpful survey of the principles and life of the Carthusians, see A Monk of the Grand Chartreuse, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 3 (Washington, D.C., 1967), pp. 162–167. On the reflection of Carthusian principles in architecture, see J.-P. Aniel, *Les maisons de chartreux des origines à la chartreuse de Pavie*, no. 16 of *Bibliothèque de la Société Française d'Archéologie* (Geneva and Paris, 1983).
 24. J. Hogg, *The Charterhouse of Rome*, no. 78 of *Analecta cartusiana* (Salzburg, 1984).
 25. L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1958), pp. 249–252, and J. Myslivec, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. Wolfgang Braunfels, vol. 5 (Rome, Freiburg, Basel, and Vienna, 1973), cols. 447–450.
 26. These include Vincenzo Carducho's canvas series for the Cartuja de El Pualar near Segovia (1626–1632), Daniele Crespi's frescoes for the Certosa di Garegnano (1629) and the Certosa di Pavia (1630), and Eustache Le Sueur's canvases for the Chartreuse de Paris (1645–1648). See M. C. Volk, *Vincenzo Carducho and Seventeenth-Century Castilian Painting* (New York and London, 1977), pp. 175–241; M. Gregori, *Gli affreschi della Certosa di Garegnano* (s.l., Associazione fra le casse di risparmio italiane [197–]); and A. Mérot, *Eustache Le Sueur (1616–1655)* (Paris, 1987), pp. 185–216. See also the important projects by Francisco de Zurbarán for the Cartujas de Santa Maria de las Cuevas outside Seville (1645–1655) and Nuestra Señora de la Defensión near Jerez de la Frontera (1638–1639); J. Baticle et al., *Zurbarán*, exh. cat. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1987), pp. 7–9, 173–180, and 219–233. On the development of Bruno's iconography in the seventeenth century, see E. Mâle, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente* (Paris, 1932), pp. 504–509, and J. Baticle, "Les peintres de la vie de saint Bruno au XVII^e siècle: Lanfranc, Carducho, Le Sueur," *La revue des arts* 8 (1958), pp. 17–28.
 27. C. Whitfield and J. Martineau, eds., *Painting in Naples, 1606–1705, from Caravaggio to Giordano*, exh. cat. (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1982), pp. 265–266.
 28. See N. Spinosa in A. E. Pérez Sánchez and N. Spinosa, *L'opera completa del Ribera*, vol. 97 of *Classici dell'arte* (Milan, 1978), p. 120, no. 179, tav. IL.
 29. On Guercino's *Saint Bruno*, see L. Salerno, *I dipinti del Guercino* (Rome, 1988), p. 315, no. 241.
 30. Mâle (note 26), ch. 4, and J. R. Martin, *Baroque* (New York, 1977), pp. 100–108.
 31. M. Meiss, *Giovanni Bellini's Saint Francis in the Frick Collection* (Princeton, 1964), and J. V. Fleming, *From Bonaventure to Bellini: An Essay in Franciscan Exegesis* (Princeton, 1982).
 32. See I. Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts* (New York and London, 1980), pp. 107–108.
 33. The only similar vision occurred at the time of Bruno's decision to seek the contemplative life, when three angels (in full bodily form) appeared to him in a dream to direct him toward Grenoble. See, for instance, Eustache Le Sueur's representation of this episode for the Chartreuse de Paris in Mérot (note 26), p. 202, no. 41, fig. 101, color pl. IX, with references to other representations of this scene.
 34. Exodus 24:16–18.
 35. D. Rosand, *Painting in Cinquecento Venice: Titian, Veronese, Tintoretto* (New Haven and London, 1982), pp. 69–75.
 36. J. Bossy, "The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe," *Past and Present* 47 (1970), pp. 51–70, and K. P. Luria, "The Counter-Reformation and Popular Spirituality," in L. Dupré and D. E. Saliers, eds., *Christian Spirituality: Post-Reformation and Modern*, vol. 18 of *World Spirituality: An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest* (New York, 1989), pp. 93–120.
 37. See Laureati in Briganti et al. (note 1), p. 148, no. I.2. The inspiration may have come from Giovanni Lanfranco's *The Apotheosis of Bruno*, as engraved by Theodor Krüger. See Baticle, 1958 (note 26), p. 27, fig. 20.
 38. See Cocke (note 1), p. 56, under no. 45, pl. 133, and D. Graf, *Master Drawings of the Roman Baroque from the Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf* (London and Edinburgh, 1973), under no. 106.
 39. The only known version, in a Swiss private collection (see J. Genty, *Pier Francesco Mola pittore* [Lugano, 1979], p. 137), was perhaps executed in Mola's workshop. The painting shows the saint frontally, with outstretched arms, but reclining more as in the Getty version. It is equally possible that no painted image with this pose was ever executed by the master and that this painting was made by an assistant attempting to conflate the Darmstadt drawing and the Getty composition during Mola's last years or after his death.
 40. Laureati in Briganti et al. (note 1), pp. 165–166, no. I.14. A. Czobor, "On Some Late Works of Pier Francesco Mola," *Burlington Magazine* 110 (1968), pp. 569–570, proposes a date for this painting around the time of *The Vision of Saint Bruno*.
 41. The surface of the canvas is lightly abraded, but there are no signs that there was ever a heavenly apparition in the sky, nor is there evidence that the reclining figure was added later.
 42. On this painting, see A. Sutherland Harris, "The Decoration of S. Martino ai Monti," *Burlington Magazine* 106 (1964), p. 62; *idem*, "Notes on the Chronology and Death of Pietro Testa,"

- Paragone* 213 (1967), pp. 40–41 and p. 54, no. 52; and E. Cropper, *Pietro Testa, 1612–1650: Prints and Drawings*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1988), pp. 193–197.
43. Christ appeared to the saint after five years of solitude and directed him to leave his retreat to seek martyrdom in Sicily. The pose derives from images like Caravaggio's *Saint Francis in Ecstasy* (Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum), which shows the Franciscan founder after the stigmatization, tended by an angel. This type of picture is specifically associated with Francis after he received Christ's wounds because it emulated images of the dead Christ tended by angels. On this aspect of Franciscan iconography, see H. Hibbard, *Caravaggio* (New York, 1983), pp. 55–61, and M. Gregori's entry in *The Age of Caravaggio*, exh. cat. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1985), pp. 221–227. See also *L'immagine di San Francesco nella Controriforma*, exh. cat. (Calcografia, Rome, 1982).
 44. Compare a pen sketch of an unidentified subject in a Parisian private collection that includes a figure in a similar pose but with different drapery; Turner in Briganti et al. (note 1), pp. 271–272, no. III.78.
 45. *Ibid.*, pp. 266–267, no. III.71.
 46. On this fresco, see Tantillo, *ibid.*, pp. 215–216.
 47. See Turner, *ibid.*, pp. 236–238, no. III.27.
 48. The composition of the fresco is known in a drawing (Madrid, Real Academia de San Fernando, no. 2379); *ibid.*, pp. 240–241. See also the pen drawing (Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts, no. 12042) in which Venus reaches out toward a descending Cupid while Adonis rushes off to the hunt in the background.
 49. I. Grigorieva, J. Kuznetsov, and I. Novoselskaja, *Disegni dell'Europa occidentale dall'Ermitage di Leningrado*, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, no. 57 (Florence, 1982), p. 27.
 50. I thank Mark Leonard for allowing me to publish this finding. See note 78 below.
 51. Like Bruno, Andrea Corsini was a recently canonized saint; Reni painted this canvas for the pope's nephew, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, shortly after Urban VIII canonized him in 1629. See S. Pepper, *Guido Reni: L'opera completa* (Novara, 1988), pp. 270–271, no. 117, and A. Mazza's catalogue entry in *Guido Reni, 1575–1642*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1988), pp. 272–273.
 52. The number may refer vaguely to the Trinity, but cherubim were depicted in seemingly arbitrary numbers ranging from one to many hundreds.
 53. A. Sutherland Harris, *Andrea Sacchi* (Oxford, 1977) p. 61, no. 20.
 54. See H. E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, vol. 1 (London and New York, 1969), pp. 153–155, no. 133.
 55. Mola particularly favored forms mirroring each other, and this sort of diagonal punctuation across the surface can also be seen in his *Diana and Endymion* (Rome, Pinacoteca Capitolina); see Briganti et al. (note 1), pp. 187–188, no. I.30. The evocative juxtaposition of the skull with the human head was used again in one of his best pen drawings, *Nicolò Simonelli in Bed* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Janos Scholz Collection, 1985.92); *ibid.*, pp. 290–291, no. III.15.
 56. On the brown tone of Mola's painting, see the comments on condition in Appendix 1.
 57. W. Arslan, "Opere Romane di Pier Francesco Mola," *Bollettino d'arte* 22 (1928), p. 73; Czobor (note 40), pp. 569–570; S. Rudolph, "Contributo per Pier Francesco Mola," *Arte illustrata*, 15/16 (Mar.–Apr. 1969), pp. 22–24; Cocke (note 1), p. 56; and Sutherland Harris (note 1), p. 291. E. Schleier in Briganti et al. (note 1), p. 83, seems to propose a date of around 1656.
 58. I thank Professor Harris for suggesting this most plausible line of thought for the genesis of *The Vision of Saint Bruno*.
 59. In the years immediately following Mola's final return to Rome in 1647, Gaspard Dughet had painted a series of hermit frescoes along the nave of the Roman church of San Martino ai Monti. See S. J. Bandes, "Gaspard Dughet and San Martino ai Monti," *Storia dell'arte* 26 (1976), pp. 45–60, and M.-N. Boisclair, *Gaspard Dughet, Sa vie et son oeuvre (1615–1675)* (Paris, 1986), pp. 193–199. See also Polidoro da Caravaggio's murals containing episodes from the lives of Saints Mary Magdalene and Catherine of Siena, which were executed between 1525 and 1527 for San Silvestro al Quirinale; L. Ravelli, *Polidoro a San Silvestro al Quirinale*, supp. to *Atti dell'Ateneo di Scienze Lettere ed Arti*, no. 46 (Bergamo, 1987). Neither Dughet's nor Polidoro's murals were altarpieces.
 60. Pascoli (note 2), p. 125, followed, for instance, by Cocke, p. 56, and A. Brejon de Lavergnée, *L'inventaire Le Brun de 1683; La collection des tableaux de Louis XIV*, no. 17 of *Notes et documents des musées de France* (Paris, 1987), p. 449.
 61. The painting does not appear in the inventory of the Palazzo Chigi in Piazza Colonna taken on the death of Prince Agostino Chigi in 1705 (Rome, Archivio di Stato, Not. A.C., vol. 3248 [Franceschini, Francesco], fols. 125r–130r). In his will, Cardinal Flavio Chigi left all his possessions in Rome to Agostino; see *Testamentum Flavii S.R.E. Cardinalis Chisij* (Rome, 1694), p. 8, but apparently Mola's *The Vision of Saint Bruno* remained in the Palazzo Chigi in Piazza SS. Apostoli in 1705. Mola's painting appears in the inventories of the Palazzo Chigi in Piazza Colonna taken in 1770 (Rome, Archivio di Stato, Not. A.C., vol. 4850 [Pelusius], fol. 121r) and in 1793 (Rome, Archivio di Stato, Not. A.C., vol. 4913 [Paleani], n.p.). I thank Burton Fredericksen and Carol Togneri Dowd of the Getty Provenance Index for their advice and assistance.
 62. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio Chigi, 1805, f. 54r. Burton Fredericksen, Director of the Getty Provenance Index, had the inventory transcribed by Donatella L. Sparti. The existence of the picture in the collection of Cardinal Flavio was first published by Salerno, 1977–1978 (note 16), vol. 3, p. 1123.
 63. E. Stumpo, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 24 (Rome, 1980), s.v. "Chigi, Flavio," with prior bibliography.
 64. On Cardinal Chigi's collecting, see G. Incisa della Rocchetta, "Il Museo di curiosità del Cardinale Flavio Chigi Seniore," *Roma* 3 (1925), pp. 3–8; F. Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*, rev. ed. (New Haven and London, 1980), pp. 139–140, 154–155; and A. Mignosi Tantillo, "I Chigi ad Ariccia nel '600," in *L'arte per i papi e per i principi nella campagna romana: grande pittura del '600 e del '700*, exh. cat. (Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome, 1990), vol. 2, pp. 69–114.
 65. Haskell (note 64), pp. 154–155.
 66. H. Hibbard, *Bernini* (Harmondsworth, 1965), pp. 180–181.
 67. See J. Brown and J. H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven and London, 1980), pp. 125–129.
 68. See G. De Marchi, *Mostre di quadri a S. Salvatore in Lauro (1682–1725)*, *Stime di collezioni romane*, no. 27 of *Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria* (Rome, 1987), p. 43. On the annual *mostra* at San Salvatore in Lauro in the context of Roman art exhibitions, see Haskell (note 64), pp. 128–129. Cardinal Flavio served as Protector of the Arciconfraternità della Santa Casa di Loreto, which sponsored the exhibition, from 1689 until his death; see De Marchi, pp. 26 and 32.
 69. See Mignosi Tantillo (note 64), vol. 1, p. 110, no. 40.
 70. On Simonelli, see especially Haskell (note 64), pp. 124, 126, 135, 142, and 401; L. Grassi, "Gian Lorenzo Bernini e Fréart de Chantelou, Salvator Rosa e Nicolò Simonelli: due accademie e una caricatura" in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Federico Zeri*, vol. 2 (Milan, 1984), pp. 634–639; Cropper (note 42), pp. 216–220; and L. Spezzaferro, "Pier Francesco Mola e il mercato artistico romano: atteggiamenti e valutazioni," in Briganti et al. (note 1), pp. 43–51.
 71. B. de Monconys, *Journal des voyages*, vol. 2 (Lyons, 1665–1666),

- p. 439.
72. On Mola's caricatures of Simonelli, see M. Kahn-Rossi, "Pier Francesco Mola e la caricatura," in Briganti et al. (note 1), pp. 121–133, and Turner's entries on the drawings, *ibid.*, pp. 278–279, 284–291, nos. III.92, III.104–115.
 73. At the time of K. T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1956), p. 465, no. 915, the identification of the figure as Simonelli had not yet been made.
 74. The motif of the strings has also been interpreted as referring to a marionette show ultimately controlled by Mola; see Turner in Briganti et al. (note 1), p. 289, no. III.112.
 75. *Ibid.*, pp. 284–285, no. III.103.
 76. Mola and Canini had worked together on the decoration of the nave of San Marco and in the Gallery of Alexander VII in the Quirinal Palace. See A. Pampalone, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 18 (1975), s.v. "Canini, Giovanni Angelo"; E. Waterhouse, *Roman Baroque Painting* (Edinburgh, 1976), pp. 61–62; N. Turner, "Drawings by Giovanni Angelo Canini," *Master Drawings* 16 (1978), pp. 387–397; M. Beal, *A Study of Richard Symonds: His Italian Notebooks and Their Relevance to Seventeenth-Century Painting Techniques* (New York and London, 1984); and M. Montembault and J. Schloder, *L'album Canini du Louvre et la collection d'antiques de Richelieu*, no. 21 of *Notes et documents des musées de France* (Paris, 1988), pp. 22–24.
 77. Mola also used the diagonal composition with an earthbound figure relating to someone or something in the sky in two other personal caricatures: *Mola with Flying Cambiali* (London, Victoria and Albert Museum CAI.264) and *The Artist's Getaway* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library 1965.8); see Turner in Briganti et al. (note 1), pp. 282–284, no. III.101, and pp. 286–288, no. III.107.
 78. The following remarks on the condition of the painting and its structure are based on the findings of Mark Leonard, Conservator of Paintings at the Getty Museum, who cleaned and restored the picture. I thank Mr. Leonard for allowing me to watch over his shoulder as he worked and for allowing me to publish his findings here. Pigment analysis was performed by Dawn Muszynski of the Getty Conservation Institute.
 79. Sutherland Harris (note 53), p. 61, no. 20. Sacchi's copy for Alexander VII is listed in the 1692 inventory of Flavio Chigi's collection (note 62) on fol. 52r, no. 6.
 80. ". . . faceva copiare le cose sue da altri, et egli dandogli dopo poche pennellate delle sue le vendeva per di sua mano originale . . ." Quoted in Hess (note 2), p. 372.
 81. "Nello stantione dove il d. Signor Mola dipingeva: . . . Un San Bruno in tela d'imperatore cop.a del Mola." See Briganti et al. (note 1), p. 52. Of course, this need not have recorded the specific composition of the Getty *Saint Bruno*. It is possible it reflected the composition illustrated by Genty (note 39), p. 137. But, all things considered, it is unlikely that it was a copy of anything but the artist's most famous and popular composition.
 82. I thank the Duque de la Palata, youngest son of the Duquesa de Villahermosa, for kindly providing information on this painting. He suggests that it may have been acquired by his ancestor, D. Juan Pablo de Aragón-Azlor, the Spanish ambassador to the court of Turin in the mid-eighteenth century, or his son, José Antonio, both of whom were devoted to Saint Bruno.
 83. In *The Vision of Saint Bruno*, Mola originally placed a sitting and a standing figure in this spot and then painted them out (see fig. 20).
 84. Cocke (note 1), p. 56.
 85. A. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, vol. 4 (London, 1857), pp. 465 and 471.
 86. Cocke (note 1), p. 64, no. R.1, with references to other works attributed to this artist.
 87. A. Brejon de Lavergnée (note 60), pp. 448–449, and *idem* and D. Thiébaud, *Catalogue sommaire illustré des peintures du musée du Louvre; II. Italie, Espagne, Allemagne, Grande-Bretagne et divers* (Paris, 1981), p. 207.
 88. Cocke (note 1), p. 52, no. 34, and Brejon de Lavergnée (note 60), p. 449.
 89. See Cocke (note 1), p. 56; E. Sestieri, *Catalogo della Galleria Ex-Fidecommissaria Doria-Pamphilj* (Rome, 1942), p. 117, who lists all prior opinions; and E. A. Safarik, *Breve guida della Galleria Doria Pamphilj in Roma*, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1985), p. 28, no. 133, who characterizes it simply as "copy after Mola."
 90. Cocke (note 1), p. 56.
 91. *Ibid.*, p. 44, no. 5.
 92. G. Bazin, *Théodore Géricault*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1987), pp. 297 and 435, no. 322.
 93. See Cocke (note 1), pp. 56–57, figs. 134–135; Genty (note 39), p. 154; and Grigorieva (note 49), p. 27.
 94. H. Voss, *Die Malerei des Barock in Rom* (Berlin, 1924), p. 561, and Turner in Briganti et al. (note 1), pp. 266–267.
 95. On Turner and Mola, see J. Ziff, "'Backgrounds, Introduction of Architecture and Landscape': A Lecture by J. M. W. Turner," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 26 (1963), pp. 129 and 141.
 96. See Czobor (note 40), p. 569, figs. 1 and 42, and Cocke (note 1), p. 64, no. R.6, and p. 71, no. R.51.
 97. See J. Genty, *Pier Francesco Mola nelle collezioni private svizzere*, exh. cat. (Bruno Scardeoni, Lugano, 1986), pp. 14–15.

Acquisitions/ 1990

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Introduction: The Collections and the Year's Activities

In 1990 we were made more aware of our audience than ever before. We watched attendance shoot up fifteen percent after van Gogh's *Iris* went on exhibition and stay up month after month. Whatever unfilled capacity for visitors we used to have became only a memory. We were pleased to see that many more people now arrive by public transportation or use a nearby satellite parking lot and shuttle bus, getting around the limitation on parking reservations that has inconvenienced our visitors since the Getty Museum opened in 1974.

While we are delighted at the Museum's greater popularity, we are disappointed that surveys in recent years show that we attract relatively few visitors from Los Angeles' ethnic minorities—minorities that will soon become a majority. This was a year of exploring how we might better adapt ourselves to the makeup of the Museum's potential local audience, which is vastly more diverse than its actual audience. Our changing menu of small exhibitions continued to draw repeat visitors, especially since these are now better publicized than formerly. And, in addition to a growing collection, we offered visitors more educational services: in 1990 they could visit a new and innovative "interactive" display devoted to the arcane subject of bronze casting.

The collection did grow in 1990, but more in stature than in size. The number of purchases in this Acquisitions Supplement, 110, is much smaller than when I began to make these annual reports in 1983. The drying up of the pool of great European works of art continued in 1990, and fewer fish were pursued by more determined anglers with more expensive equipment. The much-publicized "end of the 80s" financial shake-out that has made many recent buyers become sellers has not yet benefited us much. The greatest objects in each of our curatorial areas commanded even higher prices in 1990 than they would have in 1989, reducing the buying power of the Museum's essentially level annual allocation of acquisitions funds. Despite this, I can report a string of spectacular successes of which the *Iris* was only the most publicized.

THE COLLECTIONS

THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES added another superb Cycladic idol to its small but very important collection, all purchased in recent years. It is among the finest and best preserved examples by the so-called Schuster Master, one of the most accomplished of all the sculptors of the Cyclades. Such statues were evidently burial goods; so were the amazingly delicate

marble vessels made by Cycladic artisans, of which we acquired a fine and diverse group of four.

Cycladic grave offerings are forever anonymous; not so the monument of the Greek foot soldier Pollis, whose stele we acquired in 1990. The moving inscription and the innovative depiction of his physical movement add poignancy to a memorial made just at the end of the Persian War, when so many youths had died in battle.

Our Etruscan material, which is not yet very strong, was much improved through the purchase of two excellent bronze pieces made at the celebrated foundries of Vulci. Beautifully modeled and finished, they are luxurious household objects: a tripod to support a mixing bowl for wine and a candelabrum or lampstand to provide light in the dim interior of an Etruscan house.

THE MANUSCRIPTS DEPARTMENT added a Dutch book of hours of the fifteenth century, probably the finest manuscript from the Northern Netherlands left in private hands. The Passion miniatures were painted by the Masters of Dirc van Delf, whose work is conspicuous among International style illuminators in the Netherlands for its expressive grace and compelling storytelling techniques.

Our small collection of Italian manuscripts and cuttings was strengthened by the purchase of a splendid initial with the unusual subject of the baptism of Saint Augustine, made by a Siennese painter of the quattrocento, the so-called Master of the Osservanza. Its curious dissonances of color and acutely observed detail are extremely well preserved, which can rarely be said for panel paintings of the period.

THE DEPARTMENT OF SCULPTURE AND WORKS OF ART, having waited in vain for more than a year for an export license from England for Canova's masterpiece *The Three Graces*, was able to seize two great opportunities by way of consolation. Both are superb examples by the leading bronze sculptors of the circle of Giambologna. The allegorical male figure by Adriaen de Vries was a much-heralded rediscovery when it appeared at auction in London. It is a virtuoso exercise in balance by the most accomplished Northern sculptor of his time, a piece that knowingly plays on a long tradition of such figures by the sculptors of antiquity and the Renaissance. It becomes our finest bronze sculpture.

Almost as rare, and in its own way just as impressive, is the bronze group of 1627 representing *The Abduction of Helen by Paris* by G. F. Susini. The Helen of Homer's *Iliad* was seduced, not abducted, and went willingly with

Paris to Troy; Susini's Helen is hauled off, protesting with body and voice, in a Baroque composition that is both intricate and dynamic.

FOR PAINTINGS, 1990 was an extraordinary year. The two pictures bought were both Dutch: a rediscovery by a seventeenth-century master, and perhaps the most famous painting of recent times.

The rediscovery was a large canvas, probably an altarpiece, painted by Gerrit van Honthorst around 1615, not long after his successful debut in Rome as a painter of dramatically lighted religious scenes. Honthorst gives the scene of *Christ Crowned with Thorns* expressive power by concentrating on a few life-size figures and imagining the scene illuminated by a single torch.

The other painting, the *Irises* by Vincent van Gogh, deserves its fame. When the artist had to choose two of his hundreds of paintings to be included in an exhibition in Paris in 1888, they were the *Starry Night* (now in the Museum of Modern Art in New York) and the *Irises*—one a vision of the cosmos by night, the other a close-up view of a garden by day. After his breakdown and confinement to the asylum at Saint-Rémy in May 1889, van Gogh gradually regained his grip on life by painting in the garden. His subject, the exuberant, unruly irises that reappear from their bulbs each year, must have had an emblematic value for him. The painting still startles by its flatness, freshness of color, and restless vitality. After making a record auction price in 1987 and achieving world-wide notoriety, the picture faced an uncertain future in private hands. We were fortunate enough to be able to end its wanderings and restore it to public view.

THE DRAWINGS DEPARTMENT acquired twenty-five drawings in 1990, somewhat fewer than in years past but hardly less important as a group. We continue to search with particular zeal for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian drawings, given their fundamental contribution to the history of art and their relative rarity. The successes of 1990 were capped by the purchase of the last two drawings by Pontormo still in private hands. Having bought the artist's famous portrait of Cosimo I in 1989, we have a natural interest in this painter and now have five drawings by him. The two acquired in 1990 include a sheet with several chalk studies for Pontormo's frescoes for the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano, one of the first monuments of the expressive style pioneered by the young artist. Pontormo's solid yet sensitive treatment of the nude figure is evident in the other drawing, which he intended for his assistant Bronzino to use in a commission of about 1523. A quarter-century later the same Bronzino, then the principal portrait painter in Florence, made the deli-

cate, highly disciplined chalk study of a man's head that the Museum acquired last year.

