

# THE JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM

VOL. 72, 2014









# **THE JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM**

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**THE** ART  
**WALTERS**  
MUSEUM



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the capitals, were dispersed in the vicinity. This capital is a rare example of late medieval sculpture with figurative decoration, a feature usually associated with Romanesque art. The four sides comprise a devotional scene centered on two doctor saints, identified as Cosmas and Damian. Two motives governed the appearance of this theme in France: simple piety and a professional affiliation.

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## THE MASTER OF BALTIMORE AND THE ORIGIN OF ITALIANISM IN CATALAN PAINTING OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

RAFAEL CORNUDELLA

Ferrer Bassa is generally credited with introducing the Italian style to Catalan art in the years 1320–1330. “Italianism,” as this style is called, became the major stylistic current in Catalonia around mid-century, only to be overtaken around 1400 by the new International Gothic Style.<sup>1</sup> The frescoes of the Chapel of Saint Michael in the Monastery of Santa Maria of Pedralbes (Barcelona), which are markedly Italianate in character, if not actually Italian, have traditionally been considered the hallmark of Ferrer Bassa’s style. We know from documentary sources that Ferrer Bassa received the commission in 1343; in March of 1346, he pledged to start the commission anew; the contract was cancelled in November 1346. These documents seemed to provide conclusive and irrefutable proof of Ferrer’s authorship of the frescoes.<sup>2</sup> But ignoring the stylistic differences and associating him with other works of Catalan provenance of an Italianate or genuinely Italian nature may reflect overzealousness and haste among the pioneers of Catalan art history. Among these works were a panel with *The Coronation of the Virgin* from Bellpuig (lost in 1936) and a panel in the Museu Episcopal de Vic with two scenes presumed to be from a cycle of the life of Saint Bernard. Both these panels are now attributed to an anonymous painter known as the “Master of the Coronation of Bellpuig.”<sup>3</sup>

Apart from the style of the painter of Pedralbes identified as Ferrer Bassa, another, larger group of works was studied, including both panel paintings and manuscript illuminations, which were attributed to the “Master of San Marcos” or his immediate sphere of influence. Named for the Retable of Saint Mark in the Church of Santa Maria in Manresa, the master seemed to have been active in the second half of the fourteen century and therefore represented a later phase of the Italianist style than Ferrer Bassa.<sup>4</sup> His attributions include a portable altar in the Pierpont Morgan Library (fig. 1), which because of its small size strengthens the connections between

the large-scale paintings and the illustrated manuscripts. An important contribution was the attribution of the Saint Mark altarpiece to Arnau Bassa, Ferrer Bassa’s son and collaborator.<sup>5</sup> In December 1346 the shoemakers guild of Barcelona paid Arnau the last installment of his commission for a retable. The retable of Saint Mark of Manresa displays the arms of this guild and was likely originally situated in the Chapel of the Shoemakers in the Cathedral of Barcelona. Another contract associates the central panel of the retable dedicated to Saint James (now in the Museo Diocesano, Barcelona) with Ferrer and Arnau Bassa, who agreed to paint a retable dedicated to Saint James for Tiburgueta, widow of Simó de Bell-Lloc; it was intended for a chapel of the Convent of Santa Maria de Jonqueres in Barcelona. Given that Ferrer Bassa was identified as the author of the frescoes in the Monastery of Pedralbes, scholars were quick to attribute this entire group of paintings to Arnau and his circle. The curious consequence of this, however, was that Ferrer and Arnau, father and son, appear to be painters with very different styles.

The discovery of the Hours of Queen Maria of Navarre provided an opportunity to resolve this troublesome paradox. The manuscript (Lat. I. 104) was acquired by the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, in 1974 and was at first attributed to the Master of San Marcos.<sup>6</sup> However, in a letter dated 26 April 1342, King Peter IV of Aragon asked his wife, Maria of Navarre, to send him a Book of Hours illuminated by Ferrer Bassa (“Oras pulciores [*sic*] . . . quas depincxit Ferrarius Bassa”) — a book that may in fact be the Marciana codex.<sup>7</sup> François Avril,<sup>8</sup> Joaquín Yarza,<sup>9</sup> and Robert Gibbs<sup>10</sup> have rightly observed that if Ferrer Bassa was responsible for (or at least the principal author of) the codex’s illustrations, which are closely connected with those traditionally attributed to the Master of San Marcos, then Ferrer could not also have been the artist of the Pedralbes frescoes, which





Fig. 1. Master of the Morgan Polyptych (Arnau Bassa?), *Polyptych with Scenes from the Life of Christ, the Life of the Virgin, and Saints*, ca. 1340–50. Tempera on panel, 57 × 105 cm (overall). Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, purchased by Pierpont Morgan, 1907 (AZ071)

constitute an isolated case within Catalan Italianist painting.<sup>11</sup> To solve the problems presented by the documents, we must concede, as Joaquim Yarza suggested, that Ferrer either delegated the execution of the Pedralbes frescoes to another painter, or that another painter was engaged after the contract of 1346 was cancelled. Whether they were subcontracted or newly contracted, the frescoes were painted by an Italian, who left traces of his native language in some of the inscriptions.<sup>12</sup>

In this way, many of the questions posed by the Bassas' activity are answered, but many more need to be addressed. Whereas Ferrer's and Arnau's styles were previously viewed as dissimilar, now the problem is to distinguish their respective personalities within the oeuvre of the San Marcos Master. With minor variations, both Rosa Alcoy and Joaquim Yarza assign the illuminations of the Book of Hours to three different artists: Ferrer Bassa, Arnau Bassa, and the Master of Baltimore, the latter named for the beautiful triptych of the

Virgin and Child at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore (fig. 2).<sup>13</sup> The results of their research, however, cannot be taken as conclusive.

Millard Meiss was the first to note similarities between the Baltimore triptych and the works of the Master of San Marcos.<sup>14</sup> More recently, Alcoy vindicated the painter's importance in naming him the Master of Baltimore and attributing to him, in addition to some of the miniatures in the Hours of Maria of Navarre, the extant panels of a retable of the Virgin probably from Cardona (Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya and Fogg Art Museum), which had been previously been attributed to the Master of San Marcos (Arnau Bassa) or to his immediate circle. This attribution, however, should be rejected, together with her identification of the Master of Baltimore with Jaume Cascalls (active by 1345, d. between 1377 and 1379), known to this point as a sculptor.<sup>15</sup> Proposing that the Master of Baltimore was Ferrer Bassa's collaborator and identifying him with Jaume Cascalls allowed





Fig. 2. Master of Baltimore, *Triptych with Madonna and Child with the Crucifixion and the Annunciation*, ca. 1325–35. Tempera and gold leaf on panel, 127.6 × 184 × 4 cm (overall). The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by Henry Walters, 1931 (37.468).

Alcoy to argue that he must have trained as a painter in the decade 1330–1340.<sup>16</sup>

On the other hand, she postulated an early date for the “Master of the Lleida Scribe,” another representative of the Italianist style emerging from the corpus of the former Master of San Marcos.<sup>17</sup> Alcoy situates the apprenticeship of the Lleida master in the years 1315–1325, which means an evolution roughly contemporaneous with that of Ferrer Bassa or even earlier—and earlier than the Master of Baltimore. The Scribe Master is the splendid artist at work in the latest illustrations of the *Usatges i Constitucions de Catalunya* (Lleida, Paeria, Ayuntamiento; see fig. 8), which he completed after 1333 and before 1341,<sup>18</sup> after an earlier workshop, working in a more archaic style, had left it unfinished. According to Alcoy, this painter was also the author of a fragment in the Museo Episcopal of Vic that probably depicts the raising of Tabitha (fig. 5), and of a group of mural paintings in the Monastery of Pedralbes in a much poorer state of preservation

than those of the Chapel of Saint Michael. In my opinion, the reunion of these disparate works under the same artist is not warranted. Only the connection between the Lleida codex and the Vic fragment seems justified, even if the latter accords better with the works of the Master of Baltimore.<sup>19</sup>

Having concluded this brief state of the question, I would like to start by saying that my discussion grows out of a dissatisfaction—indeed a perplexity—with the late chronology and the subsidiary role often assigned to the Master of Baltimore. In the same way that the discovery of the Hours of Maria of Navarre demanded a revision of the artistic personality of Ferrer Bassa, the problematic insertion of the Baltimore triptych within the tradition of Catalan painting compels us to revisit Ferrer’s ever-enigmatic personality and, as a consequence, to rethink the genesis of the main current of Italianism in Catalan painting.<sup>20</sup>

In associating the Baltimore triptych with the Master of San Marcos, Meiss already remarked on the “relatively high





Fig. 3. Italian (early 14th century), *Madonna and Child*. Tempera on gold-ground panel. 47.3 x 34 cm. Formerly Collection of Kenneth Clark, Saltwood.

quality” of the painting and suggested that “it approximates Italian style even more closely than does the master of St. Mark.” Meiss also suggested “the possibility that the author of the triptych was an Italian painter who emigrated to Catalonia very early in his career.”<sup>21</sup> In view of the close similarities between the Baltimore triptych and the works connected to the Master of San Marcos, Meiss’s comments demand some explanation about the relationship between the two painters and especially the precedence of one over the other. However, Meiss preferred to sidestep the problem and emphasized the status of the Master of San Marcos as the founder of a specific current in Catalan painting that, according to him, developed in the second half of the fourteenth century; he dated the Baltimore triptych to the third quarter of the fourteenth century in the illustration captions but did not address the dating in the body of his essay. Ferdinando Bologna challenged Meiss’ ambiguity, and while he accepted the Catalan origin of the triptych, he rejected its attribution to the Master of San Marcos.<sup>22</sup> Bologna’s understanding of the Baltimore



Fig. 4. Italian (early 14th century?), *Madonna and Child* (*Mare de Déu de Gràcia*). Tempera on panel. Parish Church of Sant Agusti, Valencia.

Triptych as a work of a higher quality than the known works of the Master of San Marcos and his circle is important. At the same time, I do not agree with the assertion that the Master of Baltimore derived “directly” from the intensely Italian or Italianizing culture of Mallorca: that is to say of the Master of the Privilegios—the anonymous miniaturist of the *Llibre dels Privilegis de Mallorca*, dated 1334 (Palma, Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca)—of whom, according to Bologna, it represented a more mature phase. In an attempt to identify the sources of the Italianism of the Master of Baltimore, Meiss postulated that the Baltimore painter had opportunity to study the work “of Simone Martini—perhaps in Avignon—or North-Italian painters under his influence.”<sup>23</sup> Bologna focused on the northern Italian connection instead, arguing for a hypothetical contact between the Master of Baltimore and the Ligurian artists Bartolomeo Pellerano da Camogli (d. before 1349) and the Master of Santa Maria del Castello.<sup>24</sup> However, neither of these hypotheses provides an unequivocal understanding of the Italian culture of the Master of Baltimore nor does it account





Fig. 5. Master of Baltimore, *Saint Peter Raising Tabitha from the Dead(?)*. Fresco fragment, 27 × 40 cm. Museu Episcopal de Vic, Barcelona (inv. no. 8065)

for a late formation of his style; quite the opposite: when we begin to analyze the stylistic and iconographic components of the Baltimore triptych, I believe that we can postulate an earlier date for the training of this painter: at least before 1330.

The group of the Virgin and Child in the central panel is based on a model known through other examples, all of which depict a half-length figure of the Virgin holding the Child on her lap; he grasps a goldfinch in his left hand and a thread tied to one of the bird's legs in his right.<sup>25</sup> The model probably originated in Italo-Byzantine painting. The Italian examples have been grouped around a diptych in the former Sterbini Collection (Museo di Palazzo Venezia) for which the Master of the Sterbini Diptych (probably a Venetian painter working in the Byzantine mode) is named.<sup>26</sup> The Sterbini Diptych is the only work in this group on which we can build a chronology, or at least assign a terminus post quem, since it includes a figure of Saint Louis of Toulouse, who was canonized in 1317. However, the original features of the hypothetical archetype, and among these the gestural motif of

the Child's left arm and hand, are better preserved, I think, in other works from the group, such as a painting in the Museo Regionale of Messina, another in the Bagnarelli Collection in Milan, and a third formerly in the Kenneth Clark collection in Saltwood (fig. 3).<sup>27</sup> This type of representation was also present on the Iberian territory of the Crown of Aragon, in a variation that presents the same archaizing characteristics but with some stylistic features and minor compositional variants that distinguish it from the paintings grouped around the Sterbini Diptych. By this I mean the *Madonna of Grace* (*Mare de Déu de Gràcia*) venerated in Valencia (now in the parish church of Sant Agustí), where it could have arrived at a date prior to the Baltimore triptych (fig. 4).<sup>28</sup> However, the Master of Baltimore seems not to have modeled his image on the Valencian work, as some aspects of the triptych, such as the angle of the Child's head and the position of his right arm in relation to the hand, are more reminiscent of the Italian examples, which more closely reproduce the features of the original model.<sup>29</sup>

In addition to extending the half-length model to full length, the version of the Master of Baltimore is distinguished by its modernity and the sensitivity and skill with which the artist breathes new life into a model that he might have encountered in Central Italy. The figurative style of the Master of Baltimore does not seem to originate in Venice; his Byzantinism is more subtle, perhaps tracing its origins to the art of Tuscany and Siena in particular, an environment influenced by the long shadow of Duccio and the prolonged activity of his followers. The dignity that pervades the representation of the Virgin in the triptych's central panel and the severe beauty of the angels exemplify one of the painters' main characteristics: the ability to imbue his figures with an unprecedented degree of naturalism and volumetric mass. The motif of the offering of flowers in open cups recalls the iconography of the *Maestà* by Simone Martini (ca. 1284–1344) in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, which carries the inscription: “Li angelichi fiorecti, rose e gigli / Onde s’adorna lo celeste prato / . . . (The angelic little flowers, roses and lilies / with which the celestial meadow is adorned . . .)” and even more to the fragment of detached frescoes from the Monastery of San Domenico in Siena attributed to Lippo Memmi (active 1317–ca. 1350), in which, as in the Baltimore triptych, the only extant angel carries a cup with flowers and occupies the same position next to the throne. The angelic beings of the Baltimore Master, however, are quite different from those by Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi, and therefore we can state—against the opinion of Meiss—that the painter was not very receptive to the mature development of Simone Martini and therefore also completely unaware of the innovations of Pietro (active by 1306, d. ca. 1348) and Ambrogio Lorenzetti (active by 1319, d. ca. 1348). The Siennese origins of the Master of Baltimore must be sought in the environment of Duccio and his followers like Segna di Bonaventura (active ca. 1298, d. between 1326 and 1331), the Goodhart Master (or the Master of the Gondi *Maestà*), the Master of Monte Oliveto, Ugolino di Nerio (active early fourteenth century), or Niccolò di Segna (active 1331–1345), although the personality of the Baltimore Master cannot be simply understood as a follower of Duccio.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, we can surmise a wealth of experiences beyond the world of Siena, which, however, are difficult to pin down with any precision. In any case, there is no need to stress that the group of the Virgin and Child of the Baltimore triptych is closer to these followers of Duccio than to Giotto's Ognissanti Madonna or to any other Giottesque interpretation of this subject.

With regard to the archaizing features of the Baltimore triptych, we need to stress how the image of the Coronation of the Virgin follows the formula in which Christ crowns his mother with one hand and holds a globe in the other. Meiss noted that this type of iconography continued throughout the fourteenth century in northern Italy and in France but was abandoned earlier in Tuscany, where painters adopted the more dynamic composition of Christ holding the crown with two hands.<sup>31</sup> Interestingly, this iconography arrived in Catalonia through other, more progressive Italian masters, namely the artist of the Chapel of Saint Michael of Pedralbes and the Master of the Coronation of Bellpuig. Although these two painters have very distinct characteristics, both of them—especially the latter—were very much attuned to the culture of the Lorenzettis and show similarities with another painter active in the Marches around the middle of the century. Nevertheless, I feel we should discard the identification some historians have made of this last painter with the Master of the Coronation of Bellpuig.<sup>32</sup>

The potent naturalism and the volumetric rigor with which the Master of Baltimore conceives the human figure—noble, sober, well rounded, with an incised outline and weighted by gravity—is balanced by a relative lack of interest in the representation of space.<sup>33</sup> Moving from a partial understanding of the proto-perspectival revolution initiated by Giotto, the painter of the Baltimore triptych focuses on a particular notion of the building-object, including the interpretation of architecture as living organisms and sculptural bodies. He relishes projecting elements: the familiar shelters resembling canopies, but also baldaquins with no frontal support and corbels like arms or antennae that project aggressively forward, while, on the other hand, interior spaces are narrow, little more than small openings suffocated by the massive corpulence of architecture and therefore insufficient to contain human figures. These are displayed strictly in the foreground; in none of the scenes in the triptych are they contained in a realistic habitable spatial box. When spatial complexity is attempted, the result is confused, as in the Annunciation and the Visitation. The logic of the foreshortening appears not only empirical (as is usual during this period), but also notably careless and chaotic. The painter's remarkable facility for the naturalistic and volumetric description of figures is accompanied by an equal inability to conceive space and architecture in rational and abstract terms. Take, for example, the *sotto in su* perspective of



the footstool of the Virgin in the central panel of the triptych, which is at odds with the higher viewpoint that governs the view of the throne and its base.<sup>34</sup> This evidence is enough to demonstrate that the Italian training of the Baltimore Master must have been substantially earlier than that of the Master of Bellpuig and the Pedralbes painter. Even if the Baltimore painter developed his style in a traditional environment, his lack of engagement with the innovations of painters like Simone Martini or the Lorenzettis seems inconceivable much after 1330 in a painter of his ability.

Taking into account an observation by Carmen Albendea, some years ago I argued that the fragment with Saint Peter raising Tabitha should be attributed to the Master of Baltimore.<sup>35</sup> This painting had originally been attributed to the Master of San Marcos / Arnau Bassa and was later attributed by Rosa Alcoy to her Master of the Scribe.<sup>36</sup> The similarities in style and technique between the panels in Vic and Baltimore, however, leave no room for doubt, and as a consequence the painting represents a very important witness of the Baltimore Master's Catalan activity. The provenance of this fragment is unfortunately unknown; it probably came from the diocese of Vic, not far from Barcelona, where the painter likely settled.

With regards to the Catalan environment that welcomed the Master of Baltimore, there is no doubt that his style is connected to that of the former Master of San Marcos, that is to say the workshop of the Bassas, but a late chronology for this painter is implausible, as is a subordinate role with respect to Ferrer Bassa. If one believes, as I do, that Ferrer was at work in the Hours of María of Navarre and not in the frescoes of the Chapel of San Miguel in Pedralbes, then the manuscript of the Biblioteca Marciana stands at the center of the problem, truly a "Gordian knot," given that both Yarza and Alcoy attribute some of the finest miniatures in the book to the Master of Baltimore, while they divide the rest between Ferrer and his son Arnau (the latter recognizable on the basis of his work on the retable of San Marcos) and to a number of minor painters active on the margins and on the smaller initials.

Following a close inspection of the codex, I have drawn several general conclusions.<sup>37</sup> First of all, the illustration was divided among two major painters. To the first illuminator must be assigned the majority of the illustrations that Yarza and Alcoy (with some minor differences) attributed to Ferrer Bassa but also all (or almost all) of those that they attribute to the Master of Baltimore.<sup>38</sup> Only the splendid

Visitation scene on fol. 44v has made me wonder whether to ascribe it to this first painter or to the Master of Baltimore, as argued by Yarza and Alcoy, who take it as the touchstone for determining the Master of Baltimore's involvement in the illustrations of the Hours. The second miniaturist can be identified with the author of the Morgan polyptych and possibly with the author of the retable of San Marcos, in which case he could be identified as Arnau Bassa as Alcoy suggests.<sup>39</sup> On the other hand it seems to me that the style of the first illuminator (hypothetically Ferrer) derives directly from that of the Master of Baltimore, while the vocabulary of the second artist (hypothetically Arnau) reflects a dependence of the second degree and has a more autonomous personality. In this sense it is possible to hypothesize that the first painter acted as a mediator and transmitted the influence of the Master of Baltimore to the second artist.

For its subtle handling of the painting, the quality of its coloring, and the idealization of the female physiognomies, the Visitation on fol. 44v (fig. 6) stands quite apart from the other illustrations in the manuscript. On the other hand, this

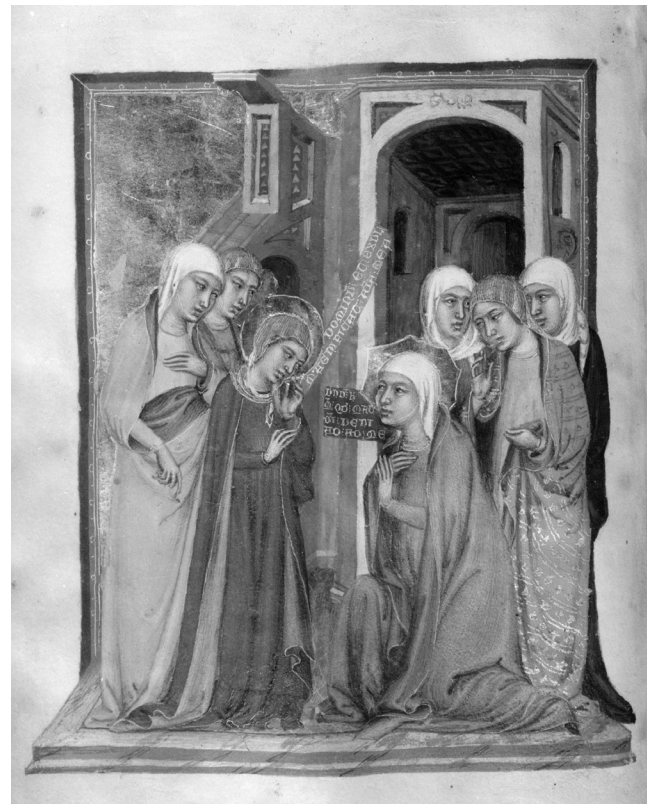


Fig. 6. Ferrer Bassa (?), *Visitation*, from the Hours of Maria of Navarre. Ink, paint, and gold on parchment. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (Lat I. 104, fol. 44v)



Fig. 7. Ferrer Bassa (?), *Presentation of Christ in the Temple*, from the Hours of Maria of Navarre. Ink, paint, and gold on parchment. Biblioteca Nazionale Marziana, Venice (Lat. I 104, fol. 97v)

image has unique characteristics among all the other full-page miniatures: it is the only one with a small frame without any vegetal ornamentation; the only one that places the figures over a stage that projects forward over the frame; and finally the only one that shows the figures at a much larger scale than all the others in the manuscript. The facial features, all female, are very similar to those of the Baltimore triptych, even though one can detect some subtle differences, such as the noses (larger and more pointed in the triptych) and the different position of pink spots on the cheeks. Congruent with the artistic vocabulary of the Master of Baltimore is the manner in which the figures are placed strictly in the foreground, while the architectural background acts as a mere screen and conveys only a feeble definition of space but projects a sculptural quality, such the corbels flying forward with no real function. The figure style, too, seems to correspond with that of the Baltimore painter, though I would draw attention to the subtle distinction between the painting and the miniature in the linear rhythm of the fold patterns: In the miniature they are denser and more nervous, in comparison

with the simpler and taut lines in the triptych, where the overall effect is one of sharper plasticity. Is this illumination by the Master of Baltimore, or should we imagine instead this to be a work by Ferrer *imitating* a model by the Master of Baltimore? I cautiously incline toward the second hypothesis, considering that the smaller figure of the praying queen inside the initial on fol. 45r seems to have been painted by the same hand as the Visitation and is at the same time aligned with the smaller figures appearing in the scenes that both Alcoy and Yarza attribute to Ferrer, such as the double page with the Nativity (fol. 6rv) and the Adoring Angels (fol. 62) to give just a few examples.

Among the full-page miniatures, the Presentation in the Temple (fol. 97v; fig. 7) and the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (fol. 287v) seem also to be relevant to this discussion. Alcoy sees both as a collaboration between the Master of Baltimore and Ferrer. The illustration on fol. 97v closely recalls the illustration of the same scene in the Baltimore triptych. But it is precisely these similarities that allow us to better detect the differences. For example, the figures in the triptych have larger heads, and the faces are smaller in relation to the skulls or the volume of the hair, their domed shape reminiscent of Byzantine models. Finally, the figures of the triptych convey a heavier sense of mass, whereas the miniatures have a more flowery and two-dimensional linear rhythm. For this reason I think it is more likely that the first painter (hypothetically Ferrer) is here copying the models set by the Master of Baltimore.

I therefore believe that the Master of Baltimore might not have worked on the manuscript, whose illustrations were divided among two main painters and not three. In any case, even if I cannot solve all of the questions, I am persuaded that the author of the Baltimore triptych cannot be just a mere collaborator of Ferrer Bassa or a member of his workshop of the same age as Arnau, given that both the Baltimore triptych and the Vic fragment are of a much higher quality than anything attributed so far to the hypothetical Ferrer Bassa. In this context it is legitimate to ask whether we should not identify the Master of Baltimore as Ferrer Bassa, but in the present state of knowledge this idea presents more problems that it solves.<sup>40</sup> If Arnau is the author of the retable of San Marcos, and if we assume that Ferrer is the painter of the triptych, then a wide gap would separate the Italian style of the father, superior by far, from the domestic character of the son, and certainly we would not know how to account for the





Fig. 8. Master of the 1333 Court, *Incipit of the Constitutions of 1333*, from the *Usatges i Constitucions de Catalunya*. Ink, paint, and gold on parchment. Arxiu Municipal de Lleida, La Paeria—Ajuntament de Lleida (fol. 160).

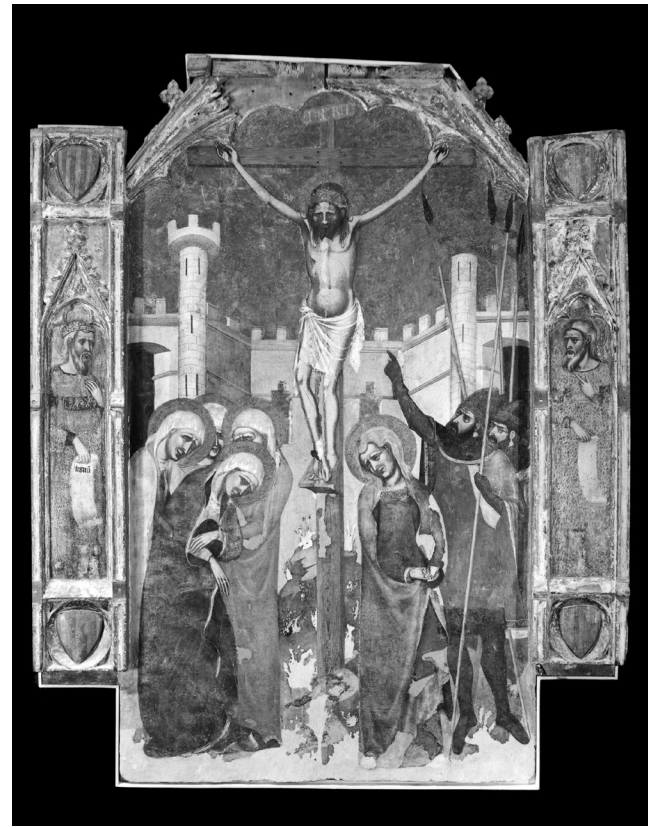
prolific intermediate range between these two poles. For the moment, then, we shall assume that Ferrer and, secondarily, Arnau derived their style from the Master of Baltimore.<sup>41</sup> With regard to the important problem of the date of the Hours of Maria of Navarre, we know for certain that they were completed before 26 April 1342, when the king asked his wife for it. In addition to this information, we need to remember that on 17 September 1340 the king settled a bill for 600 *sous* to Ferrer Bassa “pro quibusdam Oris et reatules.” This has led scholars to propose that Ferrer could have started working on the Hours around 1340, and perhaps at the end of 1339 and completed the task at the beginning of 1341.<sup>42</sup>

Taking all of this into consideration, the confidence demonstrated by some scholars in defining the artistic profile of

acc barones nichi homines  
et milites ac ciues et sinora  
ciuitatum millarij et locori  
cathalome ut moys est .xv.  
genaleu cumā congregari et  
quori nomina in firmamā  
inferius continetur Supplic  
iunt nō humilis ut qōam  
capitula et ordinatōes et dela  
ratōes que inferius sūt ista.  
debemus debemgnitat regia  
eis et con genali cathalome  
declatate et concedere Cum re  
duntarent et eēt ad bonus  
statum et utilitatem cōm co  
aus cathalome. **E** Nos nō  
pōcessori nforū uestigie  
inherentes. corū iustie sup  
plicationibz benigne concedē  
te ac attendentes et feruētis  
considantes q ex debito nō  
offitij et pēninentie tenem:  
facere bonum et grām noste  
subditis et uasallus pōt ma  
rimam et sincerā fidem et le  
galitātē quam semp erga nō  
hāuim.

Ferrer Bassa seems unwarranted. The known facts tell us that Ferrer had a prominent role in Catalan painting of the second quarter of the fourteenth century. But once we remove the Pedralbes painting and we admit the presence of several hands at work in the Hours of Maria of Navarre, his personality can be established only tentatively and by default: he is the author of the miniatures that do not belong to Arnau (or to the Master of Baltimore). In addition we should reevaluate the figure of the illuminator who completed the *Usatges i Constitucions* of the Paeria (fig. 8): the Scribe master whom I prefer to call the Master of the 1333 Court. This artist also comes from the circle of the Master of Baltimore, and his style is very close to that of the hypothetical Ferrer in the Hours. For this reason, his illuminations were attributed





to the Master of San Marcos, even though early scholars overlooked that he was of a higher quality than the group's average. His work, especially that of fol. 160 (the incipit of the constitutions of 1333), is not any less delicate than the best works in the Venice Hours, and his use of color is more pleasing than that of Ferrer and Arnau.<sup>43</sup>

The space of this essay precludes close examination of the other manuscripts that have been related to the Master of San Marcos, which should be classified as part of the "Bassa group"; in addition to Ferrer and Arnau these include various collaborators all of whom depend directly or indirectly on the Master of Baltimore. Without any doubt, the illustration cycle of the famous Anglo-Catalan Psalter (Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 8846) was an ambitious project in terms of the quantity and dimensions of the miniatures. But contrary to what other scholars believe, the psalter's execution was entrusted to a different hand than that of the first illuminator of the hours (Ferrer?). The fourteenth-century illustrations of the psalter show a less accomplished draftsman, a less subtle and attentive coloring, and a different type of figure (easily distinguished if one compares the faces), and a more rigid articulation of movements.<sup>44</sup> The whole cycle

is very homogeneous, and only in the last miniatures of the psalter (fols. 174 and 175) does the intervention of Arnau Bassa seem plausible. Indeed the facial features of these pages are very close to those of the retablo of San Marcos and the Morgan polyptych. The same variation of the "Bassa group" displayed in the psalter is the same that we see in the *Llibre Verd* in Barcelona (Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat, IG-10) which was illuminated sometimes between 1342 and 1352<sup>45</sup> or in the *Decretum Gratiani* in the British Library (Add. Ms. 15275)<sup>46</sup>. Even if these miniatures can be accounted for in the workshop directed by Ferrer, I do not believe that the painter's participation can be taken for granted as it has been done in the past.<sup>47</sup>

Beyond any discussion of the artists' identities, a careful examination of the entire production related to the Master of San Marcos indicates that the mainstream of Italianism in Catalan art in its early stages was more than anything the result of the domestication to different degrees of the serene and noble language of the Baltimore triptych.<sup>48</sup> We have already compared the Visitation in the triptych and the analogous scene in the Book of Hours (fol. 44v). The dignity of the figures in the triptych, their self-possession



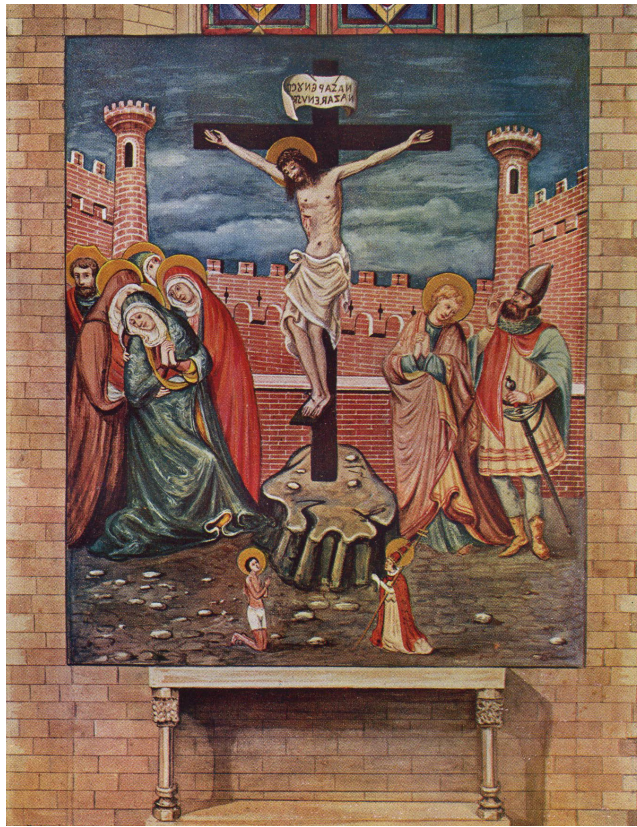


Fig. 9 (opposite, left). Detail of fig. 1 (*The Blindness of Longinus Cured by the Blood from Christ's Side*).

Fig. 10 (opposite, right). Ferrer (?) and Arnau Bassa, *Crucifixion* from the retable of the Almudaina. Museo de Mallorca

Fig. 11 (left). Workshop of Ferrer Bassa, *Crucifixion*. Wall painting (lost) from the Chapel of St. Bartholemew in the Church of Santa Maria del Mar, Barcelona. After a lithograph by Alexandre Planella (1882)

and volumetric plasticity, the subtlety of the modeling, and the delicacy of their silhouettes are in stark contrast to the sometimes almost naïve graphic treatment and the more or less caricaturized types that are the hallmark of the production of the Bassas' workshop. We could name innumerable examples, but it will suffice to compare the Crucifixion in the Baltimore triptych with the same scene in the Hours of Maria of Navarre (fol. 235v), in the Anglo-Catalan Psalter (fol. 117) in the Morgan polyptych (fig. 9), in the dismembered retable of the Almudaina (Museu de Mallorca) (fig. 10), in the retable of Saint James from the Convent of Jonqueres (Barcelona Museo Diocesano) or in the retable of Saint Mark (Manresa). To these *Crucifixions* should be added a wall painting in the Chapel of Saint Bartholomew in the Church of Santa Maria del Mar (Barcelona), lost but known through an old lithograph, which can be classified as a work of the Bassa or their immediate circle (fig. 11).<sup>49</sup>

Also the miniatures of the second artist of the book of hours (hypothetically by Arnau), which are of high quality, transform the sculptural vision of the Master of Baltimore into a nervous, two-dimensional linearism. If one compares the images of the Annunciation in the triptych and in the

manuscript (fol. 17v) or those of the Virgin in the triptych and the lactating Virgin in the Hours (fol. 15v; fig. 12), the contrast appears obvious. In the images of the Virgin and Child in the Hours, the Child lacks the complex articulation and the powerful foreshortening that one sees in the triptych.

The interpretation of the Master of Baltimore's lesson by the Bassa, their workshop, and by the Master of the Court of 1333 was fundamental for the development of Catalan painters such as Ramon Destorrents or the Serra brothers, who emerged in the decade of 1350.<sup>50</sup> However, the repertory of the Master of Baltimore will continue to be accessible outside the mediation offered by the Bassa. An illuminating example is the case of the miniaturist at work in the *Breviari d'Amor* of the British Library (Yates Thompson 31) who was able in one of his illuminations (fol. 125; fig. 13) to repeat faithfully the aplomb and the volumetric consistency and the solid articulation of the beautiful Virgin and Child from Baltimore (including the details of the singular tubular folds of the Virgin's mantle fanning on the ground).

In light of the arguments so far discussed, we need to take into consideration the presence of the Master of Baltimore in Catalonia around 1320–1335. Unfortunately we have very few



Fig. 12. Master of the Morgan Polyptych (Arnau Bassa?), *Lactating Virgin*, from the Hours of Maria of Navarre. Ink, paint, and gold on parchment. Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice (Lat I. 104, fol. 17v)

documents about the artistic activities in Barcelona during this period (and earlier); the mid-century is far better documented. Perhaps we should give more importance to a document of 1334, which attests to the presence in Barcelona of a Sienese painter named Giovanni (“Magister Iohannes de Cena, pictor, civis Barchinone”), who at this point must have long been a resident of the capital, since he is mentioned as a “citizen.”<sup>51</sup> Later, between 1352 and 1363, another painter is documented in the same city: Antonio Sena, who judging by his name could also be from Siena.<sup>52</sup> If the chronology of the first painter could be compatible with that of the Master of Baltimore, the later one might refer to other anonymous painters such as that of the Coronation of Bellpuig or that of the Chapel of Saint Michael at Pedralbes. Clearly we must exercise caution, since we only have a very fragmentary picture of a period that must have been very active and productive.<sup>53</sup> It is sure thought that the documented activity of Ferrer Bassa started early: he is documented as painter in 1315 but



Fig. 13. Catalan. Virgin and Child with Angels, ca. 1350–75, from the Matfré Ermengau of Béziers’s *Breviari d’Amor*. British Library, London (Yates Thompson 31, fol. 125)

nothing stops us from imagining that his Italianist conversion happened not at the beginning but at a more advanced phase of his career. We do not have to suppose that Ferrer took long and numerous trips to Italy if we admit that he learned the Italianist style in Catalonia through the lesson of the Master of Baltimore. As I said before, if we wanted to hold on to the idea that Ferrer was the founder of Catalan Italianism, we would have to identify him with the author of the Baltimore triptych—with all of the problems that this implies.

Rafael Cornudella ([rafael.cornudella@uab.es](mailto:rafael.cornudella@uab.es)) is professor of art history in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB).

## NOTES

1. For a survey of Italianist painting in Catalonia in the fourteenth century, see José Gudiol and Santiago Alcolea i Blanch, *Pintura gòtica catalana* (Barcelona, 1986), 43–71; Rosa Alcoy i Pedrós, ed., *L’art*



- gòtic a Catalunya, Pintura I. De l'inici a l'Italianisme* (Barcelona, 2005), 133–321; Cèsar Favà and Rafael Cornudella, “Italianism in Fourteenth-Century Painting,” in Rafael Cornudella, Cèsar Favà, and Guadaira Macias, *Gothic Art in the MNAC Collections* (Barcelona, 2011), 40–67.
2. Manuel Trens, *Ferrer Bassa i les pintures de Pedralbes* (Barcelona, 1936).
  3. See note 32 for bibliographical references.
  4. See especially Alexander Soler i March, “Les Frères Serra,” in *La peinture Catalane à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1933), 21–40 and 39–40; Josep Gudiol Ricart, *Las pintura gòtica a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1938), 10. Fundamental to these is Millard Meiss’s discussion: “Italian Style in Catalonia and a Fourteenth-Century Catalan Workshop,” *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 4 (1941):45–87. Soler i March thought that the Master of San Marcos was a follower of Jaume Serra and placed his style “entre les Serras et Borrassà.” For Millard Meiss, the Master of San Marcos was not a follower but a contemporary of Jaume Serra, so that his activity could be placed in the second quarter of the century. However this chronology, too, seems inadequate, as argued below.
  5. The identification of the Master of San Marcos with Arnau Bassa was proposed by Frederic-Pau Verrié and Joan Ainaud, on the basis of the documents discovered by Josep M. Madurell. See F.-P. Verrié, “La Pintura,” in Joaquim Folch i Torres, ed., *L’art català*, vol. 1 (Barcelona, 1957), 381–414 and 386–87; J. Domínguez Bordona and Juan Ainaud, “Miniatura. Grabado. Encuadernación,” in *Ars Hispaniae* 8 (1958): 148.
  6. The first monographic study of the Book of Hours is that of Alix Saulnier-Pinsard, “Une nouvelle oeuvre du Maître de San Marcos: Le livre d’heures de Marie de Navarre,” in *La miniatura Italiana tra gotico e rinascimento*, 1: *Atti del II congresso di storia della miniatura italiana, Cortona, 24–26 settembre 1982* (Florence, 1985), 35–50.
  7. See Joaquín Yarza Luaces, “Maria de Navarra y la ilustración del Libro de Horas de la Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana,” in Susy Marcon et al., *Libro de Horas de la reina María de Navarra* (Barcelona, 1996), 93–256, at 121, 128–30.
  8. François Avril posed this question in a paper that he presented at the 1983 colloquium in Avignon titled *Rayonnement de l’art siennois du Trecento en Europe*. Unfortunately, his study, “À propos des Heures de Marie de Navarre: Quelques remarques sur le style et l’identité du maître de Saint-Marc,” remains unpublished.
  9. Yarza discussed this problem for the first time in a book for the general public: Joaquín Yarza, “El Gotico,” in *El Gran Libro de le Picturo*, 4 (Barcelona, 1988): 189–90. He developed his ideas in “María de Navarra y la ilustración del Libro de Horas de la Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana” (see note 7), 138 and 149–71.
  10. Robert Gibbs, “Ferrer Bassa and the Pseudo-Ferrer Bassa at Pedralbes,” *Apollo* 136, no. 368 (1992): 226–32.
  11. The influence of the Master of the Chapel of Saint Michael at Pedralbes, though scant, persisted. It appears, for example, in the modest retable of Saint Sylvester, which until its disappearance in 1936 was in the parish church of Sant Sebastià de Montmajor. Although this work is mediocre, it provides an interesting example of the various currents of Italianism present in Catalonia around mid-century. For a different opinion of the Master of Montmajor, see Rosa Alcoy, “Catalunya sota el signe de Giotto,” in Rosa Alcoy i Pedrós, ed., *L’art Gòtic a Catalunya, Pintura. I: De l’inici a l’italianisme*, 137–38.
  12. This new perspective has met with quite some resistance among Catalan art historians.
  13. Alcoy was the first to propose the collaboration of these three masters in the illustrations. This idea has been accepted by Yarza, who nevertheless made some correction to the attribution of the single miniatures. See Rosa Alcoy, “Los maestros del libro de horas de la reina Maria de Navarra: Avance sobre un problema complejo,” *Boletín del Museo e instituto “Camón Aznar”* 34 (1988):105–134; Rosa Alcoy, *La introducció i derivacions de l’italianisme a la pintura gòtica catalana, 1325–1350*, 3 vols. (PhD diss., University of Barcelona, 1988). The same author has contributed several studies to this question; among the most recent, we signal “Ferrer Bassa: Un creador d’estil,” in Rosa Alcoy i Pedrós, ed., *L’art Gòtic* (note 11), 146–70, esp. 155–58. The most important contribution on the subject by Yarza is the already mentioned “Maria de Navarra y la ilustración.”
  14. Meiss, “Italian Style in Catalonia” (note 4), 48 and 78–81.
  15. Alcoy, *La introducció i derivacions* (note 13), 2:881 ff. The author has argued for the identification on several occasions. See especially Alcoy, “Jaume Cascalls: Un nombre para el Maestro del Triptico de Baltimore,” *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 48 (1990): 93–119.
  16. Alcoy, “El Mestre de Baltimore,” in *L’art gòtic* (note 1), 188–205, at 188.
  17. Alcoy, “El Mestre de L’Escrivà de Lleida” in *L’art gòtic* (note 1), 140–45.
  18. The courts date to 1333; and 1341 the date of the death of Ot I de Montcada, to whom the codex can be connected.
  19. Rafael Cornudella, “Usatges i Constitucions de Catalunya, Lleida o Barcelona, entre 1321–1333,” in C. Mendoza and M.T. Ocaña, eds., *Invitados de Honor: Exposición conmemorativa del 75 aniversario del MNAC*, exh. cat., Museo Nacional d’Art de Catalunya (Barcelona, 2009), 120–23.
  20. I leave aside the question of Italianism in the painting of Mallorca, which has different characteristics and development, even if it is not completely detached from the Catalan counterpart. In any case, it is impossible to say which came first, and at the moment it seems more prudent to think that the two schools evolved in parallel.
  21. Meiss, “Italian Style in Catalonia” (note 4), 79 and 81.