Several eighteenth-century French drawings were added in 1990, most notably Fragonard's large red chalk view of the Palatine as seen from the Roman Forum below. Made in 1759 while Fragonard was studying at the French Academy in Rome, it was probably an *envoi* sent back to Paris as evidence of the young artist's progress. And what progress! Already he could give to a topographically credible view an air of breezy animation and delight.

The year's biggest surprise was the reappearance of a large nude study in black chalk by Gustave Courbet. The artist made himself notorious with the corpulent nudes he painted a few years later, in the 1850s, which must have been preceded by drawings; yet only a few have survived. The model here is unclassically heavy, yet she is drawn with a finesse that reflects Courbet's study of the old masters.

IN DECORATIVE ARTS several acquisitions grace a collection that has long been the pride of the Getty Museum. Our collecting is now focused on extending or completing groups of similar types of furniture, so that the installation in the new museum in Brentwood will be as logical as possible; we are also purchasing ceramics, of which we have a small but increasingly distinguished collection.

Several years ago we acquired a large Boulle marquetry coffer that might originally have been supported at the foot of a bed by a gilded wood stand. Exactly such a stand turned up in the trade and was bought in 1990, an unusually vigorous late Baroque or early Régence piece that suits the Boulle coffer very well.

Our Sèvres collection gained a splendid case in the *goût grec*, the early and robust phase of the Neoclassical style in France. The model is rare, and only two simpler versions are known; this one appears to be the most elaborate and beautiful of all three surviving examples.

THE DEPARTMENT OF PHOTOGRAPHS made one of the great purchases in its six-year history, 247 pictures by Eugène Atget. The largest number of these came from André Jammes, who amassed the most important French private collection of photographs; augmented by pictures from other sources, they make up a group that represents Atget at the height of his powers. There are the haunting scenes of the streets of a fast-disappearing *vieux* Paris as well as rare landscape studies in the Paris suburbs; there are pictures of people plying their traditional trades; and there are views in parks suffused with elegiac feeling for glories long past.

Several of Atget's precursors are numbered among the notable acquisitions of 1990, among them the cele-

brated *River Scene* of Camille Silvy and a group of eleven daguerreotypes by the team of Philibert Perraud and Philippos Margaritis, which are the earliest surviving photographs of the monuments of the Acropolis. We also purchased a group of experimental "instantaneous" photographs by the inventor of the *carte-de-visite*, Disdéri, and a dynamic study of the exterior of the *Pavillon Molien* of the Louvre after the alterations to it by Visconti and Lafuel that were commissioned by Napoleon III.

We acquired five brilliant portraits of Baron de Meyer, the inventor of fashion photography, whose best pictures, these among them, belong to the tradition of van Dyck and Whistler. And we bought a group of twenty-nine photographs made between the world wars by artists of the Bauhaus (T. Lux Feininger, Paul Citroen, László Moholy-Nagy, and others), adding them to an already strong and diverse representation of the major Bauhaus masters.

THE YEAR'S ACTIVITIES

The Getty Museum's visitors, more numerous than ever, were treated to a series of changing exhibitions and some new public services in 1990. Scholars of antiquities and medieval manuscripts were offered international symposia that were especially successful. And we produced a dozen books of remarkable diversity. A few events clouded our pleasure, however, during this otherwise exhilarating year.

Our Associate Director for Education and Public Affairs, Bret Waller, left the Museum to become the Director of the Indianapolis Museum of Art. In his five years at the Getty Bret Waller made fundamental changes in education, public information, and publications. He strengthened the staffs, clarified their goals, guided their activities, stimulated their imaginations, and set high expectations for performance. He is already greatly missed.

In July we removed the kouros from view, announcing that we had discovered reasons to think that it might be a modern forgery. Acquired in 1984, the piece had been generally regarded as a fine and important new addition to the known kouros, and its authenticity had been bolstered by an innovative scientific analysis of its surface. Investigations have been going on intensively but are inconclusive thus far.

Building and displaying the permanent collection remains our primary focus. Having little room for loan shows, we rarely play host to them. Our energies instead are devoted to improving and adding to the installations of objects that are normally on view and to devising rotating exhibitions of the material that cannot

be shown permanently: drawings, illuminated manuscripts, and photographs.

In 1990 the large gallery for paintings and sculpture of the Renaissance was entirely reinstalled in a more logical sequence. Painted gray-green and lighted more subtly than formerly, it is now a sympathetic setting for some of our greatest works. Last year we created out of a former curatorial office a small gallery for changing installations designed to help our visitors understand the working methods of artists, encouraging them to handle material and ask questions of informed attendants. The first show was devoted to photography; in 1990 the subject was *Dirty Business/Princely Bronzes*, the methods by which bronze sculptures are made. The complex process of bronze casting was made understandable by a series of cutaway models, a video of the actual casting of a piece on view, samples that visitors were invited to pick up and examine, and impromptu live explanations.

Our collection of drawings has now more than three hundred examples, enough to permit a steady succession of exhibitions, each consisting of several dozen drawings. It is possible to choose themes that are narrow as well as broad, and even when we return to a subject treated a few years earlier, such as *Italian Renaissance Drawings*, the choice of examples is often quite different and includes newly acquired works. The five exhibitions in 1990 were *Renaissance and Mannerist Drawings in Northern Europe*, *Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Drawings*, *Dutch and Flemish Drawings*, *Italian Renaissance Drawings*, and *Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Italian Drawings*.

The Museum's collection of illuminated manuscripts continues to be a rich trove of material for changing exhibitions. There were four in 1990. *The Art of the Written Word: Calligraphy in Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts* included our most remarkable examples of the work of scribes and calligraphers. "*The Visions of Tondal*" and *Manuscripts from the Time of Margaret of York* was a display of this and other important late-medieval manuscripts. *The Visions of Tondal* had been unbound by a previous owner but had never been exhibited in toto. All of its miniatures were on view for this exhibition, which provided the occasion for a symposium that I shall describe shortly. *Illuminated Secular Manuscripts* featured eighteen historical, legal, literary, and scientific texts, including such recent acquisitions as the great *Weltchronik* illuminated in Bavaria at the beginning of the fifteenth century. *Illuminated Devotional Manuscripts* included twenty works reflecting the popularity of private devotion in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance.

The Department of Photographs continued its lively program of exhibitions in 1990. The acquisitions of 1985–1990 were the subject of one show, a selection from more than 7,500 pictures added since the initial block purchases that formed our collection. A second exhibition was devoted to the American photographer Carleton Watkins. There were thirty mammoth prints from our collection of more than two hundred Watkins photographs, chosen from the period in which he created the canonical images of the heroic American West. *Paul Strand: People and Place* celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of Strand's birth. Examples were drawn from our important group of Strand photographs, most of which come from the artist's estate. The year ended with the first loan exhibition ever brought to the Getty by the Department of Photographs, *Domestic Idylls: Photographs by Lady Hawarden*, a show organized by the Victoria and Albert Museum. Clementina, Viscountess Hawarden was an important photographer of the late 1850s and early '60s, and although her work has been seldom seen by the public, it repays the attention.

The Antiquities department organized a small loan exhibition called *Cyprus before the Bronze Age: Art of the Chalcolithic Period* with the cooperation of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus and the Menil Collection in Houston. The display of thirty-six small-scale sculptures and pieces of pottery dating from 4000 to 2500 B.C. represented one of the few opportunities ever given the public outside Cyprus to appreciate the achievements of prehistoric artists and craftsmen of that island. The exhibition was the occasion for an international symposium described below.

Our conservation studios and laboratories regularly play host to visiting colleagues for periods as short as a few days or as long as many months. In 1990 there were several unusually interesting arrangements of this kind that brought benefits to our public. After the civil war in Romania, during which many works belonging to the National Museum in Bucharest were destroyed or badly damaged, we had the chance to be of use. Four Italian Baroque paintings were shipped from Bucharest and have been treated here with the help of our Paintings Conservation staff. There was a double benefit: Simona Predescu, the conservator who accompanied them, was in need of a period of advanced training and familiarization with up-to-date materials and techniques; and the Museum will have the chance to exhibit one or several of the paintings. A great portrait by Bronzino in the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City came to the Getty in the company of Scott Heffley, the paintings conservator there. The picture

was cleaned and restored with help from our staff; as I write in June 1991, it is on exhibition in our galleries near the Pontormo portrait of Cosimo I as part of an exhibition devoted to Pontormo and his contemporaries. Such cooperative arrangements benefit both museums.

Symposia and art historical publications continued to make specialized contributions to scholarship. A symposium on "Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and *The Visions of Tondal*" was given in collaboration with the Huntington Library on the occasion of exhibitions devoted by both institutions to this major Flemish painter and his patrons. There were sessions on Margaret of York and her library of illuminated books, on the Getty's Tondal manuscript and its text and illustrations, and on the art of Simon Marmion, including manuscript illumination and panel painting. The discussion periods were especially productive. Part of the success of such symposia comes from an unusually close fit between subjects, which is achieved by organizing the program long in advance and commissioning papers whose content is suggested or at least negotiated with us. Since speakers arrive with material ready to publish, we can get the printed proceedings into the hands of specialists much sooner than usual.

In connection with a small exhibition of Cypriot antiquities of the Chalcolithic period, the Antiquities department organized a symposium in partnership with the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus. It brought together for the first time an international group of scholars whose common interests have seldom been shared. Much new artistic, ethnographic, agricultural, and geographical information about prehistoric Cyprus emerged during the sessions.

We continued work begun in 1989 to explore means of attracting a more diverse audience to the Getty Museum. We have had an enlightening collaboration with a local public relations firm in testing the awareness of, and attitudes about, the Getty Museum among groups traditionally underrepresented among our visitors. We began with a study of our traditional practices in public information and our contacts with the press. We explored ways in which we might get information about the Museum to a broader Los Angeles audience, one that does not read the *Los Angeles Times* but instead receives most information through foreign language radio and television. Our consultants conducted phone surveys, interviews in shopping malls, and focus group sessions with a cross-section of the general public as well as with members of the city's varied Latino communities. We learned that there is a largely untapped audience that professes to be interested in museums but

is largely or completely ignorant of the Getty. We have been developing many different ways to encourage attendance by this audience; 1991 will see the first results of our efforts.

Our annual summer concert series was devoted to *A Tale of Five Cities*, five programs of music from major musical centers in Europe: fifteenth-century Ghent, sixteenth-century Florence, seventeenth-century Venice, eighteenth-century London, and nineteenth-century Paris. The music was often unfamiliar and made for a lively portrait of the musical life of these cities. The series of weeknight lectures in the Auditorium explored the artistic and intellectual culture of the same cities and was extremely well attended.

Our program of guest scholars and conservators gives us an invaluable opportunity to have some of our most interesting colleagues among us for extended periods. They have the chance to take a sabbatical or a leave of absence in order to accomplish some scholarly project; we have the chance to turn their eyes to our collection and get their advice. This year's guest scholars were Aileen Dawson of the British Museum; Naomi Rosenblum of the Parsons School of Design; Walter Rosenblum of Brooklyn College; Patterson D. Williams from the Denver Art Museum; James Holderbaum of Smith College; Nigel J. Morgan of La Trobe University in Melbourne, Australia; Lynn Federle Orr of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; Marcel Roethlisberger of the University of Geneva; Christopher White of the Ashmolean Museum; and Koko Yamagishi, a free-lance editor and photography curator from Tokyo. Guest conservators normally are with us for shorter periods, often no more than several weeks, but this is long enough for them to give demonstrations, observe, and consult with our staffs. In 1990 guest conservators included Gianluigi Colalucci of the Vatican Museums; Richard Stone of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Carol Mattusch of George Mason University; and Miriam Cerck-Dewaide of the Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, Brussels.

For a museum of its size, the Getty produces a great many scholarly publications. This past year saw the appearance of twelve titles that covered a wide range of interests. There were two books, *Cyprus before the Bronze Age* and *The Visions of Tondal*, both designed to outlive their temporary purpose as exhibition catalogues. Two more catalogues of sections of the permanent collection of Greek vases, both part of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* series, were devoted to the vases from the Bareiss collection and to South Italian pottery. A collection of occasional essays on antiquities in the Getty Museum appeared, *Roman Funerary Monuments*.

A facsimile edition of one of our more important medieval manuscripts, the *Vidal Mayor*, a Spanish law text of the Middle Ages, was published in cooperation with a Spanish publisher. Two books on the art of photography appeared: *Disciples of Light*, devoted to the Brewster Album and the origins of photography in Scotland, and *Photography: Discovery and Invention*, the papers of a symposium given here in 1988. The proceedings of a symposium of 1988 on marble in antiquity and of another symposium of 1989 on bronzes also appeared. A copublication arrangement resulted in the appearance of the English edition of *French Furniture Makers: The Art of the Ebéniste from Louis XIV to the Revolution*, the basic survey of the field, with many illustrations of Getty pieces. There was also a fundamental contribution to the psychology of perception in *The Art of Seeing*. Finally, we published another volume of the *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, with a miscellany of studies devoted to objects in our collection.

It was an exciting and productive year for the Getty Museum. To all of the staff who made it so, I am very grateful.

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 (top left); 2 (center); 3 (right); 4 (bottom left)

1. KANDILA

Early Cycladic I, circa 3000–2800 B.C.
Marble, H: 27 cm (10⁵/₈ in.); Diam
(mouth): 11.5 cm (4¹/₂ in.); Diam
(body): 21 cm (8¹/₄ in.)
90.AA.9

The collared jar or kandila, named for its resemblance to modern suspended church lamps, was the most common marble object produced in the Early Cycladic I period. The containers probably served as funerary vessels, holding water, oil, or wine. While this kandila stands securely on its tall, conical foot, it could also have been carried suspended from cords passed through the holes in the four lugs on the sides. The vessel has been broken in half and repaired. There are traces of red and blue pigment remaining on the outside of the jar.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

2. BEAKER

Early Cycladic I, circa 3000–2800 B.C.
Marble, H: 15.5 cm (6¹/₈ in.); Diam
(body): 12.4 cm (4⁷/₈ in.); Diam

(mouth): 14 cm (5¹/₂ in.)
90.AA.10

The beaker is one of the proportionally elegant and distinctive forms developed by Cycladic sculptors. Lidless, like the kandila, it was also designed for suspension and likewise intended as a container for liquids. The vessel is intact with some surface abrasion.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

3. BOWL

Early Cycladic II, circa 2700–2200 B.C.
Marble, H: 12 cm (4³/₄ in.); Diam
(mouth): 31.7 cm (12¹/₂ in.)
90.AA.11

The most popular type of vessel, the simple open bowl, recurs frequently in the repertory of Cycladic vase shapes. This example is a variant of its type in having one horizontal unpierced lug. The bowl has been broken and repaired with restoration used to fill a missing area of the rim.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

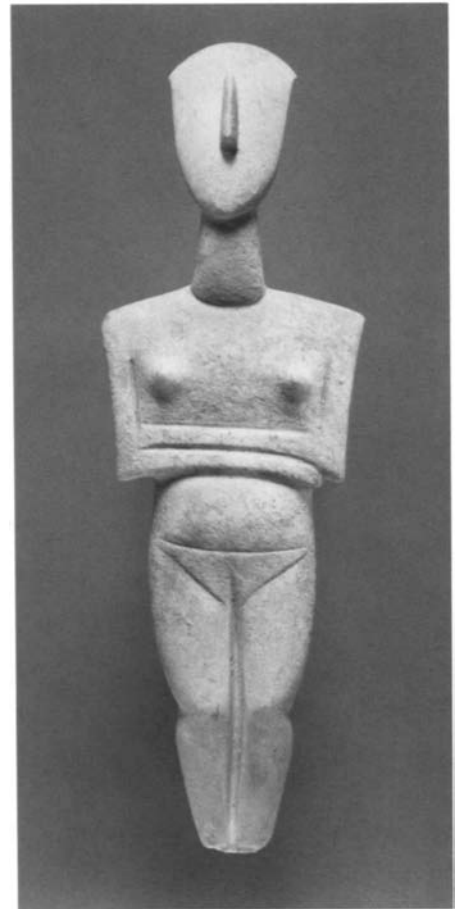
4. FOOTED CUP

Early Cycladic II, circa 2700–2200 B.C.
Marble, H: 6.5 cm (2⁹/₁₆ in.); Diam
(mouth): 10.4 cm (4¹/₄ in.)
90.AA.12

The footed cup is a graceful addition by stone sculptors of the Early Cycladic II period to the repertory of Cycladic vessel shapes. The shape of the foot of this and similar vessels with pedestals appears to have been derived from the kandilai carved in the Early Cycladic I period. The vessel is intact and in good condition.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sale cat., Sotheby's, New York, December 2, 1988, lot 83A.



5

5. FEMALE IDOL OF THE LATE SPEDOS VARIETY

Early Cycladic II, circa 2400 B.C.
Attributed to the Schuster Master
[P. Getz]
Marble, with traces of pigment preserved, H: 40.6 cm (16 in.)
90.AA.114

This sculpture, a reclining female with her arms crossed over her torso, is one of the best of the twelve known complete and nearly complete works by the Schuster Master. His style is characterized by a precise symmetry emphasized by sharp and deep incision around the arms and an exaggeration of the curves of the top of the head, the shoulders, and the lower arms, which, in this figure, accentuate the swollen belly. Typical also of this sculptor are the deep groove between the legs and the prominent aquiline nose. The surface is well preserved, retaining traces of red pigment on the forehead and lightly incised crossed markings on the back of the neck. This idol is unique in being the single example of the Schuster Master's work to preserve some of its painted and incised details on the head. The slightly swollen belly may indicate pregnancy, which emphasizes the fertility factor of these female idols. The idol has been broken at the ankles and the feet are missing. The head has also been broken and re-joined at the neck.

PROVENANCE: London art market.

6. GRAVE STELE OF THE HOPLITE
POLLIS

Probably from the region of Megara,
circa 480 B.C.

Marble, H: 149.8 cm (59 in.); W: 44.5
cm (17½ in.)
90.AA.129

A nude warrior armed with a spear in his right hand, a round shield on his left arm, a sword at his left side, and wearing a helmet with cheek pieces fills the lower portion of this tall inscribed funerary stele. The flat surface of the stone above the recessed figural zone is inscribed:

ΛΕΓΟ ΠΟΛΛΙΣ ΑΣΟΠΙΤΟ ΦΙΛΟΣ
ΗΥΙΟΣ: Ο ΚΑΚΟΣ ΕΟΝ
ΑΠΕΘΝΑΣΚΟΝ
ΗΥΠΙΟ ΣΤΙ ΚΤΑΙΣΙΝ ΕΓΟΝΕ

(I speak, Pollis, the beloved son of Asopitos, having not died a coward in the line of battle)

The letter forms, a combination of Attic and Corinthian, are typical of Megarian script of the early fifth century. In addition, the anatomy of the figure is carved in the so-called Severe or Bold Style. The lower portion of the stele has been lost; the legs of the warrior are missing below the knees. The remaining



stele has been broken into two pieces and repaired.

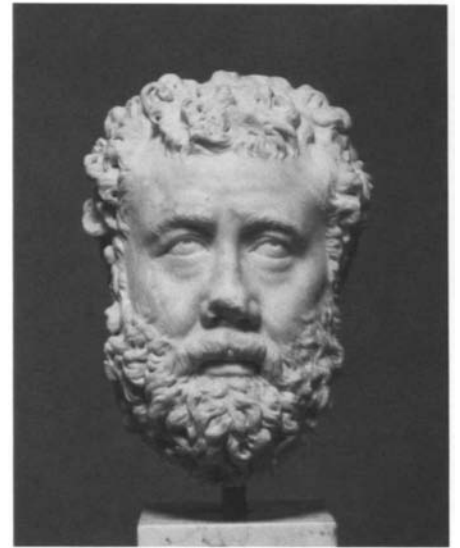
The face of the warrior has been almost completely lost, his proper right shoulder has been broken away, and there is extensive chipping along the entire left side of the relief. The surface of the stone shows some evidence of weathering.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Exh. cat. (Atlantis Antiquities, New York, 1989).

7. PORTRAIT OF A BEARDED MAN
Roman, first quarter of the third
century A.D.
Marble, H: 33.4 cm (13 in.)
90.AA.21

This commemorative portrait of a Roman sculpted during the reign of the Emperor



Caracalla (188–217) probably depicts a wealthy private individual rather than a member of the imperial family. The tension and uncertainty characteristic of the brutal reign of Caracalla are reflected in the sitter's hauntingly sad, resigned expression. Other than the missing tip of the nose, surface damage is limited to minor chipping on the proper right ear, the forehead, and on several locks of the hair and beard. The under surface of the neck was roughly worked flat with the point in modern times.

PROVENANCE: Hermann Bünenmann Collection, Munich; formerly in the Bernheimer Collection, Munich.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Auktion Weinmüller*, sale cat. (Weinmüller, Munich, December 1960, 83, no. 713); H. Marwitz, "Antiken der Sammlung Hermann Bünenmann, München," *Antike Plastik 6* (Berlin, 1967), pp. 54–55, taf. 33–35.

BRONZE SCULPTURE

8. STATUETTE OF A LYRE PLAYER
WITH A FEMALE COMPANION
Greek, seventh century B.C.
Bronze, H: 11.5 cm (4½ in.)
90.AB.6

Nude figures of a male and a female stand on the flat, narrow base of this small bronze statuette group from the end of the Geometric period. The man, considerably larger than his companion, strums a two-stringed lyre with a large plektron, or pick. The woman, standing stiffly erect at arm's length on the lyre player's



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proper right, places her left hand on his hip. Her right arm hangs down at her side. The genitalia are emphasized on both figures. Two holes in the base indicate that the group was once attached to another object, possibly a tripod or caldron rim.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

MISCELLANEOUS BRONZES

9. TRIPOD

Etruscan, from Vulci, late sixth century B.C.

Bronze, H: 62 cm (24³/₈ in.)

90.AC.16

The tripod supports are alternating straight and curved rods, topped by solid-cast figural groups on the straight rods and pairs of animals in combat on the curved rods. One figural group consists of Herakles with a female companion, presumably Deianeira, both striding to the right. The second group has two male figures, perhaps the Boreads, dressed in cloaks and winged boots, who also move to the right. The last group consists of two nude satyrs with large ears and well-defined beards. They move to the left. Each foot of the tripod is fashioned in the form of a lion's paw resting on a frog's back. The style of the figural decoration permits the identification of the tripod as a product of Vulci, the renowned sixth-century B.C. Etruscan bronzeworking



9

center. The tripod has been broken and repaired in modern times, with areas of loss in the ring at the top filled with a synthetic material.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

10. CANDELABRUM

Etruscan, from Vulci, fifth century B.C.

Bronze, H: 112 cm (44¹/₁₆ in.)

90.AC.17

Like the tripod (no. 9), this candelabrum is a product of the Vulci smithing center. Mounted on the top support of the candelabrum is a solid-cast figural group of a nude, horse-tailed satyr with a youthful companion who is swathed in a mantle with a short tunic underneath. Below them, four curving arms with terminals in the shape of stylized lotus buds project from a slender, fluted shaft. The feet of the tripod base are fashioned as lion's paws resting on low cylindrical pedestals. One arm and one leg of the candelabrum have been broken and repaired. All three



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feet have been reattached in modern times. Two of the four terminals at the ends of the arms have suffered minor losses.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

VASES:
MINOAN



11

11. JAR IN THE SHAPE OF A SQUAT ALABASTRON
Late Minoan II, from Crete, circa 1440–1405 B. C.
Terra-cotta, H: 8.3 cm (4 in.); Diam: 10 cm (3³/₈ in.)
90.AE.18

The surface of the vase has been stippled with a dilute brown glaze to effect the dimpled shell of an ostrich egg, an exotic and prized object during the Bronze Age. The solid brown mouth and base of the vase further imitate the use of actual ostrich eggs, which were frequently outfitted with rims and bases in gold, silver, or faience. The date of the vase is confirmed by its shape, which first appeared in the Greek world via Egypt during the Late Minoan IB period, and by the stipple pattern, which is found almost exclusively on vessels of the Late Minoan IB and II periods. The vase is intact except for a small chip missing from the rim.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

VASES:
ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE

12. TEN FRAGMENTS OF A NICOSTHENIC PYXIS
Circa 540 B. C.
Attributed to the BMN Painter
Terra-cotta, various dimensions
90.AE.15.1–10 (joining 86.AE.143)

Six of the fragments carry parts of a depiction of the battle between the gods and the giants. On one pair is the foot and lower part of the dress of Athena shown

behind her chariot of which can be seen a wheel and the head of a snake. The upper part of Athena, followed by Herakles and two of the giants, Enkelados and Porphyriion, is shown on the large fragment already in the Museum's collection (86.AE.143) that belongs to this pyxis. A second pair of fragments shows the winged feet of Hermes, the back leg of a feline (perhaps the panther often depicted with Dionysos), and the torso of a fallen warrior. The head and upper torso of Poseidon with the full inscription of his name preserved is shown on a third pair of fragments. The god carries the island of Nisyros on his left shoulder. Four other fragments have only decorative motifs from above or below the figural scene. The fragments show some surface abrasion.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. J. Clark, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, United States of America Fascicule 26, The J. Paul Getty Museum Fascicule 2* (Malibu, 1990), pl. 72, no. 2, listed as L.88.AE.46.

13. MASTOS
Circa 520–510 B. C.
Attributed to Psiax [D. von Bothmer]
Terra-cotta, H: 12.2 cm (4³/₄ in.); W (with handles): 20.6 cm (8¹/₁₆ in.);
Diam (mouth): 13.4 cm (5¹/₄ in.)
90.AE.122

Reconstructed from fragments, this mastos presents a Dionysiac theme in its decoration. On the obverse, a young woman plays a double aulos. She wears a himation ornamented with tiny stars over

a thin linen chiton. Her hair is pulled up in a krobylos. A maenad stands on the reverse, holding a leafy branch in one hand and an ivy tendril in the other. Over a chiton embellished with stars she wears a nebris, or animal skin. Delicate palmette tendrils intertwined with lotus blossom tendrils frame the handles, and a crenellation pattern encircles the rim.

PROVENANCE: New York art market; formerly Moretti collection.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Mertens, "Some New Vases by Psiax," *Antike Kunst* 22 (1979), pp. 22–37, fig. 10, 1–4.

VASES:
ATTIC RED-FIGURE

14. FIFTEEN FRAGMENTS OF VARIOUS VESSELS
Circa 500–480 B. C.
Terra-cotta, various dimensions
90.AE.40.1–15

The fragments come from various vase shapes and have a variety of decorative border patterns.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

15. SEVENTY FRAGMENTS OF VASES AND CUPS
Circa 500–480 B. C.
One cup fragment attributed to Makron [D. von Bothmer]; the rest unattributed
Terra-cotta, various dimensions
90.AE.39.1–70



These fragments preserve figural and ornamental decoration with many of them belonging to vessels already in the Museum's collection. Sixty-one of the fragments are from cups. The fragment attributed to Makron belongs to a red-figure cup in the collection (85.AE.466) that depicts the Nereids. Nine stamnos fragments join a fragment in the collection (80.AE.138.17) and help to complete the figural decoration preserved on it.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

16. FIFTEEN CALYX-KRATER FRAGMENTS

Circa 500 B.C.

Attributed to the Berlin Painter
Terra-cotta, various dimensions
90.AE.2.1–15 (joining 77.AE.5,
82.AE.124, 84.AE.68, and 84.AE.972)

These fifteen pieces belong to the fragmentary calyx-krater in the Museum's collection whose principal side depicts Ajax carrying the dead body of Achilles from the battlefield at Troy. One fragment adds the right hand of Achilles and the left foot of Ajax. Eleven of the fragments preserve parts of the decoration. Four belong to the all-black body of the calyx. The remaining fragments show portions of bodies, drapery, and armor, or are sections of the rim. A complete study of this vase is being prepared for publication by Mary Moore.

PROVENANCE: London art market, by exchange.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: See M. Robertson, "The Berlin Painter at the Getty Museum and Some Others," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 1, Occasional Papers on Antiquities 1 (Malibu, 1983), pp. 55–61, figs. 1–9 for fragments of the calyx-krater to which these pieces belong.

17. EIGHTY-EIGHT FRAGMENTS OF A ZONE CUP

Circa 490 B.C.

Attributed to Douris as painter; may be attributed to Kleophrades as potter on the basis of a similar cup in Berlin that bears his signature
Terra-cotta, various dimensions
90.AE.36.1–.88 (joining 87.AE.46)

The tondo of this kylix is decorated with a representation of Triptolemos seated in his winged chariot and holding sheaves of grain. In the surrounding zone, separated from the tondo by a palmette frieze, is a

race of quadrigae to the right. The scenes on the exterior are more difficult to identify, but, like the interior, have a palmette frieze ground line. One side may depict Achilles' ambush of the Trojan prince Troilos, while the other may represent the battle between Achilles and Hector for the body of Troilos. Segments of identifying inscriptions and a kalos name, Phaidrias, are preserved on the interior and exterior.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

18. FRAGMENT OF A PHIALE

Circa 490–480 B.C.

Attributed to Douris
Terra-cotta, 7.55 cm (2⁵/₁₆ in.)
90.AE.130, presented anonymously
(joining 81.AE.213, 85.AE.18, and
85.AE.185)

This fragment, part of a fragmentary libation vessel in the Museum's collection (81.AE.213), is decorated with the torso of the god Ares.

PROVENANCE: Donation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: LIMC IV, s.v. "Hades," p. 373, no. 28; A. J. Clark and J. Wilson, "A Paradise Paved with Fragments," *J. Paul Getty Trust Bulletin* 2 (Winter/Spring 1987), pp. 10–14; M. Robertson, "A Fragmentary Phiale by Douris," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 5, Occasional Papers on Antiquities 6 (Malibu, 1991), pp. 75–98.

19. KYLIX, TYPE B FRAGMENT

Circa 500–490 B.C.

Attributed to Onesimos
Terra-cotta, 4.1 cm (1¹/₁₆ in.)
90.AE.25 (joining 86.AE.607)

This fragment belongs to a kylix in the Museum's collection (86.AE.607) that is decorated on the interior with an amorous satyr crawling along a rocky outcropping toward a sleeping maenad whom he is about to kiss. Each side of the exterior has a single satyr dancing on a short ground line. This fragment completes the best preserved of the two—the satyr whose back is turned toward the viewer—by providing the missing fingers and thumb of his right hand. On the interior, it furnishes the final fold and hemline of the maenad's pleated chiton.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: See "Acquisitions/1986," *GettyMusJ* 15 (1987), p. 162, no. 11, for the kylix to which this fragment belongs; also D.

Williams, "Onesimos and the Getty Iliupersis," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 5, Occasional Papers on Antiquities 6 (Malibu, 1991), pp. 41–64 (see addendum, p. 61).

20. EIGHTY PLASTIC VASE FRAGMENTS
Circa 490–470 B.C.

Terra-cotta, various dimensions
90.AE.37.1–.80

The fragments, from a variety of plastic vases, belong to a number of important fragmentary vessels which were donated to the Museum's collection in 1981. Some of the molded fragments are from head vases and animal-head rhyta while others belong to statuette vases.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

21. FIVE KYLIX, TYPE B FRAGMENTS
Circa 490 B.C.

Attributed to the Brygos Painter
[Bareiss]
Terra-cotta, various dimensions
90.AE.24.1–.5 (joining 86.AE.286)

All five fragments preserve parts of the figural decoration of a cup (86.AE.286) that is decorated inside and outside with scenes of the fall of Ajax. On the exterior, the dispute between Ajax and Odysseus decorates one side, the casting of lots the other. On the interior, within a circular meander frame, is the discovery of Ajax's suicide by his companion Tekmessa.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The kylix to which these fragments belong is well published, e.g., *Para* 367, 1 bis; M. I. Davies, "Ajax and Tekmessa," *Antike Kunst* 16 (1973), pp. 60–70, pls. 9–11; B. B. Shefton, "Agamemnon or Ajax?" *RA* 2 (1973), pp. 203–218; K. Schefold, "Sophokles' Aias auf einer Lekythos," *Antike Kunst* 19 (1976), p. 72, n. 3; D. Williams, "Ajax, Odysseus and the Arms of Achilles," *Antike Kunst* 23 (1980), pp. 137–145, pls. 33–36; *Greek Vases: Molly and Walter Bareiss Collection* (Malibu, 1983), pp. 44–45, no. 30; M. True in *Poets and Heroes: Scenes of the Trojan War* (Atlanta, 1986), pp. 52–57, no. 14.

22. TWENTY-FIVE FRAGMENTS OF A CORAL-RED PHIALE
Circa 480 B.C.

Attributed to the Foundry Painter
[Robertson]
Terra-cotta, various dimensions
90.AE.38.1–.25

These fragments are from the only phiale

yet attributed to the Foundry Painter. The subject matter, an amazonomachy, is also unique in the oeuvre of this artist. The figural decoration on the inside of the vessel shows a combat between Amazons and Greeks. A band of coral-red between black lines decorates both the interior rim area and the zone around the now-missing omphalos of the phiale. The exterior is decorated with black zones at the rim and around the now-missing omphalos, with coral-red applied in between.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: See M. Robertson, "A Fragmentary Phiale by Douris," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 5, Occasional Papers on Antiquities 6 (Malibu, 1991), pp. 75–98, for a discussion of the fragments.

23. ONE HUNDRED TWENTY-SIX FRAGMENTS OF A KYLIX
Circa 480 B.C.

Attributed to the Triptolemos Painter
[J. R. Guy]
Terra-cotta, various dimensions
90.AE.35.1–126

These fragments belong to a kylix decorated with scenes of the Trojan War. The tondo scene of the capture of Dolon (*Iliad* 10.314ff.) is the earliest known to be placed within a circular format, and the execution of the figure of Dolon, with his wolf-skin disguise intentionally prominent above the human features of his face, is one of the rare three-quarter frontal faces in red-figure up to this time. The two exterior scenes are of the quarrel between Odysseus and Ajax for the arms of Achilles and of the vote by the Greeks to award the armor to Odysseus.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

GEMS

24. FINGER RING WITH ENGRAVED PORTRAIT OF DEMOSTHENES

Roman, second century A.D.

Signed by Apelles

Gold ring with carnelian stone, ring diam: 3.4 cm (1⁵/₁₆ in.)

90.AN.13

The gem is engraved with a portrait of Demosthenes, the city of Athens' most famous orator (388–322 B.C.). The style of the well-preserved, heavy gold ring is



24 (impression)

of the second century A.D. The elliptical carnelian is also of the later second century, sharing with the best engraved gems a deeply cut representation distinguished by precise and accurate detail. The carnelian's partially pitted and occluded surface, which has resulted in white striations, does not affect the gem's impression. The gem is signed "Apellou," the genitive of Apelles. The name Apelles as an engraver of gems is attested by only one other gem, a carnelian engraved with a tragic mask that was last seen in the Jablonowski collection from 1841 to 1894.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Spier, *Ancient Gems and Finger Rings: Catalogue of the Collections* (Malibu, forthcoming), no. 216 bis.

OBJECTS REMOVED FROM THE COLLECTION SINCE 1983

STATUE OF A CROUCHING VENUS

Roman, mid-second century A.D.

Marble, H: 97.8 cm (38¹/₂ in.)

71.AA.455

THREE HYDRIA FRAGMENTS

Attributed to the Eagle Painter

Caeretan, late sixth century B.C.

Terra-cotta, various dimensions, from 8.3 cm (3¹/₄ in.) to 10.5 cm (5⁷/₈ in.)

79.AE.106.1–3

CUP FRAGMENT

Lakonian, circa 540 B.C.

Terra-cotta, greatest extent: 5 cm

(1⁵/₁₆ in.)

80.AE.79

CAMPANIAN RED-FIGURE SKYPHOS

South Italian, fourth century B.C.

Terra-cotta, H: 11.6 cm (4⁹/₁₆ in.);

Diam: 10.9–11.5 cm (4¹/₄–4¹/₂ in.)

80.AE.145

ANTEFIX IN THE SHAPE OF THE HEAD OF DIONYSOS

Late Hellenistic, first century B.C.

Terra-cotta, H: 17.8 cm (7 in.)

80.AD.146

THEATRICAL MASK

Late Hellenistic, first century B.C.

Terra-cotta, H: 8.2 cm (3¹/₄ in.)

80.AD.147

STATUETTE OF A GODDESS

Boeotian, fifth–fourth century B.C.

Terra-cotta, H: 34.3 cm (13¹/₂ in.)

80.AD.148

STATUETTE OF A YOUTH

Boeotian, fifth–fourth century B.C.

Terra-cotta, H: 17.8 cm (7 in.)

80.AD.149

STATUETTE OF AN ATHLETE

Boeotian, fifth–fourth century B.C.

Terra-cotta, H: 21.5 cm (8¹/₂ in.)

80.AD.150

STATUETTE OF A STANDING GODDESS

Late Hellenistic, first century B.C.—first century A.D.

Marble, H: 39 cm (15³/₈ in.)

82.AA.149

INTARSIA PANEL

Second century A.D.

Opus sectile, H: 42 cm (16¹/₂ in.),

W: 46.5 cm (18¹/₄ in.)

83.AH.39

PORTRAIT HEAD OF CAESAR

Roman, late first century B.C.—early first century A.D.

Marble, H: 28.5 cm (11³/₁₆ in.)

82.AA.150

PORTRAIT HEAD OF HOMER

Roman, second century A.D.

Marble, H: 13.2 cm (5¹/₄ in.)

84.AA.4

BOWL

Etruscan, seventh century B.C.

Terra-cotta, H: 40 cm (15¹/₂ in.); Diam:

51.5 cm (20¹/₄ in.)

82.AE.151

PLATE FRAGMENT

Attic black-figure, circa 520 B.C.

Terra-cotta, greatest extent: 3.6 cm

(1³/₈ in.)

86.AE.186

TWO BOWLS WITH TRIPOD FEET

Sardinian, circa 1400–1200 B.C.

Terra-cotta, .1) H: 19 cm (7¹/₂ in.), Diam:

26.3 cm (10³/₁₆ in.); .2) H: 13 cm (5¹/₈ in.),

Diam: 16 cm (6¹/₄ in.)

82.AE.1531–2

CUP FRAGMENT

Attributed to Makron

Attic red-figure, circa 490 B.C.

Terra-cotta, greatest extent: 14.6 cm

(5³/₄ in.)

86.AE.314

GROUP OF 185 LEAD SEALS AND IMPRESSIONS

Roman, first century B.C.—first century A.D.

Lead, various dimensions, from .85 cm (3/4 in.) to 5.43 cm (2¹/₈ in.)

82.AI.1541–185

CUP FRAGMENT

Attributed to the Brygos Painter

Attic red-figure, circa 480 B.C.

Terra-cotta, greatest extent: 8 cm (3¹/₈ in.)

86.AE.316

TWO RELIEF FRAGMENTS

Greek, sixth century B.C.

Bronze, .1) L: 6.5 cm (2¹/₂ in.), W: 7.2 cm

(6³/₄ in.); .2) L: 26 cm (10³/₁₆ in.),

W: 8.4 cm (3¹/₄ in.)

82.AC.1551–2

CUP FRAGMENT, LIPPED INSIDE

Attributed to the Foundry Painter

Attic red-figure, circa 480–470 B.C.

Terra-cotta, greatest extent: 4.7 cm

(1¹³/₁₆ in.)

86.AE.318

FRAGMENT OF AN ATTIC GRAVE STELE

Greek, circa 375 B.C.

Marble, H: 39.5 cm (15¹/₂ in.); W: 31 cm

(12³/₁₆ in.)

82.AA.156

CUP FRAGMENT

Attributed to Epiktetos

Attic red-figure, circa 480 B.C.

Terra-cotta, greatest extent: 4.9 cm

(1¹⁵/₁₆ in.)

86.AE.385

THREE COLUMN-KRATER FRAGMENTS

Circa 480 B.C.

Terra-cotta, various dimensions, from

4.8 cm (1⁷/₈ in.) to 10.1 cm (4⁵/₁₆ in.)

83.AE.251–3

MANUSCRIPTS



25

25. HISTORIATED INITIAL L WITH THE BAPTISM OF SAINT AUGUSTINE WITNESSED BY SAINT MONICA
Cutting from a choir book
Illuminated by the Master of the Osservanza (Italian, active second quarter of the fifteenth century)
Siena, probably shortly after 1430
Vellum, 18.7 x 16.2 cm (7³/₈ x 6³/₈ in.).
Latin text in Gothic liturgical script (*littera gothica rotunda*). One historiated initial.
Ms. 39; 90.MS.41

CONTENTS: The text on the verso is
“. . . rem strenu . . . / . . . civen
fide”

Two other cuttings from the same set of choir books are in the Fitzwilliam

Museum, Cambridge, England (Marlay Cutting It. 12), and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Robert Lehman Collection).

PROVENANCE: From a choir book probably made for the Augustinian church of San Trifone, Siena; James Dennistoun (1803–1855) of Dennistoun; by descent to Mrs. Hensley Henson; purchased circa 1930 by Lord Clark, Saltwood; to Lady Clark (sale, Groupe Ger-saint, Rouen, November 23, 1989, lot 79); [Sam Fogg, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Pope-Hennessy, *Sassetta* (London, 1939), p. 180, pl. 29A; D. Sutton, *The Art of Painting in Florence and Siena from 1250 to 1500*, exh. cat. (Wildenstein and Company, London, 1965), no. 95, p. 54, fig. 91; F. Zeri, “Italian Primitives at Messrs Wildenstein,” *Burlington Magazine* 107 (1965), p. 256, fig. 63;

F. Avril et al., *L'art gothique siennois: enluminure, peinture, orfèvrerie, sculpture*, exh. cat. (Musée du Petit Palais, Avignon, 1983), p. 342; M. G. Ciardi Dupré dal Poggetto, “La libreria di coro dell'Osservanza e la miniatura senese del Quattrocento,” *L'Osservanza di Siena: La basilica e i suoi codici miniati* (Milan, 1984), p. 132; C. Alessi and P. Scapecchi, “Il ‘Maestro dell'Osservanza’: Sano di Pietro o Francesco di Bartolomeo?” *Prospettiva* 42 (July 1985), pp. 21, 35, n. 87; K. Christiansen et al., *Painting in Renaissance Siena, 1420–1500*, exh. cat. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1988), pp. 100–102.

26. BOOK OF HOURS

Illuminated by the Masters of Dirck van Delf

Probably Utrecht, circa 1405–1410

Vellum, ii + 210 + ii leaves. Collation: a², 1⁶, 2⁶ (–1, before fol. 8; +1, fol. 7 [nineteenth century?]; +7, fol. 13), 3⁸–5⁸, 6⁸ (+5, fol. 42), 7⁸ (+8, fol. 54; a tipped-in leaf possibly lacking before fol. 43), 8⁸ (+6, fol. 61), 9⁸ (+4, fol. 68), 10⁸ (+6, fol. 79), 11⁸ (+9, fol. 91; fol. 90 originally blank-ruled); 12⁸–13⁸, 14⁶, 15⁸–17⁸, 18⁸ (+1, fol. 138), 19⁸–23⁸, 24⁸ (1, 2 reattached; original 7 and 8 probably removed and replaced [replacement contemporary with the rest of the manuscript]; +9, fol. 195); 25⁸; 26⁸ (–8, after fol. 210) (traces of horizontal catchwords). 16.4 x 11.7 cm (6⁷/₁₆ x 4⁵/₈ in.). Text area: 8.1 x 5.5 cm (3³/₁₆ x 2³/₁₆ in.), one column, thirteen lines. Latin and Dutch text in Gothic script (*littera textualis formata*). Eight

full-page miniatures, three historiated initials, three decorated borders. Purple velvet binding over wood (?) boards; after 1944. Ms. 40, 90.ML.139

CONTENTS: Calendar, use of Utrecht (fols. 1–12v); Hours of the Virgin, use of Windesheim (fols. 14–89v): *The Arrest of Christ* (fol. 13v); historiated initial *D* with *The Virgin of Humility* (fol. 14); [a miniature possibly lacking before fol. 28]; *Christ before Pilate* (fol. 42v); [a miniature of *The Flagellation* probably lacking before fol. 49]; *Christ Carrying the Cross* (fol. 54v); *The Crucifixion* (fol. 61v); *The Lamentation* (fol. 68v); *The Entombment* (fol. 79v); *Oratio ad Beatissimam Virgine: Quot sunt Angelorum . . .* and inscriptions by J. Pasquier, 1659 (fols. 90–90v [originally blank-ruled]); Seven Penitential Psalms (fols. 92–108): *The Last Judgment* (fol. 91v); historiated initial *D* with *An Angel Holding Up the Sudarium* (fol. 92); litany (fols.

108v–130v); prayers: *Misere nobis domine; Libera nos de morte; Maiestati tue nos quesumus; Preces nostras quesumus; Omnipotens deus pater; Deus infinite misericordie; Adesto domine supplicationibus; Indulgentiam et remissionem* (fols. 131–137; 137v blank-ruled); Office of the Dead, use of Utrecht (fols. 139–192v): *Funeral Mass* (fol. 138v); historiated initial *D* with *Four Souls in Hell* (fol. 139); prayers in Dutch (fols. 193–210v).

PROVENANCE: J. D. Rossem, 1532; Canon A. N. Hendricus de Grati; to J. Pasquier, before 1659; [Librairie F. Roth and Company, Lausanne, 1944]; private collection, Switzerland; [Francesco Radaeli, Milan]; Jörn Günther, Hamburg; private collection, England; [Sam Fogg, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. M. Plotzek, *Andachtsbücher des Mittelalters aus Privatbesitz*, exh. cat. (Schnütgen-Museum, Cologne, 1987), no. 48, pp. 163–167; D. Proske-van Heerdt, “In de marges van Utrechtse(?) handschriften uit het eerste kwart van de 15de eeuw,” *Middeleeuwse*



26 (fols. 13v–14)



26 (fol. 42v)



26 (fol. 54v)

handschriftenkunde in de Nederlanden (Grave, 1988), pp. 141–142, figs. 6–7; H. M. L. Defoer, A. S. Korteweg, and W. C. M. Wüstefeld, *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, exh. cat. (Rijksmuseum het Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, and Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1989–1990), no. 8, pp. 23, 39–40; J. H. Marrow, “Johannes de Malborch, Dutch Scribe of the Early Fifteenth Century,” *Scriptorium* (A Special Issue in Honor of Martin Wittek) (in press).



26 (fol. 79v)

OBJECTS REMOVED
FROM THE COLLECTION
SINCE 1983

FRAGMENTARY LEAVES FROM A BIBLE
Probably northwestern France, circa
840–850

Vellum, forty-two pieces (nine fragments
of text from seven leaves, twenty-three
blank). Largest fragment [two pieces
joined]: 28.7 x 31.7 cm (1¹³/₁₆ x 12¹/₂ in.); re-
mainder vary. Originally three columns,
forty lines. Latin text in Carolingian
minuscule.

Olim Ms. Ludwig I 2; 83.MA.51

BIFOLIUM FROM SAINT ALDHELM OF
MALMSBURY, *DE LAUDE VIRGINITATIS*
Probably Canterbury or Worcester; be-
ginning of the ninth century, with glosses
from the second half of the tenth or elev-
enth century

Vellum, 18 x 13.3 cm (7¹/₈ x 5¹/₄ in.). Text
area: 14 x 10.5 cm (5⁵/₁₆ x 4³/₁₆ in.), one
column, twenty-two lines. Latin text
in Anglo-Saxon minuscule with Old
English glosses in Carolingian minus-
cule. One decorated initial.

Olim Ms. Ludwig XI 5; 83.MN.124

FLAVIUS MAGNUS AURELIUS CAS-
SIODORUS, *INSTITUTIONES II* AND
EXCERPTS FROM THE WRITINGS OF
SAINT AUGUSTINE

Probably the Abbey of Saint-Germain,
Auxerre, third quarter of the ninth
century

Vellum, i + 109 + i leaves. Collation: 1⁸-
13⁸, 14⁶ (-6, after fol. 109). 24.7 x 18.2 cm
(9¹¹/₁₆ x 7¹/₈ in.). Text area: 19.2 x 13.3 -
14 cm (7⁹/₁₆ x 5¹/₄-5¹/₂ in.), one column,
twenty-one lines. Latin text in Caro-
lingian minuscule. Many diagrams.

Gold-tooled brown sheepskin over paste-
board; French, eighteenth century.

Olim Ms. Ludwig XII 1; 83.MO.180

PASCHAL TABLES WITH THE SO-
CALLED LAON AND TRIER ANNALS;
BEDE, *DE NATURA RERUM*, *DE TEM-
PORIBUS*, *DE TEMPORUM RATIONE*;
AND OTHER TEXTS

Rheims or Laon, first half of the ninth
century

Vellum, ii + 97 + ii leaves. Collation:
1⁸-7⁸, 8⁸ (+3, fol. 59), 9⁸ (+2, fol. 67;
-6, after fol. 71), 10⁸-12⁸ (contemporary
signatures in roman numerals). 26 x
22.3 cm (10¹/₄ x 8³/₄ in.). Text area:
20.4-21 x 17.1 cm (8-8¹/₄ x 6³/₄ in.), one
column, thirty-four (sometimes forty-
three) lines. Latin text in Carolingian
minuscule. Calendar tables, diagrams,
and marginal drawings. Blind-stamped
pigskin over medieval oak boards; proba-
bly German, 1750.

Olim Ms. Ludwig XII 3; 83.MO.132

AMBROSIUS THEODOSIUS MACROBIUS,
COMMENTARII IN SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS
Southern Germany, second half of the
tenth century

Vellum, i + 32 + i leaves. Collation: 1⁸-4⁸
(original second gathering [eight leaves]
lacking) (alphabetical signatures). 26.8 x
19.6 cm (10¹/₂ x 7³/₄ in.). Text area: 22.5 x
14 cm (10¹/₂ x 7³/₄ in.), one column, thirty-
seven lines. Latin text in late Carolingian
minuscule. Nine diagrams. Blind-
stamped brown sheepskin over paste-
board; German, eighteenth century.