22. Ferdinando Bologna, "Di alcuni rapporti tra l'Italia e Spagna nel Trecento e 'Antonio Magister'," in *Arte Antica e Moderna*, 13–16 (1961): 27–48, 29–33. We should not forget that previously Chandler R. Post had remarked upon the high quality of the Baltimore triptych, for which reason he doubted that the author could be a native Catalan or Spanish. See Chandler R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting* 9, part 2 (Cambridge, Mass. 1947), 742–44.
23. Meiss, "Italian Style in Catalonia" (note 4), 81.
24. Bologna, "Di alcuni rapporti" (note 22) 30–32; Ferdinando Bologna, *I pittori della corte angioina di Napoli, 1260–1414* (Rome, 1969), 304.
25. On this, see Nuria Blaya Estrada, "El icono que se esconde tras el icono de Nuestra Señora de Gràcia," *Ars Longa* 7–8 (1996–1997): 185–193. Surprisingly, Catalan historiography seems to have ignored this very important contribution of N. Blaya, which connects the central image of the Baltimore triptych with this group of images, including the Mare de Deu de Gràcia, the Italian examples (grouped around the Master of the Sterbini diptych), and the Russian icons (clustered around the Virgin of Konevets).
26. Edward B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting: An Illustrated Index* (Florence, 1949), 98n247.
27. For the Messina painting, see Federico Zeri and Francesco Campana, *Messina Museo Regionale* (Palermo, 1992), n. 18. For the paintings in the Bagnarelli and Clark collections, see Garrison, *Early Italian*, n. 65, 53 and n. 92, 58. The painting that belonged to Kenneth Clark was auctioned by Sotheby's, London, 6 July 1988, lot 3, and later by Christie's, London, 7 December 2006, lot 43. A *Virgin and Child* formerly in the Perkins Collection and now in the Museo del Tesoro of the Basilica of St Francis in Assisi has also been connected to the master of the Sterbini Diptych. The two paintings show very similar Virgins, but the pose of the Child is quite different. See Federico Zeri, *La collezione Federico Mason Perkins* (Turin, 1988), 82–83; Laurence B. Kanter and Pia Palladino, "Master of the Sterbini Diptych, Virgin and Child," in Giovanni Morello and Laurence B. Kanter eds., *The Treasury of Assisi* (Milan, 1999), 88–89n10.
28. Blaya, "El Icono que se esconde" (note 25).
29. A group of Russian icons faithfully reproduces the same composition, all of which derive from the Virgin of Konevets (according to tradition brought from Mount Athos to the Church of the Theotokos in Lake Lagod by the monastery's founder, the monk Arseni Konevsky) N. P. Kondakov, *The Russian Icon* (Oxford, 1927), 80–82; Ego Sendler, *Les icônes byzantines de la Mère de Dieu* (Paris, 1992), 242–43; Blaya, "El Icono," 188–89.
30. On the Goodhart Master, see Luciano Cateni, "Appunti sul 'Goodhart Master'" *Prospettiva* 45 (1986): 63–66; Alessandro Bagnoli, "Maestro della Maestà Gondi," in Alessandro Bagnoli et al., eds., *Duccio: Siena fra tradizione bizantina e mondo gotico* (Milan, 2003), 360–61.
31. Meiss, "Italian Style in Catalonia" (note 4); Bologna. "Di Alcuni Rapporti" (note 22).
32. On the Master of the Coronation of Bellpuig, see Bologna, "Di alcuni rapporti" (note 22), 34–42; Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* (London, 1967), 24 and n. 112, 365; Miklós Boskovits, "Il problema di Antonio Magister e qualche osservazione sulla cultura marchigiana del Trecento," *Arte Illustrata* 17–18 (1969): 4–9. For a brief state of the question and my opinion, see Rafael Cornudella, "Maestro de la Coronación de Bellpuig: Escenas de la vida de San Bernardo (?), hacia 1340–1360," in Mendoza and Ocaña, *Invitados de Honor*, 126–30. I would add that the Master of the Coronation of Bellpuig and that of the Chapel of Saint Michael in Pedralbes must have been in contact and could have even met in Italy before they traveled to Catalonia.
33. On this, see Joaquín Yarza Luaces, "La ilustración," in *Llibre Verd de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 2004), 257–318 at 306.
34. Curiously, some scholars, instead of understanding the flagrant inconsistency in the handling of perspective as an archaism, saw it as characteristic of the initial phase of the International Gothic Style: "the footstool of the Walters Virgin may be compared with that of the Madonna of the Franciscans by Duccio in the Gallery in Siena, although, again, its flattened arches are Catalan and its perspective *di sotto in su*, revealing a wooden lining, belongs to the tricks of decorative perspective used at the dawn of the International style." See Philippe Verdier, "Catalan, c. 1375. Triptych," in *The International Style: The Arts of Europe around 1400*, exh. cat., Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore, 1962), 7–8n7. This misrepresentation was helped by the belief, common at the time, in the late chronology for the San Marcos Master.
35. Cornudella, "Usatges i Constitucions" (note 19).
36. Cornudella, "Usatges i Constitucions" (note 19), 125.
37. I am grateful to the Biblioteca Marciana and in particular to Dr. Susy Marcon for granting me access to the manuscript.
38. In this way, for example, I believe that all the miniatures of the office of Saint Louis (excluding the minor initials and the borders, done by the workshop) that Alcoy and Yarza attribute to the Master of Baltimore are in fact consistent in technique and style with the miniatures that they attribute to Ferrer, such as the Nativity (fol. 61v), the Annunciation to the Shepherds (fol. 68v), the Epiphany (fol. 74v) or the Flight into Egypt (fol. 80v). One of the most difficult problems is the attribution of the beautiful calendar pages, where perhaps the hand of Ferrer dominates, even though I have doubts regarding the attribution of every single illustration.



39. In the Book of Hours, the work of this second master, the Master of the Morgan Polyptych (hypothetically Arnau) is important quantitatively and qualitatively. Indeed, he painted more miniatures than the first master (that is to say more miniatures than those Alcoy attributes to Ferrer and the Master of Baltimore together). The second master is, for example, the author of such beautiful images as the Lactating Virgin with a donor figure (fol. 15v), the Annunciation (fol. 17v), and the Massacre of the innocents (fol. 86v). In my opinion, all the main illustrations in the office of the Holy Trinity, that of Saint John the Baptist and that of the Holy Spirit should be ascribed to him. At the same time, he is completely absent from the pages of the office of Saint Louis. He comes to paint the majority of the office of the Holy Cross; he is the author of the initial with the burial of David on fol. 259 at the beginning of the Seven Penitential Psalms. Also by him is the interesting representation of Death in the scene of the funeral on fol. 301 and the initial of fol. 302 at the beginning of the Office of the Dead, as well as the initial on fol. 342. As a result, in the Marciana Codex, the second master (Arnau?) seems ultimately to have painted more scenes than the first (Ferrer?).
40. Yarza posed the question whether the Master of Baltimore could not in fact be identified as Ferrer Bassa. He concluded that he could not. See Yarza, "Maria de Navarra y la ilustración," 139.
41. I proposed this idea for the first time in Rafael Cornudella, "Bottega o Cerchia di Ferrer or Arnau Bassa: Disputa di Sant Stefano con i giudei," in Alessandro Tomei, ed., *Giotto e il Trecento: "Il più sovrano Maestro stato in dipintura,"* exh. cat., Rome: Complesso del Vittoriano (Milan, 2009), 252–53n9.
42. On the problem posed by this document and on its dating, see Yarza, "Maria de Navarra y la ilustración," 129–30.
43. Cornudella, "Usatges i Constitucions" (note 19).
44. On this point I disagree with the opinion of Yarza and Alcoy. See especially the monographic study of Rosa Alcoy, "Ferrer Bassa y el Salterio Anglo-Catalán," in Nigel Morgan, Rosa Alcoy, and Klaus Reinhardt, *Salterio Anglo-Catalán* (Barcelona, 2006), 57–120. Other specialists, including Meiss, attributed the psalter's Catalan miniatures to the workshop of the Master of San Marcos. Both on the basis of its inferior quality and of the difference in the figures, we must reject the idea that they are by the same hand as those attributed to Ferrer Bassa in the Hours of Maria of Navarre and accept instead that they were executed by a follower of the latter, most probably within his workshop.
45. The manuscript contains a chronicle of the pontiffs that concludes with Clement VI, whose pontificate began in 1342 and ended in 1352. Given that it refers to the pope as alive, the two dates frame the book's completion. See Yarza, "La Ilustración," 257–318.
46. For a detailed description of the miniatures, see Gaspar Coll i Rosell, *Manuscrits jurídics i il·luminació. Estudi d'alguns còdexs dels Usatges i constitucions de Catalunya i del Decret de Gracià, 1300–1350* (Barcelona, 1995), 241–357.
47. In my opinion neither the Master of Baltimore nor the Master of the Court of 1333 ("Master of Escrivà") collaborated in the illustrations of the *Llibre Verd* as Alcoy suggested. Having examined the original, I am convinced of the stylistic homogeneity of the illuminations. Cf. Rosa Alcoy, "La ilustració de manuscrits a Catalunya," in Xavier Barral ed., *Arts del llibre: Manuscrits, gravats, cartells*, Art de Catalunya / Ars Cataloniae, 10 (Barcelona, 2000), 11–149, at 92–95.
48. Clearly it is possible that the formulae and the motifs inspired by the Master of Baltimore could be further enriched by contacts with other Italian models, even though this "aggiornamento" must have been quite limited at least in the workshop of the Bassa.
49. See Buenaventura Bassegoda y Amigó, *Santa Maria de la Mar: Monografia històrica-artística*, 1 (Barcelona, 1925), 141. The lithograph by Alexandre Planella was made in 1882 for the Junta de Obra of the parochial church. Two small figures of saints appear at the foot of the cross: that on the left could be Saint Bartholomew, to whom the chapel was dedicated; that on the right is a pope, and could be Saint Gregory the Great as it was suggested by Buenaventura Bassegoda and José M. De Alós y de Dou, *La iglesia y la heráldica de Santa Maria del Mar de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1925), 55. The construction of this chapel was commissioned by the merchant Bartomeu Monjo, who was mentioned as dead in 1349. Later his widow, Benvinguda, in her will (granted in 1359) ordered the establishment of a first benefice dedicated to Saint Bartholomew. See Cristina Borau Morell, *Els promotors de capelles i retaules a la Barcelona del segle XIV* (Barcelona, 2003), 381, 385–86 and 443. In any case, the chapel must have been built before 1349; the mural paintings too could be before this date. Therefore nothing stands in the way of a hypothetical attribution to the Bassas. Be that as it may, the similarities with the scenes of Calvary by the Bassa group speak for themselves, while turreted fortified walls in the backgrounds recall the version of the Calvary scene in the Retable of the Almudaina.
50. For a revision of the important but problematic personalities of Ramon Destorrents and of Francesc Serra, whose autonomous activity begins to emerge from 1350, see Cèsar Favà and Rafael Cornudella, "Francesc Serra (?) Bancal de la Vida de San Onofre, hacia 1350–1360," in Mendoza and Ocaña, eds., *Invitados de Honor* (note 19), 132–37; Cèsar Favà and Rafael Cornudella, "Els retaules de Tobed i la primera etapa dels Serra," *Butlletí del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya* 11 (2010), 63–90; C. Favà, R. Cornudella, "Italianism in Fourteenth-Century Painting" (note 1), 51–53.
51. Historical Archive of Protocols of Barcelona, 9/2, Guillem Borrell, *Capbreu del monestir de Santa Maria de Pedralbes*, 30 January 1333–28 June 1334 (see 10 April 1334). The documentary reference was published by J. M. Madurell who dates it to 8 May. However, the only document referring to a "Johannes de Cena" I found in that volume corresponds to the 19 April ("die . . . tercio idus aprilis"). See José M<sup>a</sup> Madurell, *El pintor Lluís Borassa: Su vida, su tiempo y*

*sus obras, I. Texto. Apèndice documental. Indices* (Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona, VII [Barcelona, 1949]), 188.

52. *Ibid.*, 187.

53. The presence of Italian painters in other Iberian states of the Crown of Aragon is documented from the 1350s. A painter named Geraldo d'Angelo, lived in Valencia in 1353 ("Geraldò Dangelo, pictori civitatis Valencie"), when in May he obtained from King Peter a license to carry arms; see José M<sup>a</sup>. Madurell Marimón, "El pintor Luís Borrassà" (note 51), 89. In the same year, 1353, the Siennese painter Francesco di Vanuccio, resident of Barcelona ("Franciscus de Vanuxo, horiundus de Sena de Toscana, nunch commorans in civitate Barchinone") received a commission for a retable dedicated to the Corpus Christi and intended for the Church of Saint Michael of Cardona; see Gabriel Llompарт and Joana M. Palou, "L'Anunciació de Lluc i el mestre pisà Lupo di Francesco," *Bollettí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana* 51 (1995): 297–300, at 299n16. The artistic personality of Francesco di Vanuccio is well known. No works by him seem to have survived in Catalonia (clearly we cannot identify him with the master of the Bellpuig Coronation nor with the Master of the Saint Michael chapel in Pedralbes). For a state of the question for the painter Romulo de Florencia, documented in Zaragoza in 1367 and 1372 and his hypothetical identification with the Master of Estopanyà, see Rafael Cornudella, "Pittore italiano attivo in Aragona o Catalogna (Maestro di Estopanyà): Trittico di San Vincenzo," in Tomei, *Giotto e il Trecento*, no. 93, 248–50. In 1371, King Pedro commissioned the painter Angelico Deroce to paint certain figures; see J. M<sup>a</sup> Madurell Marimón, *El pintor Luís Borrassà: Su vida, su tiempo, sus seguidores y sus obras, III. Addenda al apèndice documental* (Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona, X, 1952): doc. no. 445, pp. 60–61.

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## WALTERS 269 AND MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATION IN RHEIMS IN THE SECOND THIRD OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

GREGORY T. CLARK

In the summer of 1981, while conducting research in the Walters Art Museum for a dissertation on book painting in Paris during the English occupation (1419–35), I came across color slides in the Manuscripts Reading Room of the Annunciation (fig. 9) and Dormition of the Virgin (fig. 14) in Walters 269, a mid-fifteenth-century Book of Hours for Rheims use. Fascinated by the images, I set aside my dissertation for an afternoon to examine the then effectively unpublished book. I also ordered duplicates of the two slides and began compiling a dossier of codices in the same style.

Why did those two Walters 269 images so rivet me? There was, first of all, the eye-popping palette: the saturated reds and blues, the deep greens, and the lavish use of gold in the acanthus-pattern diapers. Even more intriguing, though, was the disjuncture, even tension, in the two illuminations between flat planes and three-dimensional volumes. As in the work of the Basel panel painter Konrad Witz (d.1446), insistently two-dimensional surfaces like floors, furnishings, and verdant lawns and embankments made for wonderfully unlikely bedfellows alongside fully rounded figures and huge spherical gemstones.

Thirteen years later, in May of 1994, I gave a paper entitled “Walters 269 and the Making of Books of Hours in Mid-Fifteenth-Century Rheims” at the Twenty-ninth International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, Michigan. The presentation was delivered in a session on regional fifteenth-century French manuscript illumination organized by Sandra Hindman’s student Véronique Day.

By that time my dossier contained four manuscripts, all Books of Hours and all written for use in Rheims, the archiepiscopal seat of the county of Champagne. Of the four, the most ambitious, with eighteen miniatures, was Walters 269 itself (figs. 9–14). By that date the book was better known to scholars: Roger Wieck had included it in the

catalogue that accompanied his 1988 Walters exhibition *Time Sanctified*, and Lilian Randall had painstakingly described it in her 1992 catalogue of late medieval Walters manuscripts of French origin.<sup>1</sup> Randall placed Walters 269 in the third quarter of the fifteenth century; Wieck specifically suggested a date around 1460.

The next richest Rheims Book of Hours, with nine illuminations, had been auctioned at Sotheby’s of London in 1982 (figs. 3, 4).<sup>2</sup> In the sale catalogue, the codex was dated about 1440. Following the Sotheby’s manuscript, with six miniatures, was an Horae in the Austrian National Library in Vienna (s.n. 13242) published in 1974 by Otto Pächt and Dagmar Thoss, who placed it in the 1460s (figs. 7, 8).<sup>3</sup> The last of my four Books of Hours, with just three original illuminations, had passed through Sotheby’s of London in 1988, where it was bought by the Bibliothèque Municipale de Rheims and numbered 2788 (figs. 5, 6).<sup>4</sup> A date around 1450 was suggested in the auction catalogue.

Two months after speaking at Kalamazoo, German antiquarian Heribert Tenschert kindly let me examine a fifth Rheims Hours then in his possession. In a catalogue published in 2000, Eberhard König linked the book with Walters 269 and dated it about 1440.<sup>5</sup> The Tenschert codex, since identified by Maxence Hermant as the Hours of Marguerite Cuissotte, became manuscript 2852 in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Reims in February of 2007 (figs. 17, 18).<sup>6</sup>

In 2003 I came across slides from a sixth Rheims Hours with three half-page miniatures in the image library of James Marrow of Princeton, New Jersey (fig. 16).<sup>7</sup> That manuscript, offered by the London antiquarian Sam Fogg in April of 1995, resurfaced at Sotheby’s of London in 2013 (2 July, lot 64).<sup>8</sup> Finally, in February of 2008, Roger Wieck drew my attention to the tiny Rheims Horae fragment with five miniatures owned by New York collector Scott Schwartz (fig. 15).<sup>9</sup> That



fragment brought my dossier of Books of Hours in the style of Walters 269 to seven in all.

Manuscripts 2788 and 2852 in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Rheims were included in the catalogue for the *Très Riches Heures de Champagne*, an exhibition that traveled from Troyes to Châlons-en-Champagne to Rheims from 2007 to 2008.<sup>10</sup> Both Horae were dated about 1450 in that publication.<sup>11</sup>

In an essay on late medieval Rheims illumination published in the fall of 2008, Maxence Hermant specifically compared the Schwartz fragment with Rheims 2852.<sup>12</sup> He also identified another manuscript by the Rheims 2852 painter, a copy of the *Aiguillon d'amour divin* (Spur of Divine Love) in the 1406 French translation of Symon de Courcy (fig. 19).<sup>13</sup> Offered at the Firmin-Didot sale in June of 1883, the *Aiguillon* is dated 1461 and was owned in 1525 by sister Marie Lalemant of the Hôtel-Dieu de Rheims.<sup>14</sup> The book was in the collection of Charlotte and Arthur Vershbow of Boston until 2013, when it went under the hammer at Christie's of New York (9 April, lot 1).<sup>15</sup> As Hermant rightly noted, the date of the *Aiguillon* anchors the Walters 269 group firmly to the second third of the fifteenth century even though the artists' compositions hark back to Parisian models of the first third.

At the end of 2013, Hermant added to the Walters 269 group a choir-book cutting with an historiated initial S housing the Pentecost (Montpellier, Musée languedocien, Collections de la Société archéologique de Montpellier, s.n.).<sup>16</sup> Writing about the historiated initial in the catalog that accompanied an exhibition in Toulouse of manuscripts and leaves in southwestern French collections, Hermant compared its composition with that of the Pentecost in the Vienna Hours (fig. 8) and dated its parent manuscript to about 1460. He also identified three other leaves from the same choir book with historiated initials of the Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, and Saint Andrew. Auctioned in Paris in 2011 (Hôtel Drouot, 29 April [Auction Art: Rémy le Fur & Associés], lots 46–48), all three are now in private collections.

To date, then, eight manuscripts and four cuttings made in Rheims at mid-century have been identified. They have not, however, been systematically examined as a group to date. In this essay I would like to delve into the origins, development, and wider influence of the Walters 269 group.

In the *Très Riches Heures de Champagne* exhibition catalogue, François Avril and Maxence Hermant note that Rheims followed Troyes and Châlons-en-Champagne in recovering from

the privations of the Hundred Years' War.<sup>17</sup> The first Rheims manuscript from the second third of the fifteenth century in that publication is a Book of Hours of about 1440 made for Jacques Cauchon and Jeanne Bohais of Rheims.<sup>18</sup> Then in a private American collection, the book was offered at Christie's of London in 2010 (7 July, lot 34).<sup>19</sup>

The crowded and charming but spatially irrational settings in Cauchon miniatures like the John on Patmos (fig. 2) and Visitation (fol. 26) hark back to those of Parisian illuminators of the 1410s and 1420s; a good example accommodates the Visitation in the celebrated Hours of about 1420 by the Bedford Master in Vienna (Öst. Nationalbibl., Cod. 1855, fol. 48v).<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, François Avril rightly observed that the covered wagon drawn by two horses and preceded by men on horseback in the bas-de-page and outer margin of the Cauchon page with the Martyrdom of Quentin (fol. 142) strongly resembles the procession that enframes God the Father in the Hours of Marguerite d'Orléans (Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 1156B, fol. 158v).<sup>21</sup> Marguerite's manuscript was made in western France, possibly Rennes, around 1430. Did the motif in her Hours reach Rheims via the royalist partisans who marched from Orléans to Rheims under the leadership of Joan of Arc to see Charles VII crowned king of France in Rheims Cathedral in July of 1429?

In his catalogue entry, François Avril noted that he then knew of no other manuscript by the Cauchon artist.<sup>22</sup> Shortly after writing that text, however, Avril ascribed to the Cauchon painter a leaf with John on Patmos offered by the German auction house Reiss & Sohn in 2007 (24 April, lot 108) and now in a private collection (fig. 1).<sup>23</sup> That the Reiss & Sohn and Cauchon evangelists (fig. 2) are by the same hand is confirmed by the hair and physiognomies of the two figures and by the rocky outcrops, which are cut like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. However, the landscape that houses the Reiss & Sohn John is considerably more modest than the Cauchon setting, which suggests either a patron with a smaller purse or, more likely, an earlier date.

The artist of the Reiss & Sohn cutting also illustrated a Book of Hours for Rheims use now in Frankfurt (Museum für Kunst und Handwerk, Ms. Linel 24). This can be seen by comparing the Reiss & Sohn John (fig. 1) with the Frankfurt Annunciation to the Shepherds (fol. 48).<sup>24</sup> Although many of the text folios and all but two of the miniatures pages have been cut from the Frankfurt manuscript, the differing dimensions and decorative schemes in that codex and on the Reiss



Fig. 1. Private Collection (ex-Königstein im Taunus [D], Reiss & Sohn, 24 April 2007 [Auction 112], lot 108) (leaf from a Book of Hours): *John on Patmos*. Cauchon style, Rheims, ca. 1430–40

& Sohn cutting make it unlikely that the latter was once part of the former.<sup>25</sup> As both the Cauchon and Frankfurt codices are written for use in Rheims, however, I have little doubt that they and the Hours that yielded the Reiss & Sohn John were produced there as well.

That this was indeed the case is supported by the Joffroy Hours, which Eberhard König first published in 2011 (Heribert Tenschert, Cat. 66, no. 2).<sup>26</sup> While the book's calendar is Parisian, its Hours of the Virgin and Office of the Dead are both for Rheims use; from the late fifteenth to the early twenty-first century the manuscript was owned by successive members of the Joffroy family of eastern France. Work on the book's twenty-nine half-page miniatures was begun around 1410 by the Bedford Master and other Parisian illuminators and completed by the painter of the Reiss & Sohn cutting and Frankfurt and Cauchon manuscripts together with a second eastern French hand. The relatively modest compositions in the Cauchon style in the Joffroy Hours are closer to those in the Reiss & Sohn John and Frankfurt codex than to



Fig. 2. London (formerly), Christie's, 7 July 2010, lot 34 (Cauchon Hours), fol. 13: *John on Patmos*. Cauchon style, Rheims, ca. 1440

the more ambitious ones in the Cauchon Hours itself; compare the improbably jigsaw-cut outcrops, flawlessly mown grass, and red-and-gold diapering in the Joffroy Martyrdom of Sebastian (fol. 157v) and Frankfurt Annunciation to the Shepherds (fol. 48).<sup>27</sup>

The seven Horae grouped around Walters 269 are clearly later in date than the Reiss & Sohn cutting and Frankfurt, Joffroy, and Cauchon manuscripts. To judge from their relatively shallow landscapes, the two earliest of the seven are the 1982 Sotheby's Hours and manuscript 2788 in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Rheims. Looking at the Sotheby's Crucifixion with Mary and John (fig. 4), the first thing one notices about the standing figures is their charming dwarfishness. John's head is way too large for his body; the Madonna, by contrast, is tiny in her entirety. In the Sotheby's Burial Service (fol. 167), the seemingly hunchbacked gravedigger who interrs the shrouded corpse in the foreground is a giant next to the midget-sized officiating clerics nearby and the even runtier mourners just beyond.<sup>28</sup>





Fig. 3. London (formerly), Sotheby's, 7 December 1982, lot 89 (Book of Hours), fol. 70: *David in Prayer*. Walters 269 Style, Rheims, ca. 1450

The second striking feature of the Sotheby's Crucifixion (fig. 4) is the lavish acanthus brocade pattern behind the figures. Various patterned backdrops in gold, silver, and colors are found in all but the latest two manuscripts in the Walters 269 style. In the *Très Riches Heures de Champagne* catalogue, Maxence Hermant specifically compared the pattern behind the Rheims 2788 Visitation (fig. 5) with the red-and-gold one that backdrops the writing Matthew by the Egerton Master in a Paris Hours of the early fifteenth century in the Victoria & Albert Museum (Ms. Reid 4, fol. 16).<sup>29</sup>

The combination in the Sotheby's Crucifixion of highly plastic figures with large heads set against patterned backdrops also brings to mind the paintings of Konrad Witz; the Esther and Ahasuerus from the Mirror of Salvation Altarpiece, painted about 1435, is representative (Basel, Kunstmuseum, Inv. 643).<sup>30</sup> Witz worked in Basel, an imperial city some 320 kilometers southeast of Rheims on the border with the



Fig. 4. London (formerly), Sotheby's, 7 December 1982, lot 89 (Book of Hours), fol. 88: *Crucifixion with Mary and John*. Walters 269 Style, Rheims, ca. 1450

neighboring Franche-Comté (Free County of Burgundy), from about 1434 up until his death in 1446.

As we will see, the large, deeply dagged blossoms that stud the acanthus brocade in the Sotheby's Crucifixion are especially characteristic of the floral backdrops in manuscripts in the Walters 269 style. Indented outcrops like those at the foot of the Sotheby's cross can also be found in all eight codices in the Walters 269 group. This stylistic convention is one of only two that can be traced back to the earlier Rheims manuscripts in the Cauchon style (figs. 1–2).

In the Pentecost in the 1982 Sotheby's Hours, Peter and the other apostles kneel on the dexter side and the Virgin and several Maries occupy the sinister (fol. 96). This unusual iconography reappears in the same architectural setting and with an expanded cast of characters in Walters 269 (fol. 87). In the Vienna Pentecost, the female and male saints are reversed and placed into a different ecclesiastical setting (fig. 8).





Fig. 5. Rheims, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 2788 (Book of Hours), fol. 18: *Visitation* (in bas-de-page: *Christ Brought before Caiaphas*). Walters 269 Style, Rheims, ca. 1450

The incipit initial beneath the Sotheby's Crucifixion contains a single large fleurs-de-lys within a lozenge with looped corners (fig. 4). Fleur-de-lys initials also appear in Rheims 2788 (fol. 35v), the Vienna Hours (fol. 7), and Walters 269 (fig. 11). Are these prominent fleurs-de-lys proud references to the momentous coronation of Charles VII in Rheims in July of 1429 and the expulsion of forces hostile to the French crown from the county of Champagne in the decade that followed?

Manuscript 2788 in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Rheims is probably the next of the seven Books of Hours in the Walters 269 style. Here we see incipit initials filled with naturalistic flora for the first time (fol. 7). Like initials appear in Parisian manuscripts already in the 1420s; one example can be found beneath the Annunciation in the style of the Bedford Master in the so-called Hours of Charlotte of Savoy in the Pierpont Morgan Library (M.1004, fol. 17).<sup>31</sup> Incipit



Fig. 6. Rheims, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 2788 (Book of Hours), fol. 29: *Nativity* (in bas-de-page: *Flagellation of Christ*). Walters 269 Style, Rheims, ca. 1450

initials with naturalistic flora also appear in the Vienna Hours (fols. 64v, 68), Walters 269 (fols. 34, 42, 76, III; figs. 9, 12, 14), and the ex-Fogg Hours (fol. 26); they and acanthus brocade backdrops are absent from Rheims 2852 and the *Aiguillon d'amour divin*.<sup>32</sup>

Christ is pulled towards Caiaphas beneath the Rheims 2788 Visitation (fig. 5); he is flogged before Pilate below the Nativity that follows (fig. 6). Like marginal vignettes, it will be recalled, also appear in the Cauchon Hours.<sup>33</sup> Green wattle fences like the one behind the Virgin and Elizabeth in the Rheims 2788 Visitation (fig. 5) can also be found in the Cauchon Hours; one partly engirds the John on Patmos there (fig. 2).<sup>34</sup> Like wattle fences reappear in all but possibly one of the eight manuscripts in the Walters 269 style.<sup>35</sup>

The Rheims 2788 Nativity takes place before a stone structure topped by a thatched roof (fig. 6). This combination is presumably meant to recall both the ruined palace in





Fig. 7. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, s.n. 13242 (Book of Hours), fol. 44: *David in Prayer*. Walters 269 Style, Rheims, ca. 1455

Bethlehem of Jesus' ancestor David and the stable there in which Jesus was actually born. Nativities in the Walters 269 group routinely combine stone walls with wooden superstructures. A pink construction patchily roofed with thatch appears in Walters 269 itself (fol. 34); a multistoried blue house fully roofed with thatch can be seen in the Schwartz fragment (fol. 9); and blue-gray walls surmounted by a shed roof serve as shelter in the Cuissotte Hours (fol. 35).<sup>36</sup>

The landscapes in the Vienna Hours are deeper than those in both the Sotheby's Hours and Rheims 2788; compare the backdrops of the Sotheby's and Vienna Crucifixions (fig. 4, fol. 64v). The most profound Vienna setting, the one into which the penitent David is set (fig. 7), is much deeper than that behind the Sotheby's David (fig. 3) and anticipates the backdrop behind the Walters 269 Crucifixion (fig. 13). We are also introduced in the Vienna Hours to some of the eccentric landscape elements that reappear both in later codices in the Walters 269 style and in manuscripts influenced by those books. Two of these can be seen in the Vienna David in



Fig. 8. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, s.n. 13242 (Book of Hours), fol. 90: *Pentecost*. Walters 269 Style, Rheims, ca. 1455

Prayer (fig. 7) and Walters Crucifixion (fig. 13). They are, first, the trees shaped like Hershey's Kisses, the chocolate-droplet confection popular in the United States, on the left side of the Vienna horizon and at the foot of the Walters cross, and second, the string of triangular bonsai trees or shrubs on the near Vienna riverbank.

It is also in the Vienna Hours and Walters 269 that we first see hooded graybeards in full profile. One of these is the reading apostle at the far left in the Vienna Pentecost (fig. 8); another is the seated disciple in blue in the right foreground of the Walters 269 Dormition of the Virgin (fig. 14).<sup>37</sup> Both the graybeard and several other figure types in the Walters miniature suggest a familiarity with illuminations like the Dormition in an Hours made in Besançon in the early 1430s and now in the Morgan Library (M.293, fol. 9).<sup>38</sup> Located some 265 kilometers to the south-southeast of Rheims, Besançon was then an archiepiscopal seat and the most important center of manuscript production in the Franche-Comté.





Fig. 9. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, w.269 (Book of Hours), fol. 16: *Annunciation*. Walters 269 Style, Rheims, ca. 1455

With 18 half-page miniatures, Walters 269 is the most extensively illustrated of the eight manuscripts under consideration here. Its illustrations are also the most richly detailed. In the Walters 269 Coronation, gemstones edge the Lord's overgarment (fig. 11). Large spherical prayer beads also hang from the book under the left arm of the manuscript's owner, a woman identified on her speech banderole as Collette, as she worships the Virgin and Child (fol. 76).<sup>39</sup>

Large gemstones edge the cope and stud the morse of the Archangel Gabriel in the Walters 269 Annunciation as well (fig. 9). All of those details and the Annunciation's brocade backdrop again bring to mind paintings by Konrad Witz like the *Esther and Ahasuerus* from the *Mirror of Salvation* Altarpiece (Basel, Kunstmuseum, Inv. 643).<sup>40</sup> Three young couples, one pair enjoying a board game and the two others playing musical instruments, sit on a grassy berm in the margin beneath the Walters Annunciation. Bas-de-page historiated initials appear under two miniatures in Rheims 2788 (figs. 5–6) and beneath many more in the Cauchon Hours.<sup>41</sup>



Fig. 10. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, w.269 (Book of Hours), fol. 45: *Presentation in the Temple*. Walters 269 Style, Rheims, ca. 1455

The fore-edge of the tiled floor beneath Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate in Rheims 2788 is yellow and the rest is green (fol. 7). This is also the case in the Walters 269 depictions of the *Presentation in the Temple* (fig. 10) and *Saint Remigius* (fol. 111). In the Walters *Adoration of the Magi*, the artist paints a like floor, but moves the line between yellow and green further and unevenly back (fol. 42); the same line runs parallel to the bed in the Walters *Dormition* (fig. 14). Although probably intended to suggest an absence of direct lighting beyond the immediate foreground, the effective result of all of these meetings of yellow and green is to establish yet another decorative pattern. To those color pairings may be added the fine grid established by the mortar joins between the stone blocks of the shed walls in the Walters 269 *Nativity* (fol. 34) and the boldly patterned textile hanging behind the altar in the Walters 269 *Presentation* (fig. 10).

An especial delight in the latter miniature is the mismatch between the tiny torsos and limbs of the foreground figures, on the one hand, and their own heads and the setting as a





Fig. 11. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, w.269 (Book of Hours), fol. 53v: *Coronation of the Virgin*. Walters 269 Style, Rheims, ca. 1455



Fig. 12. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, w.269 (Book of Hours), fol. 60: *Last Judgment*. Walters 269 Style, Rheims, ca. 1455

whole on the other. Imagine the stumpy high priest resting his elbows on the high altar or the dwarfish Virgin giving birth to so strapping an infant! In like wise, three of the hooves, coronets, pasterns, and fetlock joints of the ass in the Walters 269 *Flight into Egypt* (fol. 48) are gigantic enough to resemble 1970s platform shoes.

The landscape behind the Rheims 2788 *Nativity* climbs sharply upward and with little regard for plausible scale (fig. 6). This is made clear by the fact that the standing shepherds immediately behind the foreground architecture are smaller than the seated shepherds on the hillock in the middle ground. In the Walters scene of *Christopher Carrying the Child* (fol. 113), the lilliputian manned ships at the saint's feet in the foreground run the imminent risk of being kicked and capsized. An equally unrealistic but entirely wonderful decorative conceit is the rainbow of colored arcs that engirds the pounced- and burnished-gold sun above Christopher and his divine burden.

The placement of seated apostles before the bed of the dying Madonna in the Walters *Dormition* (fig. 14) recalls

renditions of the same subject by the Bedford Master like the one in the Bedford Hours itself, painted between about 1415 and 1425 (London, Brit. Lib., Add. 18850, fol. 89v).<sup>42</sup> But while the disciples in the foreground of the Bedford *Dormition of the Virgin* all focus on their devotional readings, most of the same Walters apostles, like their counterparts in the Besançon *Dormition* of about 1430 cited above (New York, Morgan Library, M.293, fol. 9), look up from their texts.<sup>43</sup> The suffrage to Nicholas in Walters 269 is illustrated with the most commonly rendered episode from the bishop-saint's life, his resuscitation of three boys who had been pickled in a brine tub (fol. 112).<sup>44</sup> In most depictions of the event, the youths stand up in the tub and express their gratitude to Nicholas; the depiction in the name manuscript of the Boucicaut Master, the Hours made in Paris around 1410 for Jean le Meingre, Maréchal de Boucicaut, is representative (Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, Ms. 2, fol. 33v).<sup>45</sup> In the Walters depiction, however, only two of the three boys face their benefactor; the third is already out of the tub and about to walk away with his back to Nicholas.





Fig. 13. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, w.269 (Book of Hours), fol. 84: *Crucifixion* (in initial: *Pelican in Her Piety*). Walters 269 Style, Rheims, ca. 1455



Fig. 14. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, w.269 (Book of Hours), fol. 116: *Dormition of the Virgin*. Walters 269 Style, Rheims, ca. 1455

In most contemporary French Coronations of the Virgin, the Savior blesses His Mother as an angel places a crown on her head; the Boucicaut Hours again provides a typical example (fol. 95v).<sup>46</sup> In the Walters 269 rendition, however, the Savior does not bless the Madonna, but rather reaches for the crown, in order either to do the honors himself or to help the angel do so (fig. 11). I know of only one other Coronation in which the Savior holds the crown together with the angel, the one in a western French Horae in Geneva that Eberhard König has localized to Angers and dated to the 1450s (Bibl. Publ. et Universitaire, Ms. Comites Latentes 6, fol. 63).<sup>47</sup>

As the miniatures in the Schwartz fragment measure only some four centimeters high, the compositions there are highly compressed and simplified. The Schwartz Last Judgment (fig. 15), for example, lacks two of the angels and four of the souls who appear in the Walters 269 rendition (fig. 12). There is also no space in the Schwartz miniature for the golden letters that record the Lord's utterances in French and the souls' pleas in Latin. But while the knees of

the Walters judge do not visibly protrude beneath his angular red overgarment, they clearly do so in the Schwartz Last Judgment, a naturalistic observation that we will see again in the last three of the eight codices in the Walters 269 style.

In the Coronation of the Virgin in the ex-Fogg Hours (fig. 16), the Madonna's bent right knee and her son's thighs and knees are as clearly defined as they are in the Schwartz Last Judgment (fig. 15). The orb under the ex-Fogg Lord's left hand also rests more convincingly on his left thigh than it does in the Walters Coronation (fig. 11). A comparison between the Walters and ex-Fogg Visitations further underscores the greater monumentality of the latter representation (fols. 25 and 26, respectively).<sup>48</sup> In both the Virgin has emerged from the improbably narrow and low doorway of a doll's house with turrets roofed in red at the left to meet her cousin. The two miniatures also include at the lower left a strange, seemingly subtropical succulent tree or bush tipped with gold that looks to have been transplanted from a panel painting by Hieronymus Bosch.





Fig. 15. New York, Coll. Scott Schwartz, Ms. 62 (Book of Hours), fol. 20: *Last Judgment*. Walters 269 Style, Rheims, ca. 1460

The Walters Madonna appears slight, however, when compared with the rounder and fuller ex-Fogg Virgin. Both of the ex-Fogg characters' physiognomies are also more plastically modeled than those of their Walters counterparts. And while the trailing end of the pink overgarment worn by the Walters Elizabeth defies gravity to form sharp, angular folds that recall the stuffs of Konrad Witz, the same end of fabric in the ex-Fogg Visitation rests weightily on the ground.

The setting of the Walters 269 Flight into Egypt (fol. 48) still recalls Boucicaut landscapes of the early fifteenth century like the one behind the Flight in the Chevalier Hours (London, Brit. Lib., Add. 16997, fol. 77).<sup>49</sup> In both, improbably tiny bonsai trees pepper the foreground and a stream paralleling the picture plane divides the middle ground from the background. In the same ex-Fogg subject (fol. 43), by contrast, tiny trees appear only in the middle ground and the rolling hills in the distance are more convincing than any in the Walters codex.<sup>50</sup>

An even more pronounced naturalism characterizes what I believe to be the latest of the seven Books of Hours in the



Fig. 16. London (formerly), Sotheby's, 2 July 2013, lot 64 (ex-London, Sam Fogg, 1995) (Book of Hours), fol. 49: *Coronation of the Virgin*. Walters 269 style, Rheims, ca. 1460

Walters 269 style, the one owned in the sixteenth century by Marguerite Cuissotte (figs. 17–18). The composition of the Cuissotte Visitation (fig. 17), for example, recalls those in Walters 269 (fol. 25), the Schwartz fragment (fol. 5), and the ex-Fogg Hours (fol. 26).<sup>51</sup> Only in the Cuissotte representation, however, is the doorway of the Virgin's house wide enough to have accommodated her. In addition, the surfaces both of the house and of the outcrop in the distance are the first to be textured rather than left smooth.

No other landscape in the Walters 269 style is as ambitiously profound as that behind the Cuissotte Annunciation to the Shepherds (fol. 45).<sup>52</sup> To be sure, the middle-ground hillocks, the river parallel to the picture plane beyond, and the distant townscapes with red and blue roofs can all be found in the same subject in Walters 269 (fol. 38v).<sup>53</sup> The green wattle fence just in front of the Cuissotte river is also familiar from many earlier Rheims landscapes.

However, the enlargement of the Cuissotte middle ground to accommodate three more shepherds and a second flock of





Fig. 17. Rheims, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 2852 (Hours of Marguerite Cuissotte), fol. 24: *Visitation*. Walters 269 Style, Rheims, ca. 1465

sheep has no precedent in earlier landscapes in the Walters 269 style. Unfortunately, the insertion of a puny, tadpole-shaped source of water in the foreground renders the Cuissotte setting unconvincing as a whole; the landscape behind the ex-Fogg Flight (fol. 43) is much more naturalistic.<sup>54</sup> In the Cuissotte Flight (fol. 53), the distant river paralleling the picture plane, the structures on the rises beyond it, and the sky above it are spectacularly described in charcoal gray on saturated blue punctuated by bursts of carmine red.<sup>55</sup>

Like those in the Schwartz and ex-Fogg codices, the figures in the Cuissotte Hours are more plastically modeled than those in earlier Rheims manuscripts, as can be seen comparing the Savors in the Walters and Cuissotte Last Judgments (fig. 12 and fol. 73, respectively).<sup>56</sup> In the Walters Dormition of the Virgin (fig. 14), a series of parallel creases barely disturbs the flat plane established by the red bedspread. By contrast, the same covering in the Cuissotte Dormition (fig. 18) is given greater volume both by folding it down under the Madonna's arms and by crumpling it more markedly along the bed's far edge.



Fig. 18. Rheims, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 2852 (Hours of Marguerite Cuissotte), fol. 89: *Dormition of the Virgin*. Walters 269 Style, Rheims, ca. 1465

We have already seen that the stone surfaces in the Cuissotte Visitation (fig. 17) are the first in the Walters 269 style to be visibly textured. Careful observation of quotidian detail was a hallmark of southern Netherlandish painting already by the 1420s. That the Cuissotte artist was aware of those naturalistic achievements is further suggested by the row of domestic household vessels under the tiny baldachino behind the Madonna in the Cuissotte Annunciation (fol. 14).<sup>57</sup>

The seated apostle at the lower right in the Cuissotte Dormition of the Virgin (fig. 18) may have been inspired by a specific southern Netherlandish figure. To be sure, the Cuissotte apostle's mourning gesture is not unlike those of the two at either end of the Madonna's pillow in the Boucicaut Dormition in the celebrated *Livre des merveilles* given on New Year's Day of 1413 by John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, to his uncle John, duke of Berry (fol. 163).<sup>58</sup>

The Cuissotte apostle, however, raises his bent right arm away from his torso. This creates a gap between his trunk and





Fig. 19. New York (formerly), Christie's, 9 April 2013, lot 1 (*Aiguillon d'amour divin*), fol. 101: *Sister and Brother of the Hôtel-Dieu de Rheims Witnessing Crucifixion with Mary and John*. Walters 269 Style, Rheims, 1461 or slightly later

the drapery end that hangs from the crutch of his right arm. Those same details characterize the standing mourner directly to the Madonna's left in the Lamentation panel in *The Hague* ascribed to the workshop of Rogier van der Weyden of Brussels (Mauritshuis, Inv. 264).<sup>59</sup> Dendrochronological analysis suggests that the panel itself was ready for painting only after 1438; dates for the execution range from the 1440s to the early 1460s.

As Maxence Hermant first recognized, the Rheims painter of the *Cuissotte Hours* was also responsible for the six miniatures in a copy of the *Aiguillon d'amour divin* (Spur of Divine Love) sold at Christie's of New York in 2013 (fig. 19).<sup>60</sup> A colophon informs us that the transcription of the manuscript was completed on 11 September 1461; three sixteenth-century owners, all sisters of the Hôtel-Dieu de Rheims, added inscriptions to folio 202 verso and the inside top and bottom covers.<sup>61</sup>



Fig. 20. Paris, Bibl. Nationale de France, n.a.l. 3191 (*Book of Hours*), fol. 61: *Christ Nailed to the Cross*. Master of Charles de France, Poitiers, ca. 1455–60

Founded in the fifth century, the Hôtel-Dieu was a hostel for pilgrims, the sick, the destitute, the hungry, the unemployed, and others in need.<sup>62</sup> Located cater-corner from the north tower of the west façade of Rheims cathedral, the hostel was staffed by twenty sisters and nine brothers who followed the Augustinian rule but were not part of the Augustinian order. Women and men lived in entirely separate quarters and were not supposed even to converse with one another. The sisters cared for the sick; the brothers occupied themselves with the practical administration of the hostel and sang the Divine Office in the chapel. An Augustinian Canon Regular from the nearby abbey of Saint-Denis most likely administered the sacraments.

Was the *Aiguillon d'amour divin* made for a sister of the Hôtel-Dieu de Rheims in 1461? A kneeling woman in a miniver-lined black garment that resembles a nun's habit and a blue belt studded with what appear to be small bells appears in four of the manuscript's six miniatures (fols. 3, 10,



48; fig. 19).<sup>63</sup> In all but one of the four (fol. 3), the woman appears on the left side. In two of the four illuminations (fol. 48, fig. 19), the right side is occupied by a kneeling man clad in a rather elegant fur-lined blue garment with a red belt that also appears to be strung with bells.

A surviving late medieval rule for the sisters of the Hôtel-Dieu stipulates only that they were expected to dress modestly and to wear a black veil when they went out; the published literature does not reveal what was expected sartorially of the brothers. Were it not for the headdress and the sinister placement of the male, one might conclude that the woman in the four *Aiguillon* miniatures is a widow and the man opposite her in two of the four her late husband. The headdress and its wearer's dexter position, however, make it seem more likely that the woman is a sister and the man a brother of the Hôtel-Dieu. If I am right, the differently colored belts must have identified the twenty sisters and nine brothers of the hostel. Were the bells on their belts differently sized so that women and men could hear and thereby avoid encountering one another in the hostel's public spaces?<sup>64</sup>

Given the more frequent appearance and more privileged position of the woman in the four *Aiguillon* miniatures, it seems more likely that she was the commissioner or recipient of the manuscript. Readers may well wonder, though, whether the sisters and brothers of the Hôtel-Dieu could have been allowed to dress so sumptuously, as all took vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. In addition, none were allowed personal possessions; how could one of them have owned the *Aiguillon*, even in the early sixteenth century?