Olim Ms. Ludwig XII 4; 83.MO.133

PORTOLAN MAP

Written and decorated by Petrus Roselli
(Catalan, active 1447-1469)

Majorca, 1469

Vellum, 112.5-98.6 x 66.3 cm (44⁵/₁₆-
38¹³/₁₆ x 26¹/₈ in.). Latin inscriptions in
Gothic bookhand. Nine vignettes of cas-
tles representing towns.

Olim Ms. Ludwig XIII 14; 83.MP.157

BATTISTA AGNESE, PORTOLAN ATLAS
Illuminated by the Workshop of Battista
Agnese (Genoese; active in Venice circa
1536-1564)

Venice, circa 1536-1538

Vellum, i + 14 + i leaves. Collation: 1²-7².
40.2 x 28.3 cm (15¹³/₁₆ x 11¹/₈ in.). Text area:
38 x 55 cm (15 x 21¹¹/₁₆ in.). Italian, Latin,
and Spanish inscriptions in Gothic book-
hand. Seven double-page maps. Blind-
ruled and blind-tooled brown goatskin
over original wood boards; Venetian, be-
fore 1541.

Olim Ms. Ludwig XIII 15; 83.MP.158

CANONS OF CHURCH COUNCILS
FROM NICAEEA (325) THROUGH
CHALCEDON (451) AND OTHER
DOCUMENTS OF THE EARLY CHURCH
Probably northern Italy, third to last
quarter of the eighth century

Vellum, i + 94 + i leaves. Collation:
1⁸-11⁸, 12⁶ (roman numeral signatures
II-XIII). 21.8 x 17.7 cm (8⁹/₁₆ x 7 in.).
Text area: 15.3-17.5 x 13-14.2 cm (6-7⁷/₈ x
5⁵/₈ in.), one column, nineteen to twenty-
five lines. Latin text in pre-Carolingian
half-uncials and pre-Carolingian minus-
cule. Blind-tooled brown morocco over
pasteboard; Marcellin Lortic, French,
mid-nineteenth-century.

Olim Ms. Ludwig XIV 1; 83.MQ.162

PAINTINGS

27. GERRIT VAN HONTHORST

Dutch, 1590–1656

Christ Crowned with Thorns, circa
1615–1620

Oil on canvas, 220.3 x 173.5 cm

(87½ x 68⅝ in.)

90.PA.26

This recently discovered painting is comparable to Honthorst's *Christ before Pilate* (National Gallery, London), especially in the way the torchlight is placed between Christ and his tormentor, leaving the other figures shrouded in shadow. This concentration on Christ's resigned suffering contrasts with the raucous gathering of soldiers in the *Christ Crowned with Thorns* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), painted shortly after Honthorst's return to his native Utrecht in 1620.

An unknown painter copied the figure of Christ to create *The Man of Sorrows* in the parish church of Chancelade (Dordogne) (see F.-G. Pariset, *Georges de la Tour* [Paris, 1948], pl. 22). Another *Man of Sorrows* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) was perhaps copied from the Chancelade painting (see G. Frabetti, "Aggiunte a Luca Cambiaso," *Studies in the History of Art Dedicated to William E. Suida on His Eightieth Birthday* [New York, 1959], p. 271, fig. 6).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, West Germany; private collection, Zürich.





28

28. VINCENT VAN GOGH

Dutch, 1853–1890

Iris, 1889

Oil on canvas, 71 x 93 cm (28 x

36 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.). Signed: *Vincent* in the

lower right.

90.PA.20

Soon after his arrival at the asylum at Saint-Rémy in early May 1889, Vincent wrote to his brother Theo that he had begun some paintings in the garden, including one of irises (*The Complete Letters of Vincent van Gogh*, Letter 591). Two months later he sent ten completed canvases, among them *Iris*, to Paris (Letter 600). Despite Vincent's description of the picture as a study, Theo sent it to the Salon des Indépendants that year along with *Starry Night* (New York, Museum of Modern Art). Van Gogh's interest in the

flower may have been stimulated by Japanese prints, a possible source for this composition. He had painted irises once in Arles (*View of Arles with Irises in the Foreground* [Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh, Amsterdam]) and three more times in Saint-Rémy (*Iris* [National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa], *Bouquet of Irises* [Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh, Amsterdam], *Bouquet of Irises* [Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York]).

PROVENANCE: [Julien (Père) Tanguy, Paris, in 1892]; Octave Mirbeau, Paris, 1892–1905; Auguste Pellerin, Paris, in 1905; [Galerie Bernheim-Jeune, Paris]; Jacques Doucet, Paris, 1925–1929; Mme Jacques Doucet, Neuilly-sur-Seine; [Jacques Seligmann Gallery, New York, in 1937]; [César de Hauke, New York and Paris]; [M. Knoedler and Company, New York, in 1947]; Joan Whitney Payson, New York, 1947–1975; John Whitney Payson, New York, 1975–1987 (sale, Sotheby's, New York,

November 11, 1987, lot 25); Alan Bond, Perth, 1987–1990.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. B. de la Faille, *L'oeuvre de Vincent van Gogh* (Paris, 1928), vol. 1, p. 171, vol. 2, pl. 168; *The Complete Letters of Vincent van Gogh* (Greenwich, Connecticut, and New York, 1958), vol. 3, pp. 169, 193; J. Hulsker, *Van Gogh en zijn weg: Al zijn tekeningen en schilderijen in hun samenhang en ontwikkeling* (Amsterdam, 1977), pp. 390–391; Bogomila Welsh-Ovcharov, *Vincent van Gogh and the Birth of Cloisonism*, exh. cat. (Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, and Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh, Amsterdam, 1981), p. 58; Richard Brettell et al., *A Day in the Country: Impressionism and the French Landscape*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Art Institute of Chicago, and Grand Palais, Paris; Los Angeles, 1984), no. 90; Ronald Pickvance, *Van Gogh in Saint-Rémy and Auvers*, exh. cat. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1986), no. 1.

OBJECTS REMOVED
FROM THE COLLECTION
SINCE 1983

EDGAR DEGAS

French, 1834–1917

Three Dancers in Rose, circa 1885–1887

Oil on canvas, 98 x 53 cm (38⁵/₈ x 20⁷/₈ in.)

56.PA.2

CLAUDE MONET

French, 1840–1926

The Cliffs at Pourville, Morning, 1897

Oil on canvas, 64 x 99 cm (25¹/₂ x 39 in.).

Signed: *Claude Monet 97* in the lower left.

56.PA.4

GUSTAVE LOISEAU

French, 1865–1935

The Banks of the Loing, 1895

Oil on canvas, 54 x 73 cm (21¹/₄ x 28³/₄ in.). Signed: *G Loiseau* in the lower left.

57.PA.4

JOHN WILLIAM GODWARD

English, 1861–1922

An Auburn Beauty, 1895

Oil on canvas, 34.4 x 30 cm (13¹/₂ x 11³/₄ in.).

Signed: *J. W. Godward. 95* in the upper right.

70.PA.8

FOLLOWER OF FRANS HALS

Flemish, circa 1580–1666

Girl Selling Fish

Oil on canvas, 101 x 75.8 cm

(39³/₄ x 29⁷/₈ in.)

70.PA.15

VINCENZO PAGANI

Italian, circa 1490–1568

The Annunciation, 1532

Oil on panel, 284.5 x 179 cm (112 x 70¹/₂ in.).

Signed: *VINCETIV/PAGANVS/DE MONT/ROBIANO/*. 1532. on bottom center of the pedestal.

70.PB.39

FRANCESCO TREVISANI

Italian, 1656–1746

The Penitent Magdalen

Oil on canvas, 94 x 69.8 cm (37 x 27¹/₂ in.)

70.PA.55

EDGAR DEGAS

French, 1834–1917

Landscape at Saint-Valéry-sur Somme,

circa 1896–1898

Oil on canvas, 49 x 59.8 cm

(19¹/₄ x 23¹/₂ in.)

71.PA.1

MAURICE UTRILLO

French, 1883–1955

La Maison de Cuvier, circa 1920

Oil on canvas, 64 x 50 cm (25¹/₄ x 19³/₄ in.).

Signed: *Maurice. Utrillo. V.* in the lower right.

71.PA.3

PAUL GAUGUIN

French, 1848–1903

Landscape near Rouen, 1884

Oil on canvas, 57 x 87 cm (22¹/₂ x 34¹/₄ in.).

Signed: *à mon ami William Lund–Paul Gauguin Rouen 84* in the lower right.

71.PA.6

PIERRE BONNARD

French, 1867–1947

Nude Standing before a Screen, 1906

Oil on canvas, 140 x 80 cm (55¹/₈ x 31¹/₂ in.).

Signed: *Bonnard* in the upper right.

71.PA.10

CORNELIS DE VOS

Flemish, 1584–1651

The Sacrifice of Isaac

Oil on canvas, 113 x 152.1 cm

(44¹/₂ x 59⁷/₈ in.)

71.PA.44

ANONYMOUS ARTIST

French, mid-seventeenth century

The Good Samaritan

Oil on canvas, 72.4 x 97.2 cm

(28¹/₂ x 38¹/₄ in.)

71.PA.46

ETTORE FORTI

Italian, nineteenth century

A Roman Chariot Race

Oil on canvas, 64 x 114 cm (25¹/₄ x 45 in.)

72.PA.5

NOËL HALLE

French, 1711–1781

Bust of an Old Man

Oil on canvas, 55 x 44.5 cm

(21³/₄ x 15¹/₂ in.)

73.PA.141

DANIEL MYTENS

English, circa 1590–1648

Portrait of William Herbert, Third Earl of Pembroke

Oil on canvas, 218.5 x 150 cm (86 x 59 in.)

74.PA.45

JOHANNES MOREELSE

Dutch, circa 1594–1632

Allegory of Smell, Allegory of Taste,

Allegory of Sight

Oil on panel, 77.5 x 63.5 cm (30¹/₂ x 25 in.).

Signed: with monogram *M* along lower half of right border on *Allegory of Sight*.

76.PB.25–.27

WORKSHOP OF SIR ANTHONY

VAN DYCK

Flemish, circa 1599–1641

Portrait of Ann Bret, Countess of Middlesex, circa 1635–1640

Oil on canvas, 221 x 132 cm (87 x 52 in.)

76.PA.39

EDWIN AUSTIN ABBEY

English, 1852–1911

Potpourri, 1892–1899

Oil on canvas, 89 x 152.5 cm (35 x 60 in.).

Signed: *E.A. Abbey / 1899* in the lower right.

78.PA.71

BRITON RIVIERE

English, 1840–1920

The Magician's Doorway, 1882

Oil on canvas, 106.5 x 157.5 cm (42 x 62 in.).

Signed: *B. Riviere 1882* in the lower left.

78.PA.73

ALBERT CHEVALLIER TAYLER

English, 1862–1925

The Origin of the Order of the Garter, 1901

Oil on canvas, 127 x 193 cm (50 x 76 in.).

Signed: A. CHEVALLIER TAYLER. 1901 in the lower right.

78.PA.74

JOHN WILLIAM GODWARD

English, 1861–1922

Reverie: Standing Woman, 1912

Oil on canvas, 127 x 76 cm (50 x 30 in.).

Signed: J. W. Godward 12 in the lower left.

78.PA.77

CAMILLE PISSARRO

French, 1830–1903

The Brickfield at Eragny, 1888Oil on canvas, 58 x 72 cm (22³/₄ x 28¹/₄

in.). Signed: C Pissarro 1888 in the lower left.

78.PA.201

SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS

English, 1723–1792

*Bust Portrait of Joanna Leigh*Oil on canvas, 62 x 73.5 cm (24¹/₂ x 29 in.)

78.PA.212

ANONYMOUS ARTIST

Flemish, early sixteenth century

Bust Portrait of a Bearded Man

Oil on panel, 32.5 x 26 cm

(12³/₄ x 10¹/₄ in.)

78.PB.213

JOHN CALCOTT HORSELY

English, 1817–1903

Saint Valentine's Day, 1860sOil on canvas, 61 x 75 cm (24 x 29¹/₂ in.)

78.PA.215

LUDWIG DEUTSCH

French, 1855–1935

A Nubian Guard, 1895

Oil on panel, 50.5 x 33 cm (20 x 13 in.).

Signed and dated: L. Deutsch, Paris 1895 in the lower left corner.

78.PB.362

JOAQUIN SOROLLA Y BASTIDA

Spanish, 1863–1923

*Stairway to the Upper Garden, Alcázar,**Sevilla*, circa 1910Oil on canvas, 95 x 63.5 cm (37¹/₂ x 25 in.).

Signed and dated: J Sorolla 1910 in the lower right.

79.PA.152

JOAQUIN SOROLLA Y BASTIDA

Court of the Dances, Alcázar, Sevilla, 1910Oil on canvas, 95 x 63.5 cm (37¹/₂ x 25 in.).

Signed and dated: J Sorolla 1910 in the lower right.

79.PA.153

PAUL GAUGUIN

French, 1848–1903

Breton Boy with a Goose, 1889Oil on canvas, 92 x 73 cm (36¹/₄ x 28³/₄ in.).

Signed and dated: P. Gauguin 1889 in the lower left corner.

83.PA.14

PAUL CEZANNE

French, 1839–1906

Auvers, du côté du val Harmé, 1882

Oil on canvas, 73 x 92 cm

(28³/₄ x 36¹/₄ in.)

85.PA.513

DRAWINGS

DUTCH



29 (recto)



29 (verso)

29. JAN VAN SCOREL

Dutch, 1495–1562

Landscape with Shepherds by a River and a Town Beyond (recto); *Figure Studies and Roman Ruins* (verso), circa 1520–1524

Pen and brown ink and brown, yellow, and light orange wash (recto); pen and brown ink over traces of black chalk (verso), 13.7 x 19.6 cm (5³/₈ x 7¹¹/₁₆ in.). Inscribed (verso): with accounts in brown ink.

90.GG.8

The traditional attribution of this drawing to van Scorel is upheld by a comparison to other widely accepted examples by him such as *The Tower of Babel* (Fondation Custodia, Paris, Collection Frits Lugt, inv. 5275), which shows a similar handling of the vegetation, figures, rocks, and spatial recession, conceived as a finely modulated succession of planes articulated by the flat surfaces

of rocks and buildings. The manner in which the short, and for the most part, horizontal pen lines trail off, blending architecture, vegetation, and rock formations, is suggestive of atmospheric perspective. The drawing was probably made during the early 1520s when van Scorel resided in Italy.

PROVENANCE: A. H. Coles; E. Coles; Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell, Portinscale (sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, December 1, 1986, lot 22); London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. C. Esmeijer and S. H. Levie, *Jan van Scorel*, exh. cat. (Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1955), no. 117; *Loan Exhibition of Old Masters from the Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell*, exh. cat. (P. and D. Colnaghi, London, 1959), no. 8; *Old Master Drawings from the Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell*, exh. cat. (National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1965), no. 9.



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30. JACQUES DE GHEYN II

Dutch, 1565–1629

Design for a Title Page, 1598–1599

Pen and brown ink and gray wash, 15.6 x 20.6 cm (6¹/₈ x 8¹/₈ in.). Inscribed: DG by the artist on the lower left socle of the design and *De Gheyn* in graphite in the lower left corner.

90.GA.135

This is a study in reverse for the title page of de Gheyn's famous series of engravings, *The Riding School or Exercise of Cavalry* (F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, circa 1450–1700* [Amsterdam, n.d.], vol. 7, nos. 263–284), a commission issuing from high quarters such as the Dutch States General Prince Maurice of Orange, or most likely, his cousin Count Jan van

Nassau. The design contains various equestrian accoutrements cleverly arranged around a grotesque architectural frame flanked by a riding instructor and a cavalryman in armor. A forward-thrusting saddle laden with weapons at the top contrasts with a death's-head escutcheon at the base of the design. The blank central field was, in the engraving, inscribed with a poem by Hugo de Groot (*Poemata* [Leiden, 1639], p. 273).

PROVENANCE: Probably Jacques de Gheyn III, The Hague; Nicolaes den Otter, Amsterdam; Joannes Wtenbogaert, Amsterdam; Jan and Jacob van Gheel, Amsterdam (sale, J. P. Zoomer, Amsterdam, January 22, 1722); probably J. P. Zoomer, Amsterdam (sale, Jan van Zutphen and Gysbert Hol, Amsterdam, April 5, 1725, book 56); Samuel Woodburn, London; E. V. Uttersson, London; private collection (sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 14, 1988, lot 33); New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Q. van Regteren Altena, *Jacques de Gheyn: Three Generations* (The Hague, 1983), vol. 2, p. 62, no. 300, vol. 3, p. 60, fig. 63; C. van Hasselt, *Dessins et Gravures de Jacques de Gheyn II et III de la Collection Frits Lugt*, exh. cat. (Fondation Custodia, Paris, 1985), p. 10, under no. 4, p. 12, n. 7; A. W. F. Meij et al., *Jacques de Gheyn II Drawings*, exh. cat. (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, and National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1986), p. 47, under no. 22, n. 3.

FLEMISH

31. FRANS CRABBE VAN ESPLEGHEM

Flemish, circa 1480–1552

Esther before Ahasuerus, circa 1525

Pen and dark brown ink with touches of gray wash over black chalk, 26.1 x 19.4 cm (9⁵/₁₆ x 7⁵/₈ in.). Inscribed: *Aisverris* and *Hester* in light brown ink at the bottom; collection mark of William Young Ottley in the lower right corner. Inscribed (verso): *Hans Schaufellein/Sir Thomas Lawrence* in pencil.

90.GA.4

This drawing shows Queen Esther in audience with her husband, King Ahasuerus, to plead with him to stop the impending massacre of his Jewish subjects (Esther 5:1–2). Ahasuerus touches



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her with his golden scepter and bids her to speak. This moment in the narrative was treated in a print of 1518 by Lucas van Leyden (B. 31), which the present drawing loosely follows. The author of the drawing is the Mechelen printmaker, Frans Crabbe van Espleghem, known as the Master of the Crayfish, who made it as a full-scale model for an etching in reverse (F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts circa 1450–1700* [Amsterdam, n.d.], vol. 5, no. 1). This is the only securely attributed drawing by Crabbe.

PROVENANCE: Sir Thomas Lawrence, London; William Young Ottley, London; H. S. Reitlinger, London (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 23, 1954, lot 765); private collection (sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 14, 1988, lot 16); New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. S. Reitlinger, *Old Master Drawings: A Handbook for Amateurs and Collectors* (London, 1922), pl. 14; P. Wescher, "Frans Crabbe," *Old Master Drawings* 3, no. 12 (March 1929), p. 66, pl. 57; A. E. Popham, "Catalogue of Engravings and Etchings of Frans Crabbe," *The Print Collector's Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (July 1935), p. 204; E. S. Jacobowitz and S. L. Stepanek, *The Prints of Lucas van Leyden and His Contemporaries*, exh. cat. (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1983), p. 285, under no. 119.

32. PIETER COECKE VAN AELST
Flemish, 1502–1550

Scenes from the Life of the Prodigal Son,
circa 1540

Pen and brown ink, gray wash, and
black chalk, 19.1 x 51.4 cm (7⁹/₁₆ x
20¹/₄ in.). Inscribed (verso): no. 1210
in brown ink (inventory number
of Paignon Dijonval).
90.GG.7

The drawing depicts several episodes from the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11–32), beginning at the left with the son taking leave of his father, followed by the son wasting his money on worldly pleasure, being chased from a bordello, begging to be sheltered in a pig sty, crouching in the pig sty, and the reconciliation with the father. The prominent brothel scene at the left with the barmaid tallying additions to the bill is comparable to Coecke van Aelst's drawing of an *Allegorical Genre Scene* of circa 1529 in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam (inv. P. Coecke no. 2). The figure style and the abrupt spatial transi-

tions are closer, however, to drawings of around 1540, such as *Design for a Triptych with Scenes from the Life of Saint John the Baptist* (British Museum, London, inv. 1854-6-28-38).

PROVENANCE: Paignon Dijonval, Paris; private collection (sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, December 1, 1986, lot 6); London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Bénard, *Cabinet de M. Paignon Dijonval* (Paris, 1810), no. 1210.



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33. JAN VERBEECK
Flemish, active circa 1548–1560
A Scene in a Forge, 1548
Pen and brown ink, 18.3 x 28 cm
(7¼ x 11 in.). Inscribed: *i. verbeec. 1548*
in brown ink by the artist at the bottom center, *R.E.L.* in brown ink at the lower left corner of the mount, and *Verbec* in brown ink at the bottom right of the mount; collection stamp of R. Edwin Lyne in the lower left corner of the mount. Inscribed (verso): *From Roscoe and Cosway collections* (twice) and *frans verbec or Verbeeck/ Died 1570*; collection mark of Dr. Barry Delany; label from the Royal Academy exhibition of 1953–1954. 90.GA.5

To one side of an anvil a smithy holds faggots over a fire, looking over his shoulder as a woman hands out food to children and apprentices while the cupboard is raided behind her back. The crone with a distaff in the lower left corner might correspond to *Verlega* (Lethargy), as a similar figure so identified appears in a print after Pieter Baltens published by Hieronymus Cock (F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts* [Amsterdam, n.d.], vol. 1, p. 82, no. 5). This is one of two signed drawings by Jan Verbeeck, the other example belonging to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (K. T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the*

Ashmolean Museum [Oxford, 1956], vol. 1, no. 85). The closely hatched, rough-hewn line work is typical of Verbeeck, as is the satirical subject matter, which recalls Bosch and prefigures the work of Bruegel.

PROVENANCE: William Roscoe, Liverpool (sale, London, September 23–28, 1816, part of lot 606?); Dr. Barry Delany, Kilkenny; R. Edwin Lyne; Richard Cosway (?), London; Herbert Bier, London (sale, Christie's, London, April 19, 1988, lot 127); New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. T. Faggin, "Tra Bosch e Bruegel: Jan Verbeeck," *Critica d'Arte* 16, no. 108 (December 1969), pp. 54–55; K. Renger et al., *Pieter Bruegel d. A. als Zeichner*, exh. cat. (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, 1975), p. 176, under no. 272; P. Vandebroecck, "Het schildersgeslacht Verbeeck. Voorlopige werkkatalogoog," *Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten-Antwerpen* (Antwerp, 1981), p. 37, n. 7; E. Brugerolles with the assistance of D. Guillet, *Renaissance et Maniérisme dans les Ecoles du Nord: Dessins des collections de l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts*, exh. cat. (Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 1985), pp. 114 and 116, under nos. 56 and 57; H. Bevers, *Niederländische Zeichnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts in der Staatlichen Graphischen Sammlung München*, exh. cat. (Staatliche Graphischen Sammlung, Munich, 1989–1990), pp. 91, 92, n. 2, under no. 72.



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34. JOACHIM BEUCKELAER
Flemish, circa 1530–1573
Joseph's Servants Finding the Cup in Benjamin's Sack, 1565
Oil on paper, 26.1 x 19.1 cm (10¼ x 7½ in.). Inscribed: 1565 by the artist

in brown oil paint in the lower left corner.

90.GG.133

The subject of the drawing is the discovery of Joseph's cup in the sack of his youngest brother, Benjamin (Genesis 44:12). This is one of four known oil sketches on paper by Beuckelaer depicting Old Testament subjects of approximately similar measurements that were possibly made as a series. Their attribution to Beuckelaer was advanced by Wouter Kloek and Hans Buijs (sale cat. [Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 14, 1988, lot 24]) on the basis of a comparison to the only other substantiated drawings by the artist, which are in the Louvre (invs. 20.701, 20.709). The Louvre sheets are also oil sketches on paper, and one of them is monogrammed.

PROVENANCE: Private collection (sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 14, 1988, lot 24); New York art market.

FRENCH



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35. GEORGES LALLEMANT
French, circa 1575–1636
Reclining Old Man, circa 1625
Brush and black ink and gray wash with white heightening, 26.5 x 19 cm (10⅞ x 7½ in.). Collection mark M (verso). 90.GG.136

The figure might represent one of the four evangelists, perhaps Matthew or Mark. The drawing is related stylistically to a sheet by Lallemand in the Louvre (inv. 21252) that is preparatory to the series of chiaroscuro woodcuts of *Christ and the Apostles* executed by the German printmaker Ludolph Büssinck after Lallemand's designs. One of these woodcuts is dated 1625, which would seem to be the approximate date of the present drawing.

PROVENANCE: Kurt Meissner, Zurich; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Sumowski, *Handzeichnungen Alter Meister aus Schweizer Privatbesitz*, exh. cat. (Kunsthalle, Bremen, and Kunsthaus, Zurich, 1967), no. 22; F. Forster-Hahn, *Old Master Drawings from the Collection of Kurt Meissner, Zurich*, exh. cat. (Stanford Art Gallery, Stanford University, and other institutions, 1969–1970), no. 7; Y. Tan Bunzl and K. de Rothschild, *Master Drawings*, exh. cat. (London, 1990), no. 26.