First, when one of the Hôtel-Dieu's twenty sisters died, Rheims' best families competed fiercely to put one of their own in her place. A sister of the Hôtel-Dieu would probably therefore have had the wherewithal to afford a book like the *Aiguillon*, or to have had relatives with the necessary means. Second, as Jeffrey Hamburger has shown for late medieval German nuns, "private possessions were at least as common [in convents] as the sermons, treatises, and Rules that admonish against them" and "no less than communes, convents required sumptuary laws."<sup>65</sup> Given all of this, I am inclined to conclude that the *Aiguillon* was made in 1461 for a sister of the Hôtel-Dieu de Rheims and then bequeathed to the sixteenth-century sisters who left their inscriptions of ownership.

On the one hand, the poses and gestures of the Madonna and the Lord in the *Aiguillon* Coronation of the Virgin (fol. 18) closely resemble those in the same subject in Walters 269

(fig. 11).<sup>66</sup> Given the later date of the former book, however, it is hardly surprising that the clearly defined knees of the *Aiguillon* Lord are closer to those of his counterpart in the ex-Fogg Coronation (fig. 16) and the Saviors in the Schwartz and Cuißotte Last Judgments (fig. 15, fol. 73).<sup>67</sup>

The apostles to whom Jesus teaches the Pater Noster in the *Aiguillon* (fol. 30v) mirror in large part the same figures in the Walters 269 Pentecost (fol. 87).<sup>68</sup> Gabriel's parti-colored wings and the Virgin's star-studded blue garment in the *Aiguillon* Annunciation (fol. 10), however, recall the same features in the Cuißotte Annunciation (fol. 14).<sup>69</sup> With its rolling hills and partly hidden townscapes, the setting behind the Savior and his disciples in the *Aiguillon* Pater Noster (fol. 30v) most closely resembles those that foil the ex-Fogg Visitation and Flight (fols. 26, 43).<sup>70</sup> Even so, we still see in the *Aiguillon* landscape the rises with jigsaw-puzzle indentations that characterize Rheims manuscripts as far back as the Cauchon group (figs. 1–2).

The same indentations scallop the mound at the foot of the cross in the *Aiguillon* Crucifixion (fig. 19). What is most noteworthy in that miniature, however, is the strikingly broken and bloodied body of Christ, especially when contrasted with the Saviors in earlier Walters 269 Crucifixions (figs. 4, 13; Vienna, Öst. Nationalbibl., s.n. 13242, fol. 64v). This is surely because the *Aiguillon* was destined for a quasi-clerical owner rather than a secular one.

When were the eight Rheims manuscripts grouped around Walters 269 made? To answer that question, we must first date the three Cauchon codices and John on Patmos cutting. On the one hand, the strong resemblance between the bas-de-pages beneath the Cauchon Martyrdom of Quentin (fol. 142) and Marguerite d'Orléans God the Father (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1156B, fol. 158v) suggest a date after 1430 for the Cauchon Hours; in the 2007 *Très riches Heures de Champagne* catalogue, François Avril specifically proposed a date around 1440.<sup>71</sup> By contrast, the backdrops of the Reiss & Sohn John on Patmos (fig. 1), the surviving miniatures in the Frankfurt Hours (Museum für Kunst und Handwerk, Ms. Linel 24), and the added illuminations in the Joffroy Hours (Heribert Tenschert, Cat. 66, no. 2) are all considerably shallower than those in the Cauchon Hours itself (fig. 2).<sup>72</sup> Those less developed settings suggest an earlier date—I propose the 1430s here—for the Reiss & Sohn cutting and Frankfurt and Joffroy Horae.

The figure types and backdrops in the earliest manuscripts in the Walters 269 style, the Hours sold at Sotheby's in 1982 (figs. 3, 4) and Rheims 2788 (figs. 5, 6), already invite comparison with paintings by Konrad Witz of the late 1430s like the Esther and Ahasuerus in Basel (Kunstmuseum, Inv. 643).<sup>73</sup> Huge gemstones like those that stud the hem, sleeves, and collar of Ahasuerus' overgarment also appear repeatedly in the miniatures in Walters 269 itself (figs. 9, 11; fol. 76).<sup>74</sup> On the other hand, the seated apostle in the lower right-hand corner of the Dormition in the Cuissotte Hours (fig. 18), probably the latest of the seven Rheims Horae in the Walters 269 style, seems to derive from a figure type developed by Rogier van der Weyden or his atelier in the 1440s or 1450s (The Hague, Mauritshuis, Inv. 264).<sup>75</sup> Finally, the codex in the Walters 269 style closest to the Cuissotte Hours, the *Aiguillon d'amour divin*, was written in 1461 (fig. 19).

Taking all of this into consideration, I propose to date the two earliest Horae, the 1982 Sotheby's Hours and Rheims 2788, around 1450; the two middle-period codices, the Vienna Horae and Walters 269, to about 1455; the two more mature Rheims books, the Schwartz fragment and ex-Fogg Hours, around 1460; and the latest of the seven Rheims Horae, the Cuissotte Hours, to about 1465. Given the fundamentally retrospective and conservative character of the Walters 269 style, however, dates five or more years later for some or all of the seven Books of Hours cannot be ruled out.

It is well known that the compositional inventions of Rogier van der Weyden quickly found their way across northern Europe during the artist's lifetime. I have suggested here that the march of Charles VII from Orléans to Rheims in 1429 may explain how the illuminators of the eight codices grouped around Walters 269 apparently became aware of artistic developments in Angers and Rennes. While I cannot determine at present how those Rheims painters seemingly became familiar with the iconographic and formal inventions of their colleagues in Besançon and Basel, there is evidence to suggest that the Walters 269 illuminators themselves influenced stylistic developments well to their west and south in the third quarter of the fifteenth century.

My principal piece of evidence is an extraordinary Book of Hours written for use in Poitiers, some 400 kilometers to the southwest of Rheims, in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (fig. 20).<sup>76</sup> In 1993, François Avril localized the manuscript to Poitiers itself, dated it in the late 1450s, and ascribed it to the youthful Master of Charles de France.

Both the Walters 269 painters and the Charles de France Master favor similarly stumpy figures with oversized heads; compare the characters in the Walters Presentation (fig. 10) with the executioners in the Poitiers Nailing to the Cross (fig. 20). The older bearded males in both miniatures also bear a striking resemblance to one another. Plausible scale is unabashedly disregarded by both groups of artists; the Rheims 2788 Nativity (fig. 6), Walters 269 Christopher Carrying the Child (fol. 113), and Poitiers Nailing to the Cross (fig. 20) are representative. In addition, the Walters 269 illuminator and the Charles de France Master both edge pathways or waterways with tiny, wedge-shaped bonsai trees or bushes. These can be seen behind the praying David in the Vienna Hours (fig. 7) and along the winding pathway behind Jesus' cross in the Poitiers Nailing (fig. 20).<sup>77</sup>

At the same time, the three couples seated on the ledge beneath the Walters 269 Annunciation (fig. 9) seem to anticipate the courtly men and women in a landscape on the first February page and behind a ledge on the second April page in the name manuscript of the Master of Adelaide of Savoy (Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 76, fols. 2, 4v).<sup>78</sup> Also known as the Poitiers 30 Master, the Master of Adelaide of Savoy began his career in Angers in the late 1440s. He was working in Poitiers by the early 1450s; the Hours in Chantilly from which he takes his name were painted in Poitiers in the early 1460s.

Finally, the wedge-shaped bonsai trees or shrubs behind the Vienna David (fig. 7) and Poitiers Nailing (fig. 20) invite comparison with the even more strongly stylized micro-conifers in the Nativity (fol. 44) and Flight (fol. 52) in a Besançon Hours of the third quarter of the fifteenth century that was offered by Heribert Tenschert in 2007 (Cat. 58, no. 17) and again in 2013 (Cat. 71, no. 8).<sup>79</sup> Both the Charles de France Master and Tenschert painter also pepper some of their arid landscapes with scatterings of small stones; the two Tenschert miniatures and Poitiers Pietà (fol. 13) are good examples.<sup>80</sup>

The resemblances between Rheims and Poitiers manuscript illumination at mid-century appear to be more than coincidental. Did the Charles de France Master receive some or all of his early training in Rheims? Did Walters 269 compositions find their way to Poitiers? The landscape mannerisms common to the Charles de France manuscript and Besançon Hours establish another link between eastern and western France. How, though, does one bridge the 400-kilometer gap between Poitiers and Rheims, and by extension the 435-kilometer one between Poitiers and Besançon?



The link, I suspect, is the patronage and influence of two members of the powerful Jouvenel des Ursins family. Between about 1445 and 1449, an unidentified Parisian panel painter depicted Jean Jouvenel des Ursins, his wife Michèle de Vitry, and their eleven surviving children kneeling in prayer in an ecclesiastical interior (Paris, Musée de Cluny [on loan from Paris, Musée du Louvre], Inv. 9618).<sup>81</sup> Born in Troyes around 1360, the family patriarch rose from modest beginnings to become provost of the merchants of Paris and general counsel to the city's parliament. When the Burgundians took control of Paris in 1419, Jean fled to Poitiers, where he became president of the city's newly established parliament; he died in exile in Poitiers in 1431.

The first and last of Jean's seven sons both became powerful clerics. The eldest, Jean II, can be seen kneeling just behind his parents in the Paris panel. Born in 1388, he also fled Paris in 1418 for Poitiers, where in 1425 he became general counsel to the city's parliament. In 1432 he was awarded the bishopric of Beauvais; in 1444 he was made bishop of nearby Laon; and in 1449 he succeeded Jacques, his youngest brother, as archbishop of Rheims, a position he still held at the time of his death in 1473.

Jacques kneels at the far right of the Paris panel. Born in 1410, he also followed his parents to Poitiers, where he studied law. In 1431 Jacques set up a practice there and in 1439 he succeeded his brother Jean II as general counsel to the parliament of Poitiers. In 1444 Jacques was elevated to the archbishopric of Rheims; in 1449 he ceded the archepiscopal chair to his brother and became bishop of Poitiers, a post he occupied up until his death in 1457.

From 1444 to 1449, then, the most important ecclesiastical position in Rheims was held by Jacques Jouvenel des Ursins, a man who had spent the preceding 26 years in Poitiers and who would return there upon resigning the archepiscopal chair. From 1449 to 1473 the same chair was occupied by Jacques' brother Jean II, a man who had spent fourteen years of his adult life in Poitiers. Given these circumstances, it is not hard to imagine how both illuminators and their inventions could move between Poitiers and Rheims—and by extension between Poitiers and Besançon via Rheims—at mid-century.

The eight Rheims manuscripts grouped around Walters 269 are illuminated in one of the most idiosyncratic and gloriously eccentric of late medieval French regional styles. They and the Hours by the Charles de France and Adelaide of Savoy Masters also suggest that art and artists could travel

considerable distances in mid-fifteenth-century France and that the peregrinations of powerful individuals were sometimes the spur for those movements. Finally, the Walters 269 style points to the existence of at least two strong artistic axes that largely or entirely bypassed Paris at mid-century: one running from the southern Netherlands to Champagne to the Franche-Comté to Basel, and the other extending from eastern to western France. In an essay published in 2013, a problematic Besançon Hours of about 1440 led me to a preliminary examination of the first of those two axes.<sup>82</sup> Further study of both axes, little explored to date, will surely reward future researchers and hopefully delight their eyes as much as the Walters 269 manuscripts have regaled mine.

Gregory Clark (gclark@sewanee.edu) is Professor of Art History at the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee.

## NOTES

This essay began as a presentation on 23 October 2008 at the colloquium "L'enluminure au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Reflexions autour de l'exposition *Très Riches Heures de Champagne*" at the Médiathèque Falala in Rheims. I would like to thank Matthieu Gerbault, Curator of Manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Municipale de Reims, for inviting me to speak, and Roger De Kesel, Jeffrey Hamburger, Maxence Hermant, James Marrow, Lilian Randall, Scott Schwartz, and Roger Wieck for their kind assistance with matters large and small.

1. Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York and Baltimore, 1988 [repr. 2001]), 118, 188–89, no. 41, fig. 98; Lilian M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, II: France, 1420–1540* (Baltimore, 1992), 139–44, no. 129; 593, figs. 231–32; and 640, fig. 397.
2. Sotheby's, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, London, 7 December 1982, 119–20, lot 89, fig. on p. 118.
3. Otto Pächt and Dagmar Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: Französische Schule I* (Vienna, 1974), 161–62, Abb. 366.
4. London, Sotheby's, *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, 21 June 1988, 117–19, lot 109, fig. on p. 118.
5. Heribert Tenschert, *Leuchtendes Mittelalter, Neue Folge III. Vom Heiligen Ludwig zum Sonnenkönig. 34 Werke der Französischen Buchmalerei aus Gotik, Renaissance, und Barock* (Catalogue 45) (comps. Eberhard König, Gabriele Bartz, and Heribert Tenschert) (Ramsen [CH] and Rothlalmünster [D], 2000), 166–78, no. 10 (ex-Königstein im Taunus [D], Reiss & Auvermann, *Wertvolle Bücher, Dekorative Graphik* [Auction 52], 12–16 October 1993, 9–10, lot 662, pl. 1).

6. François Avril, Maxence Hermant, and Françoise Bibolet, *Très riches heures de Champagne: L'enluminure en Champagne à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris, 2007), 116–19, no. 17.
  7. Marrow's four slides are of the pages with the Visitation (fol. 26), Flight into Egypt (fol. 43), Coronation of the Virgin (fol. 49, my fig. 16), and first page of the French-language calendar (1–15 January, fol. 1). There we see that Remy is entered in red on 13 January. That feast, the *Transitus Remigii*, is red-letter exclusively in Rheims. I would like to thank both Sam Fogg and his assistant Arcadia Fletcher for their efforts to identify the Horae in question before it reappeared at Sotheby's in 2013.
  8. Sotheby's, *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* (Sale L13240), London, 2 July 2013, 50, lot 64, 2 color ills. (Visitation [fol. 26] and Flight into Egypt [fol. 43]). The sale of the Rheims Hours at Sotheby's was noted in passing by Maxence Hermant in Toulouse, Musée des Augustins, *Trésors enluminés: De Toulouse à Sumatra*, exh. cat., Toulouse (2013), 62.
  9. Twenty-six assembled leaves (81 × 62 mm.); 1 text column, 13 lines (44 × 33 mm). The four miniatures not illustrated here are the Visitation (fol. 5), Nativity (fol. 9), Adoration of the Magi (fol. 13) and Flight into Egypt (fol. 17v). I would like to thank Scott Schwartz for letting me consult and photograph his manuscript in March of 2008.
  10. Avril, Hermant, and Bibolet 2007 (note 6). For Rheims 2788, see 120–21, no. 18; for Rheims 2852, see 116–20, no. 17.
  11. At the last of the three exhibition venues, Rheims 2788 and 2852 were joined by the Schwartz fragment.
  12. Maxence Hermant, "L'enluminure à Reims à la fin du Moyen Age," *La vie en Champagne*, n.s. 56 (October–December 2008), 4–11, and more specifically 8 (with two figs.) and endnotes 18–20.
  13. Hermant 2008 (note 12), 8 and endnote 20.
  14. *Catalogue illustré des livres précieux, manuscrits, et imprimés faisant partie de la Bibliothèque de M. Ambroise Firmin-Didot*, Paris, 11–16 June 1883, 41–42, lot 27 (auctioned on 13 June).
  15. Christie's, *The Collection of Arthur & Charlotte Vershbow. Part One: Highlights from Schongauer to Chagall*, New York, 9 April 2013, 8–11, lot 1.
  16. Toulouse 2013 (note 8), 62–63, no. 11, color fig. on p. 63.
  17. Avril, Hermant, and Bibolet 2007 (note 6), 14, 62.
  18. Avril, Hermant, & Bibolet 2007 (as in note 6), 112–15, no. 16.
  19. Christie's, *The Arcana Collection: Exceptional Illuminated Manuscripts and Incunabula, Part I*, London, 7 July 2010, 90–95, lot 34.
  20. For the Cauchon Visitation, see Paris, Hôtel Drouot, *Trésors de la Bibliothèque du Commandant Paul-Louis Weiller*, 30 November 1998, 32. The Vienna Visitation is reproduced in Millard Meiss, *The De Lévis Hours and the Bedford Workshop* (New Haven, 1972), fig. 22.
  21. Avril, Hermant, and Bibolet 2007 (note 6), 112–14 and fig. 101. For the Hours of Marguerite d'Orléans, see Eberhard König, *Les Heures de Marguerite d'Orléans* (Paris, 1991), and François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440–1520* (Paris, 1993), 29, no. 5; the Marguerite d'Orléans God the Father is reproduced in color in König 1991, 208.
  22. Avril, Hermant, and Bibolet 2007 (note 6), 112.
  23. Königstein im Taunus (D), Reiss & Sohn, *Miniaturen und Einzelblätter* (Auction 112), 24 April 2007, 19, lot 108: 1 leaf (165 × 118 mm); 1 text column, 15 lines (88 × 70 mm). Avril's attribution was delivered personally to the collector. A bifolium (ibid., 19, lot 109) and three sets of six text leaves (ibid., 19, lots 110–12) said to be from the same book were offered at the same sale. A year later, Reiss & Sohn auctioned a David in Prayer (*Miniaturen und Einzelblätter* [Auction 118], 22–23 June 2008, 14, lot 676) together with another bifolium (ibid., 15, lot 677) and another three sets of six text leaves (ibid., 15, lots 678–80) that appear to be from the same manuscript. I would like to thank the owner for all of the information concerning both the John on Patmos leaf and the others from the same codex.
- Although the complete rubbing out of the evangelist's face makes a confident ascription difficult, if not impossible, the John on Patmos (fol. 13) in a Rheims Hours of the 1430s offered by Sotheby's of London late in 2013 is probably also by the Cauchon artist (Sotheby's, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* [Sale L13241], London, 3 December 2013, 48–49, lot 54, color figs. on pp. 48, 49, and back cover). The remaining fifteen half-page miniatures in the 2013 Sotheby's Hours are by a fascinating but unidentified painter whose style invites comparison with those of the Munich Golden Legend and Mansel Masters.
24. Stefan Soltek, Rosamunde Neugebauer, and Dirk H. Veldhuis, *Erlesen Gestiftet: Die Stiftung der Gebrüder Linel in der Buchkunst- und Graphiksammlung des Museums für Kunsthandwerk* (Frankfurt, 1992), 44–45, no. 7. The Annunciation to the Shepherds is reproduced there in color on p. 45.
- While the Frankfurt calendar wants the months of January, September, and October and points only to northern France, the Hours of the Virgin are for Rheims: O admirable (Antiphon at Prime, fol. 46v); Hec est virgo (Capitulum at Prime, fol. 46v); Ecce maria (Antiphon at Nones, fol. 55); Felix namque (Capitulum at Nones, fol. 55; for the use of Rheims, see the notebook of the Abbé Victor Leroquais [Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, n.a.l. 3162], fol. 47). The surviving responsories of the nine-lesson Office of the Dead (the seventh and eighth lessons are lacking) are common to Rheims, Laon, Langres, and a few others (Knud Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* [Aarhus (DK) 1993], 144–46). That the Frankfurt Office of the Dead is for Rheims, however, is confirmed by its seven surviving lessons and versicles, all fourteen of which match those in Walters 269.



25. In addition, the excised incipit of the Gospel Sequence from John would have begun on folio 19 recto of the Frankfurt Hours; the Reiss & Sohn cutting, by contrast, is foliated 25.
26. Eberhard König, *Das Pariser Stundenbuch an der Schwelle zum 15. Jahrhundert: Die Heures de Joffroy und weitere unbekannte Handschriften* (Antiquariat Heribert Tenschert, Catalogue 66; Illuminationen, 15) (Ramsen [CH] & Rotthalmünster [D], 2011), 89–92 and 170–211, no. 2.
27. König 2011 (note 26), 208, and Soltek, Neugebauer, and Veldhuis 1992 (note 24), 45.
28. Illustrated in Sotheby's 1982 (note 2), 118.
29. Avril, Hermant, and Bibolet 2007 (note 6), p. 120; the Rheims 2788 Visitation is illustrated there on page 121 as fig. 107. For Reid 4, see Rowan Watson, *Western Illuminated Manuscripts: A Catalogue of Works in the National Art Library from the Eleventh to the Early Twentieth Century, with a Complete Account of the George Reid Collection* (London, 2011), 1:186–91, no. 31. Folio 16 recto is reproduced there in color on page 188 and in Rowan Watson, *Illuminated Manuscripts and Their Makers: An Account Based on the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 2003), 94.
30. For Konrad Witz and the Mirror of Salvation Altarpiece, see Kunstmuseum Basel, *Konrad Witz*, exh. cat., Ostfildern (D) (2011), 60–107, no. 1; the Esther and Ahasuerus is illustrated in color on page 75.
31. The Morgan 1004 Annunciation is reproduced in Meiss 1972 (note 20), fig. 17 (then in the collection of Arthur Haddaway, Fort Worth, Texas), and John Plummer with Gregory Clark, *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420–1530, from American Collections* (New York, 1982), 2–3, no. 2, fig. 2b. Plummer dated the manuscript between about 1420 and 1425.
32. Folio 68 in the Vienna Hours is reproduced in Pächt & Thoss 1974 (note 3), Abb. 366; for folio 26 in the ex-Fogg Hours, see Sotheby's 2013 (note 8), 50; for folio 76 in Walters 269, see Randall 1992 (note 1), 593, fig. 232.
33. I have already cited the the covered wagon drawn by two horses and preceded by men on horseback in the bas-de-page and outer margin of the Cauchon page with the Martyrdom of Quentin (fol. 142; Avril, Hermant, and Bibolet 2007 [note 6], 114, fig. 101). Other examples in the Cauchon manuscript include the monks in the bas-de-page and the nuns in the outer margin who mourn on the page with the Funeral Service (fol. 85; Christie's 2010 [note 19], 95); the dogs and raptor birds which pursue quail below and to the right of the Adoration of the Magi (fol. 47; *ibid.*, 92); and the virgins who weave garlands in an enclosed garden in the bas-de-page of folio 145 verso (*ibid.*, 90).
34. A wattle fence can also be seen to either side of the enthroned Virgin and Child in the 1982 Sotheby's Hours (fol. 104). As I know that book only from black-and-white reproductions, however, I cannot state with certainty that the wattle fence there is green.
35. The three miniatures in the ex-Fogg Hours contain no wattle fences. Given their presence in every other manuscript in the Walters 269 style, however, they probably did appear in other illuminations now excised from the ex-Fogg codex.
36. Color reproduction of the Cuissotte Nativity appear in Tenschert 2000 (note 5), 175, and Avril, Hermant, and Bibolet 2007 (note 6), 8, fig. 3.
37. In the Montpellier Pentecost (see note 16 above), the architectural setting of the same Vienna subject has been replaced with a gold background and the reading Vienna apostle is absent. The eight figures facing one another in two tight clusters of four, however, are strikingly similar, as Maxence Hermant first realized in 2013 (Toulouse 2013 [note 8], 62).
38. The Morgan 293 Dormition is illustrated online at [corsair.morganlibrary.org](http://corsair.morganlibrary.org). For the manuscript itself, see Plummer and Clark 1982 (note 31), 26, no. 36, fig. 36; Jacques Lauga, *Les manuscrits liturgiques dans le diocèse de Langres à la fin du Moyen Âge: Les commanditaires et leurs artistes* (Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris IV–Sorbonne, École doctorale 6, 2007), 1:191–93, fig. 113; and Gregory T. Clark, "Beyond Saints: Variant Litany Readings and the Localization of Late Medieval Manuscript Books of Hours—The D'Orge Hours," 213–33 in Sandra Hindman and James Marrow, eds., *Books of Hours Reconsidered: Studies in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art History* (London and Turnhout, 2013), 219, 224–25, 227, and figs. 7–9.
39. Reproduced in Randall 1992 (note 1), 593, fig. 232.
40. See note 30 above.
41. See note 33 above.
42. For the Bedford manuscript, see most recently Eberhard König, *The Bedford Hours: The Making of a Medieval Masterpiece* (London, 2007); the Bedford Dormition is reproduced there on page 19.
43. For Morgan 293, see note 38 above.
44. The Walters 269 Nicholas is reproduced in Wieck 1988 (note 1), 118, fig. 98.
45. The most recent evaluation of the Boucicaut Hours, by Inès Villela-Petit, is in Paris, Musée du Louvre, *Paris 1400: Les arts sous Charles VI* (Paris, 2004), 280–82, no. 172. For a color reproduction of the Boucicaut Nicholas, see Albert Châtelet, *L'âge d'or du manuscrit à peintures en France au temps de Charles VI et les Heures du Maréchal Boucicaut* (Dijon, 2000), 266.
46. The Boucicaut Coronation of the Virgin is illustrated in color in Châtelet 2000 (note 45), 302.
47. Eberhard König, *Französische Buchmalerei um 1450: Der Jouvenel-Maler, Der Maler des Genfer Boccaccio, und die Anfänge Jean Fouquets* (Berlin, 1982), 237–41 and figs. 142, 144–51 156–57 (as Turin, Coll. Segré Amar), and Christopher de Hamel, *Hidden Friends: The Comites Latentes Collection of Illuminated Manuscripts*

- (London, 1985), no. 13. The Coronation of the Virgin itself is reproduced in König 1982, fig. 147.
48. The ex-Fogg Visitation is reproduced in Sotheby's 2013 (note 8), 50.
  49. The Chevalier Flight is illustrated in Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master* (London, 1968), fig. 288.
  50. For a reproduction of the ex-Fogg Flight, see Sotheby's 2013 (note 8), 50.
  51. The ex-Fogg Visitation appears in Sotheby's 2013 (note 8), 50.
  52. Avril, Hermant, and Bibolet 2007 (note 6), 15, fig. 7, and Tenschert 2000 (note 5), 173.
  53. Avril, Hermant, & Bibolet 2007 (note 6), 66, fig. 58.
  54. The ex-Fogg Flight appears in Sotheby's 2013 (note 8), 50.
  55. Color reproductions of the Cuissotte Flight can be found in Avril, Hermant, and Bibolet (note 6), 116, fig. 103, and Tenschert 2000 (note 5), 173.
  56. The Cuissotte Last Judgment appears in color in Avril, Hermant, and Bibolet (note 6), 117, fig. 104, and Tenschert 2000 (note 5), 175.
  57. The Cuissotte Annunciation is reproduced in Sotheby's, *Fifty Magnificent Illuminated Manuscripts* (Sale L02243), London, 3 December 2002, 76, and Tenschert 2000 (note 5), 169.
  58. For the *Livre des merveilles*, see most recently Cleveland, Museum of Art, *Art from the Court of Burgundy: The Patronage of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, 1364–1419* (Cleveland, 2004), 119, no. 47. The miniature itself is reproduced in Meiss 1968 (note 49), fig. 95.
  59. The Hague Lamentation was included in Lorne Campbell and Jan Van der Stock, eds., *Rogier van der Weyden, 1400–1464: Master of Passions* (Leuven, 2009), 511–13, no. 76, and is reproduced on page 513.
  60. Christie's 2013 (note 15), 8–11, lot 1.
  61. Mil iiii<sup>e</sup> lxi le xi<sup>me</sup> de septembre fut acomplir / priez n[ost]re s[ei] g[neu] sil vous plait pour cil q[ue] lescrip (fol. 196); Ce present livre a partient a soeur / perette charpentier Religieuse de la / Maison de dieu de ceste viller de / Reims quy le feu trovera a la main de soeur perrette Charpentier le lendra / religeust / 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 o viz (inside top cover above, in cursiva); Ce present livre a partient a soeur / Perrette Charpentier Religieuse de la / maison de dieu de ceste viller de Reims / quy le trouvera il aura vien / pater et vii aut Maria (inside top cover below, in cursiva); Ce present livre est a seure margery bra [illegible] / religieuse de lostel dieu de Reims (fol. 202v, in cursiva); Ce p[rese]nt livre appartient / a seure marie lalemant / Religieuse de lostel dieu / de Reims. 1525 (inside bottom cover, in textura).
  62. For the medieval history of this institution, see E. Queutelot, *Les Religieuses Augustines de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Reims* (Rheims, 1927), 6–23.
  63. Folio 10 of the *Aguillon* is reproduced in color in Christie's 2013 (note 15), 10.
  64. By contrast, the unmistakable nun who witnesses the Annunciation in a slightly later Hours for Rheims use (present whereabouts unknown) does not wear a belt (J. W. Bradley, *Notes on a Book of Hours for the 'Use' of the Metropolitan Diocese of Rheims [Probably Commissioned by the Abbess of St. Remy] ca. 1450–60* [London, s.d.], pl. opp. p. 6; Avril, Hermant, and Bibolet 2007 [note 6], 62 and n.94).  
Unfortunately, Bradley reproduced only that one miniature. To judge from the depth of the sliver of landscape at the Annunciation's far right, however, the codex should probably be dated between about 1460 and 1470. A more routine artisan working in the same style illustrated a Rheims Hours now in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Ms. H.4; Pierpont Morgan Library, *Eighteenth Report to the Fellows* [New York, 1978], 54). A third Rheims Hours made probably also in the 1460s was offered at Christie's of London in 1978 (*Early Printed Books, Atlases, Natural History and Manuscripts*, London, 21 June 1978, 72, lot 254, 1 color ill.; John Herbert, ed., *Christie's Review of the Season 1978* [London, 1978], 380). Both the one illumination illustrated in the cited literature, a rather Eyckian Crucifixion, and the floral border that surrounds it look to be the work of southern Netherlandish artisans whose hands I have not yet found in other manuscripts.
  65. Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York, 1998), 74.
  66. For the *Aguillon* Coronation of the Virgin, see Christie's 2013 (note 15), 11.
  67. The Cuissotte Last Judgment is reproduced in Avril, Hermant, and Bibolet 2007 (note 6), 117, fig. 104, and Tenschert 2000 (note 5), 175. The composition of the Cuissotte Coronation of the Virgin (fol. 60; Avril, Hermant, and Bibolet 2007 [note 6], 119, fig. 106), by contrast, does not especially resemble those of the Walters 269, ex-Fogg, or *Aguillon* Coronations.
  68. A color reproduction of the *Aguillon* subject appears in Christie's 2013 (note 15), 8.
  69. The *Aguillon* Annunciation is reproduced in Christie's 2013 (note 15), 10, while the same Cuissotte subject appears in Sotheby's 2002 (note 57), 76, and in Tenschert 2000 (note 5), 169.
  70. The *Aguillon* Pater Noster is reproduced in color in Christie's 2013 (note 15), 8, and the two ex-Fogg miniatures appear in Sotheby's 2013 (note 8), 50.
  71. See note 21 above.
  72. See notes 24 and 26 above.
  73. See note 30 above.
  74. For folio 76 of Walters 269, see Randall 1992 (note 1), 593, fig. 232.
  75. See note 59 above.
  76. Avril and Reynaud 1993 (note 21), 158–60, no. 80.
  77. Both the Vienna David (fig. 7) and the Martin Dividing His Cloak



in the Poitiers codex (fol. 147v) also contain improbably even rows of conical trees on their horizons.

78. For the Master of Adelaide of Savoy, see Avril and Reynaud 1993 (note 21), 123–26; for the Hours of Adelaide of Savoy, see most recently Chantilly, Musée Condé, *L'enluminure en France au temps de Jean Fouquet* (Paris, 2003), 34–42, 84–85, figs. 25–29. Folios 2 and 4v are reproduced in Janine Bouissounouse, *Jeux et travaux d'après un livre d'heures du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Documents artistiques du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, 3) (Paris, 1925), pls. 3 and 8, respectively.
79. Heribert Tenschert, *Leuchtendes Mittelalter, Neue Folge IV. 32 illuminierte Manuskripte aus Frankreich vom 13. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert* (Catalogue 58) (Ramsen [CH] and Rotthalmünster [D], 2007), 208–19, no. 17, and Eberhard König, *Tour de France. 32 Manuskripte aus den Regionen Frankreichs ohne Paris und die Normandie, 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (Antiquariat Heribert Tenschert, Catalogue 71) (Ramsen [CH] and Rotthalmünster [D], 2013), 185–200, no. 8 (ex-Christie's, *The Library of William Foyle. Part I: Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, London, 11 July 2000, 134–37, lot 45). The Nativity and Flight are reproduced in Tenschert 2007, 213 and 217, respectively, and Tenschert 2013, 190 and 193, respectively; the Flight also appears in Christie's 2000 on page 137.
80. The Poitiers Pietà is illustrated on page 160 in Avril and Reynaud 1993 (note 21). For reproductions of the two Tenschert miniatures, see note 79 above.
81. For the Cluny panel, see most recently Charles Sterling, *La peinture médiévale à Paris, 1300–1500*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1990), 28–35, no. 1, figs. 1, 3–6, and 9.
82. Clark 2013 (note 38).

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: Bibliothèque municipale de Reims: figs. 5, 6, 17, 18; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris: fig. 20; Gregory T. Clark: fig. 15; Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London: figs. 2, 3, 4; James H. Marrow: figs. 16, 19; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna: figs. 7, 8; Private collection: fig. 1; The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (Susan Tobin): figs. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14





## THE ST. COSMAS AND ST. DAMIAN CAPITAL: A PYRENEAN SCULPTURE AT THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM

CÉLINE BRUGEAT

In 1967 the Walters Art Museum acquired a fine fifteenth-century marble double capital that was originally part of the claustral galleries of the Carmelite monastery of Trie-sur-Baïse, near Tarbes (Hautes-Pyrénées) in southern France. Only the monastery's church survives; the cloister was entirely dismantled after the French Revolution, and its remains, including the capitals, were dispersed in the vicinity. Many of the capitals from the monastery were recovered at the beginning of the twentieth century; several are preserved in American collections.<sup>1</sup> The study of the Walters capital's original context and its iconography reveals new perspectives on some architectural aspects of this vanished cloister.

This capital is a rare example of late medieval sculpture with figurative decoration, a feature usually associated with Romanesque art. The four sides comprise a devotional scene centered on two doctor saints, identified as Cosmas and Damian. Two motives governed the appearance of this theme in France: simple piety and a professional affiliation.

### FROM THE MONASTERY OF TRIE TO THE COLLECTION OF THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM

The Carmelite monastery of Trie, ninety-two miles (147 km) southwest of Toulouse, is said to have been founded between 1357 and 1364 by Charles II ("the Bad," 1322–1387), who ruled as king of Navarre over the entire region of Bigorre from 1349 to 1387. In 1364, Trie fell back under French control. In the fifteenth century—the town's golden age—the monastery grew in importance, increasing Trie's prosperity and renown.<sup>2</sup> The presence of arms carved on the vault of the church indicates that many dignitaries, including members of the Foix family, endowed the monastery. This prosperity gave way to the vicissitudes of the Wars of Religion, and during a campaign led by the Huguenot captain Gabriel de Montgomery

between August and December 1569, the monastery was ransacked and the monks executed and dumped into the well of the cloister. The local historians Charles Brun and Jerome Maumus date the sack of the monastery of Trie between 11 October and 17 October 1569.<sup>3</sup> At this time only the church escaped complete destruction.

In 1582, to fund the monastery's reconstruction, the Carmelites sold some of the remains of the cloisters to the Benedictines of Saint-Sever-de-Rustan (Hautes-Pyrénées), whose monastery had been ravaged in 1573 by the troops of Jean Parisot, called "Capitaine Lizier."<sup>4</sup> According to Brun and Maumus, the Carmelites kept the stones with historical or religious value—the pieces carved with coats of arms and devotional scenes.<sup>5</sup> The Benedictine monks of Saint-Sever acquired forty-eight elements of the original eighty, which they reassembled in the Jardin Massey at Tarbes in 1890 (fig. 1).<sup>6</sup> Scholars have recently demonstrated, however, that only two capitals came from Trie, which indicates that the



Fig. 1. Cloister of Saint-Sever-de-Rustan reinstalled in the Jardin Massey, Tarbes, France



Fig 2. Medieval gallery with elements of the Trie Cloister (2007), The Explorers Club (formerly Stephen C. Clark Collection), New York

Benedictines' acquisition was limited mostly to marble columns from the ruined monastery.<sup>7</sup> The capitals that remained at Trie were employed in 1630 to rebuild a new, more modest, cloister. At the time of the sale of the monastery in 1790, the cloister was dismantled and the components were dispersed.

A part of the elements of the cloister's original architecture were described in a monograph published in 1899 titled *Le Cloître de Trie* by Louis Caddau, architect of historic monuments, and the abbot Dom Dulac,<sup>8</sup> who undertook an illustrated inventory and analyzed the remains of the ancient cloister.<sup>9</sup> They focused on the capitals, which were richly decorated with figural religious and secular scenes. At the time, many fragments from the cloister of Trie were still located in individual properties of the town and the vicinity. One of these owners, Alcide Curie-Seimbres (1815–1885), mayor of Trie and a local scholar, collected the majority of the remains. After his death, the collection was sold by his family to the marquis of Gestas at Tarbes; it was purchased in 1906 by the American sculptor George Grey Barnard (1863–1938),<sup>10</sup> who at the time was living in France and working on an important commission.

At the end of 1913, Barnard shipped his collection to the United States, planning to reunite a portion of these fragments in a monumental building that would re-create a Gothic atmosphere, which he called the George Grey Barnard Cloisters.<sup>11</sup> The second group of fragments was purchased by

Stephen C. Clark (1882–1960)<sup>12</sup> in 1912 and installed in the upstairs terrace of his townhouse on East Seventieth Street in Manhattan (fig. 2).<sup>13</sup> During his stay in France, Barnard, who knew about Louis Caddau's publication, tried to purchase the remaining marble pieces still in the hands of other French collectors. In one of his personal notebooks, he identified two capitals in the collection of a local doctor, Hyppolite Nogaro,<sup>14</sup> which were also described in Caddau's publication:

#### *Capital 1*

Front: The Nativity of Christ; the ass brays<sup>15</sup>

#### *Capital 2*

Front: Escutcheon . . . A pair of scissors, a pestle, a box for unguents, symbols of the art of healing. Around the escutcheon a banderole is displayed with a prayer to two brothers martyred under Diocletian: s[ANC]TE COSME ET DAMIANE ORATE PRO NOBIS / Saint Cosmas and [Saint] Damian, pray for us. They exercised the profession of medicine, some attributes of which are represented on the escutcheon.<sup>16</sup>

An illustration of the coat of arms completes the description of the capital (fig. 3).<sup>17</sup>

Nogaro's family history records Barnard's unsuccessful efforts to acquire the two capitals.<sup>18</sup> Nogaro might have sold them to a Parisian art dealer, but the dealer remains unidentified.<sup>19</sup> However, we know that Hyppolite Nogaro lived in Paris until 1912 at the latest. It is before this date that he must have sold the two capitals with the Nativity and the doctor saints, since the two Nogaro capitals appeared in the photographic collection of the Belgian art dealer Georges-Joseph Demotte (1877–1923),<sup>20</sup> who worked in Paris in the early twentieth century (figs. 4, 5).<sup>21</sup> A leading dealer in medieval art, both in France and in the United States (where he established a New York office), Demotte frequently sold



Fig 3. Line drawing by Louis Caddau of guild arms from Walters 27.572. Reproduced from Louis Caddau and Joseph Dulac, *Le Cloître de Trie* (Tarbes, 1899), 25





Fig 4. Photograph of Walters 27.572 in the Demotte Collection, early 20th century

Fig 5. Capital with the Annunciation to the Shepherds in the Demotte Collection, early 20th century

monumental and architectural elements, such as fragments of cloisters; his records, however, are silent on the sale date of the Cosmas and Damian capital.<sup>22</sup>

The Cosmas and Damian capital later reappeared in New York, at an auction organized by Anderson Galleries on 17 March 1923. The sale catalog partially names the former owner, a mysterious “Madame de la P . . . of Paris.”<sup>23</sup> The capital was bought at a price of \$525 by William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951).<sup>24</sup> From 1919 to the end of the 1930s, Hearst amassed a huge collection of medieval architectural fragments and a few entire monuments, such as the famous monastery of Sacramenia, intending to furnish his spectacular villas,<sup>25</sup> from Hearst Castle at San Simeon, California, to the medieval St. Donat’s Castle at Glamorgan, Wales.<sup>26</sup> In addition to his personal properties, Hearst planned to build a medieval museum on the university campus at Berkeley, envisioning, perhaps, the west coast twin of the Cloisters in New York.<sup>27</sup> The project never came to fruition, and the medieval pieces remained stored at a large warehouse in the Bronx until the massive sale of his collection in the 1940s.

At this time, the Walters capital was purchased by the art dealer Joseph Brummer (1883–1947) on 31 July 1944, for \$32.<sup>28</sup> After his death, the capital, together with the majority of his collection, was sold at auction in April 1949.<sup>29</sup> It was acquired by the New York art dealer Leopold Blumka (1898–1973) and remained in Blumka’s private collection until 1967, when it was purchased by the Walters Art Gallery.<sup>30</sup>







Fig 6. Double capital from the Cloister of Trie, French, late 15th century. Gray-white marble, 35.3 × 47 × 32 .1 cm. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, museum purchase with funds provided by the S. & A.P. Fund, 1967 (27.572)





## STRUCTURE AND ORIENTATION

The capital was originally situated in the monastery of Trie's claustral galleries, where it supported limestone arches, protected by a roof. All the capitals, columns, and bases that survive from the cloister are of a translucent gray-white marble, presumed to be from the quarries of Saint-Béat. The double capitals associated with the monastery of Trie have a uniform structure. Their integrated impost is formed by a cavetto, a listel, and a quarter round. The abacus extends into two baskets with a smooth surface separated by a central rib in pointed arch, which balances the iconography. Beveled astragals, linked by a tenon, complete the structure.<sup>31</sup> Ornaments and figures in relief, standing on the molding, occupy the full height of the capital and animate its four sides.

This figurative iconography is dynamic, and the position of each element of the capital is significant. The figures on each side look toward the main scene of devotion on the capital's front. These scenes on the sides and front are integrated compositions intended to be read from a privileged viewpoint, while the decoration on the back is isolated. Other capitals from Trie installed at the Cloisters Collection—for example, the capital presenting Christ before Caiaphas (MMA 36.94.3)—show the same arrangement. The reverse, which represents the Flagellation, is an independent composition. On another capital (MMA 25.120.150), the Apostles on the sides are focused on the scene of the Pentecost on the capital's front. The reverse, representing St. George fighting the dragon, is not thematically related to the side with the Apostles. Both examples, like other capitals from the Trie cloister, demonstrate that the sides communicate visually with the front and guide the viewer's gaze toward it.

Carved for a cloister, each side of the Walters' capital differs according to its position and the way it would have been viewed (figs. 6, 7). For example, the reverse with both standing figures, has a style of carving and an iconography simpler than those of the side and the front that gave on the gallery. Here, the scene of a kneeling man and his patron (separated by an escutcheon) shows a precise and accomplished carving technique, especially with respect to iconographic details: the ornaments stand proud of the smooth surface, the inscriptions on the scrolls are clearly legible, the distinctive characteristics of the clothing define the individuals' social positions and professions, and the figures' hair is articulated in neat scattered locks. All these elements suggest that the

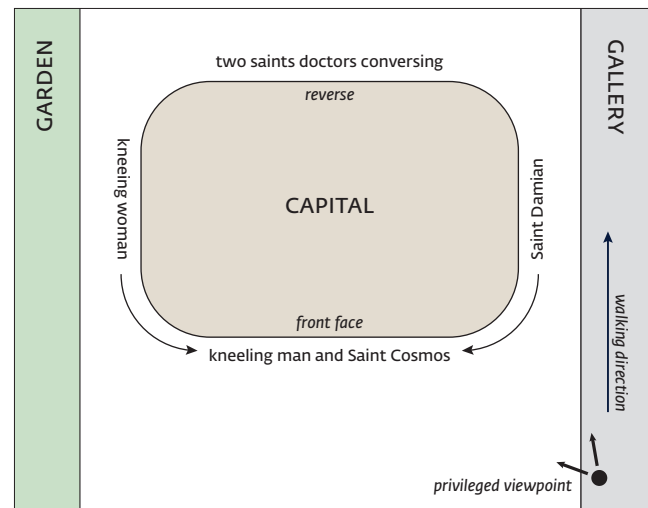


Fig 7. Conjectural plan and orientation of Walters 27.572

side illustrating a devotional scene and the coat of arms was the principal face of the capital and that it would have been placed in the cloister gallery in front of the visitor (fig. 7).

The capital is in good condition, but it is fractured on one side and on the impost. The most substantial damage was done by the henchmen of Gabriel de Montgomery, who ransacked the monastery in 1569; additional damage occurred when the cloister was dismantled during the French Revolution and its sculptures dispersed. It seems also to have suffered in storage.

The Trie capitals show a great degree of originality in their themes and iconography. Some themes seem surprising in the context of a monastery: capitals now in the Explorers Club and the Cloisters Collection, for example, depict children's games, monsters in combat, and scenes of daily life, such as that of a patient with an apothecary. Other capitals from Trie illustrate themes derived from the Old and New Testaments, the Apocalypse of St. John, the Act of the Apostles, and the lives of the saints.<sup>32</sup> All these subjects are combined with representations of devotion and dedications.<sup>33</sup> At the time of the partial sale of the cloister in 1582 (a few years after the sanctuary's destruction), the monks restored a smaller cloister with carved elements bearing the arms of their benefactors.<sup>34</sup> These arms,<sup>35</sup> especially those of the kings of Navarre and of Catherine de Foix and Jean d'Albret (married in 1484),<sup>36</sup> as well as evocations of important contemporary figures, such as Cardinal Pierre de Foix (d. 1490),<sup>37</sup> associate the cloister with a local group of sculptors active in the county of Bigorre at the very end of the fifteenth century.<sup>38</sup>



The Benedictine monasteries of Saint-Sever-de-Rustan and Larreule, located near Trie-sur-Baïse, had cloisters with figurative capitals similar to those of the Trie cloister (figs. 8, 9),<sup>39</sup> but the stylistic treatment points to clear differences among the sculpture from each of these monasteries. The region of Toulouse and Tarbes contains several Gothic cloisters in which the iconographic program is limited to highly stylized foliage.

#### A DEVOTION FROM A GUILD REPRESENTATIVE?

Two figural scenes are represented on the Walters' capital: the front and the sides depict a couple praying before their saints; the back shows two standing medical saints, Cosmas and Damian, who seem to confer. The kneeling woman, on the capital's left, is looking toward the main scene, imitating the gesture of her husband, who holds a book from which extends a scroll engraved *s[ANC]TE COSME ET DAMIANE ORATE PRO NOBIS* (Saints Cosmas and Damian, pray for us). The couple's identity is unknown: they might be benefactors of the monastery or a simple pilgrim couple asking a favor of their patron saints.

The clothing and drapery are simply rendered. The woman wears a modest headdress covering her hair, which falls on her shoulders. Only the lower part of her dress, comprising a corded belt and a long strip of cloth, is preserved. Her husband, depicted on the left side of the main scene, is dressed in a rich coat secured by a belt. The long sleeves, cropped at the forearms, fall to the lower part of his tunic and to his

knees. At his knees, barely visible, is a box or pot of unguents.

The couple's positions on the capital and their attitude of devoted submission suggest that they are not the center of the scene, but secondary to the two saints. Their fine clothing, the *NOBIS* in the inscription, and the presence of the two doctor saints indicate that the man exercised the profession of medicine. During the early Middle Ages, surgery and the care of the sick were responsibilities associated with the clergy; when various councils prohibited the clergy from shedding blood, surgery gradually became a lay profession, exercised by so-called barber-surgeons. The elements that compose the coat of arms—a scalpel or spatula, a pair of scissors, and, at the bottom, a pot of unguents—are the symbols of the medical profession and were often featured early sixteenth-century lead medals<sup>40</sup> and in guilds' coats of arms, such as those of the apothecaries, surgeons, and barbers of Nogent-le-Rotrou (Eure-et-Loir):

*D'argent à un Saint-Cosme et un Saint-Damien de carnation vêtus d'une robe de sable, adextrés d'une boîte couverte de gueules, senestrés d'un rasoir d'azur emmanché de sable, ouvert et posé en pal, et accompagné en pointe d'une paire de ciseaux aussi d'azur.*<sup>41</sup>

The end of the Hundred Years' War marked a new development in the health professions and a substantial increase in the number of practitioners, particularly during the second half of the fifteenth century. Several professions practiced patient care: doctors, apothecaries, surgeons, and barbers. Scholarly medicine was essentially a service for the wealthy, however; for lower classes, the only recourse was to surgeons or barbers, who often carried out the same functions.<sup>42</sup>



Fig 8. Double capital with the Nativity from the monastery at Larreule. The Cloisters Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



Fig 9. Capital with the Raising of Lazarus from the Cloister of Saint-Sever de Rustan. The Cloisters Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The health professions shared a cult of St. Cosmas and St. Damian; their heraldry often combined representations of the two saints and their attributes.<sup>43</sup> Also with professionalization and increasing practitioners, guilds developed in the northern countries of Europe and in France; under their influence the cult and representations of the two saints broadened.<sup>44</sup>

#### THE CULT AND REPRESENTATION OF ST. COSMAS AND ST. DAMIAN

According to the Western tradition, Cosmas and Damian were twin brothers from a Christian family, born in the third century in Cilicia in Asia Minor. Known as the *Anargyroi* (lit. “without money”) they cured the sick without taking payment and healed their patients in the name of Christ. Refusing to sacrifice to pagan cult, they were martyred with their three young brothers in 287. They were buried at Cyrus in Syria, and their remains were subsequently translated to a basilica in Rome.<sup>45</sup>

Cosmas and Damian were frequently represented from Late Antiquity forward in both the Eastern and Western traditions. The emperor Justinian I (r. 527–565), healed through the intercession of the two saints, adorned their church at Constantinople, which became a place of pilgrimage. In the twelfth century, their relics were offered to the French lord of Luzarches (in the Val d’Oise) who divided them between Luzarches and Paris. Their cult circulated in Europe on the basis of the *Golden Legend*, compiled by the archbishop of Genoa, Jacobus de Voragine, which was, from the thirteenth century onward, an important source for theologians and artists.

Their costumes and their attributes in the Walters’ capital facilitate identification of the two saints. Their garments hemmed with fur, caps, and camails evoke the dress of clergymen, judges, and university professors of the fifteenth century. Some miniatures show them sitting in conversation, but they are more often represented standing. The objects that the two saints hold are characteristic instruments of medical practice: the lancet for bleeding; boxes of ointment with a spatula, which was used to apply the balms; and finally a *matula*—a tool of uroscopy.<sup>46</sup> The twin saints represents two aspects of cult: the first, on the front face, is a patron saint who protects and intercedes on behalf of the couple who venerate him, the second, on the reverse, is the representative of a profession.

As twins, they are depicted similarly, but the representation of Cosmas suggests that he has moral precedence over



Fig 10. SS Cosmas and Damian from a Roman breviary (detail), ca. 1482. Bibliothèque municipale, Clermont-Ferrand (Ms. 0069, fol. 558v)

his brother: he is the uncompromising *Anargyros*, denouncing the weakness of Damian, who accepted modest compensation from a healed patient, Palladia.<sup>47</sup> Cosmas’s preeminence is illustrated iconographically: his costume is somewhat more elaborate, he is larger than his brother, and he is placed in front or addressing Damian. Thus, the figure carved on the main face and honored by the prayers would be St. Cosmas; Damian, represented on the right flank of the capital?, is practicing his medical activities.

On the reverse, standing on an astragal, the figure on the left side holds a scroll in his left hand and carries an object (a book?), at his right hand. He seems to listen to the second figure, who, raising his index finger on a scroll, appears to give advice or instruction. In various miniatures, as the initial “P” from a breviary of the end of the fifteenth century (fig. 10), Cosmas and Damian are similarly depicted standing and engaged in conversation. Wearing the same garment characteristic of the medical profession, the figures are certainly St. Cosmas and St. Damian and not St. Protasius and St. Gervasius, as previously proposed.<sup>48</sup> The latter are not represented as doctors or with medical attributes; they are usually considered protector saints and not practitioners.<sup>49</sup>

#### SS. COSMAS AND DAMIAN AT TRIE-SUR-BAÏSE

Although few sanctuaries were dedicated to the two saints in southwestern France,<sup>50</sup> St. Cosmas and St. Damian were the object of intense popular devotion, especially in places



close to care establishments such as hospitals or almshouses. During the Middle Ages, French hospitals were closely associated with religious institutions, since they were founded by the church and administered by the clergy. Hospitals were welfare and charity institutions, rather than health care facilities.

A provision in the charter of customs of Trie-sur-Baïse, ratified in 1323,<sup>51</sup> authorizes the construction of two hospitals, one dedicated to Christ and the Virgin, the other one to St. James and All Saints.<sup>52</sup> The dedication to St. James suggests that this hospital was related to the journey of pilgrims to the Spanish shrine of Saint James of Compostela; a major road passed through the commune of Maubourguet, to the north of Trie. The St. James hospital was located near the north gate of Trie-sur-Baïse, close to the monastery of the Carmelites.<sup>53</sup>

Another capital from the cloister of Trie, today installed on the terrace of the Explorers Club, makes a reference to Cardinal Pierre de Foix. His deaconry, *Santi Cosma e Damiano* placed him in charge of the Roman church protecting the relics of the twin saints. The connection does not prove that the cardinal was a benefactor of the monastery of Trie,<sup>54</sup> but this devotion for the saints demonstrates that their cult was largely practiced at all social categories of European society and manifested by numerous representations at the end of the fifteenth century.

Céline Brugeat (c.brugeat@gmail.com) is a doctoral candidate in art history at the Université de Toulouse-le-Mirail (Toulouse II).

## NOTES

1. Notably at the Cloisters Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 25.120.135-971; see Peter Barnet and Nancy Wu, *The Cloisters: Medieval Art and Architecture* [New Haven and London, 2012], 157–58); The Explorers Club, New York (Ex-collection Stephen C. Clark; see Emeline Baude and Céline Brugeat, entry on the claustral gallery in *The Corpus of Gothic Sculpture in America*, 3: *New York and Pennsylvania*, forthcoming); and the Cleveland Museum of Art (1916.2052.1–5).
2. Charles Brun and Jérôme Maumus, *Histoire du Canton de Trie* (Limoges, 1928), 51–89.
3. *Ibid.*, 62.
4. See Armand Davezac-Macaya, *Essais historiques sur le Bigorre, accompagnés de remarques antiques, de pièces justificatives, de notices chronologiques et généalogiques*, vol. 2 (Bagnères, 1823), 203; Emile Haag, *La France protestante* (Paris, 1858), 144.

5. Brun and Maumus, *Histoire du Canton de Trie* (note 2), 88.
6. Excavations would need to be undertaken in order to determine the number of capitals. See Jérôme Maumus, *Supplément à l'Histoire du Canton de Trie* (Limoges, 1927), 1:255–56.
7. Emmanuel Tamboise, *Le Cloître du jardin Massey à Tarbes* (mémoire de maîtrise, Université de Pau et de l'Adour, 3 vols., 1992–93).
8. Their research is in line with research conducted by local historical societies that emerged throughout France in the late nineteenth century.
9. Stéphane Abadie, “Les bastides des Hautes-Pyrénées,” *Cahiers du Centre d'Etudes des Bastides*, no. 6 (2002): 4–19.
10. Duffo, J. “Ce qui advenu des chapiteaux de Trie,” *Revue des Hautes-Pyrénées* 21 (1926): 86–87.
11. The collection was sold to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1925, with funding provided by John D. Rockefeller, and rebuilt in 1938 as a branch of the museum.
12. Georges Grey Barnard's hand-written notes in *The George Grey Barnard Cloisters* (undated), 1. Watson Library, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
13. The townhouse was sold to the Explorers Club in 1965 and opened as the club's headquarters in 1967.
14. Archives of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Georges Grey Barnard Papers, Series VII, Box 31, file 12, Notebooks recording purchases (French dealers, n.d.).
15. Chapiteau 1: — Face: la Nativité de Jésus Christ; l'âne chante. The Annunciation to the shepherds and possibly, on the reverse, the Nativity. Ex-collections: House of the Nogaro Family, Trie-sur-Baïse (1890–); Georges-Joseph Demotte (until 1923); William R. Hearst (1923–1940s); Joseph Brummer (1940s–1949); present location unknown.
16. Chapiteau 2: — Face: Ecu, fig. XX. Paire de ciseaux, bistouri, boîte à onguent, symboles de l'art de guérir. Autour de l'écu se déploie une banderole avec invocation aux deux frères qui subirent le martyre sous Dioclétien : s[ANC]TE COSME ET DAMIANE ORATE PRO NOBIS. Saint Cosme et [saint] Damien priez pour nous. Ils exerçaient la médecine dont l'écu porte quelques attributs.” Louis Caddau and Joseph Dulac, *Le cloître de Trie* (Tarbes, 1899), 35.
17. *Ibid.*, 25.
18. “Le sculpteur M. Barnard sillonnant la région à l'époque avait instamment prié Dr. H. Nogaro notre ancêtre de les lui céder, ce qu'il avait refusé,” Archives of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Archives, Department files, 25.120.135 Trie Cloister. Letter from Mme Dorsey, 8 August 1980.
19. Jérôme Maumus, a local scholar who updated and completed the book (Charles Brun, *Histoire du Canton de Trie*, 1924. See *Supplément de l'Histoire du Canton de Trie*, 1927, Tome 1, p. 259.), was a close friend of Nogaro: he recalls the following discussion

- in his notes: “Le Dr. Nogaro me disait un jour : “Me promenant en curieux , il y a quelques temps, dans la rue des Beaux-arts à Paris, je vis chez un marchand d’antiquités des pierres à peu près semblables aux miennes. J’entrais et demandais quel en était le prix — vous seriez acheteur, me dit le marchand? — Non, peut-être vendeur—d’où êtes vous? — D’un peu loin d’ici- Dites quand même. — De Trie, dans les Hautes-Pyrénées. — Je connais.” The dealer’s identity is unknown: many such dealers were situated on the rue des-Beaux-Arts, including André Léonardon, expert in medieval antiquities. See *Annuaire de la curiosité et des beaux-arts: Paris, départements, étranger* ([s.n], 1911), 133. *L’Illustration*, 1943, 130
20. Demotte’s albums are undated.
  21. The Cloisters Archives, 1.1, Collection no. 4, The Demotte Photograph Collection, Series : Architecture, Description: Capitals 1/5. On George-Joseph Demotte, see Christine Vivet-Peclet, “Les sculptures du Louvre acquises auprès de Georges-Joseph Demotte: De la polémique à la réhabilitation,” *La Revue des musées de France—revue du Louvre*. 3 (2013): 57–70.
  22. The capital representing the Nativity completed a claustral ensemble so-called “Saramon,” that was purchased in December 1923 by William Randolph Hearst. This capital is still unlocated.
  23. The collector might have purchased the capital from Demotte. *The Important Collection of Madame de la P . . . of Paris, France*, Anderson Galleries, New York, 17 March 1923.
  24. Lot 119, art. 4. “A double stone capital, XIV century,” Long Island University, William Randolph Hearst Archives, Album 78, *Columns and Capitals, misc. countries*, 1:18. owned by the International Studio Art Corporation (I.S.A.C.)
  25. Mary L. Levkoff, *Hearst, the Collector* (New York and Los Angeles, 2000), 19–117.
  26. Catherine Larkin, “A Reappraisal of the William Randolph Hearst Archive at Long Island University: Information, Preservation, and Access,” *Visual Resources* 5, no. 3 (2009): 239–57, at 248.
  27. José Miguel Merino de Caceres and Marià José Martínez Ruiz, *La destrucción del patrimonio artístico español: W.R. Hearst, “El Gran Acaparador”* (Madrid 2012), 357–61.
  28. Corrected invoice, dated 31 July 1944. The Cloisters Archives, Collection 31: Joseph and Ernest Brummer Records, Box 23, Factures and Bills, 1913–1946. File: Mdse bills, 1937–1945, F–K, acc. no. 6031.
  29. *The Notable Art Collection Belonging to the Estate of the Late Joseph Brummer*, Part 1, Parke-Bernet Galleries, 20–23 April 1949, 134, lot 568 (“Gothic sculptured stone capital, Emblematic of Medicine”)
  30. Walters Art Museum, curatorial files, acc. no. 27.572.
  31. Regarding the galleries at the Trie cloister, see Tamboise, *Le Cloître du jardin Massey à Tarbes* (note 7).
  32. The Cloisters’ installation follows the biblical narrative sequence of the capitals.
  33. See Baude and Brugeat, entry on the claustral gallery in *The Corpus of Gothic Sculpture in America*, 3: *New York and Pennsylvania* (forthcoming).
  34. Brun and Maumus, *Histoire du Canton de Trie* (note 2), 88.
  35. Arms are illustrated by Caddau and Dulac,. *Le Cloître de Trie* (note 16) 25.
  36. The capital is preserved in the Cloisters Collection (MMA. 25.120.186).
  37. The capital is in the Explorers Club collection; see Caddau and Dulac, *Le Cloître de Trie* (note 16), 12–16 (no. 1)
  38. James J. Rorimer, *The Cloisters: The Building and the Collection of Medieval Art, in Fort Tryon Park* (New York, 1938), 198–203
  39. Capitals from the monastery of Larreule are preserved in the Cleveland Museum of Art (acc. nos. 1916.2052.1–4); several capitals from monasteries are installed in the Explorers Club and the Cloisters together with capitals from Trie
  40. M. Bernard, “Enseignes intéressant la Médecine,” *La Chronique médicale: Revue mensuelle de médecine historique, littéraire & anecdotique*, no. 42 (1935): 315–16.
  41. Elect. de Mortagne *Armorial de la province du Perche, 1696-170*, Impr. de L’Écho de l’Orne, 1897 2 p.l., 124 p., [https://openlibrary.org/books/OL24642834M/ Armorial\\_de\\_la\\_province\\_du\\_Perche\\_1696-1701](https://openlibrary.org/books/OL24642834M/Armorial_de_la_province_du_Perche_1696-1701).
  42. Caroline Darricau-Lugat, “Regards sur la profession médicale en France medieval (XII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup>),” *Cahiers de recherches médiévales* [online], 6 (1999): <http://crm.revues.org/939>
  43. Martina Bagnoli and Kathryn Gerry, *The Medieval World: The Walters Art Museum* (Baltimore, 2011), 53.
  44. See, for example, two sculptures from Abbeville (northern France) representing St. Cosmas and St. Damian, exhibited in the Walters Art Gallery, acc. nos. 27.283, 27.285. Bagnoli and Gerry, *The Medieval World* (note 43) 108–9.
  45. Caddau and Dulac, *Le cloître de Trie*, 12–15. See Marie-Louise David-Danel, *Iconographie des saints médecins Côme et Damien* (Lille, 1958), 15–22.
  46. They are hardly the only doctor-saints, but all such saints (if they have not fallen into obscurity) are not consistently represented as such, Having exercised solely this profession, they more than others preserved and legitimized their medical character, whereas most of the healing saints were associated with the treatment of specific illnesses. Cosmas and Damian had the reputation of healing all maladies.
  47. Jacques de Voragine, *La légende dorée* (Paris, 1998), 615.
  48. Bagnoli and Gerry, *The Medieval World*, 53 (note 43); See also Walters Art Museum, curatorial files, acc. no. 27.572.



49. See, for example, two sculptures from Abbeville (northern France) representing St. Gervasius and St. Protasius, Walters Art Museum, acc. nos. 27.282, 27.284.
50. Only one church in the immediate region, at Saint-Mézard (Gers), is dedicated to the saints.
51. Stéphane Abadie, *La bastide royale de Rabastens de Bigorre, des origines au XVIIIe siècle* (Toulouse, 1999).
52. Quoted in Jean-Baptiste Larcher, *Glanage ou preuves*, 6:30; transcribed in *Recueil des ordonnances des rois de France jusqu'à François I<sup>er</sup>*, 12:487–96; transcribed and translated (with errors in Brun and Maumus, *Histoire du canton de Trie*, 308–29 (appendix 2).
53. Another hospital (reserved for the poor) was situated near the town's southern gate.
54. Even if he was a member of the family of Foix whose members were donors.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: Bibliothèque municipale, Clermond-Ferrand: fig. 10; Céline Brugeat: figs. 1, 2, 7, 8, 9; reproduced from Louis Caddau and Joseph Dulac, *Le Cloître de Trie* (Tarbes, 1899): fig. 3; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: figs. 4, 5; The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (Susan Tobin): fig. 6.





## THE ADAPTATION OF ARIAS MONTANO'S EMBLEM BOOK *DAVID . . .* (1575) FOR AN EXTRAORDINARY TABLE-CABINET BY PETER OPEL IN THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM

JOANEATH SPICER

A table-cabinet or *Kabinettschrank*—the common use of this modern German term acknowledging the primacy of southern Germany in the development of this representative type of late Renaissance domestic furnishing—in the Walters Art Museum (figs. 1, 2; 65.5),<sup>1</sup> signed by the Regensburg civic official and artist Peter Opel (ca. 1549–1619),<sup>2</sup> is remarkable in many ways but has not previously been the subject of extended analysis. Before addressing the apparently unprecedented adaptation for a table-cabinet of an entire emblem book, that of the Spanish theologian Benito Arias Montano's emblem book celebrating the Old Testament monarch King David, my discovery of which was the point of departure for this examination, we begin with its features as a table-cabinet, which are also highly unusual. To situate the novelty of his approach requires a brief review of the development and relevant characteristics of the genre.

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TABLE-CABINET

By the mid-1500s, accompanying the growing delight among the affluent in collecting objects that were more than a store of value and were to be enjoyed, examined, and shown to others, was the desire for

something appropriately luxurious to put them in, both for safekeeping and to increase the sense of spectacle, suggesting that something special was to be revealed.<sup>3</sup> A cabinet with drawers to be placed on a table, often installed in a room



Fig. 1. Peter Opel, *Table-cabinet with a "Display of Virtue,"* ca. 1602–1612. Boxwood, pine, copper alloy (brass?), steel, gilded steel, silk, paper, 71.7 × 60.8 × 50.9 cm. (closed). The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by Henry Walters, 1915 (65.5)



(sometimes itself called a “cabinet”) given over to the arts, thus a *Kunstammer*, it differs from the various large storage chests and cabinets for linens and clothing,<sup>4</sup> or, on the other hand, the strongbox,<sup>5</sup> or a small casket,<sup>6</sup> both of which open from the top, for items with either more negotiable or personal value such as jewelry. The cabinet with a fall-front writing surface (rather than doors), creating a movable desk or even an office, became popular with the elite in the first half of the 1500s, especially in Italy and Spain.<sup>7</sup> The center of the open cabinet was often a visual focal point, sometimes a cupboard door to a privileged recess or possibly an image for private (Catholic) devotions (fig. 3).<sup>8</sup> By the mid-1600s table-cabinets could be quite large, to accommodate either more ostentatious complexity, as the famous, trendsetting, 163 cm–high table-cabinet commissioned in 1610 by the

Augsburg patrician Philip Hainhoffer as agent for Duke Philip II of Pomerania (destroyed in World War II),<sup>9</sup> or a role in larger, less specialized spaces, as the characteristic French cabinets of the Ile de France, for which a table base might be specifically designed.<sup>10</sup> Covering the carcass (framework), constructed of an inexpensive wood such as pine, would be a veneer of a more expensive one. Various woods such as pear, boxwood, or walnut were used in the mid-1500s, especially for intarsia or carved elements, as those characterizing an important Augsburg cabinet known as the *Wrangelschrank* (from the name of a putative seventeenth-century owner), dated 1566 (fig. 4),<sup>11</sup> but ebony (or ebonized) wood, polished to a warm sheen, rapidly became the favorite for the wider luxury market. It was an expensive, exotic import (from Sri Lanka and India), but it also provided an elegant backdrop



Fig. 2. Peter Opel, *Table-cabinet with a “Display of Virtue,”* (65.5), open



for the application of decorative elements involving other luxury materials such as ivory, silver, or semiprecious stone. According to the Augsburg cabinetmaker Bernhard Siedler, writing in 1588, ebony was “not for the common man, but for persons of rank.”<sup>12</sup> By the mid-1600s the term for a French cabinetmaker for the luxury trade was *ébéniste*.

These complex commissions normally required the collaboration of a cabinetmaker and one or more artists or craftsmen who produced the hardware or the decorative elements, any one of whom might add his signature or mark to the piece. Thus the appearance of an individual cabinet might respond not only to currents in furniture and domestic design but also to stylistic developments in sculpture,

metalwork, and painting. In the case of the Walters’ table-cabinet, there is no evidence for the involvement of another master craftsman;<sup>13</sup> the entire exterior surface is carved from a single material, and, perhaps in consequence, the virtuosic organization of architectonic framing elements and figural motifs is integrated to an unusual degree.

The center for the development of the table-cabinet from the mid-1500s on was not far from Regensburg: the city of Augsburg in southern Germany, the home of four developments, two involving materials and two, function.<sup>14</sup> The use of wood intarsia developed here, epitomized by the *Wrangelschrank*, remained popular in southern Germany and the Tirol, while the parallel development of the use of ebony, as in the two cabinets just referenced, creating an elegant backdrop for decorative elements in other media, gained adherents in Italy and Flanders. It was not until the



Fig. 3 (left). Augsburg (cabinetmaker), Anton Mozart (painter), circle of, Augsburg (ivory engraver), *Table-cabinet with Private Altar*, ca. 1610. Cabinet: pine, ebony wood, sycamore, Hungarian flowering ash; decoration: ivory, oil on copper, 52 × 36.5 × 34.5 cm (closed). Olbricht Collection, Berlin/Essen

Fig. 4 (below). Master of the Housemark (intarsia design probably based on Lorenz Stoer), *Wrangelschrank*, 1566. Pear, boxwood and other woods, alabaster, gilded brass, steel, 70 × 100 × 47 cm (closed). LWL – Museum für Kunst und Kulture, Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster (K-605 LM)







Fig. 5. South Germany or Mantua (?), *Table-cabinet of Archduke Ferdinand II*, ca. 1582. Ebony, maple, nutwood, silver, 75 × 62 × 45 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstammer, Vienna (KK 883)

mid-1600s in France that ebony would itself be commonly used for figural carving. The change to a closing system based on two door panels hinged from the side, first documented in the *Wrangelschrank*, became the norm. The shift toward the cabinet as itself a “world of wonders” was accentuated in Hainhoffer’s Augsburg commissions: these cabinets were already filled (by Hainhoffer) with wonders of human virtuosity before they reached the intended recipient.

Outside of Germany, the principal centers around 1600 were Florence and Antwerp. The court workshops of the Medici grand dukes in Florence were famous for sumptuous, ebony-veneered cabinets decorated with inserts of hardstone (*pietre dure*).<sup>15</sup> In the early 1600s in Antwerp, such cabinets were more likely embellished with tiny paintings on panel, most often landscapes, but also mythological and occasionally New Testament scenes.<sup>16</sup> By the late 1500s, ebony table cabinets of the greatest luxury might be made or assembled in any court or center of wealth, involving a great range of variations of hybrid function or materials.<sup>17</sup> A magnificent

example (fig. 5), embellished all over with plaques, pierced work, and statuettes in silver representing the Labors of Hercules, personifications of the princely Virtues, the Five Senses, the Seven Liberal Arts, the Four Seasons, and the Four Parts of the World as well as mythological scenes, was sent to Archduke Ferdinand of Tirol in 1582 from the Gonzaga court in Mantua at the time of his wedding with Anna Katharina Gonzaga.<sup>18</sup>

In its expression of luxury, complexity, virtuosity, personal display, collecting, and intellectual pretensions, the new art form of the table-cabinet was a consummate distillation of the age.

#### PETER OPEL

We may now turn to the Walters’ table-cabinet and its maker. Opening the cabinet (fig. 2) reveals a central cupboard door with two angels holding up a fringed cloth upon which is carved: *VIRTVTIS EXER / CITATISSIMAE PRO / BATVM DEO*



SPEC / TACVLVM, EX DAVID / PASTORIS MILITIS / DVCIS, EXVLIS AC / PROPHETAE EXEMPLIS / PETRO. OPELIO. CIVE / RATISBON: SCVLPEN: (A Display of Well-exercised Virtue, Pleasing to God, and Drawn from Examples of David as Shepherd, Soldier, Leader, Exile and Prophet. by Peter Opel, Citizen of Regensburg and Sculptor).<sup>19</sup> While many table-cabinets bear a monogram or artist's name in a discreet location, this signature is unprecedented in its self-confidence and bravura. In announcing the overarching theme of "Virtue," the wording is nearly identical with that of the title page (fig. 6) of Benito Arias Montano's important contribution to scriptural emblematics, published by Philips Galle in Antwerp in 1575.<sup>20</sup> The elimination of the initial three words, *David, hoc est . . .* (David, that is . . .) as well as Montano's name as composer was clever. It leaves the viewer to read the "display" as the object before one, and the author as Peter Opel. In addition, Opel's identifying himself this way and in this order assists with dating the table-cabinet, as explored below.

Archival documentation on Opel is revealing. One document identifying him as a carver of rifle stocks (*Büchschenschnitter*) in Torgau (in Saxony) in 1575 has long been known,<sup>21</sup> as well as that he was in Regensburg before 1580 and a member of the civic guard (*Schütze*) by 1586, when he produced a series of informative etchings on the great multi-day shooting competition held in Regensburg that year and hosted by the Regensburg *Schützen*. However, a 2013 publication on the Regensburg *Schützen*, seriously underestimated Opel's public profile in describing him as "an etcher, carver of rifle stocks, and member of the civic guard."<sup>22</sup> In fact, documents published in 1986 but largely ignored since demonstrate a complex career of civic prominence that sheds light on his creation of the Walters' *Table-cabinet with a "Display of Virtue"*. He was in Regensburg and socially very well connected by 1579—a member of the inner city council acted as godfather at his son's baptism, suggesting that the connection was of some duration; he served as overseer of the civic guard for one district or watch (*Wacht-oder Viertelgericht-Beisitzer*), 1594–1605; a member and finally overseer of the civic works board (*Bauamt*) 1606–1619; a member of the municipal oversight board for the "*Scherer Wacht*" (one of the eight "watches" or districts in the city with an assigned civic guard, this one in the upper part of the city)<sup>23</sup> 1601–1619; a nominator for the inner and outer city councils (*Innern und Äussern Rats*), 1607–1615; and in 1610–1619, served on the

board overseeing the city's finances (*Rechenherr*). At least by the time he carved the Walters' cabinet, he had his own coat of arms (fig. 7), and the record of his funeral in October 1619



Fig. 6 (top). Jan Sadeler, after unknown designer, "Title page," from *David hoc est . . .* (Antwerp: Plantin for Philips Galle, 1575). Pl. 1. Engraving, 10.9–11.2 × 13.9–14.4 cm. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (NE674. G35 D3 1575)

Fig. 7 (bottom). Peter Opel, *Table-cabinet with a "Display of Virtue,"* Interior of the inner door with the artist's self-portrait





Fig. 8 (above). Peter Opel (carver), *Wheel-lock Rifle*, detail of the left side with David Killing Goliath, 1590s. Wood, metal (partially gilded), engraved bone, length 130 cm. British Museum, London, Waddesdon Bequest (WB.7)

Fig. 9 (right). Peter Opel, *Tazza*, 1612. Boxwood, 18 × 17 cm. Staatliche Museen, Kunstgewerbe Museum, Berlin (K3058)



referred to “the honorable Peter Opel citizen and honorable head of the board of public works” with no mention of his career as a craftsman or artist.<sup>24</sup> Finally, he was a Lutheran in a city that was largely Lutheran.<sup>25</sup> The wording of his personal motto accompanying his self-portrait—“IN DEO IEHO / VA SPES MEA (In the Lord Jehovah is my hope)” —a public declaration of placing one’s hope for salvation solely on God’s mercy, and by implication dismissing the value of “good works” so important to the Catholic prescription for salvation, is a variation on a common Lutheran formula.<sup>26</sup> While Regensburg, as the site of imperial diets, was fairly tolerant of confessional differences, Opel’s being Lutheran was probably a factor in holding civic positions.

It is tempting to hypothesize a relationship between his civic service and the dating of his works as a craftsman and artist. References to his work as *Büchschaffter* are from 1575 to 1588, but there is no reason to suppose that he did not continue in this line of work at least for some time. Nine extant carved stocks of wheel-lock rifles have been attributed to him.<sup>27</sup> They demonstrate inventiveness and elegance (fig. 8); three bear his monogram *PO*, and two bear dates—1587 and 1588. There is also evidence of very high status patronage: one riflestock is described as bearing the arms of Christian I of

Saxony (1560–1591, Elector from 1586), two others entered imperial collections during the reign of Emperor Rudolf II, and Raphael Beuing has recently speculated that the Munich wheel-lock rifle was made as a gift for the prince-bishop of Passau Urban von Trenbach (1525–1598).<sup>28</sup> We will return to the carved stocks as they relate thematically to the Walters’ table-cabinet. Monogrammed and dated etchings and one woodcut on Regensburg subjects range from 1580 to 1593.<sup>29</sup> There are two extant drawings for etchings,<sup>30</sup> while his 1593 etching of the cathedral of Regensburg is based on his own painting, commissioned by the cathedral chapter.<sup>31</sup>



Although in the Walters Art Museum's records it has been assumed that Adolf Feulner's brief reference (1927) to the "boxwood casket (*Buchbaumkassette*) carved in 1602 by Peter Opel of Regensburg that was in a private collection in Leipzig," referred to the undated Walters' table-cabinet (which was in a Leipzig private collection in the late nineteenth century),<sup>32</sup> Beuing has recently suggested that this may be a separate work.<sup>33</sup> He is most likely correct; Feulner, a specialist on furniture, would surely not confuse a casket and a cabinet, and it is easy to imagine the maker of the Walter's table-cabinet making a beautifully carved casket. Since the carving of small caskets in wood, decorated with biblical scenes, was reasonably common in sixteenth-century Germany, one might speculate that carving such a casket in 1602 was a less ambitious step preliminary to carving the table-cabinet. Finally there is a footed *Tazza* (fig. 9), carved from boxwood (Kunstgewerbe Museum, Berlin), with his monogram and the date 1612 cut into the underside of the base.<sup>34</sup> The decoration is conservative, the bowl covered with a system of vine tendrils similar to those on the table-cabinet, St. Jerome in the Wilderness within the bowl, with a note of leavening in some spirited grotesque faces on the stem. Its function has been debated: a model for a local silversmith or (less likely, given its conservative nature) an independent *Kunstkammer* piece; if the first, given a new sense of his standing at this period, it could conceivably have been for Opel himself.

Tracking the character of dated objects, few as they are, with his civic responsibilities suggests the hypothesis that over time Opel moved away from identifying as a *Büchsenschäffter* to identifying as an official who also carved, creating beautiful, virtuosic luxury items, possibly not only for others but for himself.

#### THE WALTERS' TABLE-CABINET: CONSTRUCTION

The production of luxury table-cabinets is not otherwise associated with Regensburg, and local cabinetry work in general has attracted little scholarly study;<sup>35</sup> in consequence most of the cabinets to be cited for comparison or contrast were either made in Augsburg or influenced by that tradition.

The Walters' cabinet (71.7 × 60.8 × 50.9 cm closed) is constructed on a core or "carcass" of pine, covered by a veneer of elaborately carved panels of boxwood carefully fitted together.<sup>36</sup> The mounts and locks introduce partially



Fig. 10. Peter Opel, *Table-cabinet with a "Display of Virtue,"* view from the top

gilded steel and brass, the flat surfaces extensively engraved. The compartments retain the original liners in red silk (with paper backing).

The overall condition is excellent; however, there are small areas of repair, and a few panels have cracked or split. The choice of boxwood here, as in the case of the *Wrangelkabinett*, was surely intended to take advantage of its extremely fine grain, making it very popular with contemporary sculptors.<sup>37</sup> The overall organization of the cabinet is closest to a type that became popular in Augsburg in the second half of the 1500s and then widely adapted, as in the *Kunstschrank* for *Archduke Ferdinand* (see fig. 5): set on a plinth base, the main body of the cabinet opens with doors hinged from the sides. A horizontal compartment on the top forms a roof.<sup>38</sup> Both the plinth and the lift-off cover of the roof compartment on both cabinets suggest that the pieces were not meant for travel but to remain in one place.

The internal arrangement and the practical function of the cabinet are defined by its twenty-one compartments. With the doors closed and locked, four compartments remain accessible: one under the pyramidal cover at the top (fig. 10), which simply lifts off (1); a shallow, wide drawer just below but within the main body of the cabinet (2), suitable for medals or ancient coins; and two drawers in the base (3–4). The right exterior door is opened with a key but not the left one. After some trial and error I discovered that inserting the cylindrical opposite end of the key into an otherwise unexplained depression in the metal fitting of the left door

caused it to spring open.<sup>39</sup> With the doors open, there are five narrow drawers on either side (5–15) of a central large recess (16) with its own door, on the back of which is Opel's self-portrait (see below), plus a drawer beneath the recess (17), and one above (18). If all three drawers across the top (shorter than those below) are removed, a removable armature in pine is revealed. Besides an open receptacle across its entire width, the raising of a false side along the rear reveals three further drawers (19–21).

## THE WALTERS' TABLE-CABINET: DECORATION

### *Architectural and Non-human Motifs*

The larger architectural or architectonic elements that define the surfaces exhibit a visually engaging complexity in their own right. As an example of virtuosic woodworking, Opel's table-cabinet can be compared with the flamboyantly complex marquetry favored by some cabinetmakers in southern Germany and the Tirol, exemplified by the *Wrangelschrank*, thus functioning quite differently from the role of ebony as elegant backdrop. The architectural vocabulary is consistent with the contemporaneous approach to interior design in southern Germany; for example, the framing elements around David or Saul imitate the elaborated treatment of the grandiose doorways made fashionable through pattern books of architectural motifs, as those by Hans Vredeman de Vries.<sup>40</sup> The caryatids in amusing, ingenious variety are surely as well inspired by models widely circulated through print series after the same designer, as are the trophy or panoply motifs on the insides of the doors. The specifics of the latter are, however, adapted from the title page of Montano's *David* (see fig. 6), incorporating narrative details such as Goliath's head, David's lyre, sling and stone, and shepherd's pouch, as well as a lion and bear that David killed in defense of his flocks.<sup>41</sup> The surfaces of Opel's cabinet are further articulated through strapwork and framing devices for the pictorial elements and then knitted together by a "ground cover" of vine tendrils, including on the tops of the doors, populated by an amusing array of birds, monkeys (including one pointing to his nose with one hand and to his butt with the other), and hunting dogs on the heels of foxes or rabbits, as popularized by a multitude of contemporary German and Flemish ornament print series. A table-level view is rewarded by a humorous sighting of moody dolphins on the feet of the cabinet, again motifs easily adapted



Fig. 11. Peter Opel, *Table-cabinet with a "Display of Virtue,"* corner with double-headed eagle, insignia of the Holy Roman Empire

from one of the print series published to support just such decorative touches.<sup>42</sup> Finally there is the puzzling inclusion of the Imperial double-headed eagle (fig. 11) at the four corners of the plinth. Regensburg was a proud "free city" within the Holy Roman Empire, and the Imperial eagle was part of its insignia; however, its use in this context seems always to have been coupled with the specific device of the city, crossed keys on a shield. If its association is with the patron, this would normally be more specifically indicated.

The contrast between the intensity of detail characterizing the *Wrangelschrank* or Opel's table-cabinet and the sleek, classicizing architectural elements that define the typical ebony cabinet in Augsburg is striking.

### *Figural motifs*

There are four types of resonant figural motifs: portraits, images pertaining to the story of David, personifications of the planets, and allegories on the brevity of life.

*The Portraits.* Opel's introduction of his self-portrait on the inside of the inner door (see fig. 7) appears to be unprecedented. His self-presentation is carefully constructed. Here he is explicitly not the "rifle-stock maker" in his workshop



(*Der Büchschäfter*), one of the occupations or social positions depicted in Jost Amman's illustrations to Hans Sachs's popular *Eygentliche Beschreibung Aller Stände* (A Precise Description of All Social Positions; or, The Book of Trades [Frankfurt: Feyerabend, 1568]).<sup>43</sup> As already noted, on the exterior of the inner door, he proudly identifies himself as "Peter Opel, Citizen of Regensburg [and] Sculptor." His attire reflects his status as a city official with his personal coat of arms below. Standing behind a table (a common format for engraved portraits of the elite during this period) he holds out tools for carving wood: a chisel and rasp. To use them he would need to be seated. There does not seem to be any published discussion of another cabinet incorporating a self-portrait, and I am not aware of any portraits of a *Büchschäfter*, much less a self-portrait. Indeed sculptors were less likely to turn to self-portraiture than painters;<sup>44</sup> when they did, they were less likely to incorporate anecdotal details such as tools. In general sculptors were more sensitive to criticisms as to the manual aspects of their art, but Opel is presenting himself here as man of civic responsibilities who is also a sculptor/carver. These elements contribute to the hypothesis that the cabinet was likely carved after he had begun to accumulate civic positions.

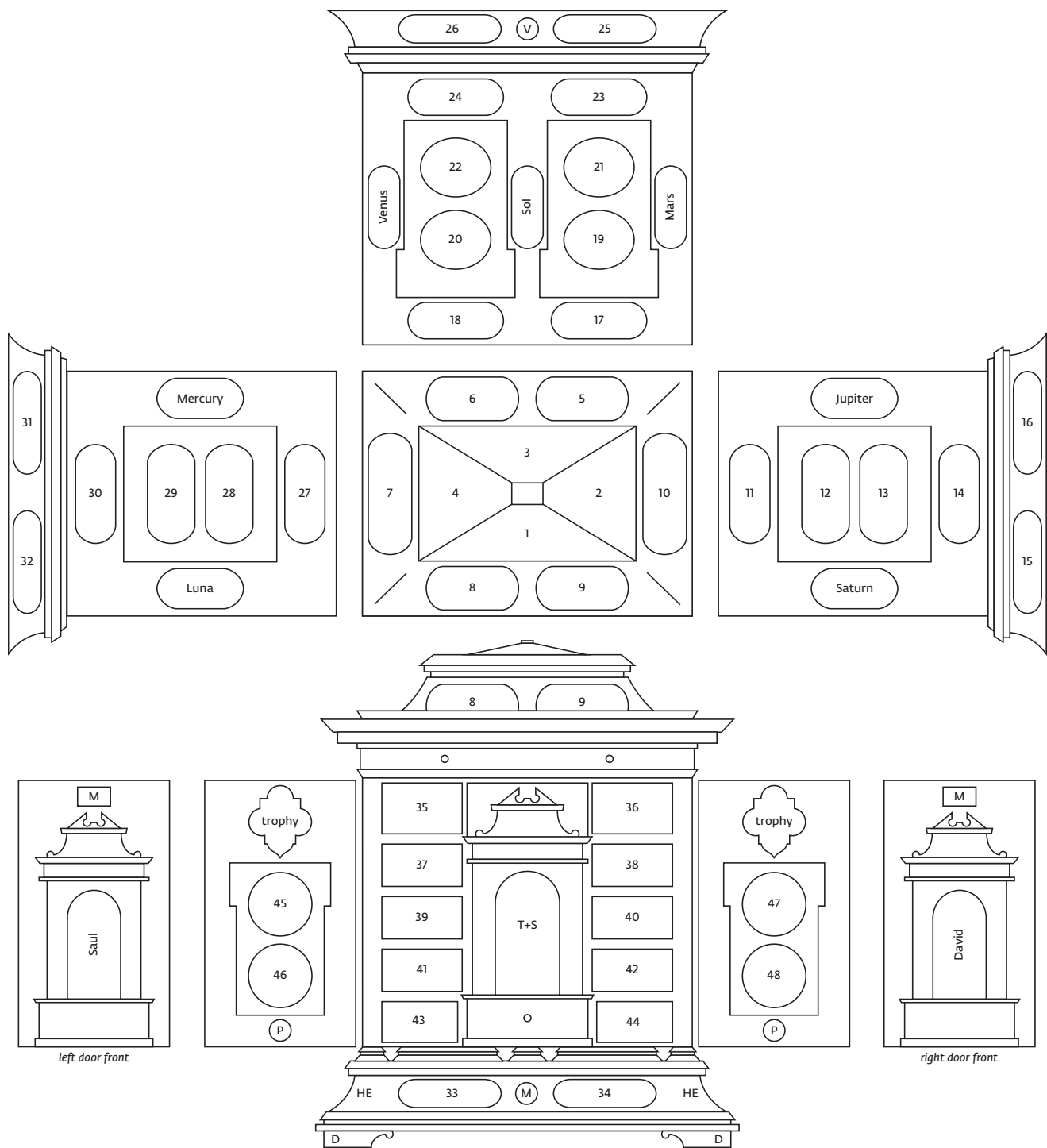
The two other portraits—a man (fig. 12) and woman carved in profile in a roundel or medal format—are situated left and right respectively at the lower edge of the two doors on the interior surfaces. They may be adapted from other portraits such as medals, but the source and the individuals remain unidentified. The man wears a neck sash pulled straight as with a weight, presumably the insignia of an order, but the insignia itself is cut off by the edge of the roundel. If the Imperial eagle at the corners of the plinth references this

couple, then the order could well be the Golden Fleece, but the portrait does not seem to be that of any member at this period. Portraits of contemporaries on other cabinets normally signal an honoree or recipient; however, the placement here, subordinate and similar to that of donor portraits on an altarpiece, connotes humility. If they are the patrons but not the recipients, it might explain why there is no family coat of arms on the piece other than Opel's (which is not immediately visible).

*The Story of David*, from Arias Montano's *David . . .* (1575) as a *Mirror of Virtue*. While the *Wrangelschrank* has justifiably been discussed as exhibiting an encompassing theme of the transience of human life and achievement, Opel's table-cabinet may be the unique example from the period of a table-cabinet with a title: "A Display of Well-exercised Virtue . . .". It is also the only table-cabinet known to reproduce all the plates of an emblem book including the mottos.<sup>45</sup> Adumbrated on the front of the closed cabinet by the Old Testament monarchs Saul "king of Judea" and David "prophet and king," both dressed as military leaders of antiquity (see fig. 1), the title is announced only to those who can unlock the outer doors. The forty-eight numbered narrative panels (diagram fig. 13) begin with the shepherd David guarding his flock while composing his songs of praise (fig. 10) on the front of the pyramid at the top of the cabinet and wind their way around the sides, ending back on the open doors, with David's last words of advice to his son Solomon. Before exploring Opel's adaptation of Montano's focus on the virtues appropriate to a prince or leader as presented to the latter's dedicatee, Philip II of Spain, some words on Montano's publication and its author are in order.