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36. JEAN-HONORE FRAGONARD
 French, 1732–1806
Ruins of an Imperial Palace, Rome, 1759
 Red chalk, 33.5 x 47.6 cm (13³/₁₆ x 18³/₄ in.). Inscribed: *fragonard, Rome, 1759* in brown ink at the bottom.
 90.GB.138

The drawing shows a view of the north-west corner of the Palatine hill seen from the Roman Forum. A key work in Fragonard's early career, it is one of a small

number of early studies of the Roman countryside that predate the well-known series of red chalk drawings recording Fragonard's visit to Tivoli in 1760. It is most closely related to *View of the Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola* in a private collection, Paris, and to a drawing of the same site, with variations, by Hubert Robert in the Musée du Valence (inv. D40).

PROVENANCE: Sale, Nice, November 16, 1942, lot 75; sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, May 28, 1954, lot 69; sale, Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, June 15, 1956; sale, Pierre-Yves Gabus, Geneva, December 3, 1988, lot 129; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Ananoff, *L'oeuvre dessiné de Jean-Honoré Fragonard* (Paris, 1968), vol. 3, p. 98, no. 1483; J.-P. Cuzin and P. Rosenberg, *J. H. Fragonard e H. Robert a Roma*, exh. cat. (Villa Medici, Rome, 1990–1991), p. 75, no. 26.

37. GUSTAVE COURBET
 French, 1819–1877
Standing Female Nude, 1849
 Black chalk, 62.3 x 46 cm (24¹/₂ x 18¹/₈ in.). Inscribed: *models, Les Débats, and Mon Vieux, C'en est une qu'on enverra à Sainte Beuve s'il nous.. embête! Gustave Ct. 28 Avril 49* by the artist in black chalk.
 90.GB.134

Courbet made this sheet as a gift to an



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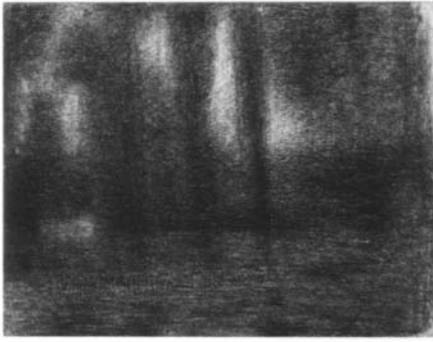
unknown friend; rejecting the refinement and linearity of academic life drawing, he rendered the concrete physicality of the model through powerful contrasts of the blank paper and dark passages of heavily stumped chalk. The dedicatory inscription makes reference to the conservative critic Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve, while "Les Débats" probably refers to a periodical of art criticism, *Les Journal des Débats*. Despite the centrality of the female nude to Courbet's paintings, there are relatively few surviving drawings by him depicting this subject.

PROVENANCE: N. Dhikeos, Lyons; private collection, Paris; private collection, Geneva; New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Testori, *Gustave Courbet nelle raccolte private*, exh. cat. (Compagnia del Disegno, Milan, 1988), no. 1.

38. GEORGES SEURAT
 French, 1859–1891
Poplars, circa 1883–1884
 Conté crayon, 24.3 x 31 cm (9⁹/₁₆ x 12³/₁₆ in.). Stamped: Red signature stamp *Seurat* (L. 2282a) in the lower right corner.
 90.GE.1

Seurat here pushes to the verge of abstraction the Impressionist motif of poplar trees by water. The drawing creates a planar effect due to the accentuation of strict horizontals and verticals in the forms of the bank and trees, while the extreme vagueness of the forms distills nature into an indeterminate amalgam of



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light and shadow. This is one of two surviving drawings of trees beside water that Seurat made around 1883–1884; the other one is presently in a private collection.

PROVENANCE: Léonce Moline, Paris; Gustave Geffroy, Paris; André Barbier, Paris; Marianne Feilchenfeldt, Zurich; Franz Armin Morat, Freiburg im Breisgau; Morat Institut für Kunst und Kunstgeschichte, Freiburg im Breisgau; Charlotte Morat (sale, Christie's, London, June 28, 1988, lot 308); New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. M. de Hauke, *Seurat et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1961), vol. 2, no. 554; E. Franz and B. Growe, *Georges Seurat: Zeichnungen* (Munich, 1983; English ed. New York, 1984), pp. 34, 64, 187, no. 48.

ITALIAN

39. GIOVANNI AGOSTINO DA LODI

Italian, active late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries

Saint John the Baptist, circa 1500

Red chalk, 14.5 x 10.8 cm (5¹¹/₁₆ x 9¹/₄ in.). Inscribed: 19 in brown ink at the upper right and Leonardo in brown ink at the lower right.

90.GB.116

The strong physical characterization of the subject and the sensitive working of the red chalk medium in this drawing are reminiscent of Leonardo da Vinci and his famous physiognomic studies. In fact, until earlier this century, the sheet was given to Leonardo himself and was engraved as such by C. G. Gerli (*Disegni di Leonardo da Vinci incisi e pubblicati da C. G. Gerli* [Milan, 1784], pl. 6). The drawing corresponds better to the style of the Lombard artist Giovanni Agostino da Lodi, who undoubtedly knew Leonardo or his works in Milan. While the function of the drawing is unknown, it is likely that it was made in preparation for a painting.



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PROVENANCE: Sir J. C. Robinson, London; sale, Christie's, London, May 22, 1914, lot 139; private collection; sale, Christie's, London, April 19, 1988, lot 28; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Vallardi, *Disegni di Leonardo da Vinci incisi sugli originali da Carlo Giuseppe Gerli riprodotti con note illustrative* (Milan, 1830), p. 16, pl. 4*; G. Bora, *Disegni e dipinti leonardeschi dalle collezioni milanesi*, exh. cat. (Palazzo Reale, Milan, 1987), p. 85, under no. 30; *European Drawings*, exh. cat. (Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox, Ltd., London, 1988), no. 7; F. Moro, "Giovanni Agostino da Lodi ovvero l'Agostino di Bramantino: appunti per un unico percorso," *Paragone* 40, no. 473 (1989), p. 39.

40. PONTORMO (Jacopo Carucci)

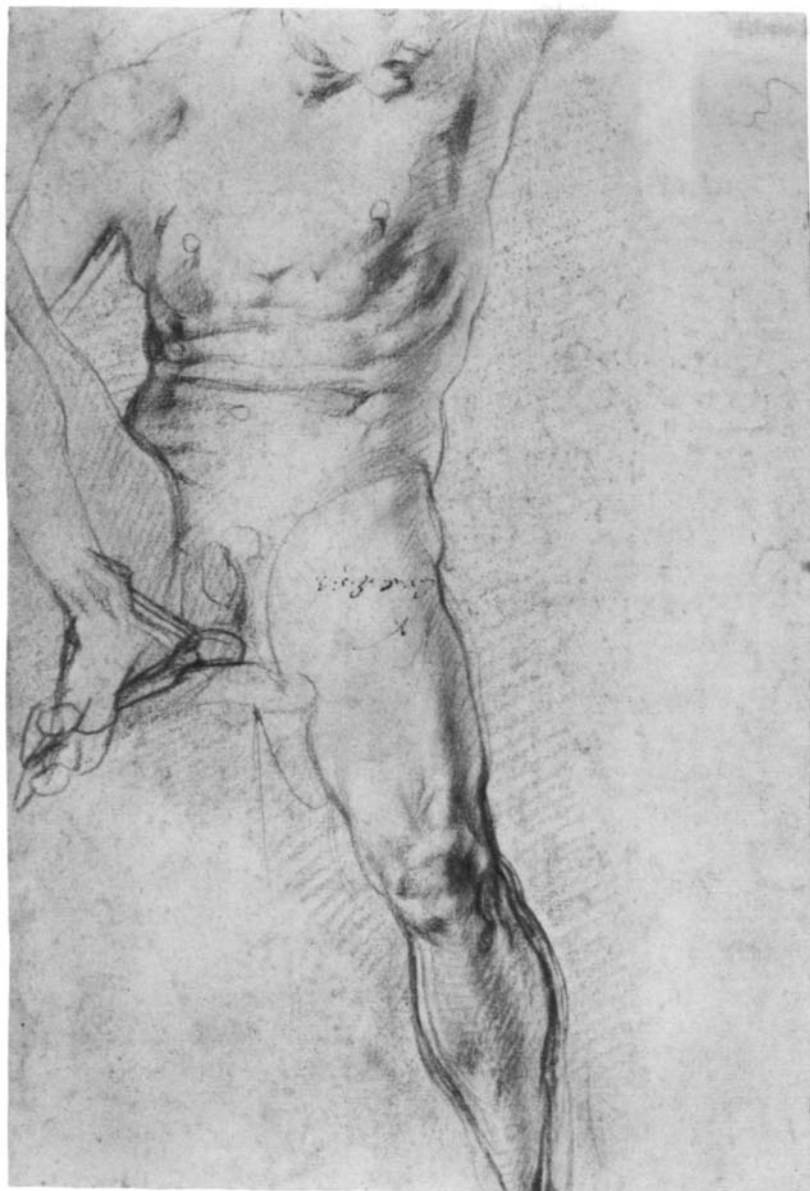
Italian, 1494–1557

Seated Figure (recto); *Reclining Figure* (verso), 1520

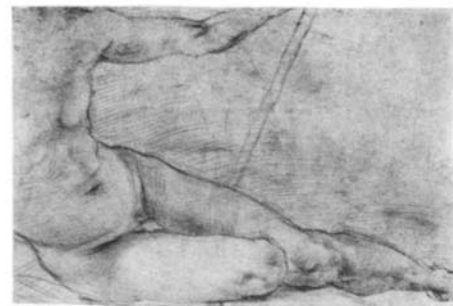
Red chalk, 29.4 x 20 cm (11⁹/₁₆ x 7⁷/₈ in.). Inscribed: illegible inscription in black ink at the center.

90.GB.34

Both recto and verso of this recently identified sheet are early studies for one of Pontormo's most famous frescoes, the *Vertumnus and Pomona* lunette at the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano. The recto was made in preparation for the figure to the upper right of the lunette's oculus and was followed by a sheet in the Louvre



40 (recto)



40 (verso)

(inv. 2903 recto; J. Cox-Rearick, *The Drawings of Pontormo* [New York, 1981], vol. 2, fig. 149) showing a similarly seated figure. The verso is related to one of Pontormo's discarded ideas for the fresco, known by way of a compositional study in the Uffizi (inv. 454F; Cox-Rearick, *Pontormo*, fig. 123) showing several reclining male figures.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Geneva; New York art market.

41. PONTORMO (Jacopo Carucci)

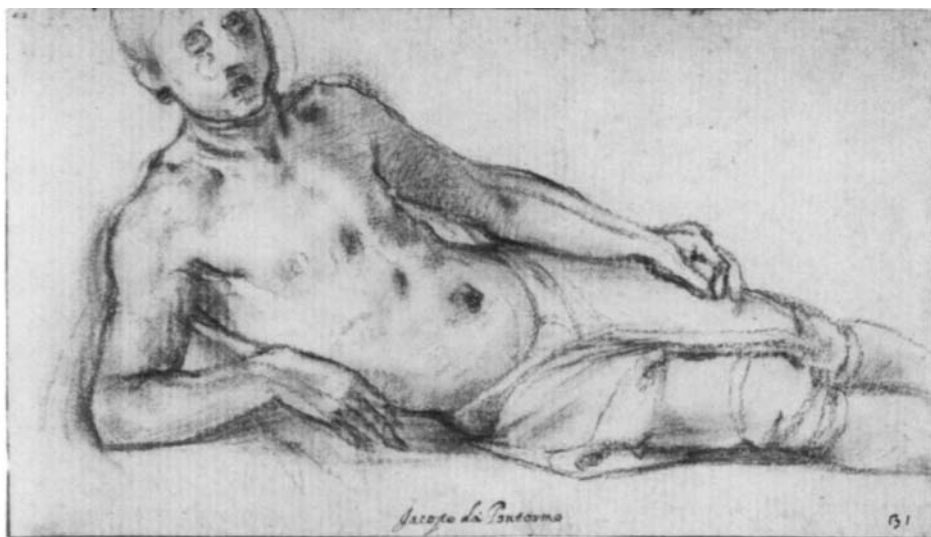
Reclining Figure, circa 1523

Black chalk, 15.8 x 27.5 cm (6³/₁₆ x 10¹³/₁₆ in.). Inscribed: *Jacopo da Pontormo* in red chalk at the lower edge, *ala* in brown ink at the upper left corner, and *31* in black ink at the lower right corner.

90.GA.22

This drawing dates from Pontormo's stay, together with his assistant Bronzino, at the Certosa del Galluzzo, a monastery outside the city of Florence. The drawing exemplifies the close working relationship between master and pupil, as Pontormo made it as a guide for Bronzino to use for his fresco of *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* in the cloister of the Certosa (C. McCorquodale, *Bronzino* [New York, 1981], fig. 7). Two other drawings have been connected to the fresco, one by Pontormo (Uffizi, Florence, inv. 6529F recto) and another attributed to Bronzino himself (Uffizi, Florence, inv. 6658F verso).

PROVENANCE: Sir Max Michaelis, Cape Town (sale, Christie's, London, July 4, 1989, lot 6); London art market.





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42. GIROLAMO GENGA
Italian, 1467–1551
Battle Scene, circa 1525
Pen and brown ink, 14 x 20.1 cm (5½ x 7⅝ in.). Inscribed (verso): *S.R.n°9* in black ink.
90.GA.131

This is one of several drawings, including sheets in the British Museum (inv. 1897-4-10-2) and the Louvre (inv. 10664), of cavalry scenes or military battles by Genga. All may reflect ideas for a battle scene, commissioned by the Duke of Urbino, that Genga painted in the Sala del Giuramento at the Villa Impériale, Pesaro. Born in Urbino, Genga's style reflects an eclectic mixture of influences; here he was undoubtedly inspired by famous depictions of battles by Pollaiuolo, Leonardo da Vinci, and Raphael.

PROVENANCE: Sagredo collection (?), Venice; De Boissieu collection, Lyons; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 23, 1986, lot 201; Boston art market.

43. GIULIO CAMPI
Italian, circa 1507–1573
Neptune, 1541
Black chalk, 42.7 x 27.6 cm (16⅓ x 10⅞ in.). Inscribed: *Julio Campi cremonese* in brown ink at the lower right and *26* in brown ink at the upper right.
90.GB.66

In honor of the visit of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V to Cremona in August of 1541, the Cremonese artist Giulio Campi, together with Camillo Boccacchino, designed an elaborate series of monumental temporary decorations, or *apparati*, to line the emperor's entrance route into the city. The present drawing is one of several preparatory studies by Campi for this ceremonial occasion and provides important visual evidence for



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the appearance of the *apparati*. The combination of Campi's vigorous working of the black chalk, the exaggerated musculature and Mannerist pose of the figure, and the striated background of the drawing make for a highly inventive image.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Geneva; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Bora, *I Campi e la cultura artistica cremonese del Cinquecento*, exh. cat. (Cremona, 1985), p. 285, no. 2.6.11; J. Bober, "Cremonese Drawings for the Entry of Charles V: New Attributions and an Interpretation," *Master Drawings* 26, no. 3 (Autumn 1988), pp. 230, n. 3, 231, n. 17.

44. AGNOLO BRONZINO
Italian, 1503–1572
Head of a Man, circa 1550
Black chalk, 13.8 x 10.4 cm (5⅞ x 4⅛ in.)
90.GB.29

Bronzino made this drawing as a preliminary study for a portrait of an unidentified man now in the Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City (C. McCorquodale, *Bronzino* [New York, 1981], fig. 86). The figure in the drawing conveys the calm and classical demeanor characteristic of Bronzino's painted portraits and is drawn in a highly precise manner, giving the drawing a cameo-like appearance. Of the few surviving drawings by Bronzino, the present example is



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closest in style to portrait studies in the Uffizi (inv. 6698F) and at Chatsworth (McCorquodale, *Bronzino*, figs. 28, 29).

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, London, July 3, 1989, lot 64; London art market.



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45. BERNARDINO LANINO
Italian, 1509/1513–1581/1583
The Flagellation, circa 1550
Brown wash and white gouache heightening on an oiled surface, 39.3 x 32.1 cm (12½ x 12⅝ in.)
90.GG.118

Bernardino Lanino worked in Lombardy and the Piedmont as a painter of religious pictures. This large and highly finished *modello* was most likely made in prepara-

tion for a painting, although none related to it survives. The strong chiaroscuro of the present sheet, heightened by the oiled surface, reveals Lanino's interest in the works of Leonardo da Vinci. It is close in style to a *modello* by Lanino in the Biblioteca Reale, Turin (inv. 16150) for a *Baptism of Christ* (P. Astrua and G. Romano, *Bernardino Lanino*, exh. cat. [Museo Borgogna, Vercelli, 1985], no. 22).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Geneva; London art market.



47 (recto)

PROVENANCE: Sir Peter Lely, London; John Barnard, London; private collection, Geneva; London art market.



48 (recto)



46

46. LELIO ORSI

Italian, 1511–1587

Design for a Frieze, circa 1555

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, and white heightening; partially squared in black chalk, 22.8 x 40.9 cm (9 x 16³/₁₆ in.). Collection mark of Nathaniel Hone near lower edge; inscribed: *A* in brown ink at lower right; inscribed (verso): *lelio da Nuvolarà* and *5* in brown ink; unidentified collection mark.

90.GG.132

Orsi worked throughout the province of Emilia as a painter in the style of Correggio, whom he may have known as a youth. This drawing of a classically inspired frieze may be related to one of Orsi's many decorative projects, the vast majority of which no longer exist. The artist's liberal use of brown wash and white heightening on a light brown paper makes this an especially handsome example of his draftsmanship, reflecting the influence of Correggio and Giulio Romano in terms of both style and subject.

PROVENANCE: Nathaniel Hone, London; private collection, Lugano; Boston art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Clerici Bagozzi, *Lelio Orsi 1511–1587: Dipinti e disegni*, exh. cat. (Teatro Valli, Reggio Emilia, 1987–1988), no. 27.



47 (verso)

47. PAOLO FARINATI

Italian, 1524–1606

Charity and Studies of Entablatures (recto); *Frieze of Putti* (verso), circa 1580

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, white heightening, and black chalk on blue paper (recto); black chalk (verso), 38.9 x 25.8 cm (15³/₁₆ x 10¹/₈ in.). Collection marks of Sir Peter Lely and John Barnard at the lower right corner; inscribed (verso): *P. Farinato.* and *8.2.* in brown ink.

90.GA.67

Farinati was born in the town of Verona, as was his famous friend and colleague Paolo Veronese, and worked there and in Mantua as a painter of decorative schemes. The recto of the present sheet is dominated by an imposing figure of Charity drawn in an elegant Mannerist style reminiscent of Parmigianino, whose works Farinati greatly admired. Although the specific function of the drawing is unknown, the various architectural studies on the recto as well as the frieze on the verso indicate that the sheet was probably made in connection with one of the decorative fresco programs Farinati executed in villas around Verona.



48 (verso)

48. DOMENICO FETTI

Italian, 1588/1589–1623

David with the Head of Goliath (recto); *Two Studies* (verso), circa 1620

Red, black, and white chalk (recto); red chalk (verso), 28.9 x 20.4 cm (11³/₈ x 8 in.). Inscribed: *Guido Cagnasso* in black ink at the lower left; inscribed (verso): *Guido Cagnasso* in

black ink and 53 in graphite;
unidentified collection mark.
90.GB.119

This rare drawing by the short-lived Baroque painter Fetti may have been made in preparation for a painting of the subject in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (inv. 4.5), one of several renderings of the theme by Fetti. Here the self-assured expression of the handsome young David contrasts vividly with the gigantic severed head of Goliath, while the extraordinary combination of red, black, and white chalk adds a decorative note to the sheet. Fetti trained in Rome but is most associated with northern Italy, as he lived in Mantua and Venice from 1614 until his death.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Geneva;
London art market.



49

49. MORAZZONE (Pier Francesco
Mazzuchelli)
Italian, 1573–1626
The Marriage Feast at Cana (?),
circa 1623

Black chalk with white heightening,
brown wash, and brown ink; squared
in black chalk, 35.6 x 84.5 cm (14 x
33¼ in.).
90.GG.117

This large and impressive drawing exemplifies the highly inventive figural types, dramatic compositions, and rich tonal effects for which the Lombard painter Morazzone is admired. The artist most likely made it as a preparatory study for a painting commissioned by Ferdinando Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, and known by way of a letter dated 1623. The painting seems not to have been executed, although a painted *modello* for it is in a private Roman collection (M. Gregori, *Il Morazzone*, exh. cat. [Varese, 1962], no. 81, pl. 219) and shows the figures placed within an elaborate architectural setting.

PROVENANCE: Juan and Felix Bernasconi (sale,
Christie's, London, December 8, 1987, lot 100);
London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *European Drawings*, exh. cat.
(Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox, Ltd., London,
1988), no. 21.

50. TANZIO DA VARALLO
Italian, circa 1575–1635
Study of the Virgin Kneeling, circa 1625



50

Red chalk with traces of white chalk
highlights; squared in black chalk,
31.9 x 24.1 cm (12⁹/₁₆ x 9½ in.)
90.GB.115

Among the most important Lombard painters of the early Baroque period, Tanzio da Varallo was also a master of the use of red chalk, as his few extant drawings indicate. In this drawing Tanzio focused upon the complicated drapery folds of the kneeling Virgin Mary, which are drawn in a fine, exacting manner and punctuated with deep pockets of shadow. He made the sheet in preparation for a painting of *The Annunciation*, now lost but known from a nineteenth-century copy in a Milanese private collection.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Geneva;
London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *European Drawings*, exh. cat.
(Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox, Ltd., London,
1988), no. 23.



51

51. SASSOFERRATO (Giovanni
Battista Salvi)
Italian, 1609–1685
Saint Joseph Leaning on a Table,
circa 1650

Black chalk with white chalk heightening;
squared in black chalk, 25.1 x
18.4 cm (9⁷/₈ x 7¼ in.).
90.GB.68

The calm demeanor and classical bearing of this figure is typical of Sassoferrato, who trained in Rome with Domenichino. The subtle modulation of the chalk medium adds to the restrained appearance of the drawing. Sassoferrato most likely made this sheet in preparation for a painting of the Holy Family, although none related to it survives. There is a similar Saint Joseph figure in a drawing by Sassoferrato in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (K. T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean*

Museum [Oxford, 1956], vol. 2, p. 477, no. 945).

PROVENANCE: Edward Clive, first Earl of Powis; by descent to the Earls of Plymouth; sale, Christie's, London, July 1, 1986, lot 130; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Italian Seventeenth-Century Drawings from British Private Collections*, exh. cat. (Merchant's Hall, Edinburgh, 1972), no. 102; *European Drawings*, exh. cat. (Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox, Ltd., London, 1988), no. 30.



52 (recto)



52 (verso)

52. PIETRO LONGHI

Italian, 1702–1785

Standing Woman Holding a Muff Facing Right (recto); *Studies of Heads* (verso), circa 1755–1760

Black and white chalk (recto); black chalk (verso), 27.9 x 17.6 cm (11 x 6¹⁵/₁₆ in.). Inscribed: with various color notations in black chalk; inscribed (verso): *No 11 longhi* in black chalk.

90.GB.30

Longhi was a successful painter of scenes of the domestic and social life of his Venetian contemporaries. That this study was made in preparation for a painting is verified by the notations of color on the woman's apron, skirt, and scarf. The

figure appears in a painting by Longhi entitled *The Cosmorama* (Banca Cattolica del Veneto, Vicenza), and again in a second version of the same subject (Museo Querini Stampalia, Venice). Both pictures are dated to the late 1750s (T. Pignatti, *Pietro Longhi: Paintings and Drawings* [London, 1969], pp. 85, 95).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Paris; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 30, 1989, lot 169; London art market.



53 (recto)



53 (verso)

53. PIETRO LONGHI

Standing Woman Holding a Muff and Shawl Facing Left (recto); *Studies of Heads* (verso), circa 1755–1760

Black and white chalk (recto); black chalk (verso), 28.5 x 18.1 cm (11¹/₄ x 7¹/₈ in.). Inscribed (verso): *No 10-longhi* in black chalk.

90.GB.31

In this quickly drawn study of an informally dressed young woman, Longhi achieved a remarkably volumetric effect with a relative economy of means, focusing upon the costume of the woman rather than her features. This drawing and the previous example (no. 52) originally made up a single sheet of paper, and it, too, was made in preparation for the painting of *The Cosmorama* (Banca Cattolica del Veneto, Vicenza). A prolific draftsman, Longhi probably made preparatory drawings for each important element in his paintings.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Paris; sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 30, 1989, lot 170; London art market.

SPANISH



54

54. BARTOLOME ESTEBAN MURILLO

Spanish, 1617/18–1682

The Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, circa 1675–1680

Pen and brown ink over black chalk,
19.7 x 13.2 cm (7³/₄ x 5¹/₁₆ in.). In-
scribed: *Bartolome Murillo fat.* in
brown ink at the bottom.
90.GG.137

The Virgin of the Immaculate Concep-
tion is shown aloft in the heavens upon a
crescent moon, her hands folded and her
hair and cloak billowing to the right. Un-
derneath the moon is a cluster of putti
drawn in black chalk that Murillo did not
reinforce with pen lines. This is one of a
number of drawings inscribed with
Murillo's name by a seventeenth-century
collector who probably procured them
directly from the artist's studio. It is
closest stylistically to the latest known
drawings by Murillo, such as *The Virgin
of the Immaculate Conception* (collection of
Lord Clark of Saltwood, London) and
The Annunciation (private collection,
London).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, France (sale,
Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 27, 1987, lot 115);
London art market.

OBJECTS REMOVED
FROM THE COLLECTION
SINCE 1983

CHARLES MELLIN

French, circa 1597–1649

The Presentation in the Temple,
1643–1645

Pen and brown ink and brown wash,
14.9 x 10.9 cm (5⁷/₈ x 4¹/₄ in.). Inscribed:
2536 in brown ink at the bottom left
corner, *Poussin* in brown ink at the bot-
tom right corner; paraph of Dezallier
d'Argenville at the bottom left corner.
84.GA.667

DECORATIVE ARTS

55. TABLE OR STAND

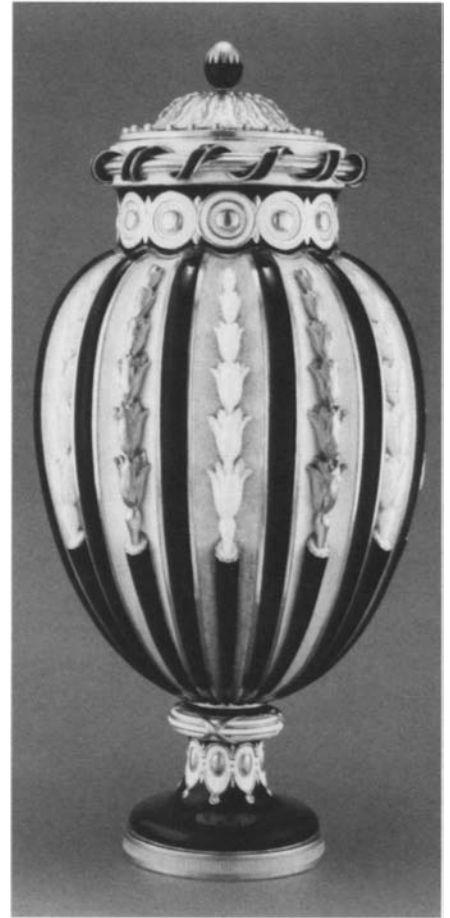
French (Paris), circa 1700–1715
 Gilded oak, 72.5 x 77 x 52 cm (2 ft.
 4½ in. x 2 ft. 6½ in. x 1 ft. 8½ in.)
 90.DA.23

The names of the designer and maker of this small table are not known. It is of apparently unique form, with pierced and elaborately carved legs. Such tables were frequently used to support coffer or large boxes, and the Museum displays it with a late-seventeenth-century marquetry coffer.

PROVENANCE: [B. Fabre et Fils, Paris].



55



56

56. VASE (*Vase à côte de melon* or *vase à chaîne*)

French (Sèvres), circa 1765–1770
 Soft-paste porcelain, enameled and gilded, H: 45 cm (1 ft. 5¾ in.);
 Diam: 22.2 cm (8⅝ in.). Painted with
 crossed *L*'s in blue and incised *CD*
 and *R* in script.
 90.DE.113

The design of this vase has been attributed to Jean-Claude Duplessis père (circa 1695–1774), who was the chief designer for models at the Vincennes and Sèvres factories. It is an example of the early and sophisticated Neoclassical style known as the *goût grec*, and as such, it differs greatly from the factory's customary decoration of reserves painted with polychrome figures, landscapes, or flowers.

PROVENANCE: [Alexander and Berendt, Ltd., London].

OBJECTS REMOVED
FROM THE COLLECTION
SINCE 1983

CHANDELIER

French, circa 1900–1930

Metal, gold paint, and glass, H: 165 cm (5 ft. 6 in.); Diam: 102.5 cm (3 ft. 5 in.); 62.DH.3

CHANDELIER

Irish, late nineteenth–early twentieth century

Glass and metal, H: 127 cm (4 ft. 2 in.); Diam: 71 cm (2 ft. 4 in.); 62.DA.5

SETTEE AND TWO ARMCHAIRS

Frames: French (Paris), late nineteenth century

Upholstery: French (Gobelins), circa 1725
Gilded wood, wool and silk tapestry upholstery, H (settee): 123.8 cm (4 ft. 3/4 in.); W: 205.7 cm (6 ft. 9 in.); D: 73.1 cm (2 ft. 4 3/4 in.); H (armchairs): 100.4 cm (3 ft. 3 1/2 in.); W: 74.3 cm (2 ft. 5 1/4 in.); D: 59 cm (1 ft. 11 1/4 in.); 67.DA.5

VASE

Japanese, twentieth century

Hard-paste porcelain, enamel decoration, H: 45.7 cm (1 ft. 6 in.); Diam: 20.3 cm (8 in.); 67.DE.11

CONSOLE TABLE

German (?), circa 1740

Gilded wood, H: 86.3 cm (2 ft. 10 in.); W: 156.8 cm (5 ft. 1 3/4 in.); D: 40 cm (1 ft. 3 3/4 in.); 69.DA.34

SETTEE

French, late nineteenth century

Painted wood, silk and wool tapestry upholstery, H: 83.3 cm (2 ft. 8 1/2 in.); W: 108.5 cm (3 ft. 6 1/2 in.); D: 45.5 cm (1 ft. 5 1/2 in.); 70.DA.71

THREE TAPESTRY SEAT COVERS

French (Aubusson), late nineteenth century

Silk and wool, H (tapestry with horse): 67.3 cm (2 ft. 2 1/2 in.); W: 82.5 cm (2 ft. 8 1/2 in.); H (tapestry with goat): 68.6 cm (2 ft. 3 in.); W: 73.7 cm (2 ft. 5 in.); H (tapestry with man with rake): 63.5 cm (2 ft. 1 in.); W: 64.8 cm (2 ft. 1/2 in.); 70.DD.126

CABINET

French (Burgundy [?]), circa 1560

Walnut and oak, H: 273.3 cm (9 ft.); W: 148.6 cm (4 ft. 10 in.); 71.DA.90

INDO-PERSIAN CARPET

Persian, late seventeenth–early eighteenth century

Wool, L: 421.6 cm (13 ft. 10 in.); W: 165.1 cm (5 ft. 5 in.); 78.DC.82

ISFAHAN CARPET

Persian, circa 1600

Wool, L: 495.3 cm (16 ft. 3 in.); W: 292.1 cm (9 ft. 7 in.); 78.DC.92

CABINET ON STAND

English, twentieth century

Painted and silvered wood, with brass mounts, H: 151.5 cm (4 ft. 11 3/4 in.); W: 69.5 cm (2 ft. 3 1/2 in.); D: 38 cm (1 ft. 3 in.); 78.DA.102

CABINET ON STAND

Cabinet: Dutch, late seventeenth century

Stand: English, late seventeenth century
Painted and silvered wood, with brass mounts, H (cabinet): 82 cm (2 ft. 8 1/4 in.); W: 99.8 cm (3 ft. 3 5/16 in.); D: 46.9 cm (1 ft. 6 1/2 in.); H (stand): 80.6 cm (2 ft. 7 3/4 in.); W: 118.1 cm (3 ft. 10 1/4 in.); D: 5.8 cm (1 ft. 10 in.); 78.DA.113

CABINET ON STAND

Cabinet: Japanese, mid-seventeenth century

Stand: English, late seventeenth century
Lacquer and silvered wood, with brass mounts, H (cabinet): 59.6 cm (1 ft. 11 1/2 in.); W: 76.2 cm (2 ft. 6 in.); D: 54.4 cm (1 ft. 5 7/8 in.); H (stand): 81.9 cm (2 ft. 5 7/8 in.); W: 80 cm (2 ft. 7 1/2 in.); D: 54.6 cm (1 ft. 9 1/2 in.); 78.DA.116

CABINET ON STAND

English, circa 1690–1700

Painted and silvered wood, with brass mounts, H: 161.8 cm (5 ft. 3 3/4 in.); W: 104.7 cm (3 ft. 5 1/4 in.); D: 59.6 cm (1 ft. 11 1/2 in.); 78.DA.117

SIDE TABLE

English, assembled from existing elements circa 1720

Gilded wood, marble top, H: 85.1 cm (2 ft. 9 1/2 in.); W: 188 cm (6 ft. 2 in.); D: 92.1 cm (3 ft. 1/4 in.); 78.DA.126

PORINGER AND COVER

English (London), 1904–1905

By Asprey

Gilt silver, H: 23.3 cm (11 in.); W: 35.5 cm (1 ft. 2 in.); D: 24.2 cm (9 5/8 in.). Stamped: *ASPREY LONDON* on base; bowl and lid marked with lion passant, leopard's head crowned, date letter *I*, and Sovereign's head; finial marked twice (each) with lion passant and Sovereign's head, one with leopard's head crowned; bolt marked with Sovereign's head and lion passant. 78.D6.140

CUP AND COVER

English (London), 1909

By the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company, Ltd.

Gold, H: 48.7 cm (1 ft. 7 1/4 in.); Diam: 14.3 cm (5 5/8 in.). Body marked: *G & S. Co. Ld.* in trefoil, date letter *O*, leopard's head [erased], and *15.625* (for 15 carat). Base stamped: *GOLDSMITHS & SILVERSMITHS CO. LTD.*; lid stamped with the maker's mark, leopard's head [erased], and *15.625*. 78.DG.145

TWELVE DESSERT PLATES

English (Sheffield), 1947
By E.S. and Company
Gold, H: 1.4 cm ($\frac{1}{2}$ in.); Diam: 20.2 cm (8 in.). Each stamped: *MADE IN SHEFFIELD ENGLAND* and *E.S. & Co.* on bottom. Each marked with date letter *E*, *T192*, and rose mark (for 18 carat).
78.DG.146

PAIR OF DISHES

English (Sheffield), 1947
By E.S. and Company
Gold, H (each): 4.3 cm ($\frac{15}{8}$ in.); W: 29 cm ($11\frac{3}{8}$ in.); D: 23 cm (9 in.). Both stamped: *MADE IN SHEFFIELD ENGLAND* on the base; inside stamped *E.S. & Co.*, Sheffield assay mark, crown, *18* (for 18 carat), and date letter *E*.
78.DG.147

SIX OVAL DESSERT DISHES

English (Sheffield), 1947
By E.S. and Company
Gold, H: 4.8 cm ($\frac{17}{8}$ in.); W: 25.5 cm ($10\frac{1}{8}$ in.); D: 20.6 cm ($8\frac{1}{8}$ in.). Each stamped: *MADE IN SHEFFIELD ENGLAND*, *E.S. & Co.*, with the date letter *E*, and rose mark (for 18 carat).
78.DG.148

PAIR OF THREE LIGHT CANDELABRA

English (London), 1922
By the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company, Ltd.
Gold, H (each): 46.8 cm (1 ft. $6\frac{1}{2}$ in.); W: 36 cm ($14\frac{1}{8}$ in.); D: 15.5 cm ($6\frac{1}{8}$ in.). Each inscribed: *1873-13 March-1923 Presented to Sir Arthur & Lady Dorman by the Staffs & Works Employees* and motto *Virtus in Ardius*. Stamped: *G & S Co.* in trefoil, date letter *g*, 6.357, and leopard's head [erased]. Engraved with a coat of arms. Bases and candle holders marked with maker's mark and 6.357. Bases stamped: *GOLDSMITH AND SILVERSMITHS CO LTD W. 112 REGENT STREET LONDON*.
78.DG.151

THREE DESSERT DISHES

English (Sheffield), 1947
By E.S. and Company
Gold, H (each): 6.6 cm ($2\frac{5}{8}$ in.); W: 18.1 cm ($7\frac{1}{8}$ in.); D: 13 cm ($5\frac{1}{8}$ in.). Each stamped: *MADE IN SHEFFIELD ENGLAND* on the base; inside rim stamped: *E.S. & Co.*, Sheffield assay mark, *18* (for 18 carat), crown, and date letter *E*.
78.DG.157

PAIR OF ASHTRAYS

English (Sheffield), 1947
By E.S. and Company
Gold, H (each): 0.9 cm ($\frac{3}{8}$ in.); Diam: 8.5 cm ($3\frac{3}{8}$ in.). Both stamped: *MADE IN SHEFFIELD ENGLAND* and *T262* on the base. Inside stamped: *E.S. & Co.*, Sheffield assay mark, crown, *22* (for 22 carat), and date letter *E*.
78.DG.158

EWER AND DISH

English (London), 1736 (ewer) and 1737 (dish)
By Paul de Lamerie
Gilt silver, H (dish): 38.7 cm (1 ft. $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.); W: 29.5 cm ($11\frac{5}{8}$ in.); D: 15.6 cm ($6\frac{1}{8}$ in.); Diam (ewer): 66 cm (2 ft. 2 in.). Engraved with the coat of arms of Darell impaling Tierney (for the Reverend Sir William Lionell Darell Third Baronet [1817-1883]). Ewer marked with lion passant, leopard's head crowned, date letter *a* (for 1736/1737), and maker's mark *PL* (for Paul de Lamerie). Basin marked with lion passant, leopard's head crowned, date letter *b* (for 1737/1738), and maker's mark *PL* (for Paul de Lamerie).
78.DG.177

ROTATING CLOCK

French (Paris), late eighteenth century
Movement by Joseph Leonard Rocque
Marble, gilt bronze, enameled metal, H: 39.3 cm (1 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.). Dial signed *Roque a Paris*.
78.DB.245

SCULPTURE AND WORKS OF ART



57 (1)



57 (2)

57. PAIR OF DRUG JARS

North Italian, circa 1580–1590

Painted and gilt terra-cotta,

H: 60 cm (23³/₈ in.)

90.SC.421–2

These jars were made to store pharmaceutical substances that are identified by the medallion reliefs depicting relevant scenes from the lives of their inventors, the ancient Roman king Mithridates VI (reigned 120–63 B.C.) and Andromachus, court physician to the Emperor Nero (37–68 A.D.). One jar contained *antidotum mithridaticum*, a poison antidote named for Mithridates, who formulated it in the first century B.C.; the other held *theriaca andromachi*, a revised cure-all based on Mithridates' drug that Andromachus created for Nero. The sculptural relief and figural ornamentation, vigorous and at the same time elegantly mannered, most closely relate to the work of Annibale Fontana (Milan, 1540–1587) and his circle.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, London.



58. OCTAGONAL TABLE

North Italian (possibly Mantua),
circa 1550

Rosso di Verona marble inlaid with
nero antico and *cipollina* marble,
84.5 x 115.5 cm (33 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. x 45 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

90.DA.33

This table conforms to a type of architectural decoration that was popular in the Gonzaga court, particularly from the mid- to late sixteenth century. The colors and simple geometry of the inlaid marbles, as well as the playful manipulation of the classical baluster form, associate this table with such decorative schemes favored by the Gonzaga as that of the Palazzo del Te, Mantua.

PROVENANCE: According to the 1934 exhibition catalogue listed below, the table originated "from the Palazzo Gonzaga, Mantua"; private collection, the Netherlands, by 1934; private collection [Alain Moatti], Paris, since 1975.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Italiaansche Kunst in Nederlandsch Bezit*, exh. cat. (Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, July 1–October 1, 1934), no. 1008.

58



59. GIOVANNI FRANCESCO SUSINI

Italian (Florence), 1585–circa 1653

The Abduction of Helen by Paris, 1627

Bronze on a mid-eighteenth-century
French gilt-bronze base, 68 x 34.2 x
33.7 cm (26 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.).

Inscribed: IO.FR.SVSINI/FLOR.

FAC./MDCXXXVII on the base.

90.SB.32

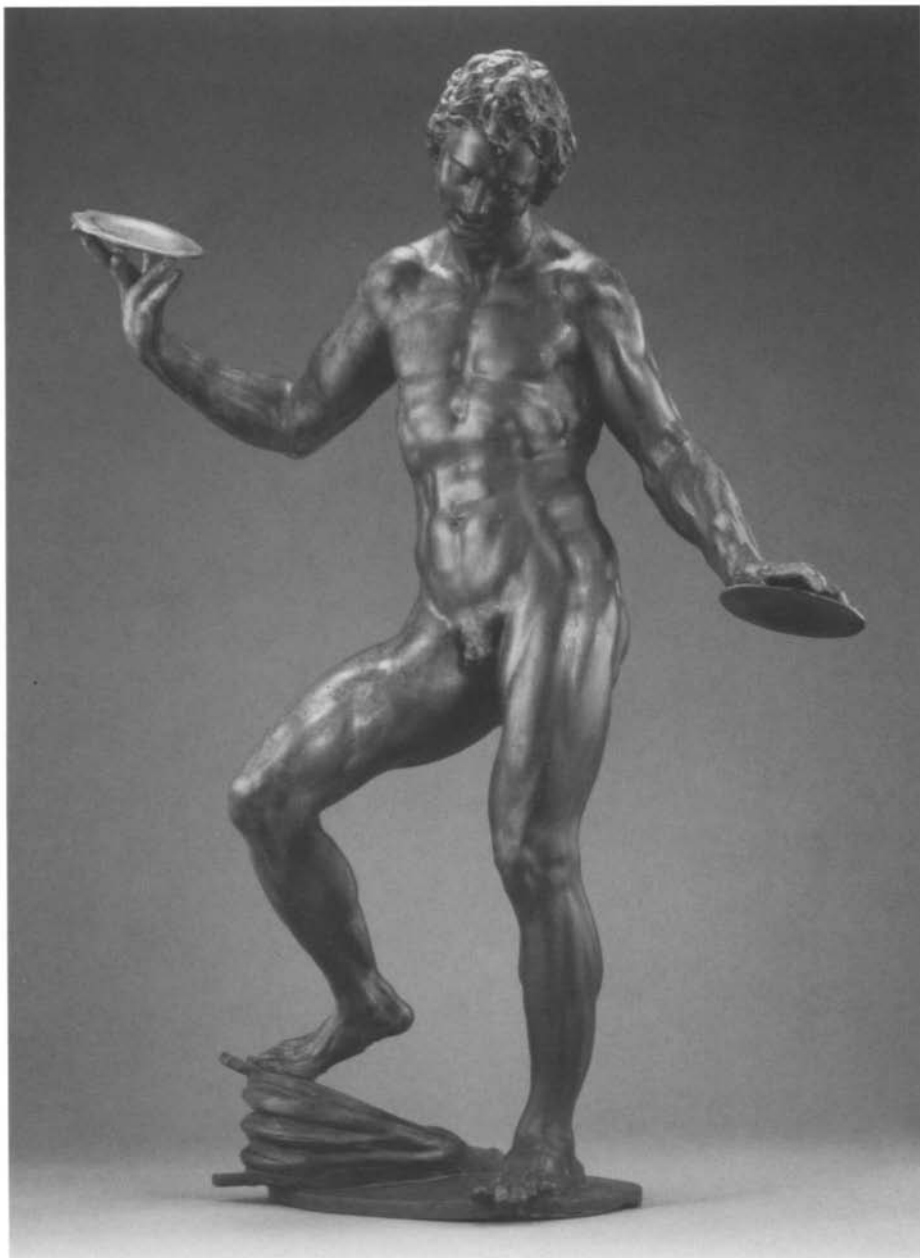
The only other known version of this bronze, dated 1626, is located in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden. A relief on the base of this earlier version represents Aeneas fleeing Troy with Anchises and Ascanius. This confirms the identification of the Museum's three-figure abduction subject as Paris kidnapping Helen, the event which led to the Trojan war described in Homer's *Iliad*. That Susini chose to identify himself in his signature as a Florentine suggests the bronze was commissioned by or as a gift for a non-Florentine patron.

PROVENANCE: Possibly commissioned by or as a gift for a non-Florentine patron; by about 1750 in the collection of Jean-Baptiste Machault d'Arnouville (Secretary of Finance under Louis XV); by descent to Geneviève Françoise Anglaé de Machault d'Arnouville (granddaughter of Jean-Baptiste); Mlle de Choiseul, daughter of Geneviève Françoise Anglaé; (sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 21, 1986, lot 1); reacquired by the Machault d'Arnouville family

59

(sale, Ader Picard Tajan, Paris, April 15, 1989, lot A); [Alain Moatti, Paris].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: "Pour attirer plus de visiteurs au château de Thoiry, un zoo," *Connaissance des Arts*, Paris, January 1968, p. 78, illus.; *Exceptionnel groupe en bronze patiné et meuble d'entre-deux provenant du château de Thoiry*, sale cat. (Ader Picard Tajan, Paris, April 1, 1989, lot A); P. Lemonnier and P. Leperlier, "Machault d'Arnouville Collectionneur du XVIIe siècle," *L'Estampille* (April 1989), no. 224, pp. 32–33.



60. ADRIAEN DE VRIES

Dutch, 1545–1626

Juggling Figure, circa 1610–1615

Bronze, H: 77 cm (30¼ in.)

90.SB.44

This bronze figure was inspired by a Hellenistic marble statue of a *Dancing Faun* in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence. De Vries, however, has eliminated the identifying horns and tail of the faun and replaced the faun's foot organ with a bellows and his hand cymbals with plates for juggling. These compositional changes also change the meaning of the piece. The subject of an adroit juggler engaged in a sort of acrobatic trick emphasizes the significance of de Vries's work as an inventive and virtuoso exercise in depicting dynamic equilibrium.

PROVENANCE: Private English collection (sale, Sotheby's, London, December 7, 1989, lot 65); [Cyril Humphries, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. O. Larsson, "Adrien de Vries and Rudolphean Court Sculpture," *Sotheby's Art at Auction 1989–1990*, pp. 296–303.

PHOTOGRAPHS

Note: Listed below are the individual photographers whose work was acquired during 1990. Each photographer's name is followed by his or her nationality, life dates (or years flourished), and the number of photographs acquired. Following the list are reproductions of 50 chronologically arranged photographs, highlights of the year's collecting activity, including biocritical commentary for photographers collected in depth: the partnership of Philippos Margaritis and Philibert Perraud, André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri, Eugène Atget, Gustave Le Gray, Ella Bergmann-Michel, and Albert Renger-Patzsch.

PHOTOGRAPHERS

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(See HILL and ADAMSON)
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- BAUHAUS (UNKNOWN MAKERS)
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- THE DÜHRKOOFS
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- ECKNER ATELIER
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- FENTON, ROGER
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- FINSLER, HANS
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- INGRET ATELIER
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- MAGUIRE, JAMES
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- MAPPLETHORPE, ROBERT
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- MAYNARD, FLORENCE
(American, active circa 1900), 1
- MESTRAL, O.
(See LE GRAY and MESTRAL)
- MEYER, HANNES
(German, 1889–1954), 2
- MODOTTI, TINA
(American, b. Italy, 1896–1942), 1
- MOHOLY, LUCIA
(British, b. Czechoslovakia, 1894–1989), 2
- MOHOLY, LUCIA, Attributed to
(British, b. Czechoslovakia, 1894–1989), 1
- MOHOLY-NAGY, LASZLO
(American, b. Hungary, 1895–1946), 1
- MUCHA, ALPHONSE MARIE
(Czechoslovakian, 1860–1939), 1
- MUYBRIDGE, EADWEARD
(British, active United States, 1830–1904), 17
- NOSKOWIAK, SONYA
(American, b. Germany, 1900–1975), 1
- O'SULLIVAN, TIMOTHY H.
(American, born Ireland[?], circa 1840–1882), 5
- PARTRIDGE, ROI
(American, 1888–1984), 1
- PERRAUD, PHILIBERT
(See MARGARITAS and PERRAUD)
- PETSCHOW, ROBERT
(German, 1888–1945), 4
- PROTHEROE
(British, active 1850–1860s), 1
- REJLANDER, OSCAR GUSTAVE
(British, b. Sweden, 1813–1875), 1
- RENGER-PATZSCH, ALBERT
(German, 1897–1966), 29
- RENGER-PATZSCH, SABINE
(German, b. after 1923), 1

- ROH, FRANZ
(German, 1890–1965), 1
- ROHDE, WERNER
(German, 1890–1963), 2
- ROSE, HAJO
(German, 1910–1989), 1
- RUBINSTEIN, NAFTALI
(b. Poland, worked Germany, Israel,
Palestine, 1910–1977), 1
- SEIDENSTÜCKER, FRIEDRICH
(German, 1883–1966), 1
- SILVY, CAMILLE
(French, 1834–1910), 1
- THALEMANN, ELSE
(German, 1901–1985), 11
- TRUMP, GEORG
(German, 1896–), 1
- WATSON-SCHÜTZE, EVA
(American, 1867–1935), 1
- WESTON, EDWARD
(American, 1886–1958), 1
- WHISTLER, JOHN
(British, 1830–1897), 17
- WOLFF, PAUL
(German, 1887–1951), 2
- WORDEN, WILLARD E., PILLSBURY
PICTURE CO., and UNKNOWN
MAKERS, 76 (one album)

SELECTED ACQUISITIONS

PHILIPPOS MARGARITIS AND PHILIBERT PERRAUD. The Department of Photographs purchased in 1990 a group of eleven daguerreotypes of Athenian monuments made by Philippos Margaritis (Greek, 1810–1892), possibly in collaboration with the daguerreotypist Philibert Perraud (French, born 1815). These, thought to be made in 1847, are among the earliest photographs showing monuments of antiquities. They are also important because they were made during the controversial nineteenth-century restoration of the Acropolis.