Fig. 12. Peter Opel, *Table-cabinet with a "Display of Virtue,"* Portrait of a Man



#### KEY

1–32 the sequence of numbered illustrations of the Life of David

D dolphins

HE Imperial double-headed eagles

M memento mori motifs

P portraits, presumed to be the sponsors

T+S title and signature (Opel's self portrait is on the inside of this cupboard door)

V vulgar monkey

Fig.13. Peter Opel, *Table-cabinet with a "Display of Virtue,"* Diagram of figural motifs



The Spaniard Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598) was an established biblical scholar and Orientalist whose world was widened during time spent in Italy participating in the Council of Trent before Philip II sent him to Antwerp in 1568.<sup>46</sup> His task was to oversee the completion of a polyglot Bible (1569–1573) already in preparation under the auspices of the Antwerp humanist, publisher, and royal printer Christophe Plantin (ca. 1520–1589). In the six years that Montano spent in Antwerp, he was prodigiously productive, in part due to the close and mutually appreciative relationship developed with Plantin and the circle of scholars associated with him.<sup>47</sup> The publication in 1575 of Montano's meditations on the life of David grew out of his translation of the Psalms of David (published 1573).<sup>48</sup> Philips Galle, in his dedication (as publisher) of *David hoc est* to Philip II, notes that it was hearing Montano speak so reverently of David's Psalms that prompted him to invite Montano to write these meditational poems.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, the figure of David is pervasive in Montano's imaging of virtue and leadership: both in his earlier emblematic work *Humanae salutis monumenta* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1571),<sup>50</sup> and after he returned to Spain in *De Optimo Imperio* . . . (Antwerp: Plantin, 1583, Ode XXIII),<sup>51</sup> and in the program of Philip II's Escorial, within the library and featured along with Solomon on the façade of the church (the latter in part referencing parallels between Philip's vast construction and theirs of the Temple at Jerusalem).<sup>52</sup>

Montano's fashioning of David's life as a meditational narrative, seeking to encourage disciplined self-examination and personal spiritual growth by harnessing the persuasive powers of one's own imagination through engagement with visually compelling illustrations, has been explored by Walter Melion in several richly developed essays.<sup>53</sup> As Melion has made clear, Montano's focus was not on the qualities of David's military stratagems but his human qualities; it was these that determined his spiritual growth. One of the challenges that Melion's work raises for the present examination is whether the meditative process by which the reader/viewer (presumably sitting in his study) engages with examples of virtues provided by David's life, can have taken place under the circumstances presented by a table-cabinet.

A brief look at three scenes and their engraved models illuminates the nature of the relationship. In Montano's plate 1 (fig. 14) the young shepherd with his lyre, guards his flock (1 Samuel 16). The motto A NOBLE NATURE WELL CULTIVATED (see Appendix) is expanded in the accompanying verses:



Fig. 14. Jan Sadeler after Gerard van Groeningen, "1, David as Shepherd with his Flocks," from *David, hoc est* . . . (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin for Philips Galle, 1575). Engraving, 10.9–11.2 × 13.9–14.4 cm. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (NE674.G35 D3 1575)

While but a boy from the line of Jesse, David sang praises, and his father's flock and the birds and beasts of the field grew tame. The heavenly Father himself spoke, "This one is mine, he shall be my own: let this one nourish and lead our flocks."<sup>54</sup>

This is the critical image for establishing the future leader as "the good shepherd" and God's anointed choice. However on the cabinet (see fig. 10), the image and motto (no verses) are cramped and visible only to someone standing. No. 6 VICTORY OF FAITH (figs. 15, 16) centers on the well-known dramatic image of David killing Goliath (1 Samuel 17). Following in orderly sequence, it is located on the rear flange of the roof compartment, thus legible from a standing position at the rear. It was one of those adopted by Opel for the rifle in the British Museum (see fig. 8) and works well there. It is all about action and the clear conflict of right and wrong. The verses do not rehearse the story but emphasize the role of faith and reflection; even in mortal combat, it is not David's strategy but his character that is the essence for Montano.

Brute strength, lacking reflection and pious counsel, rushed headlong, monstrous in size and with great presumption. But conquering piety struck this force down and dragged it forth in triumph, For it is with wisdom that piety does not merely hurl threats, but carries them out.<sup>55</sup>

In the last image, no. 48, PERFORMANCE OF PIETY, prominently enlarged on the right open door (figs. 17, 18), David is on his deathbed, giving his last counsel to his son Solomon (1 Kings 1 and 1 Chronicles 29).

It is becoming to fulfill well a charge undertaken in duty and to establish a house worthy of praise by one's ancestors. But he, to whom falls the title of heir, fulfills the full measure of paternal devotion and duty.<sup>56</sup>

"House" references not only the dynasty, the "House of David" (into which Christ will be born) but the longed-for house of worship, the temple, that David planned but God did not permit him to build and which, according to the Book of Kings, Solomon began to build in the fourth year of his reign. This last image would have been the least known of the three and for which the accompanying verses would have been the most critical for a deeper understanding. The cabinet could function as a vehicle for self-reflection without access to the verses, but its full potential would not be realized without Montano's text at hand.

That a significant portion of the episodes can only be examined from a standing position may be an important clue to its function. The visually complex, virtuosic character of the carving suggests the cabinet was intended for a *Kunstkammer*, a place where visitors commonly discussed objects while standing. Thus the feature that seemed to be a detriment to functionality could be instead an intentional choice to spur a shared experience.

Considering the implications of Opel's variation of the title, shifting the initial emphasis from "David" to "Display of Virtue," that nearly ubiquitous quality in the arts and letters of the period, prompts a recognition that the mottos highlight most particularly the canonical Virtues, primarily the four principal (cardinal) moral virtues, as inherited from classical antiquity and articulated in the Old Testament, which by the Renaissance had come to be understood as princely virtues manifested through disciplined action: Prudence, Justice, Temperance, and Courage, reflected, to select but one each, in 16 / PRVDENTIA PIETATIS COMES (Prudence, an Ally of Piety); 23 / TEMPERANTIA REGIA (Royal Temperance); 11 / VIRTVTIS PRAEMIVM (The Reward of Manly Courage); 36 / ERRATORVM EXPVRGATIO (The Rooting Out of Wrongdoing).

The "reformation" of the Virtues by Lutheran theologians in the middle to later years of the century has been addressed by Andrew Morrall in the framework of Luther's insistence on



Fig. 15. Peter Opel, *Table-cabinet with a "Display of Virtue,"* "6 / David Killing Goliath"

Fig. 16. Jan Sadeler, after Gerard van Groeningen, "6, David Killing Goliath," from *David hoc est . . .* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin for Philips Galle, 1575). Engraving, 10.9–11.2 × 13.9–14.4 cm. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (NE674.G35 D3 1575)

the absence of individual free will and dependence on divine mercy, one consequence being the frequent replacement of Prudence, with its implications of reasoned decision-making, by Patience, with its connotations of submission. This new formulation was intended primarily for public consumption, as in Benedikt Würzelbauer's *Fountain of the Virtues* (dated 1589) in Nuremberg; patient submission was encouraged not only to God's will but to that of the city council!<sup>57</sup> Prudence remained, however, a virtue associated with leadership and was retained by Opel and by Matthias Berguis (1536–1592), the Lutheran theologian, poet, and teacher who wrote new explanatory verses for Montano's text, published in 1597 and dedicated to Otto Heinrich of Pfalz Sulzbach, Duke and Count Palatine (1556–1604) and a Lutheran.<sup>58</sup>





Fig. 17. Peter Opel, *Table-cabinet with a "Display of Virtue,"* "48 / David on his Deathbed, Advising Solomon"

Fig. 18. Jan Sadeler after Crispin van den Broeck, "48, David on his Deathbed, Advising Solomon" (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin for Philips Galle, 1575). Engraving, 10.9–11.2 × 13.9–14.4 cm. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (NE674.G35 D3 1575)

In dedicating their life of David to Philip II—in holding David up as an exemplar of virtue and spiritual understanding fit for a great prince—Montano and Galle were explicitly contributing to that genre of literature the "mirror for princes," offering advice to rulers through commentary that frequently dwelt on good and bad behavior on the part of figures of high status of the past, very often that of King David the second king of Israel (died around 970 BCE).<sup>59</sup> David's life was popular in the 1500s, particularly for the serial arts of

illustration and tapestries (less for paintings) and particularly north of the Alps. In this context, David is depicted less as a direct ancestor of Christ than as, per the extended title of Montano's *David*, "shepherd, military figure, leader, exile and prophet," the episodes of whose tumultuous life (1 Samuel 16 to 31, 2 Samuel; 1 Kings 1, 2) with its incredible challenges resoundingly met, mixed with personal failings, humility and profound spiritual insights found in his Psalms, offered an unequaled biblical exemplar of human striving and potential.

Beyond the popularity of individual images of his slaying Goliath, singing psalms as he plays his lyre, or first laying eyes on Bathsheba—his greatest accomplishments and greatest failing—the more complex narrative of his life gained new audiences with the appearance of the extensively illustrated Bibles published in the vernacular in the mid-1500s, first of all in Germany, as a result of Martin Luther's determination to make the Bible—the Old Testament as well as the New—universally accessible. In the second half of the 1500s, the most important illustrators of such Bibles, Virgil Solis (1514–1562) and Jost Amman (1539–1591) in Nuremberg,<sup>60</sup> were involved in the further development of accessibility in the form of picture Bibles, books of woodcuts with short explanatory verses. The influential *Bibliche Figuren* . . . illustrated by Solis, published first in 1560 with subsequent editions, features landscape format narrative scenes accompanied by the biblical citation as a caption and an explanatory tetrastich (four-line poem) in both German and Latin. There are nineteen images devoted to David in Amman's illustrations to *Neuwe Biblische Figuren* of 1564; no other sequence receives such attention. The similarity to Montano's 1575 publication is clearest in the Latin edition addressed to more learned audiences, in which the extended title references the resonant nature of the images as a "treasury of emblems" (*emblematum thesaurum*).<sup>61</sup> These picture Bibles were meant to prompt a meditative frame of mind and, even across confessional divides, would have fostered a receptive environment for Montano's emblem book among German Protestants. Indeed Galle may have published some copies of Montano's emblem book without the pages of dedication to Philip II;<sup>62</sup> if so, it could have been in order to eliminate an explicitly Catholic tenor that could have put off Protestant readers. So it is possible that the copy consulted by Opel lacked this Catholic identification.

In his dedication of *David hoc est* to Philip II, Galle alludes to the engraved images as tapestry-like (in composition) and then elegantly introduces the thought that the king





Fig. 19. Flemish weaver (Brussels) after a design by a Flemish designer (previously attributed to Batista Dossi), *Tapestry with The Triumphal Return of David with the Head of Goliath*, ca. 1560s. Wool, silk, and gold thread, about 365 × 480 cm. National Cathedral, Washington, D.C., gift of Isabel Perkins Anderson in memory of Larz Anderson, 1937 (TCL.00.21)

might consider the series for translation into a tapestry series of the greatest magnificence, worked with gold.<sup>63</sup> Indeed the organization of the scenes with large-scale figures concentrated on a single plane only slightly recessed from the surface is similar to contemporaneous tapestry design in Brussels, then the most important center for tapestry manufacture in Europe. A comparison can be made with a little-known but fine contemporaneous set of six tapestries representing *The Story of David and Goliath* belonging to the National Cathedral in Washington (fig. 19).<sup>64</sup> Indeed, at least twenty sixteenth-century series of Flemish tapestries have been identified on the subject of David, including ones belonging to earlier Habsburg rulers;<sup>65</sup> however, no evidence has been brought forth that such a series was executed for Philip II, and none is listed in the inventory of the king's tapestries in 1598.<sup>66</sup>

While Montano was charged with acquiring works of art as well as books for the king and Philip had previously commissioned tapestries from Flemish workshops,<sup>67</sup> a tapestry commission involving anything more than a limited selection of episodes from *David hoc est* would have been unmanageably complex and costly to produce.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, it alerts us to Montano's desire to see his meditational images function through the vehicle of works of art that could be experienced in very different ways than a printed book. Finally, in 1574, during the preparation of *David hoc est*, Montano might have been encouraged in his proposal by learning that engravings for his volume of historical apparatus accompanying the Polyglot Bible (completed 1573) had been adapted for the walls of the library of the Monastery of S. Giovanni Evangelista in Parma.<sup>69</sup>





Fig. 20. Peter Opel, *Table-cabinet with a “Display of Virtue,”* back

*The Seven Planets.* The “seven planets” are represented in vertical lozenges on the right, rear, and left sides of the cabinet (fig. 20)—Jupiter, Saturn, Mars, Mercury, Luna, Sol, and Venus.<sup>70</sup> Series such as the Seven Liberal Arts, the Four Seasons, or the Seven Planets were often added to cabinets or other luxury objects without any indication that the appeal is more specific than a conventionally flattering allusion to the macrocosm (the implied intellectual sphere of the recipient) and the visual charm of the personifications.<sup>71</sup> Before concluding that this is the case here, the sense of the “seven planets” in the late 1500s requires a brief review.

For most Europeans in the 1500s the view of the heavens was that inherited from antiquity, with the Earth at the center and in the skies; the fixed or unmoving stars or lights were complemented by the moving or “wandering”

lights, the planets, which included the sun and moon. The discoveries of Nicolas Copernicus, published as *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (On the Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres, 1543) placing the Sun at the center of a now heliocentric universe and identifying the Earth as itself a planet, were slow in gaining acceptance, it being only with Galileo’s publications culminating in *Dialogo dei due massimi sistemi* . . . (Dialogue concerning the Two Chief World Systems, 1632), confirming those of Copernicus, that this concept of the heavenly spheres was gradually accepted. For most Europeans around 1600, the primary manifestation of “the seven planets” as a group, which they did not question, remained within the context of the assumed impact of the astral bodies (under the guidance of a divine plan) on human character and actions, in particular the movement of the planets in relationship to the fixed stars, as manifested in one’s horoscope. At this period, representations of the “seven planets” depicted either as personifications or

with their “children” (human types or occupations thought to be associated with the various planets) were widely available through Northern European print series—Opel’s probable source—most particularly in Germany, although a specific source could not be identified. For example, seven series are attributed to the Nuremberg printmaker Virgil Solis (1514–1562).<sup>72</sup>

*Memento mori Motifs.* Three *Memento mori* (reminder of death) images are visible on the front of the cabinet, with the doors closed: at the center of the plinth is a skull toward which a hand, issuing from the heavens, points. This insistence on man’s ultimate end is expanded by two related, paired images at the top of the doors of a toddler sleeping on a skull (fig. 21) and another blowing soap bubbles, the



Fig. 21 (left). Peter Opel, *Table-cabinet with a "Display of Virtue,"* Child Resting on Skull



Fig. 22 (right). Crispijn de Passe the Elder, *Memento Mori, Child with Skull*, 1590s. Engraving after own design, diam. 6.2 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, purchased with the support of the Vereniging Rembrandt (RP-P-1904-3737)

conventional image of *Homo bulla*, Man is but a bubble. Variations on these sober images, beginning with an etching by Barthel Beham dated 1525,<sup>73</sup> became very popular in Germany and the Netherlands in the course of the century, exemplified, for example, by the central image (worked in intarsia) on the interior of an Augsburg *Writing-desk* now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (ca. 1580–1600, 2001.706) or by the imagery of the printmaker Crispijn de Passe the Elder (fig. 22).<sup>74</sup> The theme of the brevity of human life is closely related to that of the vanity of passing human achievement featured on the *Wrangelschrank*, as discussed above.

## CONCLUSIONS

Opel's table-cabinet is remarkable in many ways. In terms of its virtuosic design, the absence of a local tradition may ultimately have been a benefit, leaving Opel free to follow his instincts honed as a carver of gunstocks in creating a highly original, ambitious table-cabinet, probably preceded by less ambitious projects such as the now-lost casket dated 1602. It is most likely that the couple portrayed in the roundels on the open doors were the patrons, but unless they can be identified, this remains an open question.

The introduction of a titled narrative does not appear to have a direct parallel among the table-cabinets of the period. The closest cabinet in this regard is the *Wrangelschrank*,

which clearly exhibits an encompassing theme—the vanity of earthly triumphs—but there is no title. Opel's underlying themes—the pursuit of virtue, the acceptance of divine sway, and the certainties of mortality—could be elegantly meshed in a written text that might be crudely summarized as: “The life of David provides the overarching narrative as a mirror of the leader who strives to bring the reality of human choices, needs, limitations, and aspirations as a leader and as a man into line with the pursuit of virtue and the will of God.” However, that the themes *can* be knit together should not be confused with a certainty that this was the intention, nor that this was the initial response. Rather one can say that it is susceptible to being understood in this way.

The fundamental difference between a carved cabinet and a written text in their capacity to prompt meditation is not so much the obvious one of medium but the necessity for the viewer of the cabinet to knit the themes together himself. This requires active engagement to identify and interpret the images, intent, and access to the key to unlocking the work, Montano's *David*. If, as the placement of the reliefs suggests, the sequence was in fact intended to be examined at least in part from a standing position, possibly with companions and in a *Kunstkammer* where such cabinets were most often featured, then some of the apparent challenges of the presentation are resolvable. Additionally, paintings of such collections commonly represent visitors touching objects,<sup>75</sup> and it is easy to imagine that the act of tracing the narrative reliefs with one's fingers, much as in the countless experiences of those meditating on a skull, would deepen meditational engagement.<sup>76</sup>

With this table-cabinet, Opel refashioned a source framed as a “mirror for a great prince” as a “mirror for magistrates,” a masterpiece reflecting his later years as a highly respected city official. “Virtue” is here uniquely joined with “virtuosity,” their common root evoking the manly discipline in the demonstration of excellence that unites the strivings of artist and patron.

Joaneath Spicer ([jspicer@thewalters.org](mailto:jspicer@thewalters.org)) is the James A. Murnaghan Curator of Renaissance and Baroque Art at the Walters Art Museum.



## APPENDIX: CARVED INSCRIPTIONS ON THE TABLE-CABINET WITH THE STORY OF DAVID BY PETER OPEL

The translations from the Latin are chiefly by Paul Espinosa, in discussion with Joaneath Spicer and relying in part on prior translations of several of the titles from Montano's *David* made by Walter Melion and incorporated into his 2005 essay.

### *I. Inscriptions pertaining to Arias Montano's David*

The biblical sources have been added in square brackets.

On the exterior of left door, beneath full-length image of Saul: SAVLVS REX ISRA Saul, King of Israel

On the exterior of right door, beneath full-length image of David: DAVID PROPHET REX David, Prophet and King

On the exterior of inner door: VIRTUTIS EXER / CITATISSIMAE PRO / BATUM DEO SPEC / TACULUM, EX DAVID / PASTORIS MILITIS / DUCIS, EXULIS AC / PROPHETAE EXEMPLIS / PETRO. OPELIO. CIVE / RATISBON: SCULPEN  
A Display of Well-exercised Virtue, Pleasing to God, and Drawn from Examples of David as Shepherd, Soldier, Leader, Exile and Prophet. By Peter Opel, Citizen of Regensburg and Sculptor

On the interior of the inner door: IN DEO IEHO / VA SPES MEA In the Lord Jehovah is my Hope

1. BONA INDOLES RECTE CULTA A Noble Nature Well Cultivated [1 Samuel 16]
2. FIDEI TYROCINIA The Apprenticeship of Faithful Protection [1 Samuel 17]
3. MODESTIA PROBATA A Modesty Found Pleasing [1 Samuel 16]
4. VIRTVS VLTRO INCITATA Valor Steps Forth of its [own] Accord [1 Samuel 17]
5. EXPEDITIO MVNITISSIMA A Most Secure Undertaking [1 Samuel 17]
6. FIDEI VICTORIA The Victory of Faith [1 Samuel 17]
7. PIETATIS TRIUMPHVS The Triumph of Piety [1 Samuel 17]
8. HVMANAR[VM]. OPVM PRAESTANTISSIMAE The Most Excellent of Human Riches [1 Samuel 18]
9. CIRCVMSPECTA VIRTVS Circumspect Fortitude [1 Samuel 18]
10. DELIBERATA SPES An Expectation Fulfilled [1 Samuel 18]
11. VIRTVTIS PRAEMIVM The Reward of Manly Courage [1 Samuel 18]
12. CONIVGII FIDES The Steadfastness of Marriage [1 Samuel 19]
13. AMICITIAE VERAЕ VSVS The Exercise of True Friendship [1 Samuel 20]
14. PIETATIS PRIVILEGIUM The Just Due of Piety [1 Samuel 21]
15. PRVDENTIAE TVTELA The Safety Afforded by Foresight [1 Samuel 21]
16. PRVDENTIA PIETATIS COMES Prudence, an Ally of Piety [1 Samuel 22]
17. VIRTVTIS VERAЕ LIBERALITAS The Liberality of True Virtue [1 Samuel 22]
18. FORTITVDO INNOCENS Strength in Restraint [1 Samuel 24]
19. INGRATA AVARITIA Ungrateful Avarice [1 Samuel 25]
20. PRVDENTIA SALVTARIS An Advantageous Prudence [1 Samuel 25]
21. REVERENTIA SOSPITALIS A Protecting Reverence [1 Samuel 26]

22. PIETAS ASSERTRIX    Piety as Protector [1 Samuel 30]
23. TEMPERANTIA REGIA    Royal Temperance [1 Samuel 23]
24. INGENVVS CANDOR    Noble Sincerity [2 Samuel 1]
25. PERSEVERANTIAE FRVCTVS    The Fruits of Perseverance [2 Samuel 2]
26. INGENVA HUMANITAS    A Noble Benevolence [2 Samuel 2]
27. INTEGRITAS    Integrity [2 Samuel 4]
28. CONSTANTIAE EXITVS    The Results of Constancy [2 Samuel 5]
29. PIETATIS HILARITAS    The Good Cheer of Piety [2 Samuel 6]
30. IMMORTALES FOEDUS    An Everlasting Alliance [2 Samuel 9]
31. OTIVM CALAMITOSVM    Destructive Pleasure [2 Samuel 11]
32. LIBERA MONITIO    Forthright Counsel [2 Samuel 12]
33. VERAЕ GLORIAE AMPLIFICATIO    The Gains of True Glory [2 Samuel 12]
34. INTEMPERANTIAE FRVCTVS    The Fruits of Indulgence [2 Samuel 13]
35. NIMIA LENITAS    Too Much Leniency [2 Samuel 14 & 15]
36. ERRATOTVM EXPVRGATIO    The Rooting Out of Wrongdoing [2 Samuel 14 & 15]
37. PATERNA CLEMENTIA    Paternal Compassion [2 Samuel 18]
38. IMPIETATIS EXITVS    The Consequence of Impiety [2 Samuel 18]
39. IVS INVICTVM    An Inviolable Law [2 Samuel 18 & 19]
40. TEMERITATIS CASVS    Downfall Attends Rashness [2 Samuel 20]
41. INIVRIAE PARTVS    An Atonement for Wrongs [2 Samuel 21]
42. DIGNITATIS OBSERVATIO    The Observance of Due Dignities [2 Samuel 21]
43. GLORIA INSIDIOSA    Insidious Glory [2 Samuel 24]
44. HVMANAE GLORIAE EXAMEN    The Measure of Human Ambition [2 Samuel 24 & 1 Chronicles 21]
45. CLEMENTIA MEMOR    Clemency Comes to Those Mindful of Their Duties [2 Samuel 24 & 1 Chronicles 21]
46. SAPIENS SENECTVS    Wise in Old Age [1 Kings 1, 1 Chronicles 17 & 29]
47. ADVLATIO FALLAX    False Adulation [1 Kings 1]
48. PIETATIS DEFVUNCTIO    Performance of Piety [1 Kings 1 and 1 Chronicles 17 & 29]

## *II. Beneath Opel's self portrait*

IN DEO IOHO/ VA SPES MEA    In the Lord God Jehovah is my hope

## *III. Titles of the Personifications of the Planets under the Guise of Pagan Gods (starting from the side to the viewer's right)*

SATVRNVS (Saturn), IVPITER (Jupiter), MARS (Mars), SOLI (abbreviated form of SOL INVICTUS [?]) Sol/ Helios, the Sun), VENVS (Venus), MER (abbreviated form of Mercury), LVNA (Diana in the guise of Luna, the moon goddess).



## NOTES

Many colleagues have been generous in assisting me, for which I am very grateful: Greg Bailey, Raphael Beuing, Meg Craft, Ingrid Du Meuter, Jonathan Ferguson, Georg Laue, Walter Melion, Felipe Pereda, Maria Portuondo, Paulus Rainer, Russell Sale, Virginie Spénlé, Zur Shalev, and the participants in the session on “Applied Emblems” at the 2014 Society for Emblem Studies Conference who offered thoughtful feedback. All translations from Latin are either by Paul Espinosa or reviewed by him, followed by a review by the author.

1. Boxwood, pine, copper alloy (brass?), steel (partially gilded), silk; overall dimensions 71.7 × 60.8 × 50.9 cm (closed). Acquired by Henry Walters, 1915 (acc. no. 65.5).

The literature on 65.5 is limited: Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, eds. *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. XXVI (Leipzig, 1932), 26; Malcolm Vaughn, “The Connoisseur in America,” *The Connoisseur* 602 (April 1962): 275–76 (the piece is practically “a series of small sculptures”); Philip Verdier, “A Unique Cabinet of the German Renaissance,” *Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery* 14, no. 4 (1962): 1–2; Richard Randall, “World of Wonder” (mimeographed checklist of an exhibition) (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1971), no. 304; Raphael Beuing, “Eine Regensburger Radschlossbüchse im Bayerischen Nationalmuseum: Annäherung an die Arbeitsweise Peter Opels,” in *Grosser Stahl: 500 Jahre Schützensgeschichte in Regensburg*, ed. Michaela Eigmüller and Peter Germann-Bauer, exh. cat., Regensburg: Historisches Museum der Stadt Regensburg (Regensburg, 2013), 57. Beuing independently discovered that inscriptions on the Walters’ cabinet repeated those in Montano’s *David*, but the edition he consulted was the 1597 Frankfurt version by Berguis (see note 53) with different plates and so did not recognize the role of the plates to the 1575 edition. His suggestion that Hieronymus Cock’s ten engravings of *The Story of David and Saul* after Maerten van Heemskerck of ca. 1556 (Hollstein 94–103) may have served as a prototype for some of the images on Opel’s cabinet was well observed, even if there was actually an intermediate step: Gerard van Groeningen’s compositions for the 1575 publication appear to indeed owe a debt to Heemskerck’s earlier renderings. Finally, the reference in Adolf Feulner, *Kunstgeschichte des Möbels seit dem Altertum* (Berlin, 1927), 188, is likely to a separate, lost piece, as proposed by Beuing “Radschlossbüchse” n. 10.

2. Previous literature on Peter Opel, with the exception of the short article in Thieme-Becker, *Lexikon*, are primarily short discussions of the prints or carved works, which can best be cited when these objects are addressed. Publications of archival documents for Opel in Torgau: C. Gurlitt, “Dresdener Waffenschmiede” *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffenkunde* 1 (1899), 268; for Opel in Regensburg: Kristin Zapalac, “Das Stahlschiessen 1586,” in *Feste in Regensburg*, ed. Karl Mösender (Regensburg, 1986), 133–44, nn. 5–7; and Herman Wiegand, “Das Regensburger Stahlschiessen von 1586 im Spiegel der Literatur,” in Eigmüller and Germann-Bauer, *Schützensgeschichte* (note 1), 90–91.

3. For the table cabinet/Kabinettschrank/Kunstschrank in general, see Heinrich Kriesel, *Die Kunst des deutschen Möbels*, I (Munich, 1968), 168–84; Georg Himmelheber, *Kabinettschränke* (Munich, 1977); Dieter Alfter, *Die Geschichte des Augsburger Kabinettschranks* (Augsburg, 1986); Barbara Mundt, ed., *Schatzkästchen und Kabinettschrank: Möbel für Sammler*, exh. cat., Berlin: Kunstgewerbe Museum, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin, 1989), especially Barbara Mundt, “Von Sammeln,” 9–23, and Petra Krutisch, “Zur Entstehung und Entwicklung der Kabinettschränke,” 25–28; Monique Riccardi-Cubitt, *The Art of the Cabinet, Including a Chronological Guide to Styles* (New York, 1992); Reinier Baarsen, *17th-century Cabinets* (Amsterdam, 2000); Virginie Spénlé, “The Cabinet and Its Importance to the Kunstkammer and Wunderkammer in the 17th Century,” in *Furniture for the European Kunstkammer: Collector’s Cabinets and Caskets*, ed. Georg Laue and Christiane Zeiller (Munich, 2008), 24–31; Barbara Mundt, *Der Pommersche Kunstschrank des Augsburger Unternehmers Philipp Hainhofer für den gelehrten Herzog Philipp II. Von Pommern* (Munich, 2009).
4. For a contemporaneous example, see the large *Fassandenschrank* from the early 1600s in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 05.22.2.
5. For example, the immense steel *Strongbox*, made in Nuremberg around 1580–1610 belonging to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (acc. no. 90.13.1) or the smaller steel *Coffer with the Seven Virtues*, attributed to Michael Mann, also Nuremberg, late 16th century (Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 23.19). See further Mundt, *Möbel für Sammler* (note 3), 106–9.
6. For an example of a German casket carved in pear wood, see *Casket with the Story of Samson* in the Walters Art Museum (acc. no. 61.470).
7. For a close examination of a Spanish writing cabinet, see Christoph Rust, “Ein spanisches Schreibkabinett um 1500,” in Mundt, *Möbel für Sammler* (note 3), 30–38. See the fine example in the Walters Art Museum (65.22; at thewalters.org): Spanish, *Writing Cabinet*, 1550–1600. Walnut with boxwood and ebony inlay, bone, iron; partially gilded oil paint, 63.2 × 106 × 41.4 cm (closed; × 99 cm. open).
8. For the illustrated table-cabinet, see *Möbel für die Kunstkammern Europas: Kabinettschränke und Prunkkassetten*, ed. Georg Laue (Munich, 2008), no. 9. Baarsen, *Cabinets* (note 3), 15, cites the response of Duke August of Brunswick-Lüneburg, upon seeing the house altar with the Virgin and Child on the central panel of the Kabinettschrank sent to him by Hainhofer, that “the cabinet was probably intended ‘for a Catholic’ (für einen Catholischen).”
9. Mundt, *Pommersche Kunstschrank* (note 3).
10. See, for example, a fine example by Jean Macé de Blois, Kunstgewerbe Museum, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (Mundt, *Möbel für Sammler* [note 3], 39–52) and Walters Art Museum (65.19, art.thewalters.org/detail/4900/cabinet-with-mythological-scenes/)
11. For the *Wrangelschrank* and South German furniture with intarsia

- decoration, see Lise Lotte Möller, *Der Wrangelschrank und die verwandten süddeutschen Intarsienmöbel des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1956), especially chap. 2: "Augsburger 'künstliche Meister' und ihre Werke. Lorentz Stör"; also 73–87, cat. 1 (the *Wrangelschrank*), cat. 3, a *Writing cabinet* by Master H. S. (Augsburg) dated 1560 in the Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. w.24: 1 to 3-1931. More recent publications have not really replaced it. Géza Jászai, "Arte et Marte—Durch Wissenschaft und Kriegschafft, zur Ikonologie der Wrangel-schranks," in Gerhard Langemeyer, ed., *Stilleben im Europa*, exh. cat., Münster: Staatliche Kunsthalle Baden-Baden (Münster, 1994), 129–38, drawing on the author's *Der Wrangelschrank, Ein süddeutscher Kabinettsschrank mit ornamenta triumphalis aus dem 16. Jahrhundert*, Bildhefte des Westfälischen Landesmuseums für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte (Münster, 1984). I have not been able to locate a copy of Angelika Lorenz and Volker Jutzi, *Der Wrangelschrank: Neu gesehen* (Münster, 2011).
12. Heinrich Kreisel, *Die Kunst des deutschen Möbel*, vol. I (Munich, 1968), 105: "nicht für den gemeinen Mann, sondern für Standespersonen."
  13. An examination carried out with conservator Greg Bailey did not yield any maker or city marks other than Opel's signature.
  14. See Alfter, *Augsburger Kabinettsschranks* (note 3); Mundt, *Pommersche Kunstschranks* (note 3); Reinier Baarsen, "The Cabinet as Gesamtkunstwerk: Philipp Hainhofer and His Followers," in *17th-century Cabinets* (note 3), 10–15. For the construction of a typical example, see Mundt, *Möbel für Sammler* (note 3), 39–52.
  15. See Enrico Colle, ed., *I mobile di Palazzo Pitti*, 1: *Il periodo dei Medici* (Florence, 1997), cat. no. 64. For example, the Kabinettsschrank in *pietre dure*, ca. 1622/30 by Giuliano di Piero Pandolfini (documented 1615–1637) in ebony, poplar, agate, jasper, chalcedony, and lapis lazuli, 68.4 × 96.8 × 41 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. no. KK 3392. For the uses of hardstone in general, see Anna Maria Giusti, 'Pietre Dure': *Hardstone in Furniture and Decorations* (London, 1992). For a fine example in the Metropolitan Museum of Art made in the court works of the Medici in Florence for Cardinal Barberini, see metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/1988.19.
  16. Rijksmuseum, inv. BK-NM-11906-I, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.56037>
  17. A good example would be the *Claviorganum*, a velvet-covered ebony wood cabinet combined with an organ and a virginal, made by Laurentius Hauslaib, Nuremberg 1598 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 89.4.1191).
  18. Ebony wood, silver, 75 × 62 × 45 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Kunstkammer (KK 883). Alfter, *Augsburger Kabinettsschranks*, 30–33, with complete description from 1596 inventory. Wilfried Seipel, ed., *Spielwelten der Kunst: Kunstkammerspiele* (Milan, 1998), no. 2 (Alexandra Drewes-Baumgartner), where the proposal is made that the decoration of the cabinet points to it as a gift to Archduke Ferdinand in connection with his marriage to Anna Caterina Gonzaga in 1582.
  19. See further the Appendix of Inscriptions.
  20. The full title: DAVID/ HOC EST / VIRTUTIS EXERCITATISSI/ MAE PROBATAV DEO SPECTA/CVLVM, EX DAVID PASTORIS / MILITIS DVCIS EXVLIS AC / PROPHETA EXEMPLIS: / *Bened. Aria meditante, / Philippo Gallaeo instruyente, / Ad pietatis cultum propositis. Antuerpiae. /* CIO. 10. LXXV. / ANTVERPIAE, / Ex officina Christoph. Plantini, Architypog. Regij. / M. D. LXXV.
- Literature consulted specifically on *David hoc est* (1575): Bernard Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598)*, Studies of the Warburg Institute 33 (London, 1972), esp. 5–8, 188–89; Sylvaine Hänsel, *Der spanische Humanist Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598) and die Kunst* (Münster, 1991), 118–27; Hans Mielke, ed. Ursula Mielke, "Gerard Groenning, ein Antwerpener Künstler um 1570. II. Verzeichnis seiner Zeichnungen und Stichwerke aus dem wissenschaftlichen Nachlass von Hans Mielke," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 38 (1996): 145 (attributes the drawings for plates 1–21 to Gerard van Groeningen and 22–48 to Crispin van den Broeck); Christian Schuckman, *The New Hollstein, Gerard van Groeningen*, II (Rotterdam, 1997), 54–68; Manfred Sellink, *Philips Galle (1537–1612): Engraver and Print Publisher in Haarlem and Antwerp* (dissertation, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 1997), I:25, 91–92; Manfred Sellink, *The New Hollstein, Philips Galle*, I (Rotterdam, 2001), xl–xlv; Walter S. Melion, "Benedictus Arias Montanus and the Virtual Studio as a Meditative Place," in *Inventions of the Studio: Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. Michael Cole and Mary Pardo (Chapel Hill and London, 2005), 73–90; Karen L. Bowen and Dirk Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-century Europe* (Cambridge, 2008), esp. 43, 86–90, 400–401; Walter S. Melion, "David Accepts the People's Offerings, from Benito Arias Montano, *David hoc est virtutis . . .*" in James Clifton and Walter S. Melion, eds., *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 2009), no. 22.
- An indication of the breadth and depth of his studies of Hebrew at this period is reflected in another publication of 1575, his translation of the *Itinerarium . . . Tudelensis* (Itinerary of the twelfth-century Jewish traveler, Benjamin of Tudela; Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1575), for which see Zur Shalev, "Benjamin of Tudela, Spanish Explorer," in *Mediterranean Historical Review* 25, no. 1 (2010): 17–33.
21. Gurlitt, "Waffenschmiede" (note 2), 68.
  22. Holger Richter, "Schützen als bürgerliche Partner der Obrigkeit, Festschiessen und Huldigungen in Regensburg," in Eig Müller and Germann-Bauer, *Schützengeschichte in Regensburg* (note 1), 35.
  23. The identification of the "Schere Wacht" was possible with the explanation found in Hugo von Waldersdorf, *Regensburg in seiner Vergangenheit . . .* (Regensburg, 1869), 38.
  24. "Eines Erbaren Bauamts Bey Sizer . . ." as cited from Zapalac, "Stahlschiessen" (note 2), n. 5, with archival citation.



25. On Regensburg and the coming of the Reformation to the city, see Kristin Zapalac, *"In His Image and Likeness": Political Iconography and Religious Change in Regensburg, 1500–1600* (Ithaca, 1990). See also Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Sensuous Worship: Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton, 2002).
26. Compare Philip Melancthon's use of a very similar Lutheran motto: GOTT.ALLEIN.DIE EHRE on his pocket watch (Walters Art Museum, 65.18; [art.thewalters.org/detail/27471/spherical-table-watch-melancthons-watch/](http://art.thewalters.org/detail/27471/spherical-table-watch-melancthons-watch/)).
27. For a listing of the nine rifles currently attributed to Opel, see Beuing, "Radschlossbüchse" (note 1).
28. Beuing, "Radschlossbüchse" (note 1), 59.
29. For Opel as a printmaker and draughtsman, see most recently the various essays and catalog entries (with bibliography) in Eigmüller and Germann-Bauer, *Schützengeschichte in Regensburg* (note 1); earlier references include: Andrea Andresen, *Der Deutsche Peintre-Graveur*, 2 (Leipzig, 1872–78), 112; Georg Kaspar Nagler, *Die Monogramisten* (Munich, 1881), vol. 4, no. 2663; Elfried Bock, *Die deutschen Meister: Beschreibendes Verzeichnis sämtlicher Zeichnungen* (Berlin, 1921), 73, no. 577; Walter Strauss, ed., *German Single Leaf Woodcuts, 1550–1600*, vol. 2 (New York, 1974), 821–22; Zapalac, "Das Große Strahlschießen 1586" (note 2), 133–44; Robert Zijlma, *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts, 1400–1700, XXX* (Rotterdam, 1991), 141.
30. Bock, *Die deutschen Meister* (note 29) 73, no. 577, *Wagon Drawn by Many Horses*, pen and ink study for an etching, monogrammed and dated 1587.
31. Made in connection with a disagreement with the cathedral's current architect, per Andresen *Peintre-Graveur* (note 29), 112.
32. Feulner, *Möbel* (note 1), 188: "Eine Buchbaumkassette, die 1602 Peter Opel aus Regensburg geschnitzt hatte, war in Leipziger Privatbesitz."
33. Beuing, "Radschlossbüchse" (note 1), n. 10.
34. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kunstgewerbe Museum (K3058), monogrammed PO and dated 1612. See Klaus Pechstein, *Goldschmiedewerke der Renaissance* (Berlin, 1971), no. 165, and Lorenz Seelig, ed., *Modell und Ausführung in der Metallkunst*, exh. cat., Munich: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (Munich, 1989), no. 16. For goldsmith work in Regensburg, see Martin Angerer, "Regensburger Goldsmiedekunst im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Festschrift für Gerhard Bott zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Ulrich Schnieder (Darmstadt, 1987), 71–87.
35. For a brief discussion of furniture associated with Regensburg, see Kreisel, *Möbel* (note 12), 183–84.
36. Further images of individual components and their measurements are found at [thewalters.org](http://thewalters.org) under the entry for 65.5.
37. For the possibilities of boxwood, see, for example, *The Allegory of Death*, attributed to Hans Leinberger, in the Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 61.97, [art.thewalters.org/detail/27282/figure-of-death-memento-mori/](http://art.thewalters.org/detail/27282/figure-of-death-memento-mori/)
38. The button-shaped knob at the peak of the pyramidal top of the Walters' cabinet (fig. 13) may be a replacement. Given the style and proportions of the cabinet, it is unlikely that there was ever a sculpted figure here, a configuration found on some contemporaneous cabinets.
39. See this and many other details in the entry for 65.5 on [thewalters.org](http://thewalters.org).
40. See, for example, details of sixteenth-century paneling and doorways in the old city hall of Regensburg: Walter Boll, *Sammlungen der Stadt Regensburg, Reichstagsmuseum* (Regensburg, 1963), fig. 40.
41. See, for example, *Caryatidum . . .* (sixteen sheets) engraved by the Doetecum brothers, published by Gerard de Jode, ca. 1565 (Henk Nalis and Peter Fuhring, *The Van Doetecum Family*, part II; *The New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450–1700* [Rotterdam, 1998], nos. 429–45), and the *Panoplia* series of 1572 (nos. 599–615).
42. For an engraved series of fish as decorative motifs, see that by Nicolaes de Bruyn, *Libellus varia generapisciumno*, datable to the 1590s, illustrated in Marijnke de Jong and Irene de Groot, *Ornamentenprenten in het Rijksprentenkabinet I, 15 de & 16 de EEUW* (Amsterdam, 1988), cat. no. P. 39 (1590s).
43. For the sixteenth-century banner with the Imperial eagle that hung in the Regensburg city hall, see Walter Boll, *Sammlungen der Stadt Regensburg, Reichstagsmuseum* (Regensburg, 1963), fig. 48.
44. For a general background on the self-portraiture of sculptors, see Johanna Woods Marsden, *Renaissance Self-Portraiture: The Visual Construction of Identity and the Social Status of the Artist* (New Haven and London, 1998), 63–104, 169–72.
45. The *Wrangelschrank* incorporates inscriptions commenting on the eight carvings of Roman military victories, complemented by ten medallion portraits of Roman emperors. With the jumble of ruins, putti, and pots of fragile lilies worked in intarsia on the outside and inside surfaces, modern authors agree that an overall theme of "vanitas" or the transience of human life, achievements, and pride was intended, but there is no "title."
46. Within the extensive literature on Montano, the most relevant for the present investigation beyond those cited in note 20: Walter S. Melion, "Ad ductum itineris et dispositionem mansionum ostendendam: Meditation, Vocation, and Sacred History in Abraham Ortelius's 'Parergon'" in *Place and Culture in Northern Art* (special volume [57] of the *Journal of the Walters Art Museum*, ed. Joaneath Spicer and Walter Melion (Baltimore, 1999), 49–72; Ramiro Florez and Isabel Balsinde, *El Escorial y Arias Montano: Ejercicios de comprensión* (Madrid, 2000); Zur Shalev, "Sacred Geography, Antiquarianism and Visual Erudition: Benito Arias Montano and the Maps in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible," *Imago Mundi* 55 (2003): 56–80; María M. Portuondo, "The Study of

- Nature, Philosophy, and the Royal Library of San Lorenzo of the Escorial,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (Winter 2010): 1106–50; Walter S. Melion, “Introduction: Meditating on Pictures” and “Meditative Images and the Portrayal of Image-Based Meditation,” in Walter S. Melion, Ralph Dekoninck, and Agnes Guiderdoni-Bruslé, eds., *Ut pictura meditatio: The Meditative Image in Northern Art, 1500–1700* (Turnhout, 2012), xxxiii–xxxvii, 1–59; Walter S. Melion, “‘Conspicitur prior usque fulgor’: On the Functions of Landscape in Benito Arias Montano’s *Humanae salutis monumenta* (1571),” *Emblematica* 20 (2013): 1–62.
47. For a list of Montano’s publications, see Rekers, *Montano* (note 20), Appendix III. For Plantin and Montano, see Vincente Bécáres Botos, *Arias Montano y Plantino* (Leon 1999) and also Bowen and Imhof, *Plantin* (note 20). For Plantin and his circle more generally, the fundamental publications are by Léon Voet: Léon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp* (Amsterdam, 1969); Voet and Jenny Voet-Grisolle, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589): A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden* (Amsterdam, 1980). For the intellectual environment in Antwerp at a time of religious turmoil, see Léon Voet, *Het Belgische humanisme na Erasmus: Het geestesleven in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden ten tijde van Plantin en Rubens* (Antwerp, 1969); Koenraad Jonckheere and Ruben Suykerbuyk, eds, *Art after Iconoclasm: Painting in the Netherlands between 1566 and 1585* (Turnhout, 2012); Konraad Jonckheere, *Antwerp Art after Iconoclasm, 1566–1585* (Brussels, 2012); Melion, “Ortelius’s Parergon” (note 44); and Titia de Haseth Möller and Frits Scholten, “Paludanus, a Humanist Sculptor Working for Spain,” in *Zwischen Lust und Frust: Die Kunst in den Niederlanden und am Hof Philipps II. von Spanien (1527–1598)*, ed. Caecilie Weissert et al. (Cologne, 2013), esp. 155–65.
  48. *Davidis Regis ac prophetae aliorum sacrorum vatum Psalmi, ex hebraica veritate in latinum Carmen* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1573), his extensive commentary for which was published by Plantin only in 1605. See Rekers, *Montano* (note 20), 189. A reverence for the Psalms of David transcended the confessional divide, beginning with Martin Luther’s own *Der hundert vnd achtzehend Psalm nutzlich zu betten für das wort gottis tzur erhebenn widder den grossen feynd des selben/ den Bapst vn[d] menschen lere/ vorteutschet durch D. Martinu[m] Luther* (Wittenberg: Lotter, 1521).
  49. See Melion, “Montanus” (note 20), 78, for the English translation.
  50. See Hänsel, *Montano* (note 20), fig. 29.24.
  51. Florez and Balsinde, *El Escorial* (note 46), 469.
  52. For the library see Portuondo “Royal Library” and Hänsel, *Montano*, 153–57. For the statues of the Old Testament kings by Juan Battista Monegro on the façade of San Lorenzo and the “Patio de los Reyes,” see the description by the prior of the monastery of El Escorial, José de Sigüenza, (1544–1606), in his *La fundación del monasterio de El Escorial*. Madrid (c. 1605; Madrid, 1988), 305–6, Florez and Balsinde, *El Escorial* (note 46), 504–9, generously brought to my attention by Felipe Pereda; Hänsel, *Montano* (note 20), 162–65. The Latin inscriptions now to be seen on plaques attached to the pedestals below are later additions.
  53. See under note 44.
  54. *Jessiada laudes puero meditante, paternum / Et pecus, et volucres, et stupuere ferae; / Ipse pater superum dixit, meus hic, meus esto; / Hic pascat nostros instituatque greges.*
  55. *Mole gravi et subito casu magnis ruit ausis / Vis experts sensus consilique pii./ Hanc victrix pietas sternitque trahitque triumpho./ Non iactare minas docta, sed efficere.*
  56. *Munere susceptam bene rem gessisse beatum est; / Laudandam et superis aedificasse domum. / Sed numerous implet cunctos cui contiget heres / Et studii patria compos et officii.*
  57. Andrew Morrall, “The Reformation of the Virtues in Sixteenth-Century German Art and Decoration,” in *Art Re-formed, Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, ed. Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle, 2007), 105–21.
  58. *David, virtutis exercitissimae probatum Deo spectaculum, ex Davidis, pastoria, militis, ducis, exsulis ac prophetae exemplis, Benedicto Aria Montano meditante ad pietatis cultum propositis. Aeneis laminis ornatum a Ioanne Thedoro, & Ioanne Israele de Bry . . . Quid huic novae edition a Conrado Rittershusio ex biblioth. M. Bergii procurate accesserit, prefatio docebit.* (Frankfort: M. Zacharia Palten, 1597). <https://archive.org/details/davidvirtutisexeooaria> (from the Getty Research library, accessed November 2013). The mottos are not quite the same, and the images etched by the de Bry brothers are completely different. Many of the latter are derived from a ca. 1585 series of sixteen engravings on *The Story of Saul and David* by Aegidius Sadeler after the Lutheran-leaning Antwerp artist Maerten de Vos (*Hollstein* XLIV [de Vos], nos. 98–113). For the Braunschweig teacher, poet, and Lutheran theologian Matthias Berguis (1536–1592), see Diane Deufert, *Matthias Berguis (1536–1592), Antike Dichtunstradition im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (Göttingen, 2011), especially his biography (18–42) and on the 1597 posthumous publication, 81–82, 411.
  59. For King David as a favored subject for the “prince’s mirror,” see, for example, Ehsan Ahmed, *Clément Marot: The Mirror of the Prince* (Charlottesville, 2005), 53–70.
  60. For example: *Biblia, das ist die ganze heylige Schrift Teutsch* (Frankfurt, 1565) including ten woodcuts by Amman illustrating David’s story.
  61. Virgil Solis, *Bibliche Figuren des Alten vnd Newen Testaments*. Getruckt zu Franckfurt am Main: Durch Dauid Zephelium, Johan Raschen, vnd Sigmund Feyerabent., 1560). This was followed by *Neuwe Bibliche Figuren des Alten und Neuwen Testaments, geordnet und gestellt durch Johan Bockspergen, . . . und nachgerissen met sondern Fleiss durch . . . Jost Amman* (Frankfurt: Georg Raben, Sigmund



- Feyerabend and Weygand Hanen Erben, 1564). A Latin edition was then published in 1571, *Bibliorum utriusque Testamenti icones: summo artificio expressae, historias sacras ad vivum exhibentes, & oculis summa cum gratia repraesentantes adeoque doctis & venustis carminibus exornatae, ut pius lector vere sacrarum his emblematum thesaurum possit agnoscere. In omnium, qui pietatis et literarum amantes sunt, gratiam, per candidum studiosorum fautorum in lucem nunc primum aeditae*. (Nuremberg: Hieronymus Feyerabend, 1571).
62. Though it is no longer in its original binding, see the copy of *David, hoc est . . .* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin for Philipp Galle, 1575) in the Sheridan Libraries, Johns Hopkins University, Special Collections, N7745.D37 G35 1575.
  63. First pointed out by Hänsel, *Montano* (note 20), 122. A poignant reminder of the perceived value of the gold sometimes woven into such royal tapestries is the intentional burning of some in 1797 to extract the gold, for which see Jules Joseph Guiffrey, “Destruction des plus ells tentures du mobilier de la Couronne en 1797,” *Mémoires de la Société de l’Histoire de Paris et de l’Île-de-France*, XIV (1887), 265–98.
  64. According to an undated internal report prepared for the National Cathedral by Anne Harman, Visitor Programs Manager, citing the donor Isabel Perkins Anderson (*The Spell of Belgium* [Boston: Page, 1915]), the tapestries were purchased by Mr. Anderson in 1898 out of the palace where they were first hung in 1587 and that had belonged to Count Flaminio Mannelli, to whom it is thought that they were given by Cardinal d’Este (1509–1572), papal legate to the Court of Charles IX of France. The report also notes the absence of all workshop marks, adding to the challenge of identifying the workshop or dating. However, the characteristics of the design are generally consistent with a dating to the last decade of the Cardinal’s life and bear comparison in a general way with tapestries designed by Michel Coxcie (1499–1592) in Brussels, for which see Koenraad Jonckheere, *Michel Coxcie, de Vlaamse Rafael* (Brussels, 2013), and Thomas Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, exh. cat., New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art (New Haven, 2002), 394–402.
  65. For tapestry series on the subject of King David as models for princely behavior, see Thomas Campbell, “*Nobilitas*, from a set of nine tapestries known as the *Honors (Los Honores)*,” in *Tapestry in the Renaissance* (note 63), 175–85; *David and Bathsheba, Ten Early Sixteenth-Century Tapestries from the Cluny Museum in Paris*, exh. cat., New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1974); also the website [www.flandesehispania.org/tapices/index.php/Portada](http://www.flandesehispania.org/tapices/index.php/Portada).
  66. Guy Delmarcel, “Le roi Philippe II d’Espagne et la tapisserie: L’inventaire de Madrid de 1598,” *Gazette des beaux arts*, ser. 6, 134 (October 1999):153–78.
  67. For the tapestries acquired in the Netherlands, Iain Buchanan, “The Tapestries Acquired by King Philip II in the Netherlands in 1549–50 and 1555–59: New Documentation,” *Gazette des beaux arts*, ser. 6, 134 (October 1999), 131–52; Katja Schmitz-von Ledebur, “Die Tapisseriensammlung König Philipps II. Von Spanien,” in Weissert et al., *Zwischen Lust und Frust* (note 44), 93–112.
  68. As Ingrid Meüter has emphasized in an email exchange. The largest series ever commissioned for the Habsburgs was the twelve-piece series on the Conquest of Tunis for Charles V in 1535. Nevertheless, it cannot be entirely excluded that Montano had in fact already commissioned sketches that he may have imagined as potential models for such a grandiose enterprise: in 1572 when Montano would have been working on his translation of the Psalms and presumably a series on the life of David was in initial discussion, one of the artists with whom Montano worked, Crispin van den Broeck, was commissioned by him to execute forty-eight small paintings, for which commission see Bowen and Imhof, *Plantin* (note 20), 43. No subject is given but I know of no other project initiated by Montano with that number of illustrations; they could have served as initial sketches both for the more precise drawings he and Gerhard van Groeningen made for use of the engraver, Jan Sadeler, and also, potentially, for tapestry designers.
  69. For the program, see Maria Luisa Madonna, “La biblioteca [di San Giovanni Evangelista a Parma]: Theatrum mundi e Theatrum sapientiae,” in *L’abbazia benedettina di San Giovanni Evangelista a Parma*, ed. Bruno Adorni (Parma, 1979), 177–94. My thanks to Zur Shalev for bringing this publication to my attention. For Montano’s role in the decoration of the royal library at the Escorial, of which Montano became the librarian after leaving Antwerp, see Portuondo, “Nature” (note 44).
  70. For an overview on the “seven planets” in the Renaissance, it remains worthwhile to consult Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art* (edition consulted, New York, 1961), chap. 2, “The Physical Tradition;” see further, for example, Gioia Mori, *Art e Astrologia* (Florence, 1987); Ilja M. Veldman, “Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maerten van Heemskerck: Cosmo-Astrological Allegory in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Prints,” in *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 11, no. 3/4 (1980): 149–76.
  71. A *Writing cabinet* dated 1560 by monogrammist H. S. (Augsburg) in the Victoria and Albert Museum (W.24:1 to 3-1931) is embellished with plaques of the “eight” planets and their children on the drawers, with Jupiter included twice, presumably simply to fill out the arrangement. See Möller, *Wrangelschrank* (note 11), cat. 3, with ill.
  72. Dieter Beaujean, *Hollstein’s German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400–1700*, v. LXIV, *Virgil Solis* (Rotterdam, 2004), nos. 389–95, 396–402 (used for *Writing cabinet* in previous note), 403–9, 410–16, 417–23, 424–27, 428–30, 450.
  73. The subject was popularized in Germany by Barthel Beham’s engraving, *Child Sleeping on a Skull*, 1525. For an overview of

the subject, see Alberto Veca, *Vanitas, il simbolismo del tempo* (Bergamo, 1981).

74. K. G. Boon and J. Verbeek, *[Hollstein's] Dutch and Flemish Etchings Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700*, XV, *Van Ostade –De Passe* (Amsterdam, 1964), no. 635. The pairing of the images seems to have developed in the late 1500s, for example, again by Crispin de Passe the Elder, as J. Verbeek and Ilja Veldman, *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700, De Passe* (continued) v. XVI (Amsterdam, 1974), 91–92ad.
75. See for example, *The Archdukes Albert and Isabella Visiting a Collector's Cabinet* (Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 37. 2010, [art.thewalters.org/search/?query=37.2010&type=search&all\\_fields=true](http://art.thewalters.org/search/?query=37.2010&type=search&all_fields=true)).
76. Mellion has recently made a very thought-provoking proposal as to the work that Montano challenged the reader of his *Humanae salutis monumenta* (1571) to undertake in “Functions of Landscape” (note 45).

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: © The Trustees of the British Museum: fig. 8; Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program: figs. 6, 14, 16, 18: figs. 6, 14, 16, 18; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna: fig. 5; Courtesy of Kunstkammer Georg Laue, Munich: fig. 3; National Cathedral, Washington, D.C.: fig. 19; LWL –Museum für Kunst und Kulture, Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster: fig. 4; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: fig. 22; Staatliche Museen, Kunstgewerbe, Berlin: fig. 9; The Walters Art Museum, Jennifer Paulson: fig. 13; The Walters Art Museum, Susan Tobin: figs. 1, 2, 7, 10–12, 15, 17, 20, 21



## NEW DOCUMENTATION FOR THE WALTERS' COLLECTION

### THE SELIGMANN ARCHIVES

#### J. RUSSELL SALE

*It is ever so good of you to be interested in helping us with such quests as this. The disastrous destruction of your Paris records had for us a sort of counterpart in the destruction of so large a portion of Mr. Walters' records of his purchases . . . partly by his own choice, as you know. . . . Whatever information we can assemble is very precious to us.*

—Dorothy Miner, Librarian and Keeper of Manuscripts  
at the Walters Art Gallery, to Germain Seligman,  
24 September 1959 (Walters Art Museum Archives)

Henry Walters was much less generous in documenting his art than he was in donating it to Baltimore. He left remarkably few records as to when and where, from whom, and for what price he and his father purchased the works that were bequeathed. The lament above by the first curator of manuscripts at the Walters Art Museum is repeated by both William Johnston and Stanley Mazaroff in their focused narratives on the history of the museum and its founding collectors.<sup>1</sup> While it is estimated that Henry Walters spent more than a million dollars annually buying art from 1900 until his death in 1931,<sup>2</sup> only a handful of shipping invoices describing the objects that poured into Baltimore each year survive in the museum's archives.<sup>3</sup> The few that do give us some indication as to how much information was lost when the shipments from Walters' numerous dealers arrived at the gallery. James Anderson, an engineer primarily responsible for the building and its security, also had the task of recording the arriving shipments.<sup>4</sup> At times he transferred extensive information from the invoices into the chronological logbooks he maintained, which survive as the "Anderson Journals." But on other occasions, especially when incoming cases contained numerous (even hundreds of) objects, only the barest details from the accompanying invoices were recorded. And once the shipments were logged

in the journal, the invoices themselves were separated from the individual works of art, and the overwhelming majority lost. This severing of the actual works of art from the only information that had been assembled on them proved a major hurdle for the earliest museum professionals when the Walters Art Gallery opened as a public institution in 1934. Virtually all they had to work with to catalogue the immense collection were the two volumes of the arrival records, the Anderson Journals.

A perfect example of how much information was lost, but now partially recovered in the Seligmann Archives at the Smithsonian Institution's Archives of American Art, is presented by the beautiful bronze statuette of *St. John the Baptist* presently attributed to the Italian sculptor Nicolò Roccatagliata (active 1593–1636) and on display in the museum's sixteenth-century gallery (fig. 1).<sup>5</sup> The Anderson Journals record the arrival of the piece at the Walters gallery on 13 October 1926, and note that it had been sent by Jacques Seligmann & Company of New York.<sup>6</sup> Anderson put down only the barest information he thought necessary, and the original invoice given to Henry Walters has not survived. Yet a typed transcription of the firm's copy of it ultimately made its way to the Walters Art Museum in 1955, when Germain Seligman sent it to Philippe Verdier, a new curator at the museum who had asked that the dealer send him any information he might have available. The text reads as follows:

October 9, 1926

3355/ 10830 A remarkable bronze, Venetian work of the XVI century, by Jacopo Sansovino (Cire Perdue) 'St. John the Baptist'. The holy personage is represented standing, holding the cup in his right hand, and covered with the skin of an animal. His feet are bare and his head is encircled with a halo. The left arm falls to

the side, and must at one time have held the pastoral crook. The bronze base was cast at the same time as the statuette. On it is a sheep. Underneath may be seen No. 134, preceded by the letter 'V', the inventory number in the Collection of the Empress Frederick who formerly owned this bronze, and from whom it comes. It was inherited by the Princess of Hesse, sister of the Emperor William.

The bronze which was in the Chateau de Friedrichsdorf was described and reproduced in the catalogue written by Dr. Bode in 1896. According to Dr. Leo Planiscig of the Vienna Museum, this bronze was probably executed around 1550, and is the only cast in existence. Therefore, it is neither a reduction nor a study for a more important bronze and was in all likelihood executed at the time to surmount a baptismal fount.

It may be compared, as regards the style of the artist, either to the resurrected Christ of the portable altar in the National Museum of Florence, or again, to the marble St. John, seated, in the Church of the Frari in Venice.

Enclosures: Photograph of the first page of the catalogue, Collection of H. M., the Empress Frederick at Friedrichsdorf. Photograph of page 18 of the catalogue in which this statuette is reproduced. Photograph of Dr. Planiscig's certificate."<sup>7</sup>

Beginning with the statuette's New York and Paris inventory numbers, the entry is remarkably complete in providing a detailed description, how the piece was made, its illustrious provenance from the collection of the empress Frederick, wife of the German emperor Frederick III, a reference to discussions of its attributions by major scholars of the day, and comparisons with other works by its reputed artist, the Italian sculptor and architect Jacopo Sansovino (1486–1570). Accompanying the invoice was a packet with photographs of bibliographical sources and the certificate by Dr. Leo Planiscig attributing the work to Sansovino.<sup>8</sup> Additional correspondence regarding the statuette sent by Germain Seligman in 1965 to the Walters' registrar at the time, Winifred Kennedy, also includes information about the price Henry Walters paid.<sup>9</sup> One can see from this example how much information was lost when the original documentation sent to Henry Walters disappeared.

This state of poor documentation had multiple causes. Like his father, Henry was intensely private and did want his collecting expenditures discussed. He told one dealer that if his purchases from him ever became public, it would mark the end of their relationship.<sup>10</sup> On another occasion in the mid-1920s, when the dealer Germain Seligman came to Henry Walters' New York office to deliver an invoice for recent purchases, the railroad executive promptly took out a pair of scissors and cut off all the prices, much to Seligman's dismay that more important information than just prices might be removed.<sup>11</sup> The few early shipping invoices that survive in the Walters Museum archive show the same mutilation. Sadly, the majority of the art-related documentation routinely sent to Walters' New York office also has not survived.<sup>12</sup>

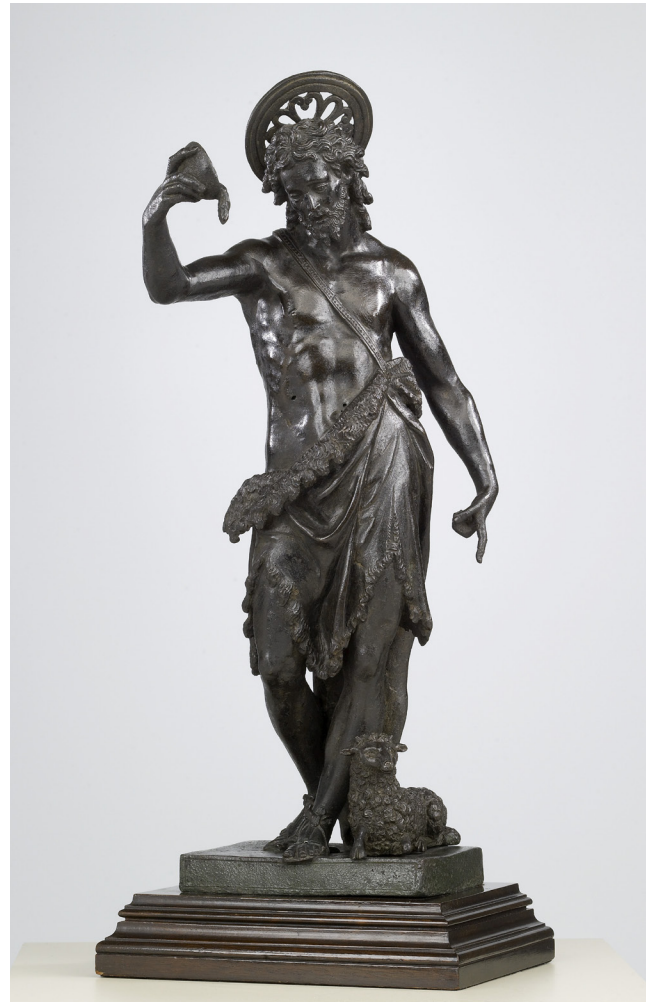


Fig. 1. Nicolò Roccatagliata (Italian, active 1593–1636), *St. John the Baptist*, ca. 1570–1600 Bronze, height 52.4 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by Henry Walters, 1926 (54.463)



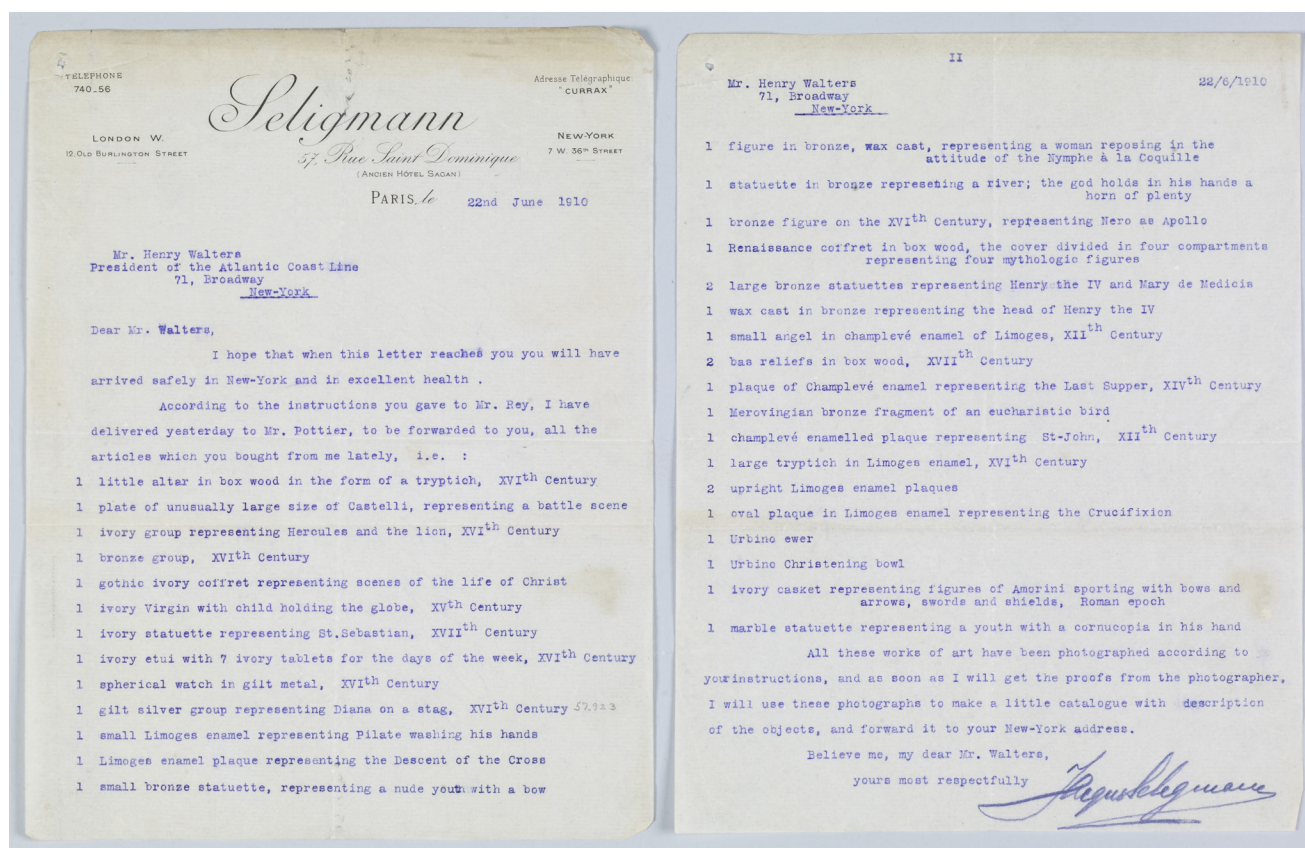


Fig. 2. Photostat letter from Jacques Seligmann to Henry Walters, 22 June 1910. The Walters Art Museum Archives

As president of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad, Walters was preoccupied with his business affairs, and he never instituted a coherent policy for retaining the information about the works of art he acquired. This situation is all the more perplexing since he was on the board of trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art from the early years of the century until his death and must frequently have witnessed firsthand the importance of well-maintained object records. But instead of an experienced professional to manage his ever-increasing collections in Baltimore, he hired a friend and local art dealer, Faris C. Pitt, to act as a part-time curator at his Gallery, concerned primarily for the arrangement and display of the art.<sup>13</sup> The task of recording arriving art shipments was only one of the responsibilities of his building superintendant, James C. Anderson, and Anderson apparently was never given explicit instructions for document retention. As an example of an even more willful disregard for history, Walters simply discarded books and letters from the connoisseur and dealer Bernard Berenson when their relations soured about 1915 and did not keep coherent records of the paintings Berenson had acquired for him.<sup>14</sup>

At times Henry Walters seemed to realize the need for recording his acquisitions. By the early years of the twentieth century he asked some of his dealers to provide photographs of the works they sold him. Accompanying letter of 22 June 1910 now in the Walters Archives enumerating the purchases Henry had recently made in Paris (fig. 2), the dealer Jacques Seligmann appended the following note. "All these works have been photographed according to your instructions. I will use these photographs to make a little catalogue with descriptions of objects, and forward it to your New-York address."<sup>15</sup> Henry Walters forwarded Seligmann's album to his gallery in Baltimore, where its arrival was logged into the Anderson Journals, and where it still survives in the Walters Art Museum Archives.<sup>16</sup> The individual photographs were pasted on separate pages and accompanied by a handwritten copy of the information from the related invoice (fig. 3a, 3b). If such albums had been produced systematically for all of Henry Walters' purchases, the initial work of cataloguing his immense collection following his death would have been considerably advanced. Unfortunately, the procedure was never systematized, and only a few such volumes survive.<sup>17</sup>

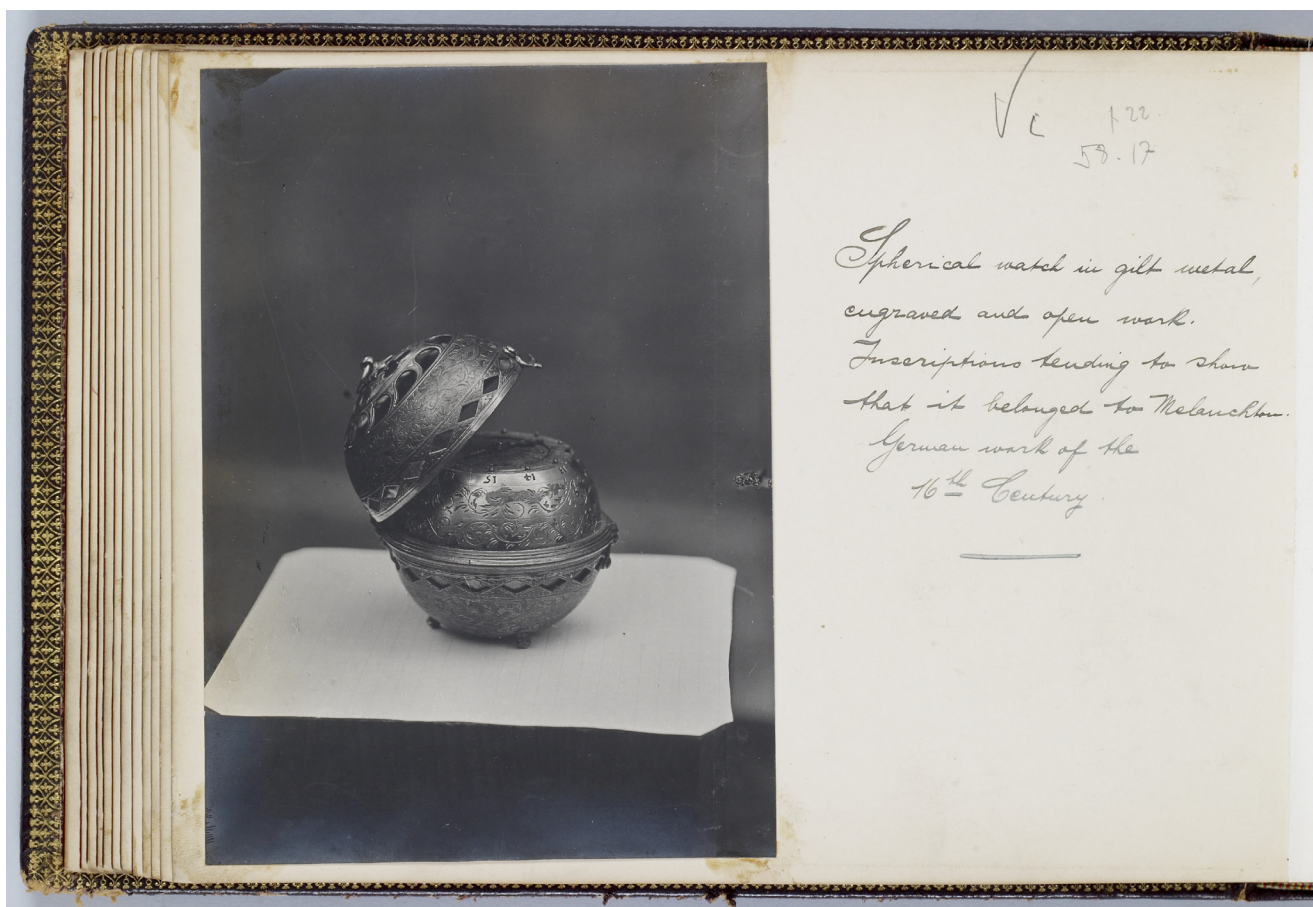


Fig. 3a. Jacques Seligmann & Company, Leaf from a photographic album prepared for Henry Walters, 1910, showing *Spherical Table Watch* (*Melancton's Watch*), 1530, acquired by Henry Walters, 1910 (58.17). The Walters Art Museum Archives

In producing these “little catalogues,” Jacques Seligmann realized the need for at least a basic approach to records management for a private art collection, even as he had developed a much more sophisticated tracking and accounting system for the successful art dealership he established in Paris in 1880.<sup>18</sup> It was to these records that Dorothy Miner appealed when she wrote to Seligmann’s son Germain in 1959 for information about objects in the Walters Museum. And it is the surviving remnants of the company’s papers that allow us to shed light on the acquisition and provenance of many of what we now know to be more than three hundred works of art that Henry Walters purchased from the firm of Jacques Seligmann and Company.

#### JACQUES SELIGMANN & COMPANY

The enterprise that Jacques Seligmann had begun when only twenty-two in 1880 was a leading dealership of art in Paris by the time Henry Walters first patronized it in 1902.<sup>19</sup> Jacques

(1858–1923; fig. 4) ran the business with his two brothers, Simon and Arnold, and they opened a New York branch in 1904 to cater to their growing clientele of wealthy Americans. A falling out between Jacques and Arnold in 1912 split the business into separate firms, each with galleries in Paris and New York.<sup>20</sup> The New York offices were called, respectively, Jacques Seligmann & Company, and Arnold Seligmann, Rey & Company. Following the division, Walters continued to patronize both firms, buying from each in Paris and New York. When Jacques Seligmann’s son Germain (1893–1978; fig. 5) was discharged from the French army at the end of World War I, he joined the firm and was put in charge of the New York office. He later became head of the entire Jacques Seligmann & Company business on the death of his father in 1923. With the arrival of the Nazis in 1940, the Paris gallery was forcibly closed, and it was then that all Parisian business records of the firm were destroyed in order to protect clients. Fortunately for historians, the dependence of the New York branch on that in Paris for its inventory meant that to



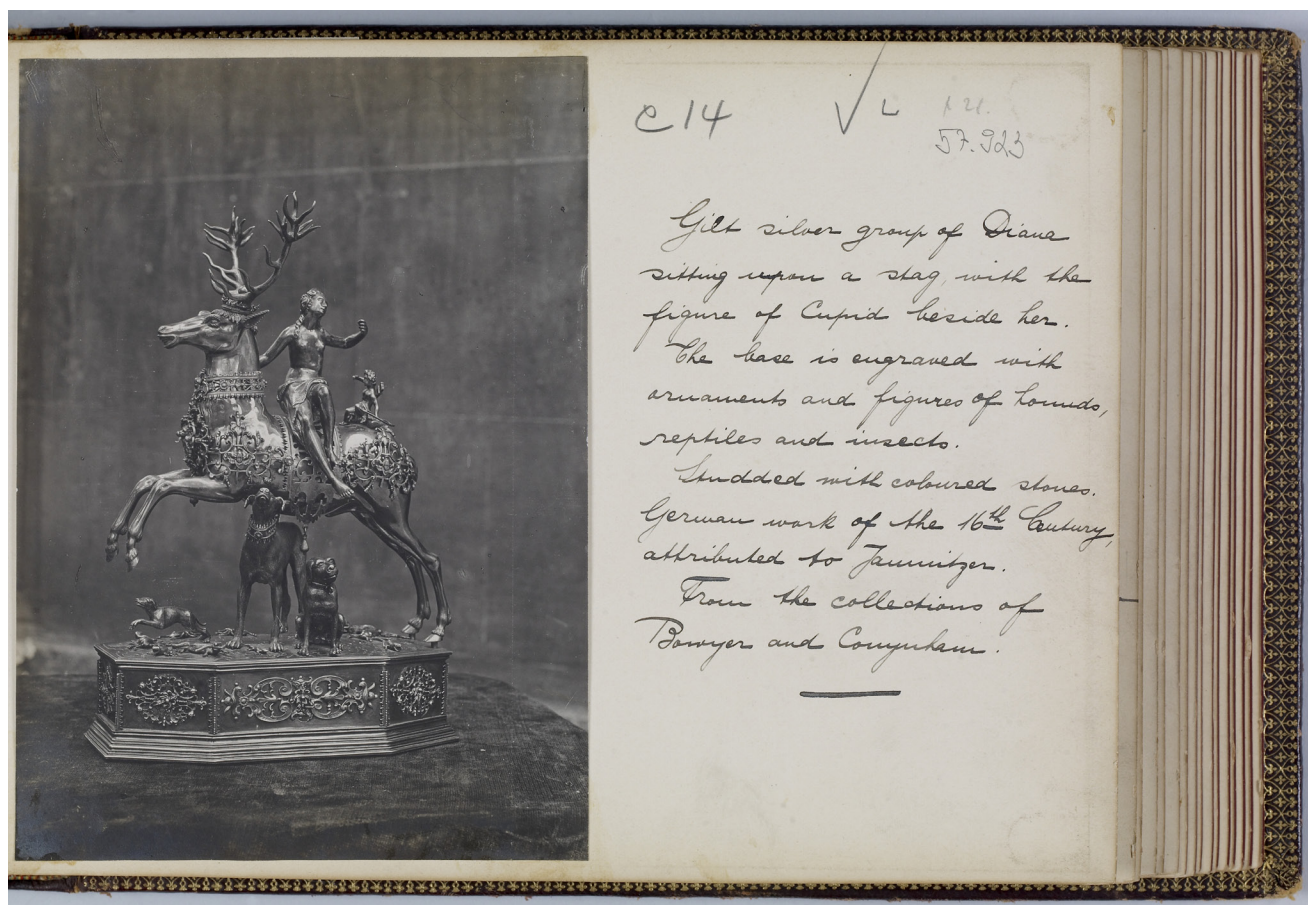


Fig. 3b. Jacques Seligmann & Company, Leaf from a photographic album prepared for Henry Walters, 1910, showing *Automaton with Diana on a Stag*, acquired by Henry Walters, 1910 (57.923). The Walters Art Museum Archives



Fig. 4. Jacques Seligmann (1858–1923), unidentified photographer, Jacques Seligmann & Company records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (798)



Fig. 5. Germain Seligman (1893–1978), unidentified photographer, Jacques Seligmann & Company records, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (799)

communicate effectively and to coordinate the activities of both offices, a system of parallel records and correspondence was established, with many redundancies in the New York records covering the history of the firm and its dealings, especially after the 1912 quarrel. Thus, when Dorothy Miner sought acquisition details from Germain Seligman in New York about objects at the Walters Museum, he could search the company records he had at hand and frequently provide information that had not made it into the museum's records in Baltimore. By the time of Miner's letter to him in 1959, Germain had become an American citizen, shortened his surname to Seligman, and continued running the business until his own death, at which time it was closed. Soon after his death in 1978, Germain's widow, Mrs. Ethlyne Seligman, had the foresight to realize the importance of the firm's documents for the history of collecting in America and donated most of them to the Archives of American Art, with an additional acquisition from her estate in 1994.<sup>21</sup> Through funds provided by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation and the Terra Foundation for American Art, the majority of the documents were digitized in 2010 and made available on the internet to historians and scholars worldwide, one of the more than one hundred collections of the Archives of American Art that have been posted online.

The digitized Seligmann archive has facilitated the recovery of numerous documents on the relations of Henry Walters with, and his purchases from, the Jacques Seligmann firm, virtually all heretofore unknown. More than two hundred pieces of correspondence between Walters and the Paris and New York offices survive, ranging from copies of letters and invoices sent by the firm and its principals, payment notices, shipping arrangements and acknowledgments from Baltimore (James Anderson) of items received, to much more personal interactions between Walters and Jacques Seligmann and the latter's son Germain after 1923.<sup>22</sup> There are also stock books listing inventory on hand, invoice lists of objects sold to particular individuals, sales lists, consular invoices describing objects that were imported to the United States that include earlier owners and stated values, as well as shipping statements. Every object or lot for sale had its own inventory numbers, one for Paris and one for New York, and these were used in all the various types of business documents to track a given item from its acquisition by the Seligmann firm to its sale, shipment, and arrival at the location determined by the purchaser, in this case Henry Walters. Quite frequently the same object

can be found and traced in each type of document, providing incremental information from multiple points of view.

The new documentation does not radically alter the description of the cordial and professional relationship between Henry Walters and both Jacques Seligmann and his son presented by Germain in his history of the family business and in Johnston's in-depth study of the collecting of both Henry Walters and his father, William.<sup>23</sup> As well as providing documentation for individual objects now in the museum he founded, the records broaden our knowledge of the interaction of Henry Walters with one of his major dealers and often provide fascinating nuances to what we already knew and insights into what we did not. A letter from Jacques Seligmann to Henry Walters in 1920, for instance, indicates that by then Henry Walters already had something clearly in mind regarding his later gift of his museum and extensive collections to the city of Baltimore. We also learn that the normally cordial and familiar relationship between the dealer and client could be punctuated by a skittishness and even bluntness on Walters' part when he thought the price for an object was too high, was being urged to acquire something not to his aesthetic standards, or may have wanted to reinforce a certain professional boundary between himself and the Seligmann firm by backing out of a purchase on the pretext of purported financial difficulty. An explanation for Walters' reluctance to lend works from his collection becomes clearer in the documentation. The archives also provide insights regarding Mrs. Henry Walters' more active and significant role in collecting with her husband than has heretofore been known, her concern for retaining information about her collection, as well as suggesting the couple's different social purposes and attitudes toward the art they acquired.

#### 1910–1922

While the earliest Seligmann invoice-book entry relating to Henry Walters lists his purchases made in Paris on 11 June 1910 and includes all the objects contained in the photographic album mentioned above,<sup>24</sup> the first surviving item of correspondence dates from 1913. It is a brief letter of 8 December from Henry Walters to Jacques Seligmann at the company office in New York, and it undoubtedly relates to the trip on which Jacques and Germain visited clients in the eastern United States.<sup>25</sup> Responding to a request the elder Seligmann had made, Walters writes: "I will be very





Fig. 6. Francesco Bertos (Italian, active 1693–1733), *Allegorical Groups Representing the Four Continents: America, Africa, Europe, and Asia*. Bronze, 63.5–69 × 34.8–46 × 32.7–44.9 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by Henry Walters, 1917 (54.657, 54.658, 54.659, 54.660)

glad to arrange for you and your son to visit the Galleries in Baltimore any date you will mention before the first of January. You will have to enter by the rear door.”<sup>26</sup> Another letter tells us that the trip had to wait a full six years to 1920 after the First World War, when Jacques wrote to Walters on 27 February. It is an extraordinary document, since it clearly implies that by that date Henry Walters had discussed with Seligmann his philanthropic intention of leaving his museum and extensive collections of world art to Baltimore. It reads in part as follows: “I cannot tell you sufficiently how pleased I am to have taken the trip to Baltimore, to at last have the opportunity of seeing your truly remarkable collection which will, through your splendid generosity, be for all time one of the greatest attractions of your city. . . .”<sup>27</sup> By the time he drafted his will two years later in April 1922, Henry had completely formulated his plans for his bequest to Baltimore “for the benefit of the public.”<sup>28</sup> The peculiar detail in Walters’ 1913 note that Jacques Seligmann would have “to enter by the rear door,” is clarified in a letter Walters wrote to the Seligmann firm in New York on 20 January 1926. The collectors Mr. and Mrs. Percy Straus had asked to see the Baltimore galleries, so Henry provided the necessary admittance card, and added, “owing to no bell on the front door, it will be necessary for them to go around to the small door on the alley at the rear of the building where there is a bell.”<sup>29</sup> At the time, the staff in the large Baltimore building, other than James Anderson the superintendent, was extremely limited and focused on protecting the collection and the building’s maintenance.<sup>30</sup>

Whereas Henry Walters’ correspondence with both Jacques Seligman and later his son Germain was typically

terse and concerned only with the matter at hand, such as sending payment for an invoice, that in the other direction to Walters was often more expansive and informative, showing concern for Henry’s health, changing personal circumstances, and a mutual interest in buying, dealing, and collecting of art. The outbreak of war in 1914 effectively terminated any activity by Walters with either the Paris or the New York office until 1917. And then it was only in connection with Jacques Seligmann’s mission from the French government to acquire American dollars by braving a transatlantic voyage from Paris in January of that year and shipping to New York a sizeable quantity of art to sell.<sup>31</sup> According to Germain Seligman’s later account, his father’s trip was quite successful, and in the two months he was in New York, Jacques Seligmann cleared more than a million dollars.<sup>32</sup> We now know that of that amount, Henry Walters contributed \$146,000 for the works he purchased on 17 February and 3 March, including \$60,000 for the spectacular group of dynamic bronzes by Francesco Bertos representing the *Four Continents*, now in the museum (fig. 6)<sup>33</sup> Walters also handed Seligmann a check for \$500 for the Paris Red Cross, corroborating the generosity of Seligmann’s American patrons toward the war difficulties of France that Germain Seligman mentioned in his later book.<sup>34</sup> But in a letter to Walters of 25 April 1917 mentioning the check, Jacques Seligmann told him to stop payment on it, because the person to whom it was made out, Étienne Clemental, French Minister of Commerce, had not received it, most likely because the ship carrying it had been torpedoed.<sup>35</sup> The same letter goes on to describe the city of Paris vividly decked out with American flags in celebration

over America's entrance into the war three weeks before. The communication ends on a note of lament for the dearth of works of art available on the market and the enormous prices obtained for whatever "goods" did turn up.