The advent of photography in 1839 inspired early practitioners to travel the world to record monuments, landmarks, and distant civilizations. Several foreign photographers visited Greece during their travels. Philibert Perraud learned the daguerreian procedure in 1839 shortly after the official announcement of its

invention and was well known as a practitioner. A diary of the time places Perraud's visit to Athens in March 1847, so at some point in 1846 or 1847 Perraud must have met Philippos Margaritis. Margaritis was born in Smyrna, Turkey, in 1810, studied painting in Rome, and in 1842 was appointed to the Art School in Athens, where he taught drawing. It is thought that Perraud taught Margaritis the technique of daguerreotypy and probably provided him with the necessary materials.

National pride perhaps directed Margaritis to document several historic ancient structures. A Greek uprising in 1843 forced King Otto of Greece, son of the Bavarian King Ludwig I, to give up an absolute monarchy and grant a constitution. A new sense of patriotism and an interest in traditional dress was one of the results of the new constitution. The young, struggling state of Greece was not photographed by one of its countrymen until 1847 when these daguerreotypes were made.



61

61. PHILIPPOS MARGARITIS
Greek, 1810–1892
PHILIBERT PERRAUD
French, b. 1815
The Parthenon, circa 1847
Quarter-plate daguerreotype. In-
scribed: *Perraud de Paris* printed on
the recto of the mount.
90.XM.65.1

This daguerreotype of the east facade of the Parthenon shows the destruction and rubble that surrounded the structure as a result of its history. The Parthenon had been partially destroyed by Venetian artillery in 1687; a mosque, demolished in 1842, had been built inside; and its sculptural adornment had been removed

by Lord Elgin in 1800–1803. Restoration of the structure began in 1834. Even this was controversial because, as it exposed the original, classical architecture it also removed all evidence of minarets and mosques, which were added during the medieval Ottoman rule. This daguerreotype can be dated to 1846 or 1847, according to the current architect in charge of restoration of the Parthenon, by the appearance of wooden planks on top of the entablature. The photograph is mounted in a *passee-partout* with *Perraud de Paris* printed on it; six other daguerreotypes in the group of eleven are also mounted this way.

PROVENANCE: King Otto of Greece; private collection, Europe (sale, Sotheby's, New York, November 1–2, 1988, lot 366); [Daniel Wolf, New York].



62

62. PHILIPPOS MARGARITIS and
PHILIBERT PERRAUD
The Temple of Zeus, circa 1847
Quarter-plate daguerreotype
90.XM.65.10

Margaritis's training as a painter can be seen in his photographs. In this daguerreotype of the Temple of Zeus, the artist has composed his subject carefully with the temple as the most prominent object and the Parthenon visible behind it on the hill. Three lone columns fill the plane and draw the viewer's eye back to the foreground. Several figures are posed in the foreground and on the steps of the temple. A cafe was established in this area, as may also be seen in engravings made after non-extant daguerreotypes taken in 1839 by Lotebinière. The presence of figures adds a human scale against the monument.

PROVENANCE: King Otto of Greece; private collection, Europe (sale, Sotheby's, New York,

November 1–2, 1988, lot 366); [Daniel Wolf, New York].



63

63. PHILIPPOS MARGARITIS and PHILIBERT PERRAUD
The Temple of Athena Nike, circa 1847
Quarter-plate daguerreotype
90.XM.65.5

The Temple of Athena Nike had been demolished by the Turks in order to build a bastion during the war against the Venetians in 1687. In 1835–1836 the bastion was dismantled and the temple was reconstructed. The interest in reconstruction parallels the upsurge of pride in traditional Greek heritage prevalent in the 1840s. This is evidenced by the presence of men dressed in the traditional Greek national costume, one standing in the foreground and one seated in the temple. The dark area on the right represents the Frankish observation tower constructed in the fifteenth century.

PROVENANCE: King Otto of Greece; private collection, Europe (sale, Sotheby's, New York, November 1–2, 1988, lot 366); [Daniel Wolf, New York].

ANDRE-ADOLPHE-EUGENE DISDERI. The Museum purchased this year a group of twelve photographs by André-Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri (French, 1819–1889), who, like Nadar, was known professionally by his surname, Disdéri. These salted paper prints include portraits

and genre studies. Eight of them are from an important, though short-lived, series of photographs of itinerant musicians, beggars, and performers in the streets of Paris. Radical innovations in their time, these are some of the first photographs ever made of subjects found in the streets and photographed outside the controlled environment of the studio. With one exception (see no. 85, 90.XM.56.4), all twelve prints are large format—approximately 6 x 4³/₄ inches each—and oval in shape. Some are signed, and all are in very good condition. Disdéri is already represented significantly at the Getty Museum by some 225 *cartes-de-visite*, 27 large-format portraits, and 3 photographically illustrated albums. With this new purchase, the Museum has assembled the most comprehensive collection of Disdéri's work outside France.

Disdéri was a key figure in the early history of French photography. After brief careers in acting, commerce, and painting, he settled on photography as a profession around 1847. Two years later he opened a portrait studio in Brest. In 1854, he opened his second studio in Paris and discovered and patented a multi-lensed camera which produced eight small prints from one negative. Each of these prints, called *cartes-de-visite*, measured 2¹/₄ x 3¹/₂ inches. This process greatly reduced time and production costs and became extremely popular worldwide. Although Disdéri's portrait business grew at an astounding rate, reaching its peak in 1860, he never profited from his patent, and died blind, deaf, and penniless in a public institution in Paris in 1889.

64. DISDERI
French, 1819–1889
Self-Portrait, 1853
Salt print, 15 x 12 cm (5⁷/₈ x 4¹¹/₁₆ in.), oval
90.XM.56.1

This self-portrait shows Disdéri at the age of thirty-four. It was taken only four years after he gave up his acting career to pursue portrait photography. Posing here in his studio, his theatrical training may explain his choice of costume and dramatic presence. His hand-to-chin posture, often seen in portraits of this time period, is probably a device to steady the sitter for a long exposure. This photograph, the only surviving print from the negative,



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is an excellent complement to the Museum's collection of self-portraits by other early French photographers such as Nadar, Le Gray, and Bayard.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, France; [Galerie Michele Chomette, Paris]; [Daniel Wolf, New York].



65

65. DISDERI
The Organ Grinder, 1853
Salt print, 15.1 x 12 cm (5²⁹/₃₂ x 4³/₄ in.), oval. Signed in lower right on the recto of the print.
90.XM.56.4

The only other early French photographer whose ability to convey spontaneity is comparable to Disdéri's is Charles

Nègre (1820–1879). A photograph in the Museum's collection by Nègre (84.XM.344.1) of an organ grinder is more introspective and characterized by an almost eerie stillness, while Disdéri's image actually documents the action of the itinerant street musician walking and turning the grinder as he goes. The only other print from this negative is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, France; [Galerie Michele Chomette, Paris]; [Daniel Wolf, New York].



66

66. DISDERI

Man with Dogs, 1853

Salt print, 7.3 x 6.4 cm (2⁷/₈ x 2¹/₂ in.), rounded corners

90.XM.56.8

In the 1850s photographs taken in the streets were called "instantaneous." This word meant something different then than it does today; it was used to describe photographs like this one that captured the ambiance of daily life. Photographers of this time usually worked in the highly controlled environment of the portrait studio and posed their sitters in head clamps. Here Disdéri ventured into the streets of Paris where he photographed three dogs and their handler as they performed their tricks for passersby.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, France; [Galerie Michele Chomette, Paris]; [Daniel Wolf, New York].

CAMILLE SILVY. A French aristocrat, Silvy (French, 1834–1910, active England 1859–1869) abandoned a career as a diplomat for one as a photographer in 1858. That same year he joined the Société Française de la Photographie in Paris and began to photograph landscapes and portraits. His landscapes from that year, primarily of the Eure-et-Loire and the Huisne river, won him great critical acclaim. A print of the Museum's acquisition *River Scene, France* drew the following praise at the Royal Photographic Society exhibition in Edinburgh in 1858:

Perhaps the gem of the whole exhibition is the *River Scene, France*, by C. Silvy. We have seen no photograph which has taken our fancy so much . . . the natural beauty of the scene itself, rich in exquisite and varied detail, with broad, soft shadows stealing over the whole, produce a picture which for calm, inviting beauty we have not seen equalled.

Despite such enthusiastic praise, Silvy made very few landscapes but rather worked primarily as a portraitist. In 1859 he moved to London and opened a studio, which was frequented by English nobility and specialized in society portraits and *cartes-de-visite*. His *cartes-de-visite* of royalty and aristocracy set the world standard for delicacy and beauty.

67. CAMILLE SILVY

French, 1834–1910

River Scene, France (Vallée de l'Huisne), 1858

Albumen print, 25.7 x 35.6 cm (10¹/₈ x 14 in.), oval. Stamped: C. Silvy in red ink (in script) on the recto of the mount.

90.XM.63

One of the department's major purchases for 1990 was Silvy's *River Scene, France*, dating from 1858. One of the first photographs ever to explore the subtle beauties of light and atmosphere, it anticipates by about a decade the similar concerns of the Impressionist painters. Appropriately enough, it was exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1859, the first exhibition to display paintings and photographs side by side. The subject is a scene along the Huisne river in France, just west of Chartres in the province of Maine. Two negatives were used to create this photograph, as blue-sensitive emulsions of the time could not simultaneously record both clouds and landscape.

PROVENANCE: [Alain Paviot, Paris]; [Daniel Wolf, New York]; Newby Toms, New York; [Daniel Wolf, New York].



67



68

GUSTAVE LE GRAY. At the height of Le Gray's career in the middle of the 1850s he made a number of photographs of new construction in and around Paris as well as several panoramas of the city. These may have been made at the request of Napoleon III (1808–1873), for whom Le Gray had done considerable work, starting with a portrait made in 1851 when the emperor was still Prince-President of the Republic. This was followed by studies of the emperor's navy in 1855, a series of portraits of the empress in 1856, and extensive documentation of the emperor's troops at Chalons in 1857. These imperial commissions, however, may have contributed to the overextension of his photographic practice that appears to have been the cause of Le Gray's precipitate departure for the Near East in 1860 and the effective end to his photographic career.

68. **GUSTAVE LE GRAY**
French, 1820–1882
Pavillon Molien, Louvre, Paris, circa 1858
Albumen print, 36.7 x 47.9 cm (14⁷/₁₆ x 18⁷/₈ in.). Stamped: photographer's wet stamp in red ink in lower right corner of the recto of the print.
90.XM.72

Le Gray's photograph of the Pavillon Molien was made shortly after the completion of this section of the Louvre designed by Louis Visconti (1791–1853) and carried out by Hector-Martin Lefuel (1810–1880) for Napoleon III. Of the many photographs made of the new Louvre by a variety of photographers, this is by far the most dynamic. Le Gray has used a large mass of shadow to add drama to his subject and employed a wide-angle lens to emphasize the insistent geometry of the paving stones. Le Gray harnessed technique to achieve significant artistic effects in ways unmatched by his contemporaries.

PROVENANCE: [Alain Paviot, Paris]; Newby Toms, New York; [Daniel Wolf, New York].

JEAN-EUGENE-AUGUSTE ATGET. With the acquisition in 1990, from twelve separate sources, of 247 photographs by Jean-Eugène-Auguste Atget (1857–1927), the Museum's holdings of work by this influential photographer totals 270 images. Atget's photographic career lasted from the turn of the century until his death. His subject matter was vernacular Paris and its surroundings, to which he brought obsessive ardor, paying particular attention to those of its aspects that he felt were disappearing. His work encom-

passed not only Paris's architecture and streetscapes but also its shopfronts, window displays, street fairs, and public gardens. A combination of lyricism and objectivity informs much of his work and marks it as a key element in the transition from the photographic aesthetic of the nineteenth century to that of the twentieth.



69

69. **BERENICE ABBOTT**
American, born 1898
Portrait of Eugène Atget, 1927
Gelatin silver print, 22.2 x 17.4 cm (8⁷/₈ x 6⁷/₈ in.). Inscribed with signature and title in ink; stamped: photographer's wet stamp; all on the verso of the print.
90.XM.64.1

The American photographer Berenice Abbott made this portrait of the seventy-year-old Atget very close to the time of his death. Abbott met Atget about 1925 when she was working as a studio assistant to Man Ray, whose studio was located in the rue Campagne Première a few doors away from that of Atget. Abbott purchased the contents of Atget's studio after his death and devoted substantial time and energy to advancing his artistic reputation as well as to reprinting some of his negatives. Her interest saved Atget from undeserved obscurity. Inspired by Atget's example, Abbott shifted from portraits to architecture as her chief subject matter when she returned to New York in 1929.

PROVENANCE: [Harry Lunn, Paris]; André Jammes, Paris.



70

70. EUGENE ATGET
 French, 1857–1927
Antique Shop, 21 faubourg Saint-Honoré (detail), 1902
 Albumen print, 21.9 x 17.8 cm (8½ x 7 in.). Inscribed with title and photographer's inventory number 4556 in pencil and with dealer's inventory number in red ink, all on the verso of the print.
 90.XM.120

Although nominally a photograph of the facade of an antique shop, this image also contains Atget's only certain self-portrait. He, his camera, and his tripod are reflected in the store's plate glass window, presumably a recent replacement for older original glass. Although Atget made photographs of nearly every kind of shop and window display, only here has he clearly forsaken anonymity.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Paris, before 1910; by descent to his heirs; [Hyperion Press Limited, New York].



71

71. EUGENE ATGET
Animal Sideshow, 1898
 Albumen print, 17.8 x 22.8 cm (7 x 9 in.). Inscribed: *Fête des Invalides, Cirque des Animaux* and with photographer's inventory number 3101 in pencil; stamped: photographer's wet stamp; all on the verso of the print.
 90.XM.124.5

When Atget turned his attention to the traditional neighborhood street fairs of Paris his images included the human and animal figures that are so notably absent from his views of architecture. These fairs were diminishing even in Atget's day and the pictures of them form part of his record of vernacular Paris. Here one of the children in the foreground looks toward the camera, his gaze temporarily distracted from the group of performing dogs.

PROVENANCE: Paris art market; [Zabriskie Gallery, New York].

72. EUGENE ATGET
Lampshade Vendor, 1899–1900
 Gelatin silver chloride printing-out paper, 22.7 x 17.7 cm (8⅞ x 7 in.). Inscribed with title and photographer's inventory number 3196 in pencil; stamped: photographer's wet stamp; all on the verso of the print.
 90.XM.64.24

The depiction of trades and occupations has a long tradition in France. Artists like Watteau and Bouchardon made drawings and engravings of street vendors; photographers like Nègre and Disdéri (see nos. 85–86) made images of similar figures in the 1850s. Atget's series of pictures of tradespeople was one of his first photographic projects. While photographers of the 1870s–1890s usually brought their



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models into the studios, Atget returned to the example of Nègre and Disdéri by showing them in their actual urban context.

PROVENANCE: Florent Fels, Paris; André Jammes, Paris.

73. EUGENE ATGET
Ragpicker, 1899–1900
 Albumen print, 22.2 x 18.1 cm (8¾ x 7⅞ in.). Inscribed with title and photographer's inventory number 363 in pencil on the verso of the print.
 90.XM.127.4

Of the series of photographs that Atget made of the itinerant tradesmen of Paris, this photograph of a ragpicker pulling his cart is perhaps the most celebrated. Atget photographed the ragpickers in the streets, in the sheds that served as their workplaces, and in front of the crude shacks that were their homes. They were a vanishing breed, akin to gypsies, and Atget wanted to record their presence as part of the living past of Paris. Although this image is well known only five prints of it exist, among them that in the Bibliothèque Nationale and that in the Musée Carnavalet. The Museum's example has survived in the best condition.

PROVENANCE: Paris art market; [Fernand Levi, Monte Carlo].

74. EUGENE ATGET
Quai Conti 3, 1900
 Albumen print, 20.6 x 17.8 cm (8⅞ x 7 in.). Inscribed with title, photogra-



73



75

75. EUGENE ATGET

Portal, Saint Julien le Pauvre, 1900
Albumen print, 21.6 x 17.8 cm (8½ x 7 in.). Inscribed with title and photographer's inventory number 3939 in pencil and with 154 in red crayon, all on the verso of the print.
90.XM.123

The Church of Saint Julien le Pauvre is one of the oldest in Paris, having been built in the twelfth century on the site of a sixth-century church. Atget's subject is the portal added in 1651, which he has photographed from a very narrow street perpendicular to the front of the church. No other viewpoint would have permitted him a frontal image. The buildings on the left have since been demolished to enlarge an adjacent park.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Paris; by descent to his heirs; [Hyperion Press, New York]; [Jones Troyer Fitzpatrick, Washington].

76. EUGENE ATGET

Oleander, circa 1900
Albumen print, 18.1 x 22.0 cm (7¼ x 8⅝ in.). Inscribed with title and photographer's inventory number 661 in pencil on the verso of the print.
90.XM.124.3

As was his occasional habit in his botanical work, Atget has draped the shrubbery in the background of this photograph to bring forward and clarify the outline of his subject, an oleander. The resultant image may have been intended for use in the production of textile designs, as



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pher's inventory number 4133, and *Ancien magasin de bijouterie/ de Marie Antoinette/ au petit Dunkerque* in pencil, all on the verso of the print.
90.XM.45.1

One of Atget's most systematic surveys of the crafts of old Paris was of the hand-wrought iron signs above the doorways of Paris shops. (A large collection of these signs is now displayed in the Musée Carnavalet.) At the time Atget made this photograph the store functioned as both wine merchant and cafe, but the sign above its door was made when the shop housed Marie Antoinette's jeweler. Atget's multi-second exposure time has caused the image of an employee, who must have exited unexpectedly from the cafe into the camera's eye, to blur.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, United States, about 1920; by descent to Charles Krewson, New York; [Photofind Gallery, New York].



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it was made during the period when Art Nouveau was in the ascendant. The effect, however, is somewhat surreal.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Europe (sale, Sotheby's, New York, May 24, 1982, lot 33); [Zabriskie Gallery, New York].



77

77. EUGENE ATGET

Water Lilies, circa 1906

Albumen print, 22.1 x 17.8 cm (8¹¹/₁₆ x 7 in.). Inscribed with title and photographer's inventory number 7.1160 in pencil on the verso of the print.

90.XM.64.45

The sign on Atget's door read "documents for artists" and although his work is more often associated with architecture of larger vistas, he occasionally made detailed studies of natural forms. These images were usually taken in the parks around the old royal châteaux, the places from which some of his most celebrated works derive. Water lilies were the subject of a series of photographs in which, by

shifting his viewpoints slightly, he reversed the pattern of dark leaves against light water to comparatively light leaves against dark water.

PROVENANCE: Yvan Christ, Paris; André Jammes, Paris.



78

78. EUGENE ATGET

Saint-Cloud, circa 1920 from a negative of 1906

Albumen print, 22.3 x 17.2 cm (8⁷/₈ x 6¹³/₁₆ in.). Inscribed with title, photographer's inventory number 6605, and dimensions for publication in pencil and *Couverture Art Vivant* in blue crayon; stamped: photographer's wet stamp and collector's wet stamp; all on the verso of the print.

90.XM.64.25

Atget's repertory of subjects included many aspects of French cultural history: its architecture, its street life, and, in this instance, its botanical heritage as found in the parks of the old royal châteaux. An ancient, eroded tree root is treated with the gravity befitting a sculpture. Most of Atget's photographs are albumen prints, which have a glossy finish, but after World War I he occasionally made prints on paper sized with arrowroot, which produces a matte finish.

PROVENANCE: Florent Fels, Paris; André Jammes, Paris.



79

79. EUGENE ATGET

Sculptural Group, Versailles, 1904

Albumen print, 21.7 x 17.6 cm (8⁵/₈ x 6¹⁵/₁₆ in.). Inscribed: *Versailles Bosquet de l'Arc de Triomphe, Group par Tuby*, with photographer's inventory number 6479, and with name of the former owner, all in pencil on the verso of the print.

90.XM.64.59

This sculpture by Jean-Baptiste Tuby (1635–1700) depicts France triumphing over Spain and the Holy Roman Empire (Austria). The armored female figure, representing France, towers over the figures of Spain to the viewer's left and Austria in the center of the photograph. The ensemble, completed in 1683, was originally enhanced by a now-vanished grove of trees set out by the landscape architect André Le Nôtre (1613–1700). Atget has photographed the sculpture in autumn against bare trees, focusing attention on the dejected warrior and his fallen helmet; the leaves littering the steps of the fountain add to the melancholy of the scene.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Paris; André Jammes, Paris.

80. EUGENE ATGET

Ancienne Barrière du Trône, 1903–1904

Albumen print, 17.5 x 21.7 cm (6¹⁵/₁₆ x 8¹/₂ in.). Inscribed with title and photographer's inventory number 4871 in pencil on the verso of the print.

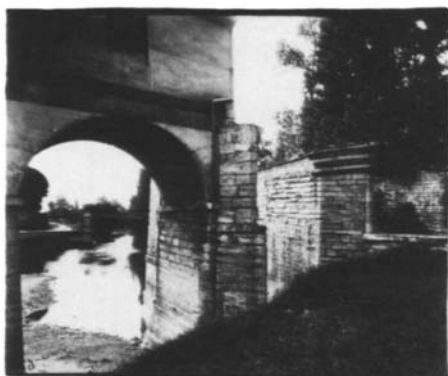
90.XM.64.168



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Atget's subject here is part of the ensemble that Claude-Nicolas Ledoux (1731–1809) designed for the Place du Trône (now known as the Place de la Nation). The pavilion, surmounted by a gigantic column, was one of a pair that was erected in 1788 as part of the series of forty tollbooths located at intervals in the wall around Paris. Adjacent to the old city gates, they were used for the collection of taxes on incoming goods. The monument survives but the hand-drawn carts before it are of a type that vanished long ago.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Paris; André Jammes, Paris.



81

81. EUGENE ATGET
Old Mill, Charenton, 1915
 Albumen print, 18.1 x 21.6 cm (7 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.). Inscribed with title and photographer's inventory number 6806 in pencil on the verso of the print.
 90.XM.124.2

Atget occasionally made photographs in the environs of Paris and he studied the mill at Charenton from more than one angle. This composition exhibits the careful construction of his best work, but is also somewhat Cubistic in feeling. The

tight framing abruptly truncates the edges of the subject and the strong contrasts between black and white translate the planes of the picture into abstract shapes.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Europe (sale, Sotheby's, New York, May 24, 1982, lot 72); [Zabriskie Gallery, New York].



82

82. EUGENE ATGET
Montmartre, au Franc-Buveur, 1922
 Albumen print, 22.4 x 18.0 cm

(8 $\frac{13}{16}$ x 7 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.). Inscribed with title and photographer's inventory number 6369 in pencil on the verso of the print.

90.XM.64.72

This study of the front of a Parisian cafe was Atget's second image of the same building. Some months earlier he had made an initial study that showed the whole of the three-story edifice and its corner site. Here he has moved in closer to concentrate on the painted lettering of the facade's plaster surface and the rustic sign depicting a vintner. This kind of painted advertisement was disappearing even in Atget's time. Although it provides a visually satisfying composition, the off-center framing of the photograph is peculiarly Atget's own.

PROVENANCE: Florent Fels, Paris; André Jammes, Paris.

83. EUGENE ATGET
The Panthéon, 1924
 Gelatin silver chloride printing-out paper, 17.8 x 22.5 cm (7 x 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.). Inscribed with title, photographer's inventory number 6479, and dimensions for use in reproduction, in pencil; stamped: photographer's wet stamp; all on the verso of the print.
 90.XM.64.34



83

The Panthéon was designed in 1764 by Jacques-Germain Soufflot (1713–1780). Its dome was inspired by that of Saint Peter's in Rome, and it was built on the site of the tomb of Sainte-Geneviève, the patron saint of Paris. At the time of the Revolution it was transformed into a secular temple to the great figures of French history. (Voltaire was reburied there in 1791 shortly after the completion of the building.) Atget approached sideways this monument dedicated to the concept of the greatness of France, an idea that was part of his own credo. Rather than showing the impressive colonnade of the main facade, the building is viewed obliquely from a side street. Made at the end of Atget's life, the atmospheric quality of the photograph manifests the pervasive influence of the art photography movement of the period.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Paris; André Jammes, Paris.