Such interweaving of personal concerns, contemporary events, and the promotion of their business in general as well as specific objects thought to appeal to Henry Walters, characterizes the Seligmann letters to Walters when sales resumed in 1920. In a letter of 14 February 1920, Jacques Seligmann told Walters that his fellow collector and trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the financier George Blumenthal, "begs you to look at the group attributed to Jacopo della Quercia again and that he would like to buy it for the museum."<sup>36</sup> In his return letter the next day Walters gave a rare expression of aesthetic response. He clearly was not interested in the sculpture, bluntly stating: "I note what you say about Mr. Blumenthal and the piece attributed to Jacopo della Quercia. I did not ask your price so cannot form an opinion. Frankly however I was not carried away with great enthusiasm by it as being an object of superlative value."<sup>37</sup>

Henry Walters' desire for privacy was well known to his dealers and is reinforced in the correspondence.<sup>38</sup> In a memorandum of 26 November 1921 outlining the purchases Walters had made a day or two before, Jacques Seligmann informed him that another dealer Henry patronized, Dikran Kelekian, had asked whether Walters had purchased anything; Seligmann said no, telling Walters, "In fact, I think that I acted according to your wishes because I know that you do not like very much anybody to know what you are doing."<sup>39</sup> It also appears that Henry was inclined to retain information about art and the prices he paid even from his wife, Sarah (Sadie) Jones Walters, whom he married in April 1922. Walters had lived with Pembroke and Sarah Jones for years since moving to New York in the 1890s, and the three went on annual buying trips to Europe before Pembroke's death in January 1919.<sup>40</sup> Yet even before the wedding, Jacques Seligmann was aware of Sarah Jones' importance to Walters' acquisition of art. In the same letter to Walters of 14 February 1920 asking that he look again at the Jacopo della Quercia sculpture, Seligmann went on to tell him, "I have exhibited all the beautiful things which you bought in a little room, so that I can show them to Mrs. Pembroke Jones when she comes."<sup>41</sup> But Walters apparently did not appreciate Seligmann's attempt to be solicitous and told the dealer in his response the next day to "please remember that if

Mrs. Jones calls she is not to be told that I have bought anything."<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, we cannot tell whether Walters was simply being coy and playful with regard to his future wife or was following his habit of keeping information to himself. Although we have no knowledge of how Henry and Sarah Jones Walters, both independently wealthy, arranged their finances following their marriage in April 1922, it appears that Henry's inclination to retain documentation on his acquisitions and the prices he paid for art continued. While he instructed the Seligmann firm to deliver many of the objects he purchased to the residence where he and Sarah lived at 5 East Sixty-first Street, Walters nevertheless had the invoices sent to his business office at 71 Broadway, and often with the added proviso that they should be sent "under Personal cover," or in an "envelope marked Personal addressed to me."<sup>43</sup>

The documents indicate that 1921 was an exceptionally slow year in Walters' dealings with Jacques Seligmann & Company. He apparently did not complete payment until March for purchases made from the firm in December of the previous year.<sup>44</sup> In early June Jacques Seligmann wrote him from Paris asking for news, since he had not heard from him in months and wondered whether Walters would be making his usual spring buying trip.<sup>45</sup> There is no record of any purchases from Seligmann at that time. Continuing in the June letter, Seligmann went on to lament what he considered to be the outrageous amounts commanded by works of art of all types, saying "I cannot afford to buy at those inhuman prices." But, ever the astute salesman, he told Walters how fortunate he was to have acquired from the company "so marvelous beautiful things, which after all you bought at such extremely reasonable prices." In early November Seligmann made the journey from Paris to New York with goods to sell, but on the 15th wrote to excuse himself from visiting Walters immediately because he said he had to accompany the French delegation to Philadelphia to see the two Rembrandts he had helped Joseph Widener acquire from the Russian prince Felix Yusupof.<sup>46</sup> By 18 November his hectic schedule had changed again, but he promised to come on the 24th to Henry Walters' hotel and asked Walters for an introduction to the architect John Russell Pope.<sup>47</sup> Separately on the 18th, Walters wrote to Seligmann saying that it was his "busy week, all my people here from the South and Board meetings," but letting the dealer know that he had missed him when he stopped by the firm's New York gallery at 705 Fifth Avenue



the previous week.<sup>48</sup> And on the 19th Walters responded to Seligmann's request regarding Pope by "enclosing a line of introduction to my architect friend, Mr. John Russell Pope, who married Mrs. Pembroke Jones' only daughter."<sup>49</sup> In the memorandum of 26 November 1921, we learn that Seligmann and the collector met on the 24th. Indeed, Walters spent a total of 388,500 French francs on a pair of Sèvres vases, a silver statuette of the Virgin and Child, and a Louis XVI clock in white marble and gilt bronze. But ironically, Seligmann's response of "no" to Kelekian's inquiry on 26 November as to whether Walters had purchased anything, ultimately proved to be true: Walters backed out of the acquisition, and on 3 December Jacques Seligmann wrote to him saying he was "sorry to see that you want to cancel the purchases which you have made from our firm. . . . Our employee tells me that you have explained [to] him that you cannot afford to buy for such a big amount just now because there are so many things in which you have invested your money which bring no dividend."<sup>50</sup> We do not know whether Henry Walters's finances were straitened at that particular moment, or whether cancelling his purchases was an indirect way of signaling some aggravation with Seligmann, perhaps for being made to adjust to the latter's shifting schedule earlier in the month as he catered to clients other than Walters. Following the war, 1921 was the only year in which he bought nothing from Jacques Seligman & Company, which is surprising since the Anderson Journals in the museum's archive indicate that Walters actively acquired art from other dealers throughout the year, including from Jacques Seligmann's brother Arnold. We do know that Henry had earlier claimed financial difficulty in the period 1912–1916, when he sought to end his arrangement for buying paintings with Bernard Berenson.<sup>51</sup> Whether it stemmed from some pique or actual liquidity issues, however, the cloud passed and the normal routine with Jacques Seligmann & Company resumed by early 1922. On 6 January Walters repurchased from Seligmann's New York gallery some of the same objects he had backed out on earlier, but also new items, for more than twice the amount he had cancelled the previous month.<sup>52</sup>

A concern for their mutual health appears in the correspondence of Jacques Seligmann to the seventy-four-year-old Walters in 1922. In a copy of a letter he sent from Paris on 23 November, Seligmann says that he was upset to learn that Henry had been ill during the past summer, and goes on to say that he, then sixty-four, did not anticipate a trip to

New York "because the doctor says the changeable climate in New York is very bad for me, and that I am getting to an age when I ought not to expose myself to it."<sup>53</sup> We learn that Walters was sick again in December in a copy of a letter Seligmann sent him on the 26th;<sup>54</sup> by late January 1923, Mrs. Walters was also ill.<sup>55</sup> Henry and Sarah Walters were apparently sufficiently recovered by the summer of 1923 to undertake a buying trip to Paris in June and July that year.<sup>56</sup> But that was the last time they saw the prominent dealer and their long-time friend, as he contracted pneumonia in October and died on the 30th at age 65.<sup>57</sup> His son Germain, then in Chicago, rushed to Paris as soon as he learned of his father's illness but arrived too late. He was then quickly beset by challenges to the company resulting from the founder's unexpected death.<sup>58</sup> Although he was relatively new to the business because of the years he spent as a soldier during the war, he was determined to continue. A major concern was whether his father's leading clients, whose loyalty had been established through decades of solicitous and professional relations, would continue patronizing the company now under his tenure. In his memoir, Germain notes Henry Walters' much appreciated support during this critical time.<sup>59</sup> Walters showed up "unheralded" at the Paris gallery one day in the spring of 1924 and told Germain that he had just come from a competitor, who had suggested that Jacques' son, because of his youth and inexperience, would not be successful in his effort "to keep up the business."<sup>60</sup> But bolstering Germain's confidence, Walters reportedly added: "If you keep up your father's traditions, you have nothing to fear. It is up to you," and asked Germain what special items he could show the collector for possible purchase."<sup>61</sup>

### 1923–1931

Documents in the Seligmann archives suggest that Germain's published account of this transitional period in the firm's history exaggerated his own inexperience, perhaps in the interest of fashioning an interesting story. From a listing of sales made in Paris we know that Henry Walters visited the Seligmann galleries there on 21 and 24 June 1924, so the encounter mentioned by Germain most likely would have occurred then.<sup>62</sup> But in a copy of a letter Germain wrote to Henry Walters on 14 December 1923, nearly six months earlier and within a month and a half of his father's death, we learn that Germain had already returned to New York

to reassure his major American clients regarding the firm's continuity:

My dear Mr. Walters,—

I have returned to New York a few days ago, and you are of course among the very first persons whom I would like to see, but as I am leaving shortly for the Middle West, I have not been wanting to trouble you so far.

When I come back that is at the end of next week, I will take the liberty to call you up, and ask whether I may have the pleasure to call on Mrs. Walters and yourself.

I understand that rumors are being spread around by competitors to induce our friends and patrons to believe that I will not continue the business. If you have heard anything of the kind, let me ask you not to believe it as not only am I going ahead with the business that my father so brilliantly created and established, but I want to lead it along the same high principles and keep up the great reputation that this firm has always enjoyed, in dealing only in the first class and unquestionable works of art.<sup>63</sup>

The business and personal relationship between Henry Walters and Germain Seligman paralleled quite closely that of the collector and Germain's father, Jacques. In the correspondence discovered so far, only one incident stands out from the normal cordiality and suggests the possibility of a rupture in their dealings. Interestingly, it parallels Walters' abrupt cancellation of his recent purchases in December 1921. During their visit to the Seligmann Paris galleries in July 1925, Henry and Sadie Walters were evidently struck by two magnificent eighteenth-century Beauvais and Gobelins tapestries, in perfect condition and showing royal and ducal coats of arms.<sup>64</sup> In a letter to Henry Walters of 23 October 1925, Germain Seligman reported that the tapestries had arrived in New York and were "available for you to try them in your home if you wish."<sup>65</sup> He quoted the price of the one showing the arms of France as \$45,000, and that with the arms of the Duke of Boufflers as \$25,000. Instead of replying immediately, Walters waited a week, and when he did he made it clear that he and Mrs. Walters had a different notion of the price of the two works. In a letter dated 31 October, Walters wrote:

I am writing especially to tell you that there has been at some time a very great mistake in the price of the two tapestries which you sent over at our suggestion to see if they would . . . hang in our hall. The prices you mentioned in your note the other day exclude any possibility of our purchasing them so that we hope you may be able to place them elsewhere. After reading your note I at once asked Mrs. Walters for her recollection of the prices asked for them in Paris,—I did not even hint as to my own recollection and she replied, 'For the two about \$20,000.00.' Upon returning to my hotel in Paris I noted down the prices as I recalled them and I find these figures are about \$12,000 for one and a fraction under \$10,000 for the other. . . . I am exceedingly sorry for this contretemps however it may have occurred, but the quotations now are so far apart that we must drop any consideration of their purchase.<sup>66</sup>

Germain was taken aback and responded the same day: "the difference in price is so fantastic that it can only be due to a mistake, which lies—I do not know where."<sup>67</sup> While being as diplomatic as he could with one of his major clients, Seligman nevertheless remained firm and concluded, "I do not see what else I can do in this matter, but just to say that your esteem for me is away above a mere business deal."

Seligman shipped the tapestries to New York on Walters' request. Perhaps Henry Walters, already 77 years old and beset by a number of maladies, had a memory lapse. Or, as was possible with the purchase cancellation of late 1921, raising such a "contretemps" with Germain Seligman was his way of setting appropriate boundaries between himself the collector and his dealer. But like the incident of 1921, this one blew over quickly. Walters apparently did not reply to Germain's letter, and two weeks later, on 12 November, the dealer sought to arrange a visit with Henry and his wife: "I have not yet had the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Walters, and I hope that she will be able to receive me Sunday morning."<sup>68</sup>

## LENDING WORKS OF ART

Beyond expanding our knowledge of Henry Walters' relations with one of his major dealers, the Seligmann archives also enrich our understanding of his role as an art patron, in particular his ambivalence about lending objects from his



growing collection.<sup>69</sup> There are four distinct lending requests in the surviving documents, and each has a different but informative outcome. The first occurred soon after the war. Following the purchase of an elaborate Louis XV commode on 12 February 1920 at the firm's New York galleries, and before even seeing it in his residence, Walters sent a telegram instructing Seligmann staff to send it to the Metropolitan Museum of Art for "the loan exhibition" to be held there.<sup>70</sup> Walters' action was undoubtedly the result of his being on the museum's board of directors at the time and his desire to support the institution. In 1927, however, when Germain Seligman wrote him on 16 February requesting the loan of a small number of his works of religious art for a benefit exhibition opening at the dealer's galleries the next month, an exhibition intended to support the restoration of the Basilica of the Sacré-Coeur in Paris and sponsored by the archbishops of Paris and New York, Walters apparently did not respond.<sup>71</sup> In a letter more than a month later on 1 April, Germain expressed disappointment on hearing that Walters had been "away" and described the success of the event and Walters' missed opportunity to shine among the leading collectors of the day.<sup>72</sup> I "wanted to ask you for some of your leading art objects so that your name would appear among those contributing to this charity and to have some of your beautiful works of art near those the names of which you will see in the catalogue," he says. To emphasize the significance of the exhibition, Seligman included the catalog as well as newspaper coverage of the show, and listed a number of works and their prominent lenders, such as Clarence Mackay, George Blumenthal, and Mr. and Mrs. Otto H. Kahn. And in what surely was intended as social pressure to spark the collector's competitive sense, he even made a reference to the tapestry "contretemps" of October 1925 by adding, "you will recognize the two gorgeous gold woven tapestries lent by Mr. George Blumenthal." If there was a possibility of a cloud threatening the dealer-collector relationship, it dissipated, and by the following May Germain sent to Henry, staying with Mrs. Walters at the Hotel Ritz in Paris, invoices for the objects they had just purchased.<sup>73</sup>

By late October 1928, the Seligmann firm in New York made another loan request for a benefit exhibition, and in his response of 2 November Henry Walters was quite adamant that "I do not lend any of my pictures in Baltimore for exhibition outside of my Galleries."<sup>74</sup> A rare exception to this policy was the loan in 1929 to the benefit exhibition at

the F. Kleinberger Galleries of Hugo van der Goes' *Portrait of a Man at Prayer with Saint John the Baptist*, which Walters had purchased from Jacques Seligmann in 1920.<sup>75</sup>

One reason underlying Henry Walters' reluctance to lend paintings from his Baltimore gallery was explicitly stated in the Seligmann archives' final mention of the subject, which occurred in the last months of the collector's life. In October 1931 Walters received a request for the loan of a painting from Louis Metman, commissaire général in Paris for the international exhibition of French art to be held at the Royal Academy in London early in 1932.<sup>76</sup> In his response of October 21, Walters began by saying that it was with "deep regret" that he wouldn't lend the picture, and then proceeded to explain why:

Many years ago we lent a very important picture from our Gallery for a charitable exhibition and when the picture was returned to us it was practically destroyed. It is true that we collected the insurance which the exhibition carried for us, but that did not in any way compensate us for the loss of the picture by an artist who was dead. We have, therefore, decided thereafter not to lend pictures for exhibitions, provided they were pictures which we ourselves have on exhibition at our Gallery in Baltimore."<sup>77</sup>

The damaged painting is not identified, and no other information about it has come to light. Aware of Metman's request, but not of Walters' response, Germain Seligman also wrote to him about the exhibition on 23 October, undoubtedly to encourage him to participate, and attempted to reach him once more by telephone on 9 November, again without success.<sup>78</sup> By that date Henry Walters had become sick with what would prove to be his final illness, so in his "absence" his secretary sent Seligmann a copy of Henry's 21 October letter to Metman.<sup>79</sup> Germain Seligman never heard from his long-term patron and client again. In a letter of 18 November, Mrs. Walters informed Germain that she was too preoccupied to write, thanked him for the flowers he had sent, reported that Henry had a restful night, and that she was hopeful that he would soon be well and could see the dealer again at their residence. In closing, in appreciation for his concern, she signed herself "Most cordially and sincerely yours, Sadie Walters."<sup>80</sup> Following Henry Walters' death on 30 November 1931, his widow sent her formal card of appreciation to Seligman for his sympathy, which Germain kept.<sup>81</sup>

## SARAH JONES WALTERS AND THE SELIGMANNS

Mrs. Sarah (Sadie) Jones Walters appears continuously in the surviving correspondence from the Seligmann firm, and her importance to Walters in connection with his acquisition of art was evident to the dealer already by 1917 in the first surviving letter of Jacques Seligmann to the railroad president. In the letter of 25 April in which he lauded Henry's charitable donation to the Paris Red Cross and praised America's entry into the First World War, Seligmann concluded by telling Walters to "Kindly remember me to Mrs. Pembroke Jones."<sup>82</sup> Seemingly a minor detail, it would be included in virtually every substantive letter to Walters over the years from either Jacques Seligmann or his son Germain. There is no mention of Sarah's husband Pembroke in this letter or elsewhere in the surviving correspondence, yet Walters lived in the couple's residence in New York at 5 East Sixty-first Street, shared in their social life, and traveled to Europe with them on his annual buying trips. Always attuned to cultivating clients and the potential for promoting a sale, the Seligmans recognized Sarah's importance to Henry Walters and showed her deference and respect. She was a woman of strong character, a socialite who relished hosting lavish social gatherings, first in Washington for her congressman father, and later at her luxurious homes in Wilmington, North Carolina, and New York, and at her summer house of Sherwood in Newport, Rhode Island.<sup>83</sup> Until her mid-fifties when she, Pembroke, and Henry Walters moved to 5 East Sixty-first Street in 1913, she reputedly budgeted up to \$300,000 for summer social events in Rhode Island, demonstrating her independence, artistic flair, and management capabilities.<sup>84</sup>

By early 1920, Jacques Seligmann considered Mrs. Pembroke Jones a sufficiently important client that he wanted, until dissuaded by Walters himself, to provide her a special viewing of the purchases Henry had made without her the previous day at the firm's New York gallery.<sup>85</sup> Sarah normally accompanied Henry on his buying trips abroad and to galleries and encouraged his purchases ("If you like it, dear, buy it. I think it's lovely").<sup>86</sup> But she was more than simply a bystander to her husband's acquisitions. Following the couple's marriage in 1922, Jacques Seligmann was sufficiently aware of what appealed to Sarah Walters and her potential impact on a sale that on a trip to New York in January 1923 he promoted an eighteenth-century marble statuette to Henry as the "little Falconnet [*sic*], which I really would not want

to sell before Mrs. Walters has seen it."<sup>87</sup> The dealer clearly considered Sarah Walters an active participant in any decision and a strong influence on her husband.<sup>88</sup> By 1927 Germain Seligman wrote to Sarah directly to find a convenient time for both her and Henry to see the objects he wished to show them, which was frequently the weekend, when her husband wouldn't be working, or even on holidays, including Thanksgiving.<sup>89</sup> That Mrs. Walters considered herself to be personally involved in acquisitions surfaces in a letter she wrote to Germain on 1 February 1928, when she asked him to "be kind enough to send me descriptions of two pieces of furniture we bought from you in December," and "I am very anxious to have a description and name of all of my old furniture, in order to paste it inside the [d]rawers for future reference."<sup>90</sup> And in response to a request in January 1930 from the Seligmann Company in New York for her to return to them two metal containers for jardinières sent in error, Mrs. Walters acknowledged receiving the receptacles and added, "I find that they fit the blue jardiniers exactly, which I purchased from you last year."<sup>91</sup> Sarah Walters' assertion of personal agency in the acquisition is revealing, since the surviving business records tell us that a pair of Sèvres jardinières was purchased by Walters (the couple?) in New York on 23 July and again on 20 September 1929, that the jardinières were delivered to 5 East Sixty-first Street, but that the invoices for them were sent to Henry Walters' Broadway office.<sup>92</sup>

We know nothing of the couple's approach to their joint finances. Nevertheless, from the available evidence Henry wrote the checks, but Mrs. Walters had an active role in the acquisition of the objects of art that came into her home. The 5 East Sixty-first Street address was the residence of Pembroke and Sarah (Sadie) Jones in New York, where they and Henry Walters lived together before Pembroke's death in 1919, and to which Henry returned on marrying Sarah in April 1922. Germain Seligman, who visited the couple at their home whenever he had something he thought might be of particular interest to them, confirmed that the residence belonged to Mrs. Walters and that the objects Henry purchased from Seligman and sent there were, at least in Germain's mind, presents for her.<sup>93</sup> They were more than that. 'Contributions to the household' might more aptly describe Henry's acquisitions, since he lived in Sarah's house and understandably would have wanted to give tangible artistic evidence to their life together as a couple, as well as have the townhouse recognized by friends and social peers as the Jones-Walters residence.



We have additional confirmation of Sarah Walters' ownership or significant control over the art in her home. In his vehement response of 2 November 1928 to the Seligman firm's request for loans for a benefit exhibition, Henry Walters immediately added, "In regard to pictures at 5 East 61st, you will have to apply to Mrs. Walters."<sup>94</sup> Copies of letters written shortly thereafter by Germain Seligman to Henry and Sarah, respectively, inform us that the Seligmann Company, in the person of Germain's cousin, René, was quick to "apply" for the loan request to Mrs. Walters and received a positive response. But in a letter of 13 November to Henry, Germain showed his nuanced political sense: "My cousin has told me how very kind you have been in lending us two of your paintings for the charity exhibition to be held at our galleries, and I do wish to thank you as I consider it a personal favor done to me."<sup>95</sup> While implying here that the loan was Henry's doing, in his subsequent letter to Mrs. Walters of 24 November Germain thanked her personally for lending the two pictures by Fragonard and Huet.<sup>96</sup> Germain's separate letters to Henry and Sarah Walters confirm his perceptive understanding of them as strongly individual personalities who might have quite different attitudes and approaches to common concerns, an example being Henry's propensity for secrecy regarding the finances and documentation of his acquisitions. That the entire contents of the East Sixty-first Street residence belonged to Sarah Walters, either outright or through anticipated marital inheritance, is implied by Henry Walters' making absolutely no mention of the New York home or any work of art therein in his will, whereas he explicitly listed his Baltimore dwelling of No. 5 West Monument Place and its contents as part of his gift to the city.<sup>97</sup>

At the time of their wedding in 1922 Sarah Walters was almost sixty-three, while Henry, born on 26 September 1848, was approaching his mid-seventies, but still active in business. We must imagine their marriage as one both practical and convenient, based on decades of friendship, companionship in the same house, shared experiences, and a cultivated familiarity of taste in the art they acquired for their home. Since first moving to Wilmington, North Carolina, in 1884, Henry had known and lived close to or with Sarah and her first husband already for half his life. But in addition to love and respect for his new spouse, the marriage was intimately intertwined with Henry's anticipation of his own mortality, his thoughts about the art he had acquired and the finalization of his philanthropic legacy for his Baltimore museum,

as well as estate planning, particularly for Sarah and his sister, Jennie Walters Delano. We know this because the very day of the wedding, 11 April 1922, was also the day Walters drafted his final will and had it witnessed.<sup>98</sup> There were no changes to it before his death late in 1931.

Even before the marriage there was a greater emphasis on French eighteenth-century furniture, decorative arts, paintings, and sculpture among Walters' purchases from the Jacques Seligmann firm, a course that would continue until the collector's death.<sup>99</sup> William Johnston ascribed the taste for the courtly and aristocratic arts of eighteenth-century France that reigned at the couple's Sixty-first street residence (fig. 7) to Mrs. Walters' influence, and the purchases recorded in the Seligmann archives confirm that the majority of Henry Walters' acquisitions in this area were sent to the New York address instead of to Baltimore.<sup>100</sup> The objects that stayed in New York were considered Sarah's, while those sent to Baltimore were clearly intended for the Henry Walters and his museum. The Seligmann documents give the impression that Mrs. Walters' interest in French eighteenth-century domestic arts was primarily as an aesthetic enhancement for the elegant and sophisticated life she and her husband shared, as well as the tangible outward sign of wealth and status so important to elite society in New York. That Henry fully shared his wife's taste for French aristocratic art for their domestic environment, and that both were following contemporary fashion in interior décor, is suggested by Walters' long familiarity with the Louis XVI-style decoration his father had earlier incorporated in the family residence at 5 West Monument Place in Baltimore, as well as by the Louis XV and Louis XVI period rooms Henry himself had had designed and built for the opening of his museum there in 1909.<sup>101</sup> No evidence has emerged thus far in the Seligmann papers that Sarah had an independent passion for art or that she was a collector in any sense like her husband, whose personal goal, even mission for his collecting, was explicitly stated only late in life and quoted in his obituary by *Art News* on 5 December 1931: "It has been my hope to make a thoroughly rounded collection, which would give to the observer an understanding of the whole history of the world's artistic development. It has a few gaps, but not many."<sup>102</sup>

Although she supported her husband's efforts, Sarah Walters did not share his ambition and that of other major collectors of the time, such as Isabella Stewart Gardner, to have a broader public impact and purpose for the works she

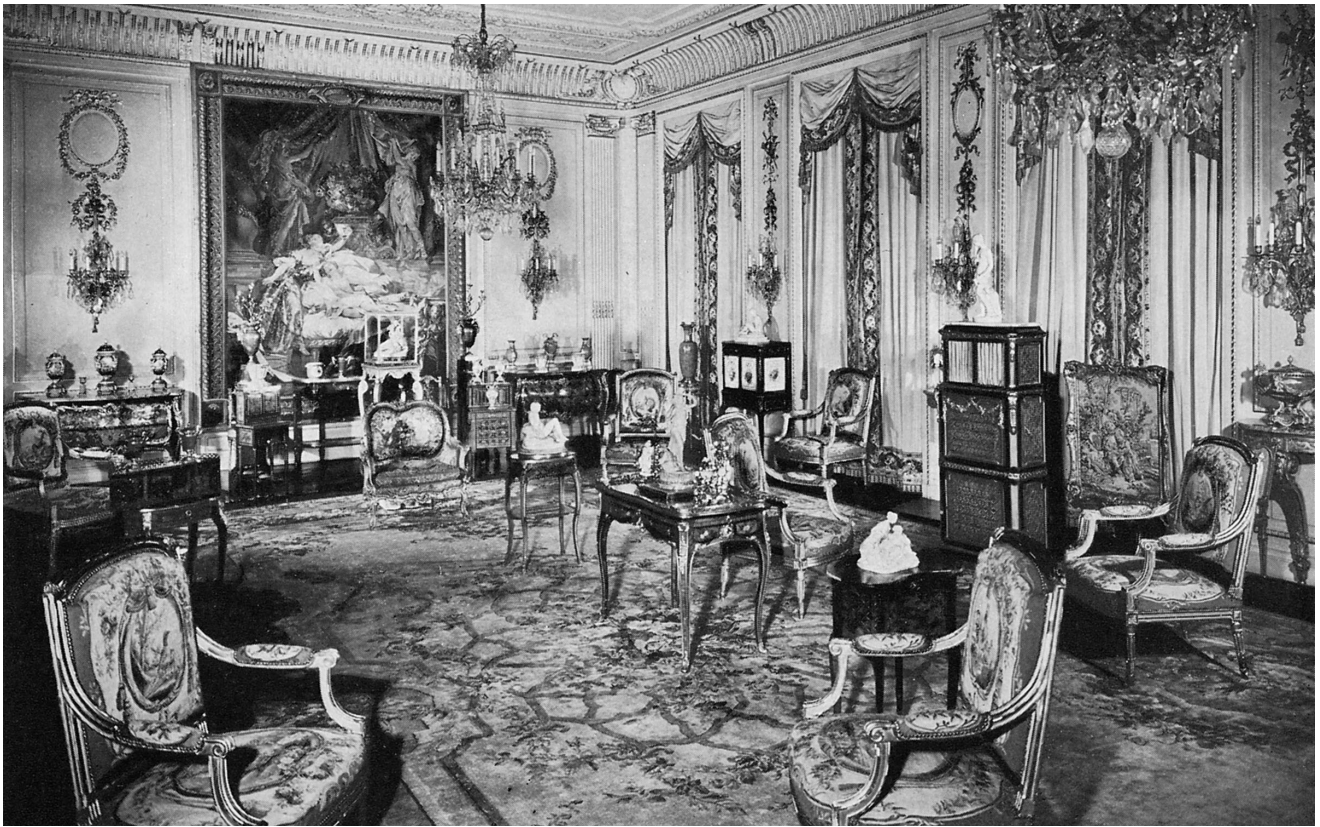


Fig. 7. Interior of the 5 East Sixty-first Street residence, 1941. From *The Art Collection of Mrs. Henry Walters*, Park-Bernet Galleries, Inc., New York, 2–3 May 1941, vol. 1, frontispiece

owned and lived with or any intention of leaving them as a memorial or legacy for future generations.<sup>103</sup> Indeed, we know that shortly after Henry's death she began to put up for sale at public auction the contents of her residence at 5 East Sixty-first Street, a process that would continue until 1943.<sup>104</sup> Sarah Walters' personal aesthetic passion was not for works of art, but rather for the magnificent private gardens she cultivated for decades at her estate of Airlie in Wilmington, North Carolina, where at the extensive property's culmination in the 1920s she and Henry and their guests could enjoy more than 500,000 azaleas and abundant camellias.<sup>105</sup>

In one significant way Sarah Walters differed from her husband: that being the importance she placed on the documentation of her art and a concern for the value of individual works as it was enhanced by what contemporaries called an object's pedigree, which included the creator's name, the style, period, and history of ownership. She also experienced personally the result of her husband's secretive habit of sending the objects they purchased to their home or to Baltimore and the invoices to his office—the separation of the works of art from the information about them. In the quotation

at the beginning of this essay Dorothy Miner referred to the loss of “so large a portion of Mr. Walters' records of his purchases . . . partly by his own choice, as you know,” but she then went on to say “and partly by a most unfortunate decision of Mrs. Walters in the period after the Gallery was established as a public institution.” Miner did not describe the fateful decision Sarah Walters allegedly made, no record of it has yet surfaced, and no current member of the Walters staff knows what it may have been. The surviving documents tell a different story.

It is ironic that Dorothy Miner wrote to Germain Seligman in 1959 seeking information about specific objects in the Walters Art Museum, considering that Sarah Walters had made the same request in 1927 for objects in her home, even though her husband was there and presumably had the desired information available in his office in the form of Seligmann Company invoices. In response to questions she had sent Germain Seligman in late October 1927, he wrote on 1 November that he could not find the name of the cabinet maker for the Louis XV commode in her large drawing room, the piece lent to the Metropolitan Museum in 1920, but that



it had come from the Wallace collection and was presumed to have once belonged to Madame de Pompadour.<sup>106</sup> He went on to describe several other pieces and what he had found in his records. She sought more information in a letter to him on 1 February 1928, asking Germain, “would you be kind enough to send me descriptions of the two pieces of furniture which we bought from you in December, one a cabinet with plaques in Sevres porcelain, and the other a small lady’s desk, with prices paid for same. I am very anxious to have a description and name of all of my old furniture, in order to paste it inside the [d]rawers for future reference.”<sup>107</sup> The next day she sent a photo of the commode purchased in 1920, apparently still hoping it would help Germain locate a clarifying document.<sup>108</sup> By 23 February 1928 Seligman sent detailed descriptions of five furniture items on separate sheets of paper, “ready to be pasted in the drawers of the pieces of furniture you mentioned.”<sup>109</sup> It is clear that during Henry Walters’ lifetime Sarah had minimal or no access to the purchase records he was sent, and it is possible that he may not have kept them, or certainly that he had not maintained them in a coherent and useable order. And since his wife’s requests to the dealer for information continued long after his own death in November 1931, she may never have gained access to the art-related records he had received.

Mrs. Walters maintained contact with Germain Seligman following Henry’s death. He wrote to her at Airlie in Wilmington on 22 April 1932; he had not written earlier “because I thought that after the sad blow you received this past winter you would not care to see any one.”<sup>110</sup> She replied by telegram that she hoped to be in Paris in July and looked forward to seeing him there, suggesting that the routine of annual visits to Parisian galleries would continue.<sup>111</sup> Early in 1933 Germain called on her in the apartment she had established at the Hotel Pierre on Fifth Avenue, around the corner from her Sixty-first Street residence, and in March he requested a photograph of Henry Walters and offered his expertise, “not only for your own private collection in New York, but also if you feel that my opinion or advice could be useful to you in the organization of the museum in Baltimore, which Mr. Walters in so generous a way left to that city, I would be glad to answer your call. As you know, my services are at your disposal any time.”<sup>112</sup> As a life member of the board of trustees of the Walters Art Gallery as it changed from a private to a public institution in the second half of 1933 and early 1934, Sarah Walters confided in Germain Seligman about the new museum, especially about

the need to find a suitable director.<sup>113</sup> On 18 January 1934, the day before the Baltimore *Evening Sun* published news of the search and other staffing, Germain wrote to Mrs. Walters, thanking her for their discussion several days previous and for taking him into her confidence.<sup>114</sup> He then told her that he had “been thinking of one man in this country who, I believe, would be an ideal Director of the gallery,” and continued by describing the person as American, already the head of an active museum, and not a specialist, but with a knowledge of art in general, including the decorative arts.<sup>115</sup> He did not name the candidate, but said he would like to talk with her about it. As there is no further correspondence on the topic, we may never know whether the individual played a role in the trustees’ subsequent deliberations.

By early 1935 Mrs. Walters was more preoccupied with her own collection and affairs than with the Baltimore museum. Troubled by the dearth of information available to her, she wrote Germain Seligman on 1 March that she was sending her secretary to his office with a “picture,” asking the dealer whether the description she enclosed applied to it, and she went on to say, “There are so many articles in the house, of which there is no record.”<sup>116</sup> Her frustration culminated in an extraordinary exchange two weeks later, when we learn that she had been assembling an inventory of the art in her residence. Dated 14 March 1935, the letter reads:

Dear Mr. Seligmann:

I am trying to get some sort of a general idea about articles in my house, for an inventory of same.

I am writing you, to get some information about the Masquerier, purchased from your father, I think, about 1922.

The bills seem to be somewhat mixed, owing to the fact that I think Mr. Walters returned certain ones in exchange for others. For instance: The portrait of Madam Tallien seems to have a separate charge of 55,000 francs. Certain ones are listed en bloc.

There seems to be no mention made of a portrait by Chinnery. The little Rousseau, “Girl with peaches” seems to be included in the Masquerier bill. The price of the Boilly also? I would be very much obliged if you could straighten this out for me, and let me know what Masquerier was returned, and took in exchange the Madam Tallien.

My late husband left things somewhat in confusion, and it is very difficult for me to straighten out the values for my inventory.

If you could be so kind as to send me an itemized list of all the paintings, miniatures, etc., purchased through you or your father during the last 25 or 30 years, it would greatly assist me.

Thanking you in advance,  
Most sincerely,  
Sadie W. Walters”<sup>117</sup>

The letter makes clear that Mrs. Walters did not have all of the Seligmann invoices covering the objects in her collection purchased from the firm and at best only piecemeal information about them. And her specific inquiry about the works by John James Masquerier shows that she was not entirely confident about the information contained in the invoices she did have. From the Seligmann business records, including invoice books, we learn that Henry Walters purchased a Masquerier pastel portrait of *Madame Tallien* in New York on 7 January 1922, and five additional pastel portraits by him, as well as the *Girl with Peaches* by John Russell (the “Rousseau” in the Mrs. Walters’ letter), four months later in Paris on 26 May.<sup>118</sup> A Louis-Léopold Boilly picture of *A Young Boy* was bought the same day.<sup>119</sup> The portrait by George Chinnery mentioned in the letter, a pastel of a *Miss Crawley*, had been acquired five years earlier, on Jacques Seligmann’s trip to New York in 1917 to secure American dollars.<sup>120</sup> There is no indication that Henry Walters returned any work by Masquerier for the *Madame Tallien*. But given Sarah Walters’ efforts to obtain information from the Seligmann firm since 1927, one can readily understand her perplexity at putting together an inventory.

Finally, after her repeated attempts to obtain the documentation on specific works of art acquired through Seligmann & Company, Mrs. Walters asked Germain Seligman to provide her with “an itemized list” of everything sold to the Walters couple for virtually the entire history of their business relationship from the beginning of the century. And since there are no better records surviving in the Walters Art Museum from any of the other dealers from whom Henry Walters made purchases, we can only surmise that his widow faced a similar “confusion” in regard to the works of art in her collection he may have bought from them as with those from Jacques Seligmann & Company.

Immediately on receiving Mrs. Walters’ request, Seligmann staff in New York forwarded it to Germain in Paris, and promised her that on his return at the end of the month he would “no doubt be glad to give you full information about all purchases, together with an itemized list,” as she had sought.<sup>121</sup> A week later, on 21 March, René Seligmann, Germain’s cousin working in the New York gallery, asked her whether the Metropolitan Museum of Art could borrow several works of art for an upcoming exhibition in December, including her marble bust of Voltaire by Jean-Antoine Houdon, but Mrs. Walters declined, saying only, “I regret extremely, that I would not be able to loan them for exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum, as they would not be available at that time.”<sup>122</sup> Regarding the promised list, however, the surviving correspondence falls silent. Because such a comprehensive and descriptive itemization for Mrs. Walters of all of the acquisitions from Jacques Seligmann & Company is not mentioned and has not turned up so far in the Seligmann archives, we cannot be certain whether it was ever produced. But when the archival correspondence between Sarah Walters and Germain Seligman resumed again five years later, just before Christmas in 1940, we find the 81-year-old widow ill, living at the Savoy-Plaza Hotel, embroiled in legal matters connected with the sale of her residence, and still seeking information on her collection from Seligman, nine years following Henry Walters’ death.<sup>123</sup> Although she no longer lived there, she hoped to meet Germain at 5 East Sixty-first Street so that he could “help me with your advice and information.”<sup>124</sup> She went on to mention a specific work of sculpture, which, if a comprehensive list had been produced for her, would surely have been included:

During your last visit, we spoke of a plaster cast bought from your father, which is in the hall of my residence. At the time, I had no information about it and you too were at a loss to place it. In going over some documents, I find the enclosed which I feel sure was given direct by your honored father to my husband. I feel it would interest you. Please do not bother to return this to me. After getting acquainted again with this sculpture, I appreciate that it is one of the most lovely things I have ever seen.<sup>125</sup>

Because the document she enclosed survives in the Seligmann archives and discusses in detail the history of Jean-Baptiste Pigalle’s statue *L’Amour et l’Amitié* for Madame de Pompadour,



as well as a cast made from it, the plaster in the hall of Mrs. Walters' residence that Germain was "at a loss to place," must be the large plaster of *Love and Friendship* after Pigalle that now graces the Sculpture Court in the Walters Art Museum (fig. 8).<sup>126</sup> A surviving copy in the Seligmann archives of the invoice sent to Henry Walters at the Hotel Ritz in Paris states that he purchased it on 16 May 1914.<sup>127</sup> Sarah Walters ended her letter of 23 December 1940 on a bittersweet note that underscores both her easy friendship with Germain Seligman and her sympathy for France following the German invasion of Paris the previous June: "May I wish you a merry Christmas and New Year that may bring you some portion of the peace and security which you and your loved country have lost."<sup>128</sup>

These are her final words that survive in the Seligmann papers. As for Germain, he wrote several weeks later, on 14 January 1941, advising her that he was leaving on a business trip but could meet Mrs. Walters at her town house "some Sunday morning, as we had planned," either before or after his trip.<sup>129</sup> His words of closing were his last to Mrs. Walters in the Seligmann papers, but they are appropriate for their long-term friendship, since he thanked her for sending "the document about the plaster cast of *L'Amour et l'Amitié*."

We may wonder why Sarah Walters told Germain not to return the Pigalle document to her, since she eagerly praised the sculpture. But since at least 1927 she had sought from Seligman the information she could not get from her own husband for an inventory of all her works of art. While we can only surmise what multiple reasons may have motivated her quest early on, we do know the driving force when she wrote Germain late in 1940. For by then she had contracted with Parke-Bernet Galleries in New York to sell her remaining collections at auction, including most of the works that Henry Walters had purchased from Jacques Seligmann & Company, alone or together with her, and had sent to their residence at 5 East Sixty-first Street.<sup>130</sup> The auctions took place between 23 April and 3 May 1941, and included the plaster *L'Amour et l'Amitié* after Pigalle, which the Walters Art Gallery purchased.<sup>131</sup>

This initial exploration of the Seligmann company papers has provided a bounty of documents both for the relations Henry Walters and his wife established with a major international art dealer in the early twentieth century and for the many works of art they acquired through the firm. Much remains to be done, however, in connecting the recovered information



Fig. 8. Claude Dejoux (French, 1732–1816), after Jean-Baptiste Pigalle (French, 1714–1785), cast (1783) of *L'Amour et l'Amitié*, 1758. Plaster, limestone, and metal base, height 144.8 cm; height of plinth: 102.8 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Museum purchase, 1941 (27.504)

with individual objects in the Walters Art Museum and those auctioned from Sarah Walters' collection. But for the historian, working with the Seligmann archives is bittersweet, considering that they are incomplete because the papers of the firm's headquarters were destroyed in 1940 with the arrival of the Nazis in Paris. And from a letter Germain Seligman wrote to Philippe Verdier in 1964 we learn that the early records of the New York office, from before the 1912 quarrel and separation into two rival Seligmann firms, went with the competing branch headed by Arnold Seligmann and were destroyed with the rest of his business papers following his death in 1932.<sup>132</sup> Nevertheless, future research on the

Seligmann documents that have come down to us will add to our knowledge about the collecting habits of Henry Walters, and equally important, provide a better understanding of his role among his financial and industrialist peers, a generation of extraordinary collectors who acquired so much art for America in the Gilded Age and the opening decades of the new century.

*J. Russell Sale (rsale@thewalters.org) is a volunteer Research Associate in the Renaissance and Baroque and Information Technology departments at the Walters Art Museum; from 1980 to 2011 he worked at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, where he held positions as Curator of Education and Senior Lecturer.*

## NOTES

For Bill Johnston, the fount of knowledge about the Walters family and museum, in appreciation for his extraordinary scholarship, helpful criticism, advice, and unstinting generosity in sharing information.

1. William R. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters, the Reticent Collectors* (Baltimore, 1999), 137; Stanley Mazaroff, *Henry Walters and Bernard Berenson: Collector and Connoisseur* (Baltimore, 2010), 11.
2. Francis Henry Taylor, director of the Worcester Art Museum and member of the advisory committee of the Walters Art Gallery in its first years as a public institution, quoted in Mazaroff, *Henry Walters and Bernard Berenson*, 114.
3. For the invoices, see Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 137.
4. On role of James Anderson, see Elissa O'Loughlin, "Our Mr. Anderson," *Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 70–71 (2012–2013): 137–42; Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, xiii; Mazaroff, *Henry Walters and Bernard Berenson*, 134.
5. The work was published as by Jacopo Sansovino in Germain Seligman, *Merchants of Art, 1880–1960: Eighty Years of Professional Collecting* (New York, 1961), pl. 42a. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 206, also briefly described the acquisition of the statue and its attribution. See E. P. Bowron, *Renaissance Bronzes in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1978), 13.
6. Walters Art Museum Archives, Anderson Ledgers, 2:26.
7. Attached to a letter from Germain Seligman to Philippe Verdier, 14 May 1955, Walters Art Museum Archives, Baltimore.
8. The enclosed materials, or a copy of them provided later by Germain Seligman, are included with the Walters Art Museum curatorial file for the work.
9. The "photostatic" copy is attached to Germain Seligman's letter to Winifred Kennedy, and is in the curatorial file.
10. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, 49, 133.
11. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, 134.
12. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 137.
13. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 177; Mazaroff, *Henry Walters and Bernard Berenson*, 132. Faris C. Pitt sold Chinese porcelains and European paintings. Following his death in 1922, Walters did not replace him, meaning that there was no one with any art training or experience in charge of the collections in Baltimore. See Mazaroff, *Henry Walters and Bernard Berenson*, 134.
14. Mazaroff, *Henry Walters and Bernard Berenson*, xiv, 11.
15. Jacques Seligmann to Henry Walters, 22 June 1910, Vertical Files, Folder "Seligmann—Pre-1913," Walters Art Museum Archives, Baltimore.
16. An entry for 20 July 1910 in the *Anderson Journals*, 1: 34, states "Received from Mr. Walters, New York. Album of objets d'art etc. on the way from Messrs. Seligman of Paris."
17. A bound photo album dated 1910 in the Walters Archives includes photos and descriptions for all the objects Henry Walters purchased in Paris on 11 June 1910 from the firm of Jacques Seligmann & Cie. A second volume from the same firm documents the purchases made in June 1911. There are also two similar albums dated 1922 from the firm of Jacques Seligmann's brother, Arnold Seligmann, Rey and Co. The Jacques Seligmann firm continued to provide photographs of works Henry Walters purchased until his death, but they apparently were not put in albums and have not survived (see, for example, Jacques Seligmann & Co., Inc. to Henry Walters, 22 October 1930, Jacques Seligmann & Co. records, 1904–1978, bulk 1913–1974, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., [www.aaa.si.edu/collections/jacques-seligmann-co-records-9936](http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/jacques-seligmann-co-records-9936): Box 99, Folder 23, scanned page 26: General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935).
18. For a history of Jacques Seligmann's business, see Seligman, *Merchants of Art*.
19. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, 1, 19, and Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 147.
20. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 193.
21. For the papers, see: Jacques Seligmann & Co. records, 1904–1978, bulk 1913–1974, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., [www.aaa.si.edu/collections/jacques-seligmann-co-records-9936](http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/jacques-seligmann-co-records-9936).
22. The online form of the Seligmann documents follows the arrangement of the actual paper files in the archives, contained in sequentially arranged boxes, holding sequentially arranged folders, and with the individual documents scanned in sequential order. All references here to the online Seligmann documents begin with "S-P" for Seligmann Papers, followed by the box number, folder number, and scanned page number within the folder. The majority of the correspondence is contained in the following: S-P: Box 5,



- Folder 4: New York Office Correspondence: Wa, 1913–1923; S-P: Box 6, Folder 13: Paris Office Correspondence: W–Z, 1914–1929; S-P: Box 99, Folder 22: General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1923–1925; and S-P: Box 99, Folder 23: General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
23. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 193; Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, 130–37.
  24. For the invoice book, see S-P: B-309, F-1, S-7–10: Invoice Books: Invoices, 1910 June–1919 October.
  25. A trip mentioned by Germain in his book, for which see Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, 84.
  26. S-P: B-5, F-4, S-105: New York Office Correspondence: Wa, 1913–1923.
  27. S-P: B-5, F-4, S-97: New York Office Correspondence: Wa, 1913–1923.
  28. For the will, see Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 221, 293 n. 2.
  29. S-P: Box-99, F-23, S-133, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
  30. O'Loughlin, "Our Mr. Anderson," 137–38; Mazaroff, *Henry Walters and Bernard Berenson*, 134.
  31. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, 109–11.
  32. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, 110.
  33. Walters purchases are listed in both S-P: B-356, F-1, S-1, Paris Office Financial Records: Sales, 1913–1929, as well as in S-P: B-309, F-1, S-157, 158, 167, Invoice Books: Invoices, 1910 June–1919 October. Walters sent his check "for \$146,000.00 in full for your account to date," also on 3 March 1917; see S-P: B-5, F-4, S-104, New York Office Correspondence: Wa, 1913–1923.
  34. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, 111.
  35. S-P: Box 6, F-13, S-21, 22, Paris Office Correspondence: W–Z, 1914–1929.
  36. S-P: B-5, F-4, S-69, New York Office Correspondence: Wa, 1913–1923.
  37. Ibid. Perhaps because of Walters' lack of enthusiasm, Blumenthal did not acquire the *Madonna and Child* attributed to Jacopo della Quercia for the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Instead, the collector Henry Goldman purchased it on 21 February 1920, six days after Walters' assessment. The work, presently titled *Madonna of Humility*, is now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (1960.5.2). See S-P: B-309, F-2, S-75 : Invoice Books: Invoices, 1919 October–1922 December; S-P: B-186, F-21, s-1: Collectors: Goldman, Henry, 1927, undated.
  38. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, 133–35.
  39. S-P: B-5, F-4, S-75, New York Office correspondence: Wa, 1913–1923.
  40. For Walters' close relations and living arrangements with the Joneses, see Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 113 and 172; Mazaroff, *Henry Walters and Bernard Berenson*, 26f.
  41. S-P: B-5, F-4, S-69, New York Office Correspondence: Wa, 1913–1923.
  42. B-5, F-4, S-66, 67: New York Office Correspondence: Wa, 1913–1923.
  43. See the personal instructions Walters included on memoranda from the Seligmann firm, on 19 October 1927: S-P: B-99, F-23, S-112, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935, and 9 January 1929: S-P: B-99, F-23, S-51, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
  44. S-P: Box-5, F-4, S-82, New York Office Correspondence: Wa, 1913–1923.
  45. S-P: Box-6, F-13, S-18–20, Paris Office Correspondence: W–Z, 1914–1929.
  46. S-P: Box-5, F-4, S-81, New York Office Correspondence: Wa, 1913–1923. Both paintings were subsequently given to the National Gallery of Art as part of the Widener bequest.
  47. S-P: B-5, F-4, S-78–79, New York Office Correspondence: Wa, 1913–1923.
  48. S-P: B-5, F-4, S-80, New York Office Correspondence: Wa, 1913–1923.
  49. S-P: B-5, F-4, S-77, New York Office Correspondence: Wa, 1913–1923.
  50. S-P: B-5, F-4, S-73, New York Office Correspondence: Wa, 1913–1923.
  51. Mazaroff, *Henry Walters and Bernard Berenson*, 113.
  52. The price for the acquisitions was 840,500 francs. S-P: B-5, F-4, S-71, New York Office Correspondence: Wa, 1913–1923. This communication also mentions that photographs of all the purchased works were being sent, and that the objects themselves were being packed and sent "to your museum in Baltimore." For the individual objects, see S-P: B-356, F-1, S-2, Paris Office Financial Records: Sales, 1913–1929, and S-P: B-309, F-2, S-152, Invoice Books: Invoices, 1919 October–1922 December. Objects now in the museum that can be identified with this purchase include the following: WAM 27.211, 27.314, 37.891, 48.752, 48.753, 57.712, 58.234, 65.18.
  53. S-P: B-6, F-13, S-10, Paris Office Correspondence: W–Z, 1914–1929.
  54. S-P: B-6, F-13, S-6 & 7, Paris Office Correspondence: W–Z 1914–1929.
  55. S-P: B-99, F-22, S-57, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1923–1925.
  56. An invoice of 6 July 1923 sent to Henry Walters' business address in New York outlines some of the purchases in Paris: S-P: B-99, F-22, S-51, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1923–1925. For acquisitions made at this time now in the Walters Art Museum, see WAM 27.321, 27.322, 37.770, 37.771, 41.92, 48.1371, 48.1467, 54.161, 54.616, 65.10, 71.231.
  57. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, 128.
  58. For Germain's account of the crisis and the legal, structural, and personal issues involved, see: Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, 129–30.