84

84. EUGENE ATGET

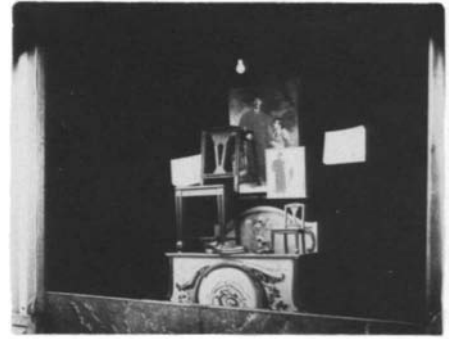
Montmartre, 1924

Albumen print, 21.5 x 17.8 cm (8⁹/₁₆ x 7 in.). Inscribed with title, photographer's inventory number 6238, and dealer's inventory number, all in pencil on the verso of the print.

90.XM.124.1

Toward the end of his life Atget's photographic vision grew even stronger. His compositions became more tightly integrated, their moods more evocative. The choice of subject here is characteristic, an unknown corner of Paris, with, in this instance, a fragment of garden containing a starkly angular tree and a herm used as garden sculpture. The staircase with its sharply angled railing leads up toward the Basilica of Sacre Coeur.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Europe (sale, Sotheby's, New York, May 24, 1982, lot 59); [Zabriskie Gallery, New York].



85

85. EUGENE ATGET

Street Fair Booth, print by Berenice Abbott, circa 1950 from a negative of 1925

Gelatin silver print, 17.3 x 22.5 cm (6¹³/₁₆ x 8⁷/₈ in.). Inscribed with note

as to exhibition in ink; stamped: printer's wet stamp with address and printing notations; all on the verso of the print.

90.XM.64.14

This image, beloved by the Surrealists, depicts a sideshow booth at a street fair at a time when its occupants, a giant and a midget, were absent. The effect is both puzzling and haunting, concerned as it is with absence as much as presence. Abbott devoted a great deal of time to preserving Atget's artistic reputation and occasionally reprinting his negatives. Her prints from his negatives are always on gelatin silver paper rather than the albumen paper he favored, and were usually made from negatives that Atget had rarely printed.

PROVENANCE: Michel Braive, Paris; André Jammes, Paris.

ELLA BERGMANN-MICHEL. As part of a group of thirty-three prints made between the two World Wars by women photographers, the Department of Photographs added ten photographs by Ella Bergmann-Michel (1896–1971) to the collection in 1990. These photographs—along with one other print by the artist purchased in 1985—enrich the Museum's holdings both in German and Bauhaus-related photography and in images by women photographers. A collection of the papers of Bergmann-Michel and her husband, the artist Robert Michel, is housed at the J. Paul Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities in Santa Monica, California, and includes correspondence with some of the leading artists of the day, a film script and outline, and other documents that illuminate the work of these versatile artists.

Bergmann-Michel was born in 1896 in Paderborn, Westphalia, but moved as a young woman to the creatively charged atmosphere of Weimar. There she studied briefly at the Hochschule für Bildende Kunst before taking a studio to continue her work independently. In her early work she explored abstract form in a series of drawings and collages, and later adopted a more precise Constructivist style. Though she is often associated with the Bauhaus (founded in Weimar in 1919) and certainly shared an affinity with the ideas circulating there, Bergmann-Michel considered herself a free spirit opposed to dogmatic teaching.

86. ELLA BERGMANN-MICHEL
German 1896–1971
Robert Michel, circa 1925
Gelatin silver print, 11.0 x 8.7 cm
(4³/₁₆ x 3⁷/₁₆ in.)
90.XM.103.1

In 1920, Bergmann-Michel moved to a village near Frankfurt-am-Main with her husband, who is pictured in his studio with hat and pipe in this tilted-perspective portrait. The couple soon became involved with the group “das neue frankfurt” and the international organization “Liga für den unabhängigen Film” (League for Independent Film), expanding their artistic experiments to photography, film, architecture, and graphic design. Bergmann-Michel and her husband sometimes worked as a team, and some of her photographs record build-



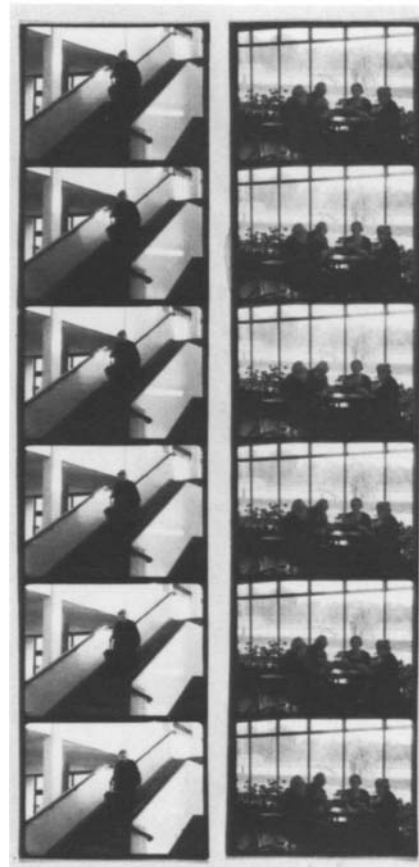
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ings designed by him. Another new acquisition, *Dapolin Service Station* (90.XM.103.9), not only depicts one of Michel's progressive structures but may also have been used as a maquette, or small preliminary model, for an advertisement designed by the couple.

PROVENANCE: Marzona collection, Düsseldorf; [Daniel Wolf, New York].

87. ELLA BERGMANN-MICHEL
Where Old People Live (Wo wohnen alte Leute), 1931
Gelatin silver, double strip of film contact prints; each strip: 2.5 x 11.4 cm (1 x 4¹/₂ in.)
90.XM.103.10

In the early 1930s Bergmann-Michel extended her interest in documentary work to film, completing three short works with social themes: *Wo wohnen alte Leute* (Where Old People Live), 1931; *Erwerb-slose kochen für Erwerbslose* (The Unemployed Cook for the Unemployed), 1932; and *Fliegende Händler* (Itinerant Salesman), 1932. A contact print of six frames of *Wo wohnen alte Leute* is included in the group acquired by the Getty Museum this year. Given the severe economic depression in Germany during these years and the interest in realism as an expressive vehicle, the films were quite topical and were well received in artistic circles. Two later films, *Fischfang in der Rhön* (Fishing in the Rhone) and *Letzte Wahl* (Last Election), both begun in 1932, were left unfinished because of the political climate.



87

PROVENANCE: Marzona collection, Düsseldorf; [Daniel Wolf, New York].

88. ELLA BERGMANN-MICHEL
Self-Portrait Lying in Bed in the Studio, March 1933
Gelatin silver print, 5.9 x 11.1 cm
(2⁵/₁₆ x 4³/₈ in.). Inscribed: 1933-März
in pencil in the artist's hand on the verso of the print.
90.XM.103.6

Bergmann-Michel's *Self-Portrait Lying in Bed in the Studio* is probably the most personal, reflective image in her oeuvre and poignantly suggests the deep sorrow many Germans felt in these years just before World War II. The artist is pictured in her studio, but instead of working she is lying in bed almost hidden from view; a ray of light filters in from the window, illuminating her thoughtful face and her abandoned worktable. The date of the photograph is inscribed by the artist as March 1933—just after Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of Germany and the Reichstag building was destroyed by fire. This image signifies Bergmann-Michel's



88

personal retreat in the face of political events, for from 1933 until the end of World War II she made virtually no art and devoted herself instead to farming and the care of livestock on the family property.

PROVENANCE: Marzona collection, Düsseldorf; [Daniel Wolf, New York].

ALBERT RENGER-PATZSCH. During 1990 the Department of Photographs acquired twenty-nine prints by Albert Renger-Patzsch (1897–1966) from four collections in Düsseldorf, Cologne, and Berlin. These photographs, which also include landscape, plant, and animal studies, are predominantly architectural and range in date from 1924 to about 1960. The group is a fitting complement to the 175 photographs by Renger-Patzsch already in the permanent collection, which were acquired primarily through the Galerie Wilde, Cologne. The J. Paul Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities also holds a major collection of the photographer's correspondence, manuscripts, and personal papers, making Santa Monica a center for the study of this important German photographer's work.

Born in Würzburg, Renger-Patzsch concentrated on classical studies at the Kreuzschule, Dresden, served in the army, and studied chemistry at Dresden's Technische Hochschule before establishing his own business of architectural and industrial photography. He developed a style that paralleled that of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity) movement in painting and, with his 1928 publication *Die Welt ist Schön* (The World Is Beautiful), he became known as the father of modern photography in Germany. His penchant for photographing the world objectively reflected a scientist's passion for discovery and documentation. *Die*

Welt ist Schön presents, in one hundred plates, the variety he found in manmade and natural structures, to him equally fascinating subjects.

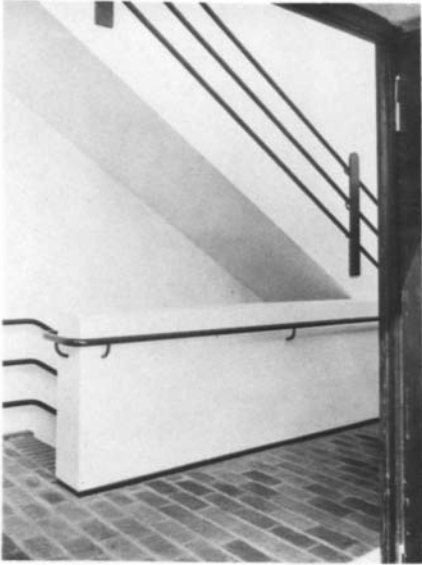


89

89. ALBERT RENGER-PATZSCH
German, 1897–1966
The Baboon, circa 1928
Gelatin silver print, 37.7 x 27.5 cm
(14⁷/₈ x 10⁷/₈ in.). Inscribed: *Albert Renger-Patzsch/D.W.B./ Bad Marzburg/ Germany/ Nr. 7, Baboon/ Bromide enlargement/ without "Retusche" in green ink; stamped: KUNSTSCHULE/ JOHANNES ITTEN in blue ink; all on the verso of the mount.*
90.XM.101.10

The Baboon, which was acquired in a large vintage print from the twenties, appeared as plate 21 in *Die Welt ist Schön*. As opposed to some of his more traditional views of animals and their habits, this photograph is almost confrontational, closing in on the sensitive face of this fierce creature and flattening its features in a mask-like effect. This particular print was once in the collection of Bauhaus master Johannes Itten (1821–1967) and was probably used by him at some point in his teaching.

PROVENANCE: Johannes Itten, Germany; [Rudolf Kicken, Cologne]; [Daniel Wolf, New York].



90

90. ALBERT RENGER-PATZSCH
Women's School of Social Work, Youth House, View of Stairway, 1928–1929
 Gelatin silver print, 22.8 x 16.9 cm (9 x 6 3/4 in.). Inscribed: signed in pencil on the mount.
 90.XM.101.22

Renger-Patzsch earned his living in Weimar Germany from commissions for commercial work, often documenting newly built, sometimes innovative architecture. Sixteen of the photographs acquired this year are from such a job in Aachen for the recently completed Women's School of Social Work. Twelve of his views were published, along with an article by the architect Rudolf Schwarz, in the journal *Die Form* (January 15, 1931). Only one of the images acquired (*South Frontage with Open Windows*, 90.XM.101.17) was among those illustrated. The Museum's group does, however, include striking views of the main building, lecture hall, administration offices, main stairway, boarding school, and youth house (90.XM.101.22). The modern steel windows—painted red on the outside and black on the inside to accent the severe stucco finish—are an aspect of construction that is prominently featured in many of the Museum's prints. These architectural studies exemplify Renger's accomplished style in this genre and expand holdings that have thus far been stronger in his industrial work than those dealing with residential or public architecture.

PROVENANCE: [Jürgen Holstein, Berlin]; [Daniel Wolf, New York].



91

91. ALBERT RENGER-PATZSCH
Birch Forest, Springtime (Birckenwald im Frühjahr), circa 1960
 Gelatin silver print, 22.5 x 16.5 cm (8 7/8 x 6 1/2 in.). Inscribed: 1 782/ 1/ *Birckenwald/ im Fruhjahr* in pencil on the verso of the mount.
 90.XM.101.5

Among the many books Renger-Patzsch assembled during his career of more than forty years as a photographer is *Bäume* (Trees), issued in 1962. The study of tree forms was of lifelong interest to him and the 1990 acquisition *Birch Forest, Springtime* illustrates his talent for seeing not only the forest but also the isolated tree that gracefully, insistently, meets the picture plane and seems to defy the viewer. This print, along with *Winter Landscape with Running Fence* (90.XM.101.6) of the 1940s and *Landscape with Birches* (90.XM.101.9) of about 1956, join a group of eight other tree studies now available for examination in the Department of Photographs.

PROVENANCE: Marzona collection, Düsseldorf; [Daniel Wolf, New York].



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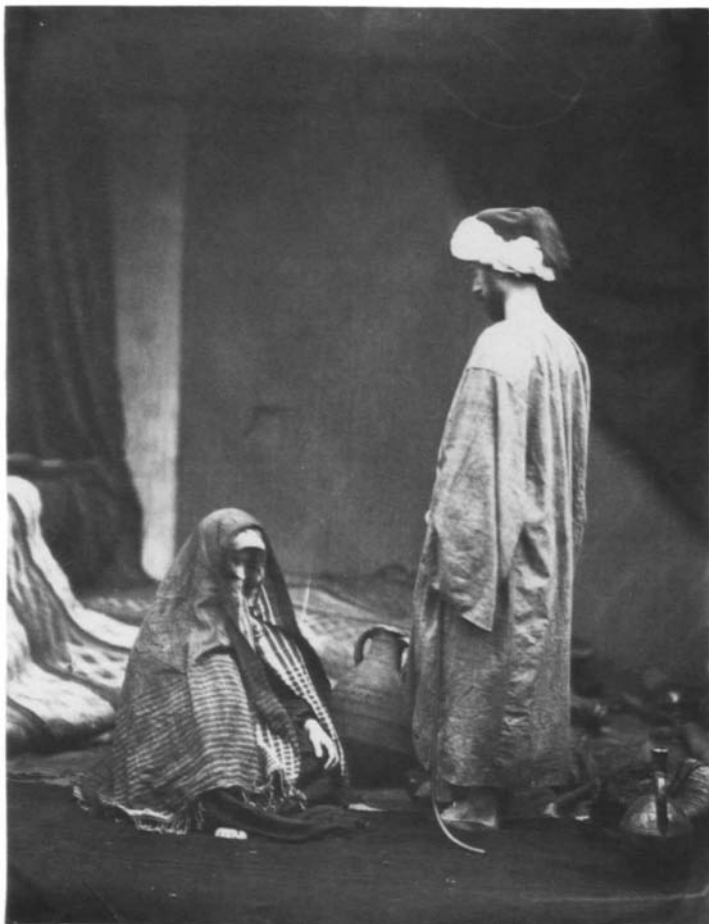
92. DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL
 Scottish, 1802–1870
 ROBERT ADAMSON
 Scottish, 1821–1848
Hugh Miller, 1844–1848
 Calotype, 15.4 x 11.4 cm (6 1/16 x 4 1/2 in.)
 90.XM.112

PROVENANCE: Royal Scottish Academy (dispersed 1975); sale, Sotheby's, London, May 1987, lot 44; [Daniel Wolf, New York].



93

93. JOHN WHISTLER
 British, 1830–1897
 [Group Seated Outside Open Doorway],



94

circa 1855–1865
Albumen print, 20.1 x 14.7 cm
(7⁷/₈ x 5¹³/₁₆ in.)
90.XM.19.10

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, London,
April 14, 1989, lot 187; [Michael Wilson,
London].

94. ROGER FENTON
British, 1819–1869
Orientalist Group, 1858
Salt print, 35.6 x 27.1 cm (14 x 10¹¹/₁₆ in.)
90.XM.110

PROVENANCE: British Railway Pension Fund
(sale, Sotheby's, London, May 1, 1987, lot 75);
[Daniel Wolf, New York].

95. OSCAR GUSTAVE REJLANDER
British (b. Sweden), 1813–1875
Self-Portrait as Garibaldi, circa 1862
Albumen print, 20.5 x 15.2 cm (8¹/₁₆ x
6 in.). Signed in ink in the lower right
on the recto of the mount.
90.XM.111



95

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, New York,
November 2, 1988, lot 441; [Daniel Wolf, New
York].



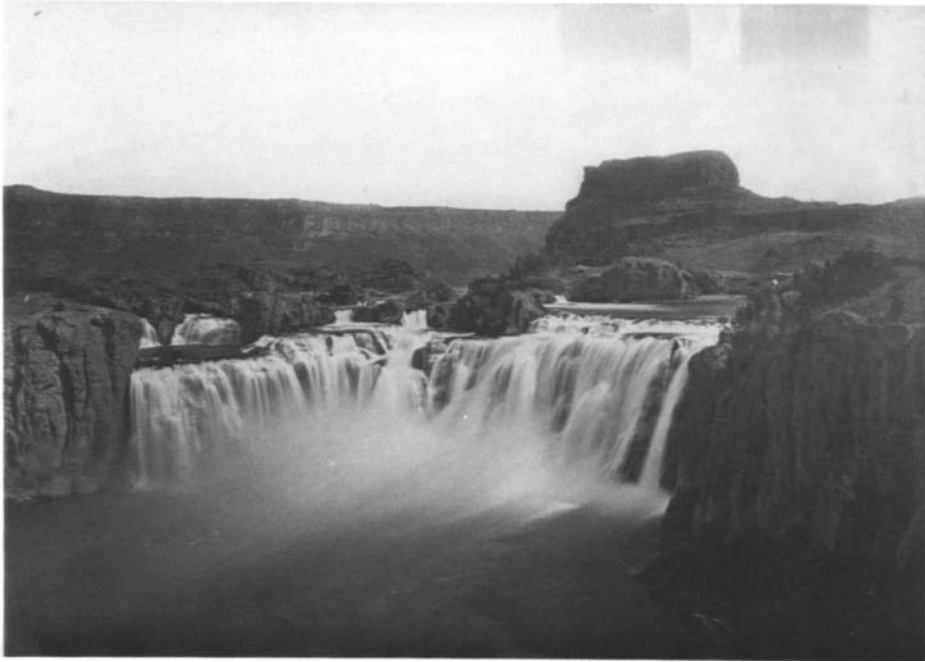
96

96. TIMOTHY H. O'SULLIVAN
American, born Ireland (?),
circa 1840–1882
Long Ravine Bridge, 1867–1868
Albumen print, 19.7 x 26.7 cm (7³/₄ x
10¹/₂ in.). Machine printed: U.S. Engi-
neer Department. *Geological
Exploration. Fortieth Parallel. T. H.
O'Sullivan, Photographer. No. — on
the recto of the mount.*
90.XM.49.2

PROVENANCE: Sale, Swann Galleries, New
York, October 30, 1988, lot 390; [Daniel Wolf,
New York].

97. TIMOTHY H. O'SULLIVAN
*Shoshone Falls, Snake River, Idaho, from
South Bank*, 1868
Albumen print, 19.4 x 27.3 cm (7⁵/₈ x
10⁵/₈ in.). Machine printed: U.S. Engi-
neer Department. *Geological
Exploration. Fortieth Parallel. T. H.
O'Sullivan. Photographer. No. — on
the recto of the mount.*
90.XM.49.5

PROVENANCE: Sale, Swann Galleries, New
York, October 30, 1988, lot 399; [Daniel Wolf,
New York].



97



100

100. BARON ADOLF DE MEYER
 American (b. Germany), 1868–1946
The Silver Skirt, circa 1910
 Platinum print, 23.8 x 11.4 cm (9³/₈ x 4¹/₂ in.). Stamped: dealer's archive wet stamp on the verso of the print.
 90.XM.14.1

PROVENANCE: Ernest de Meyer; Arthur Green, Los Angeles; [G. Ray Hawkins Gallery, Los Angeles].



98

98. ALPHONSE MARIE MUCHA
 Czechoslovakian, 1860–1939
Reclining Nude, circa 1900
 Gelatin silver print, 940 x 12.9 cm (3¹¹/₁₆ x 5¹/₁₆ in.). Signed in pencil on the recto of the print.
 90.XM.51

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Czechoslovakia; Michal Venera, San Francisco (sale, Butterfield and Butterfield, San Francisco, October 10, 1989, no. 2277); [Daniel Wolf, New York].



99

99. WILLARD E. WORDEN
 American, 1868–1946
San Francisco Earthquake and Fire, from an album of seventy-six photographs of the aftermath of the 1906 San Francisco earthquake and fire, 1906
 Gelatin silver print, 11.5 x 16.5 cm (4⁹/₁₆ x 6¹/₂ in.). Inscribed: *Copyright 1906 by W. E. Worden* in negative.
 90.XA.126.63

PROVENANCE: Gift of David Garfinkel, New York.



101

101. ATTRIBUTED TO LUCIA MOHOLY
British (born Czechoslovakia),
1894–1989
*Constructivist and Dadaist Congress,
Weimar, 1922*
Gelatin silver print, 16.7 x 21.6 cm
(6⁹/₁₆ x 8¹/₂ in.). Inscribed: (?) *Congress
les constructivistes a Weimar 1921* and
1921 in ink [crossed out] and *1922* in
pencil below it, all on the verso of
the print.
90.XM.98.3

PROVENANCE: [Jürgen Holstein, Berlin];
[Daniel Wolf, New York].



102

102. T. LUX FEININGER
American (b. Germany), 1910
*Xanti Schawinsky (?) in Mask, circa
1924–1929*
Gelatin silver print, 12.5 x 8.10 cm
(4¹⁵/₁₆ x 3³/₁₆ in.)
90.XM.92

PROVENANCE: [Prakapas Gallery, New York];
[Daniel Wolf, New York].



103

103. GERTRUD ARNDT
German (b. Silesia), 1903
Couple on Street Seen from Above, 1928
Platinum print, 21.4 x 16.5 cm (8⁷/₁₆ x
6¹/₂ in.). Inscribed with signature and
1928 in pencil; stamped: *FOTO/
GERTRUD ARNDT*, all on the verso
of the print.
90.XM.83

PROVENANCE: [Prakapas Gallery, New York];
[Daniel Wolf, New York].



104

104. HANS FINSLER
Swiss, 1891–1972
Waves, circa 1928
Gelatin silver print, 14.1 x 9.4 cm
(5⁹/₁₆ x 3²³/₃₂ in.)
90.XM.75

PROVENANCE: Marzona collection, Düsseldorf;
[Daniel Wolf, New York].

105. ATTRIBUTED TO ANNE W.
BRIGMAN
American, 1869–1950
*Anne Brigman as Madonna with Imogen
Cunningham, Roi Partridge, Roger Stur-
tevant, Johan Hagemeyer, Edward
Weston, and Three Unidentified Friends
in Costume, circa 1928*
Gelatin silver print, brown-toned,
24.4 x 19.4 cm (9⁵/₈ x 7⁵/₈ in.)
90.XM.58.4



105

PROVENANCE: Edward Weston, Glendale; Johan Hagemeyer, San Francisco; David Hagemeyer; Neil Weston, Carmel.



107

107. TRUDE FLEISCHMANN
American (b. Austria), 1895–1990
Family Thimig, 1930
Gelatin silver print, toned, on postcard stock, 8.40 x 10.6 cm (3⁵/₁₆ x 4³/₁₆ in.). Stamped: artist's blind stamp and blind stamp *MAGASIN METROPOLE* on the recto of the print; artist's Vienna stamp on the verso of the print.
90.XM.104.7

PROVENANCE: Otto Cornides, Anna Auer, and Galerie Faber, Vienna; [Daniel Wolf, New York].



109

109. WALKER EVANS
American, 1903–1975
Garage, Atlanta, Georgia, 1936
Gelatin silver print, 34.0 x 25.1 cm (13³/₈ x 9⁷/₈ in.). Stamped: *Walker Evans* on the verso of the print.
90.XM.69

PROVENANCE: Sale, Swann Galleries, New York, April 24, 1989, no. 297; [Daniel Wolf, New York].



106

106. ERICH COMERINER
Austrian, 1907–1978
Composition with Eyeglasses and Map of Scandinavia, circa 1928–1929
Gelatin silver print, 24.3 x 18.1 cm (9⁹/₁₆ x 7¹/₈ in.)
90.XM.88

PROVENANCE: Marzona collection, Düsseldorf; [Daniel Wolf, New York].



108

108. HANNES BECKMANN
American (b. Germany), 1909–1977
Hand, circa 1935
Gelatin silver print, 22.7 x 16.7 cm (8¹⁵/₁₆ x 6⁹/₁₆ in.)
90.XM.85

PROVENANCE: Sale, Swann Galleries, New York, October 30, 1988, lot 129; [Daniel Wolf, New York].



110

110. ELSE THALEMANN
German, 1901–1985
Industry, the Ruhr Region (Industrie-Ruhrgebiet), not dated
Gelatin silver print on Agfa paper, 22.4 x 17.0 cm (8¹³/₁₆ x 6¹¹/₁₆ in.). In-scribed: *31429 Industrie-Ruhrgebiet/Photo/Thalemann* typed in blue ink on a label on the verso of the print.
90.XM.107.4

PROVENANCE: [Steve Cohen, Los Angeles]; [Daniel Wolf, New York].

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