59. Ibid., 130–32.
60. Ibid., 131.
61. Ibid.
62. S-P: B-356, F-1, S-9, Paris Office Financial Records: Sales, 1913–1929.
63. S-P: B-99, F-22, S-36, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1923–1925.
64. The tapestries are extensively described in S-P: B-280, F-5, S-4 & 6, nos. NY 3205 and NY 3206, Stock Catalogs, New York office: Inventory nos. 3201–3414 and Index, 1925–1926.
65. S-P: B-99, F-22, S-12: General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1923–1925.
66. S-P: B-99, F-22, S-8 & 9: General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1923–1925.
67. S-P: B-99, F-22, S-5-7: General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1923–1925.
68. S-P: B-99, F-22, S-3: General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1923–1925.
69. According to Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 205, Henry had a policy of not lending from his collection but did make rare exceptions.
70. For the purchase of the chest of drawers for 300,000 francs, or \$21,291.70, see S-P: B-356, F-1, S-1, Paris Office Financial Records: Sales, 1913–1929. A more elaborate description of the piece that includes its provenance from the collections of the Marquis of Hertford and Sir Richard Wallace and suggests that it had come from Madame de Pompadour is contained in S-P: B-309, F-2, S-68, Invoice Books: Invoices, 1919 October–1922 December. The telegram with instructions is preserved at S-P: B-5, F-4, S-91, New York Office Correspondence: Wa, 1913–1923. The commode was sold at Mrs. Walters' 1941 auction. See *The Art Collection of Mrs. Henry Walters*, sale catalogue, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., April 30 to May 3 (New York, 1941), vol. 2, 506, lot 1410.
71. For Germain Seligman's request, see S-P: B-99, F-23, S-118, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935. The exhibition did take place and was successful according to Seligman's published account: Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, 147.
72. For the copy of Germain's letter, see S-P: B-99, F-23, S-117: General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
73. Germain's notices were sent on 16 and 24 May 1927: S-P: B-99, F-23, S-116 and S-115, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
74. S-P: B-99, F-23, S-59, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
75. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 205. The work (acc. no. 37.296) was purchased in New York on 29 November 1920: S-P: B-356, F-1, S-1, Paris Office Financial Records: Sales, 1913–1929. It is also listed in a Seligman invoice: S-P: B-309, F-2, S-95.
76. For the exhibition, see *Exhibition of French Art, 1200–1900; French Art, An Illustrated Souvenir of the Exhibition of French Art at the Royal Academy of Arts, London* (London, 1932); I. Scaglia, "The Diplomacy of Display: Art and International Cooperation in the 1920s and 1930s," Ph.D. diss., University of Buffalo, State University of New York, 2011, 91f.
77. S-P: B-99, F-23, S-20, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
78. S-P: B-99, F-23, S-19, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
79. S-P: B-99, F-23, S-19, General correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
80. S-P: B-99, F-23, S-17, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
81. S-P: B-99, F-23, S-18, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935. According to the death certificate issued by the City of New York Bureau of Records, Henry Walters was born on 26 September 1848 and died at 4:00 a.m. on 30 November 1931. A copy of the death certificate is in the Walters Art Museum archives.
82. S-P: B-6, F-13, S-21 & 22, Paris Office Correspondence: W–Z, 1914–1929.
83. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 123, 266 n. 23.
84. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 124.
85. S-P: B-5, F-4, S-69, New York Office Correspondence: Wa, 1913–1923.
86. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, 134.
87. S-P: B-99, F-22, S-57: General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1923–1925. The sale of the work attributed to Étienne-Maurice Falconet is recorded in an invoice book S-P: B-310, F-1, S-12, Invoice Books: Invoices, January 1923–1925 December. The statuette was included in the sale of Mrs. Walters' possessions in 1941, for which see *The Art Collection of Mrs. Henry Walters*, sale catalogue, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., 30 April to 3 May (New York, 1941), 1: 165, lot 671.
88. Sarah's influence on Henry Walters' artistic purchases is recorded as early as 1903, when following a visit to a dealer of arms in Istanbul, she was praised for her "remarkable intuition and knowledge" in the catalogue of Henry's purchases. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 265–266 n. 17.
89. Germain Seligman to Sarah Walters, 8 November 1927, requesting a visit to show his goods on a holiday Friday: S-P: B-99, F-23, S-102, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
90. S-P: B-99, F-23, S-97, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
91. S-P: B-99, F-23, S-30: General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.



92. For the purchase of the jardinières on 23 July and 20 September 1929, see S-P: B-356, F-1, S-4, Paris Office Financial Records: Sales, 1913–1929. For the notice of delivery to the Walters' residence and the invoices to Henry Walters' office, see S-P: B-99, F-23, S-39, 40, 45, General Correspondence, Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
93. Seligman, *Merchants of Art*, 132, 134.
94. S-P: B-99, F-23, S-59, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
95. S-P: B-99, F-23, S-58, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
96. S-P: B-99, F-23, S-56, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935: "I intended thanking you again for your kindness in lending us the beautiful little Fragonard and the Huet, and hope you will be able to come to the opening on Tuesday." Two paintings by Jean Baptiste Huet, *La Leçon de Musique* and *Le Petit Dénicheur*, and one by Jean Honoré Fragonard, *Blind Man's Buff* (*Le Colin-Maillard*), are listed in the auction of Mrs. Walters' collection in 1941 for which see: *The Mrs. Henry Walters Art Collection*, sale catalogue, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., 30 April to 3 May (New York, 1941), 2: nos. 978, 979, and 980.
97. A copy of the will is in the Walters Art Museum archives.
98. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 198 and 286 n. 2, for the wedding, and 293 n. 2, for the will; Mazaroff, *Henry Walters and Bernard Berenson*, 132.
99. See the yearly listings for sales to Walters in Paris at S-P: B-356, F-1, S-5-9, Paris Office Financial Records: Sales, 1913–1929. For sales made in New York, see S-P: B-356, F-1, S-1-4, Paris Office Financial Records: Sales, 1913–1929. For a description of the residence and its décor see Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 200–205.
100. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 200.
101. For the décor of the Baltimore house and the museum's period rooms, by L. Marcotte & Company of New York, one of the most prominent decorators and purveyors of Parisian taste of the day, see Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 68–69, 179, 281 n. 26.
102. *Art News* 30, no. 10 (5 December 1931): 12.
103. For Henry Walters' sense of mission about art and his unstated desire to leave his museum to the public as a memorial to his father, see Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, xiii, 137.
104. There were four separate auctions of Mrs. Walters' collections at 65 East Sixty-first Street, including the library: *Period Furniture: Paintings, Bronzes, Sculptures, Porcelains, Ancient Glass, Tapestries, Fabrics, Rugs from the Walters, Perine, Seligsberg, Schieren, Lulu G. Thomas, and Burton Mansfield Estates . . .*: American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, Inc. New York, 11–13 January, 1934; *Four Centuries of French Literature, Mainly in Superb Bindings, by Old and Modern Masters, Illuminated Manuscripts, Incunabula, Drawings, Miniatures, Americana, and Other Choice Items, Collection of Mrs. Henry Walters*, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., New York, 23–25 April, 1941; *The Art Collection of Mrs. Henry Walters*, 23 April–3 May 1941, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., 2 vols., New York, 1941; *Mrs. Henry Walters Sale*, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., 30 November–1 December 1943 (New York, 1943). The very scale of the art collections Mrs. Walters sent to be auctioned, however, and their breadth, reveal the East Sixty-first Street residence to have been something of a small house museum in itself. Until we know more about her role in acquiring the works of art there, we are missing crucial evidence for a more complete understanding of her involvement with the arts and collecting of the time
105. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 124, 173. See also [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Airlie\\_Gardens](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Airlie_Gardens); [www.myflowergardens.com/north-carolina-airlie-gardens.html](http://www.myflowergardens.com/north-carolina-airlie-gardens.html).
106. S-P: B-99, F-23, S-103, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935. The commode was included in the auction of Mrs. Walters' collection in 1941; see *The Mrs. Henry Walters Art Collection*, 23 April–3 May 1941, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., 2 vols., (New York, 1941), 1: 190, lot 710.
107. S-P: B-99, F-23, S-97, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
108. S-P: B-99, F-23, S-96, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
109. S-P: B-99, F-23, S-94, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
110. S-P: B-99, F-23, S-11, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
111. S-P: B-99, F-23, S-10, General correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
112. For Germain's letters of 24 January and 10 March 1933 to Mrs. Walters, see S-P: B-99, F-23, S-9 & 8, General Correspondence, Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
113. For the early history of the institution and its organization, see Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 221–26.
114. A clipping of the *Evening Sun* article of 19 January 1934 on the opening of the museum is preserved in the Seligmann archive: S-P: B-104, F-13, S-144, Museum Correspondence: Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery, 1933–1961.,
115. S-P: B-99, F-23, S-6: General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
116. S-P: B-99, F-23, S-5: General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
117. S-P: B-99, F-24, S-2: General Correspondence: Walters, Mrs. Henry (Sadie W.), 1935–1941.
118. The invoice of the January purchase was sent to Henry Walters, not yet married to Mrs. Pembroke Jones, at his temporary apartment at the Belmont Hotel: S-P: B-309, F-2, S-153, Invoice Books:

- Invoices, 1919 October–1922 December. For the invoice containing the 26 May sale, sent to Henry Walters, then staying at the Hotel Ritz in Paris with Mrs. Walters, recently married, see S-P: B-309, F-2, S-176, Invoice Books: Invoices, 1919 October–1922 December.
119. S-P: B-309, F-2, S-177, Invoice Books: Invoices, 1919 October–1922 December.
  120. S-P: B-356, F-1, S-1, Paris Office Financial Records: Sales, 1913–1929.
  121. S-P: B-99, F-23, S-4, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
  122. For the copy of the loan request and Mrs. Walters' negative response, see S-P: B-99, F-23, S-2 & 1, General Correspondence: Walters, Henry, 1926–1935.
  123. Sarah Walters to Germain Seligman, 23 December 1940: S-P: B-99, F-24, S-9: General Correspondence: Walters, Mrs. Henry (Sadie W.), 1935–1941.
  124. Ibid.
  125. Ibid.
  126. For the document describing it and its history, see S-P: B-99, F-24, S-11-13, General Correspondence: Walters, Mrs. Henry (Sadie W.), 1935–1941.
  127. S-P: B-309, F-1, S-64, Invoice Books: Invoices, 1910 June–1919 October.
  128. S-P: B-99, F-24, S-9, General Correspondence: Walters, Mrs. Henry (Sadie W.), 1935–1941.
  129. Copy of Germain Seligmann's letter to Mrs. Walters: S-P: B-99, F-24, S-15, General Correspondence: Walters, Mrs. Henry (Sadie W.), 1935–1941.
  130. See the auction catalogue, *The Mrs. Henry Walters Art Collection*, 23 April–3 May 1941, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc. (New York, 1941). The objects at the sale that have been identified so far as purchased by Henry Walters from Jacques Seligmann & Company include the following lots: numbers 657, 663, 664, 670, 699, 700, 710, 712, 723-727, 730, 972, 973, 978, 979, 980, 1051, 1079, 1122, 1123, 1180, 1181, 1287, 1289, 1359, 1360, 1378, 1380, 1385, 1387, 1388, 1410, 1411, 1420, 1430.
  131. Ibid., 2:480, lot 1380. The sculpture was one of eleven works that the museum acquired at the auction, including the famous Rubens vase (acc. no. 42.562). See Johnston, *William and Henry Walters*, 288 n. 14. The final auction of items from Sarah Walters' residence occurred in 1943: *Mrs. Henry Walters Sale*, Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., 30 November–1 December 1943.
  132. S-P: B-104, F-14, S-43, Museum Correspondence: Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery, 1962–1976.
- PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: figs. 4, 5; The Walters Art Museum: figs. 6, 7; The Walters Art Museum, Susan Tobin: figs. 1–3, 8



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## TWO IMPORTANT JAPANESE ACQUISITIONS

ROBERT MINTZ

Between the 1870s and the 1920s, William T. Walters and Henry Walters collected more than a hundred East Asian paintings typical of the Chinese and Japanese works then available in the American and European art markets. Within this collection, there is a small group of works both characteristic of their time and created by artists important to the developmental history of East Asian painting. This collection has grown steadily over the past eighty years to include works representative of many major compositional traditions and regional styles. While the strengths of this collection are clear, certain periods and traditions remain absent from the museum's holdings. In 2013, the opportunity arose to acquire two high-quality Japanese works that address some of the collection's lacunae. The purchases expand the stylistic and temporal range of the museum's holdings through masterworks by artists of great importance to their respective traditions.

Sesson Shūkei (ca. 1504–1589)

*Shosho Hakkei* 瀟湘八景

(Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers)

1563

Handscroll, ink on paper, Length: 700 cm

Museum purchase by exchange, 2013 (35.307)<sup>1</sup>

Sesson Shūkei 雪村周繼, the last of the great Muromachi Period (1392–1573) ink painters working in the tradition of Sesshū Tōyō 雪舟等楊 (1420–1506), painted this handscroll in 1563. Sesson, like Sesshū before him, was a Zen Buddhist monk of the Sōtō sect who excelled at Chinese-inspired ink painting. Born Satake Heizo in eastern Japan's Hitachi province (in modern Ibaraki Prefecture), he studied the paintings of older Japanese and Chinese artists whose images had long



Fig. 1. Sesson Shūkei (ca. 1504–1589), *Shosho Hakkei* 瀟湘八景 (Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers) (detail), 1563. Handscroll, ink on paper, Length: 700 cm. The Walters Art Museum, museum purchase by exchange, 2013 (35.307)

been collected and preserved in temples and in privately held collections. The most prominent of the earlier Japanese masters was Sesshū. Sesson crafted his artist name by incorporating the first character of Sesshū's name (雪), effectively situating himself as a perpetuator of the earlier artist's painting lineage. Sesson's works stand as iconic presentations of the Chinese style as imagined by Sesshū and other Japanese artists of the early sixteenth century. Sesson's explanation of his practice (1542) reveals his basic emphasis. He identifies "the speed of the brush" as the determinant of brushwork quality.<sup>2</sup> Further, he explains that in his learning from Sesshū's works, he does not copy, but "handles the brush with his own conviction."<sup>3</sup> As a result of this practice, Sesson's work diverges slightly from that of his chosen master, appearing more fluid and in some instances more abbreviated than that of the older artist.

Sesson achieved great success as an acknowledged master of Chinese-style landscapes. He served as the figure whose works most directly transmitted the styles of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Japan and passed it on to the later ink painters of the seventeenth-century Edo period (1603–1868). This pivotal role is represented by only a few surviving authentic works. These include several hanging scrolls presenting figures, landscapes, and decorative themes and several large screens decorated with bold and dynamic ink images.<sup>4</sup> These works are complemented by an important group of handscrolls that both record this Chinese format and served as personal, intimate artistic expressions. Sometimes dedicated to specific patrons or friends and generally viewed in private settings, handscrolls survive in part because they were often stored for generations. Four handscrolls by Sesson exploring the subject presented in the Walters' scroll are held by public museums in Japan, Europe, and the United States.<sup>5</sup>

The subject of the Walters' handscroll, *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers*, 瀟湘八景 emerged directly from the Chinese painting tradition. The eleventh-century Song Dynasty Chinese government official Song Di 宋迪 (ca. 1050–1080) created a series of eight poetic reminiscences recalling the rural beauties of his imagined China based around two rivers in modern Hunan province. This is part of a traditional practice centered on the evocation of natural beauty anchored by the works of the classical Chinese poets Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365–427), Li Bo 李白 (701–762), and Wang Wei 王維 (699–759). In their poetry, these important writers used vivid natural imagery to convey ideas that

ranged from political observation, to social critique, to calls for change in rulership. Song Di's *Eight Views* functioned in the same way as symbols of (or cues to) the struggle and losses suffered by scholar-officials during the late eleventh century.<sup>6</sup>

The *Eight Views* theme came to Japan during the fourteenth century in the form of painted handscrolls that depicted each of the eight scenes of riverside rural China in sequence.<sup>7</sup> Immigrant Chinese monks brought paintings of the theme as they fled the civil strife that accompanied the growth of Mongol power. Additional versions came to Japan as Japanese monks, envoys, and artists traveled to China in search of authentic Buddhist practice and "high culture." In Japan, this subject, called by the Japanese name *Shosho hakkei*, inspired many popular sets of eight views of Japanese locations both real and imagined.

The eight scenes, each identified by its four-character Chinese title, are represented in this scroll in the following order:

1. Mountain Market: Clearing Mist (山市晴嵐)
2. From the Far Shore: Sailboat(s) Returning Home (遠浦帆歸)
3. Dongting Lake: The Autumn Moon (洞庭秋月)
4. Xiao Xiang: Night Rain (瀟湘夜雨)
5. Misty Temple: Evening Bell (煙寺晚鍾)
6. Fishing Village: Evening Glow (漁村夕照)
7. Sandbank: Wild Geese Descend (平沙雁落)
8. River and Sky: Sunset Snow (江天暮雪)

Each scene offers a glimpse of riverside scenery with small figures engaged in fishing, traveling, and working in the countryside. The rhythm of the scroll begins with mountains and shore, moves to an open expanse of water barely differentiated from the sky, through further mountain and marsh scenes, culminating in the final scene of snow-covered trees and mountains accented with rich, black ink strokes. Overall, the scroll offers a consistent series of enticements to keep the viewer moving from scene to scene at a deliberate, measured pace. Sesson chose to paint each of his scenes in an abbreviated form that relies heavily on the calligraphic, quick brushstroke to convey space. He layered his landscape forms in each mountainous passage, resulting in great complexity expressed through beautifully simple means.

The figure style encountered in nearly every scene is in keeping with Sesson's abbreviated manner. The small figures are of several stock types arrayed as guides to viewing and to



progress through the scroll. Travelers are accompanied by small porters and beasts of burden; fishermen are depicted with nets and boats; and farmers are placed in their fields hard at work. In several scenes, figures are situated to guide the viewer's eyes toward distant vistas. These figures are depicted in the robes of Chinese scholars and are designed to serve as models with whom we, as observers, are intended to identify (fig. 1)

The brushwork exercised in the Walters' scroll is stylistically closest to that in another Sesson painting of this theme in the collection of the Miho Museum, Shiga Prefecture, Japan.<sup>8</sup> The painting is created in a manner that is calligraphic in its use of line, with smoothly articulated washes and carefully modulated ink tonality. Additional works

in the Masaki Art Museum, Osaka, and in the Cleveland Museum of Art address the theme of the *Eight Views*, but offer more abbreviated styles of brushwork. Other Sesson works in the United States are housed in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1982.244.16, 29.100.453, 36.100.64, 1992.8.1 & 2, and 29.100.496), the Art Institute of Chicago (1958.167 & 168), the Brooklyn Museum (77.92.14), the Seattle Art Museum (68.127), and the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (65.7.1& 2, and 2013.39.22).

This scroll significantly enhances the Walters's holdings of Muromachi Period (1392–1573) Japanese painting. Its style forms a link between the Chinese tradition and the later Japanese paintings that are currently in the collection.



Fig. 2. Sesson Shūkei (ca. 1504–1589), *Shosho Hakkei* 瀟湘八景 (Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers) (detail), 1563. Handscroll, ink on paper, Length: 700 cm. The Walters Art Museum, museum purchase by exchange, 2013 (35.307)

Tawaraya Sōtatsu (active ca. 1600–1635, d. 1643?)

*Onnaguruma no hotaru: Ise Monogatari*

女車の螢：伊勢物語図色紙

(Firefly in the Woman's Cart: Tales of Ise)

ca. 1634

Album leaf mounted as a hanging scroll,  
color and ink on paper.

Museum purchase by exchange (35.309).<sup>9</sup>

Tawaraya Sōtatsu was a town-painter, or *machieshi*, active in Kyoto at the beginning of the seventeenth century. He is widely considered the creative individual most responsible for the move in Japanese painting to revive traditional styles and narratives from the classical Heian period (794–1185) and to reintroduce them into his contemporary decorative painting. Sōtatsu today is considered the primary artist to bridge the traditions of Chinese ink painting and what would become the Japanese *Rimpa* style. His works feature distinctive approaches to painting that draw on ideas from ancient *yamato-e*, or traditional Japanese painting associated with the Heian court, infusing them with life and vigor inspired by the works of sixteenth-century ink painters.

This widely published work (fig. 2) encapsulates the contributions to the history of painting that Sōtatsu brought about during the first decades of the seventeenth century.<sup>10</sup> It is a depiction of a single scene from *The Tales of Ise* (*Ise Monogatari*, 伊勢物語). Associated with the Heian court poet Ariwara no Narihira (825–880), this collection of 209 *waka* poems and brief contextualizing prose provides a glimpse of life among the elite of Heian society, emphasizing the love relationships and social conventions of the inner circle that surrounded the imperial clan. The illustration and text in this work are related to chapter 39:

Once a sovereign known as the Emperor of the Western Palace had a daughter, Princess Shushi, who died. On the night of the funeral a man who lived nearby drove out with a lady in her carriage to watch the procession. A long time passed with no sign of the coffin, and the man, feeling that his tears had shown his sympathy, decided to give up and go home. Just then the famous gallant Minamoto Itaru, who was also there to view the procession, came up to the carriage and began to flirt with the lady he imagined to be alone inside. Presently he caught a firefly and thrust it into the carriage. The lady started

to extinguish it lest she be seen by its light—whereupon the man who was with her recited,

Idete inaba	When the princess emerges
Kagiri narubemi	It will be for the last time.
Tomoshi kechi	You would do well to heed
Toshi henuru ka to	The voices that lament
Naku koe o kike.	This light's untimely extinction.

Itaru replied,

Ito aware	It is most affecting;
Naku zo kikoyuru	I do indeed hear the weeping.
Tomoshi kechi	But I am not aware
Kiyuru mono to mo	That a light
Ware wa shirazu na.	Has been extinguished.

It was a mediocre verse for a man of his reputation.

Itaru was Shitago's grandfather. His behavior was scarcely what the princess would have wished it to be.<sup>11</sup>

In this scene, Sōtatsu offers a momentary glimpse of the subtlety and decorum that typified the lifestyle of the inner circle of the Heian court as he imagined it. The simultaneously revealing and evanescent light of a firefly is here equated with the fleeting passage of life. At the same time, the erotically charged intrigue afforded by the tradition of sheltering from the male view all women of standing within this elite society endows this image with the rich desirability of a Japanese romance novel. For the artist, subtle suggestions of seeing, being seen, and equating the glimpse with the experience of life and loss must have been irresistible. Sōtatsu has taken the translucent cart screen and the lattice pattern of the cart adornments as his starting point, allowing the vision of the man and woman inside the cart to hint at the impropriety at the heart of this scene. The wheels of the cart and the angular sides are juxtaposed with the scattered flowers in red, blue, and green that play across each cart's lacquered exterior. Against the gold-leaf ground and partially screened by the malachite-green foliage of the foreground bushes, observing the two carts and their occupants becomes an experience of precious voyeurism, echoing the fleeting glimpse that forms the essential message of this chapter.

The fragment of text inscribed in the gold sky comes from the end of the chapter いたるは、したがふがおほぢ也。みこのほいなし (Itaru was Shitago's grandfather. His behavior was scarcely what the princess would have wished





Fig. 3. Tawaraya Sōtatsu (active ca. 1600–1635, d. 1643?), *Onnaguruma no hotaru: Ise Monogatari* 女車の螢：伊勢物語図色紙 (Firefly in the Woman's Cart: Tales of Ise), ca. 1634. Album leaf mounted as a hanging scroll, color and ink on paper. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, museum purchase by exchange (35.309)

it to be.) This brief text serves simply to hint at the longer story, suggesting that this visually rich image was meant to be seen and understood by patrons who would have known the whole of the story and would find in this fragment the theme or message of the chapter.

This leaf comes from a set of painted album leaves related to chapters of the *Tales of Ise*. Forty-six of these leaves are known today, all attributed to Sōtatsu or to members of his workshop. Other leaves from this set are in the collections of the Cleveland Museum of Art (1951.398), the



Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Burke Collection), the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (66.40), the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City (74.37), the Yamato Bunkakan, Nara (Akutagawa), and the Miho Museum, Shiga Prefecture (Gutsunoyama), and other public and private collections.

On the reverse of this painting, an inscription provides instruction to the painters of Sōtatsu's workshop as to how the painting was to be finished, and a separate inscription bears Sōtatsu's name. These inscriptions came to light when this painting was remounted during the twentieth century.<sup>12</sup> The calligrapher's name, Takamatsu-sama [高松様], is inscribed with the identification of the scene coming from chapter 39 of the *Tales of Ise*. This may be Takamatsu-no-miya Yoshihito Shinnō [高松宮 好仁親王] (1603-1638).<sup>13</sup> These instructions describe the scene and reveal Sōtatsu's studio function to be one of a master designer supported by a staff of painters and calligraphers working together to produce his works. The inclusion of the names of calligraphers and painters working with Sōtatsu on the reverse of this and other leaves in this set brings to light the dynamic nature of the studio and records the identities of artisans who would otherwise be entirely lost to history.

Looking at the painting itself, it is immediately obvious that this style differs from that of many Japanese paintings that preceded it. The application of the gold and the opaque mineral pigments reveals Sōtatsu's signature style. He applies pigment in a thick manner suggestive of foliage on the bushes in the foreground, and in a precise linear manner as he defines the rigid features of the ox carts. This contrast of application techniques gives his image a lively graphic character. The depictions of the carts derive their forms from centuries-old conventions that had become quite rare by the seventeenth century. Their structures are defined by boldly flattened forms that lend to the composition the intriguing compositional structure of layered and overlapping planes (similar to theatrical stage flats). The figures and their garments also follow early conventions in depicting generic images representative of court men and women. To decipher the identities of each figure, knowledge of the story and understanding of classical conventions are necessary. This mode of depiction would inspire Ogata Korin almost a century later as he embraced this style, giving full definition to the decorative manner of painting known as *rimpa*.

Robert Mintz ([rmintz@thewalters.org](mailto:rmintz@thewalters.org)) is chief curator and Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Quincy Scott Curator of Asian Art at the Walters Art Museum

## NOTES

1. This work is documented in a Taisho period auction, Kyoto, Japan 1920; Sano Family, Tokyo Japan, 1920–2011; Mizutani Shoichiro, Kyoto, Japan, 2011–2012; James Freeman (seller), 2012–2013
2. Barbara Brennan Ford, "A Study of the Painting of Sesson Shūkei" (PhD diss., Columbia University, New York, 1980), 17.
3. Ibid., 18.
4. *Landscapes of the Four Seasons*, ca. 1560, Art Institute of Chicago, acc. nos. 1958.167 and 1958.168.
5. Cleveland Museum of Art, acc. no. 1979.77; Masaki Art Museum, Osaka, Japan, *Shosho hakkei*, Sesson Shūkei; British Museum, acc. no. 1881, 1210,0.863; Miho Museum, Shiga Prefecture, Japan, *Shosho hakkei*, Sesson Shūkei.
6. Alfreda Murck, "The Eight Views of the Xiao-Xiang and the Northern Song Culture of Exile," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, no. 26 (1996): 144.
7. Among the earliest Chinese paintings of this theme in Japan is the single surviving section of a handscroll attributed to Mu Qi 牧谿 (thirteenth century) now housed in the Kyoto National Museum.
8. Miho Museum, Shiga Prefecture, *Shosho hakkei*, hanging scroll, Sesson Shūkei.
9. This work was in the collection of Masuda Takashi, Tokyo, before 1974; Kubo Sotaro, Osaka, 1974–2011; Mizutani Shoichiro, Kyoto, Japan, 2011–2012; James Freeman, seller, 2012–2013
10. Yamane Yuzo and Ito Toshiko, "Den Sotatsu hitsu Ise Monogatari zu shikishi ni tsuite (Ise monogatari shikishi by Tawaraya Sotatsu and His School)," *Yamato Bunka*, no. 59 (March 1974): pl. 2; Hayashi Susumu, "Tawaraya Sotatsu hitsu Ise Monogatari zu shikishi [Onnaguruma no hotaru] (Tawaraya Sotatsu's square format Tales of Ise [Onnaguruma no hotaru])," *Kokka*, no. 1375 (2010).
11. Chapter 39 of the *Tales of Ise*; translation from Helen Craig McCullough, *Tales of Ise: Lyrical Episodes from Tenth-Century Japan* (Stanford, 1968), 96–97.
12. Itō Toshiko, "Den Sōtatsu hitsu Ise monogatari zu shikishi no kotobagaki ni tsuite" (Study of the texts of the Ise monogatari shikishi attributed to Sōtatsu), *Yamato Bunka*, no. 59, (March 1974), 28–55.
13. Hayashi Susumu, "Tawaraya Sotatsu hitsu Ise Monogatari zu shikishi" (note 10), 22.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: The Walters Art Museum, Susan Tobin: figs. 1, 2, 3.



IT'S ALL FUN AND GAMES . . .

## PLAY AND VALOR IN THE *LIBER AMICORUM* OF JOANNES CAROLUS ERLENWEIN

LYNLEY ANNE HERBERT

*Life must be lived as play, playing certain games, making sacrifices, singing and dancing, and then a man will be able to . . . defend himself against his enemies, and win in the contest.*

—Plato, *Laws* 8.103

The creators of the book addressed in this article seem to have shared Plato's philosophy,<sup>1</sup> and it is their personal expressions of the joy and gravity of their world that will be explored here. The manuscript, purchased in the spring of 2012 by the Walters Art Museum,<sup>2</sup> is a *liber amicorum*, or friendship book, begun by Joannes Carolus Erlenwein (1595–1667) (fig. 1).<sup>3</sup> Hailing from a noble family that had settled in Kaiserswerth (today part of Düsseldorf), Joannes was destined to follow in his father Theobald's footsteps, succeeding him as mayor of nearby towns Linn and Ürdingen.<sup>4</sup> In preparation for his career and life as a nobleman, Joannes entered the seminary school at Fulda in 1614, and it was at that significant moment that he began his friendship book. He proudly signed and dated the text block of the book before it was even bound, for his inscription records the date as 1614, while the binding is dated 1615. It quickly began to circulate among Joannes's classmates and family, who entered their contributions directly into the blank pages of the bound book over the next few years. Much of what we know about Joannes's family and circle of friends can be gleaned from the heraldry, mottos, personal dedications, and watercolor paintings included by them (fig. 2). Books of this kind had grown out of university culture in Germany in the sixteenth century, but by the seventeenth century had become a form of social networking used by people of all professions and stages in life—the seventeenth-century Facebook.<sup>5</sup> Often these books were maintained over decades, with their owners



Fig. 1. Ownership inscription and heraldry, dated 1614, from the *liber amicorum* of Joannes Carolus Erlenwein. Ink and paint on paper. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired through the Rare Book and Manuscript Acquisition Fund and the W. Alton Jones Foundation Acquisition Fund, 2012, w.922, upper board pastedown

eagerly gathering inscriptions of those they met during their travels, and seeking autographs of the notables of their day. By collecting these inscriptions, they built relationships, documented their worldliness, and created an image of who they were through the people they had gathered. Despite its creation in this later period, when these books had become less about University culture and were more commonly used to document one's entire life journey, the entries in Joannes's book rarely extend beyond his school days. Thirteen painted images, many of which are unusually personal and informal, imbue the book with a charm not always found in friendship books. Paintings of Joannes's home and family, of the book's owner hunting and rescuing damsels in distress, and playing games with his friends provide an intimate view of his world.

In many ways, the entire creation of the book was a game—a game played with words and images intended not only for the book's owner but for the entire circle of

his friends. The book was a site where its signers would see what others had written, and could surpass each other in their fervent messages of affection for their friend, the “fidelissimo,” “amantissimo,” “carissimo,” “fortissimo” Joannes (see, for example, fig. 2). They play with language, writing their messages in both correct and nonsensical Latinized words and signing with overblown faux Latin versions of their names and hometowns.<sup>6</sup> They use moralizing mottos as thinly veiled pretexts to paint voluptuous women who are themselves thinly veiled (fig. 3). They are schoolboys, who express pride in their heritage and prestigious names without taking themselves too seriously.

The school they attended, the seminary at Fulda, was modeled on the uniquely German knight’s academies — finishing schools designed to train the sons of the elite to become the next generation of courtiers.<sup>7</sup> Psychological preparation would surely have been as important as physical preparation, and the way Joannes designed his book created a world in which these fledgling knights could fashion themselves as heroes in their own stories. He chose to interleave blank pages

with a newly published emblem book based on Homer’s *Iliad*, *Speculum heroicum*, or *Mirror of Heroes* (fig. 4). The emblems were engraved by the Dutch printmaker Crispijn de Passe the Elder (ca. 1565–1637), who had come to realize that some of his books were being converted into friendship books, and began producing engravings with blank versos to provide room for inscriptions.<sup>8</sup> Although I have not found specific reference to the *Speculum Heroicum* being designed with this purpose in mind, it fits the pattern and may have been intended for the use Joannes put it to. A partially trimmed inscription on the cover page indicates that de Passe’s book was given to Joannes at some point between its publication in 1613 and the binding of his *amicorum* in 1615,<sup>9</sup> so it is possible that the gift of the emblem book inspired him to begin his friendship album.

These engravings both offered ideals of greatness toward which to aspire and set the stage for Joannes and his friends to interweave their own words and images among those of the iconic Achilles and Agamemnon. Boldly colored armorials documented each student’s impressive lineage, linking him



Fig. 2. Heraldry of Jacob Sandholzer of Sonderberg, dated 1615, from the *liber amicorum* of Joannes Carolus Erlenwein, w.922, p. 178



Fig. 3. Fortuna with a sword piercing her chest, dated 1616, from the *liber amicorum* of Joannes Carolus Erlenwein, w.922, p. 312



7.  
SPECVLVM HEROICVM.

Principis omnium temporum

Poëtarum.

HOMERI,

*Id est argumenta xxiiij. librorum Iliados*

*in quibus veri Principis Imago Poëtice,  
elegantissime exprimitur.*

LES XXIIII. LIVRES D'HOMERE.

Reduict en tables demonstratives figurées, par  
Crespin de Passe, excellent graveur.

Chaque livre redigé en argument Poëtique.

Par le Sieur I. Hillaire, S<sup>r</sup> de la Riviere rouennois.



Prostant in Officina CR. PASSAEI calcographi.

TRAIECTI BATAVORVM,

Et Arnhemiae apud Ioannem Ianssonium, Bibliopolam.

ANNO MDCXIII.

Fig. 4. Crispin de Passe the Elder, title page of Isaac Hillaire's *Speculum Heroicum*, 1613, from the *liber amicorum* of Joannes Carolus Erlenwein, w.922, p. 7





Fig. 5. Arnoldus Spe von Langenfeld rescuing a stranded maiden, dated 1616, from the *liber amicorum* of Joannes Carolus Erlenwein, w.922, pp. 110

to a legacy of nobility and ancestral accomplishments; some of the contributors even chose to visualize themselves in their own epic quest. In a play on the printed heroics, Arnoldus Spe von Langenfeld depicted himself as a knight rescuing a stranded maiden, his own modern-day Helen of Troy, by providing the missing rung for her broken ladder (fig. 5). Joannes himself is shown rescuing a damsel in distress (fig. 6) from a cruel moneylender who holds her captive. The act of inserting

these chivalrous images and representations of their ancestral heritage among the greatest heroes of history might have served to elevate the contributors' sense of self and prepare them psychologically for the possibilities of what they could become.

To prepare these future leaders, schools concentrated on activities that helped develop courtly and knightly skills, such as fencing, dancing, painting,<sup>10</sup> shooting, horseback riding, and ball playing, which were all regular parts of the





Fig. 6. Joannes rescuing a damsel from a moneylender, facing inscription dated 1615, from the *liber amicorum* of Joannes Carolus Erlenwein, w.922, p. 136

curriculum.<sup>11</sup> It is not surprising, then, that these formative activities were also documented in the book. What *is* intriguing, however, are the deeper messages and ambitions that come through these lighthearted, playful images.

The most unusual and charming image in the manuscript is the tennis game (fig. 7). At first glance, this may seem a surprising choice of activity to document, especially given that this is not a whimsical sketch, but a detailed watercolor

that might have been a commissioned painting by a professional artist.<sup>12</sup> Nearly all of the tennis images from this period are in fact preserved in students' friendship books,<sup>13</sup> which raises the question: what are these images doing there? Are they literal depictions of a popular recreational activity, or was there more thought behind including them?

The history of tennis is rich and complex, developing initially in a monastic context as a game played in the cloister.<sup>14</sup>





Fig. 7. Tennis game, dated 1616, from the *liber amicorum* of Joannes Carolus Erlenwein, w.922, p. 306





seventeenth century. One saying, “Who strikes the ball must be on his guard against the return,”<sup>23</sup> warns that you should be prepared to take what you give. In another expression, “When struck, I rise,”<sup>24</sup> *you* are the ball, the idea being that you can bounce back from adversity. Francis Quarles took this concept even further in a poem that begins “Man is a Tenniscourt: His Flesh, the Wall: The Gamester’s God and Sathan: Th’ heart’s the ball.”<sup>25</sup> The game becomes a metaphor for one’s entire life, imagining the heart being lobbed back and forth in an internal, fateful match between good and evil.

Tennis, then, could refer to much more than a simple recreational activity. It is likely that an image such as that in Joannes’s book resonated on many of these levels, providing layers of cautionary tales and life advice through its seemingly straightforward imagery. It is telling that this is the theme the students chose as their “group portrait,” so to speak; an inscription on the image dated 1616, soon after the book was bound, declares them to be the students of the school. It is an image of playfulness, of healthy competition, and teamwork—an eternal moment of fraternity frozen in time. They are the people Joannes could depend on and with whom he was learning to conquer life’s real battles.

Tennis “tournaments” were related to other knightly tournaments, such as jousting, and the simulation of battle, whether with ball or lance, could provide invaluable training for boys on their way to knighthood. So the fact that another image in the manuscript depicts Joannes practicing his jousting skills seems perfectly natural (fig. 9). Yet it does not quite come across as a true training exercise, nor does it have the formality of tournament about it; like the other images in the book, there is an air of levity. Joannes and the other rider wear everyday clothes, and the setting is an idyllic grassy meadow with rolling hills and a river populated by ducks and fish. Both contestants have the cleanshaven faces of youth, and though their horses charge, neither rider looks remotely concerned by the lance aimed at him. Their expressions are serene, and even the horses seem to smile. In fact, the horses do not appear to be running, but rather rear up, their back hooves firmly affixed to the ground. There is something stilted and unnatural about the entire image. These strange, stagnant poses reveal that the artist was not painting from life but rather was employing a visual trope.

In both prints and manuscripts, there is a tradition of depicting knights facing off during a joust in just this way: horses rearing unrealistically in place, and lances about to

make contact with unflinching riders. Often these images were not depictions of current events, but rather records of famous jousts of decades, even centuries past, in what are termed Tournament Books.<sup>26</sup> The names of the riders and date of the joust are usually inscribed in the image as a way of commemorating their moment of fame. When compared with the *liber amicorum* painting, the visual parallels are clear. Not only do the poses of Joannes and his fellow rider echo those in the tournament books, but they are also identified by inscriptions, and it is dated below.

That the artist in Joannes’s book employed this visual trope instead of painting a more naturalistic image of jousting practice may be due to the decline, and near extinction, of jousting by the early seventeenth century. The accidental jousting death of Henry VII of France in 1559, combined with the introduction of the newly invented gun in warfare, had led to the decline of jousting.<sup>27</sup> Although it is possible it may still have been taught in some schools out of tradition, it seems jousting was no longer a relevant skill to master. Therefore while the image in the *liber amicorum* could reflect



Fig. 9. Joannes and friend jousting, dated 1616, from the *liber amicorum* of Joannes Carolus Erlenwein, w.922, p. 122



a real experience Joannes had, I would suggest that it is meant more as an idea than as a record of his school activities.

Ultimately, the images in this book were not included *by* Joannes, but *for* him – they are gifts of friendship. In the banner overhead, Joannes’s jousting companion is identified as Herman Arnold von Oienhausen. Herman appears to have been a very close friend judging from multiple inscriptions, his contribution of this image, and the fact that four other members of his family are represented in the book by their full heraldry.<sup>28</sup> The inscriptions below the image, as well as below the heraldry on the facing page, exude affection for Joannes, and the phrase “Vale vive,” or “farewell and be happy,” below the image suggests a moment of parting. I would argue that the image is meant as one of eternal friendship – it captures an intimate moment the two share, whether real or imagined, and by using traditional jousting iconography, casts them in the roles of the great knights of the past. Yet while the scene is reminiscent of the tournament images, there is one great difference – they do not wear armor, and do not don tunics, shields, or banners with the colors of

their ancestors. There is no clash of houses, no claims, no true competition. They are just Herman and Joannes – friends playing together.

While most of the book’s imagery has a light-hearted quality, there is a distinctive, sobering shift in tone in one image. In 1616, the same date as the jousting image, the artist provided another painting at the request of a different friend (fig. 10).<sup>29</sup> The layout is strikingly similar, in some ways mirroring the joust, but the theme and tone have turned from warmly nostalgic to deadly serious as Joannes trades his ineffective lance for a highly effective gun. With a look of determination, he has pulled the trigger. The words inscribed overhead read “Virtus et fortuna,” and indeed, luck is on the side of the virtuous Joannes, as the Turk’s antiquated arrow misses its target, while the bullet from Joannes’s state-of-the-art firearm pierces his opponent’s heart with a lethal blow. As his blood spills to the ground, the dying man cries out “Oh Muhammad! Muhammad!,” and Joannes declares “The Turk retains nothing.” The image clearly plays off of the joust, but Joannes is no longer playing at being a knight, and this is no game.

The inscription below the image reveals that it was given by Jacob Sandholzer of Sonderberg, whose heraldry can be found on the facing page (see fig. 2). Unusually, these two pages are not part of a single contribution, but were given at two separate moments: the heraldry and its dedicatory Latin inscription are dated 1615, while the image and its informal German scrawl carry the date 1616. It is possible that this is an indication of a deepening friendship – a wish to add something more meaningful to an earlier, more standard contribution. The inscription below the image bears this possibility out, as it, and the painting itself, make reference to a more personal aspect of Joannes’s life. The Erlenwein family originated in the town of Erlau, from which they derived the first part of their name, and the second half of the name probably alludes to the town’s famous wine production—an aspect that figures prominently in their heraldry (see fig. 1).<sup>30</sup> Therefore Erlau was at the very core of the Erlenwein family’s heritage. When the town was besieged by the Turks in 1552, then fell to them in 1596,<sup>31</sup> Joannes’s family fled their ancestral home, never to return. It appears to be this painful aspect of Joannes’s history that his friend Jacob refers to here, for his inscription encourages the young knight to take back his homeland.<sup>32</sup> The accompanying painting, therefore, is a visualization of that hope—a powerful



Fig. 10. Joannes battling a Turk, dated 1616, from the *liber amicorum* of Joannes Carolus Erlenwein, w.922, p. 179





Fig. 11. Printed image from *Speculum Heroicum* of Neptune secretly helping the Greek army, from the *liber amicorum* of Joannes Carolus Erlenwein, w.922, p. 181

representation of Joannes's quest for justice, vengeance, and family honor. It is surely not a coincidence that the next page depicts the only battle on horseback from the printed Iliad emblems—a battle in which the heroic Greeks are aided by the gods against those who have taken what was not theirs (fig. 11).

Four years after this inscription, Joannes proved himself to be the fearless soldier imagined in the painting, fighting so valiantly in the 1620 siege of Caen that he was awarded a gold medal by King Louis XIII of France.<sup>33</sup> He was wounded in that battle and was honorably discharged two years later,<sup>34</sup> so the hope of recovering Erlau from the Turks never came to





Fig. 12. Painting and inscription contributed by Johannes Blittersdorff, dated 1642, from the *liber amicorum* of Joannes Carolus Erlenwein, w.922, p. 303

fruition. But if he had regrets, he left no trace of them. He returned periodically to his book over the course of his long life, proudly recording, twice, that he had become the mayor of two towns, Linn and Ürdingen.<sup>35</sup> He noted the deaths of friends and the births of his children. And the book that brought him joy in his youth appears to have continued to

do so in his later years; nearly three decades after he began his *amicorum*, he allowed a new friend to add a playful painting. In 1642, Johannes Blittersdorff provided a straightforward inscription with an image that is anything but (fig. 12). The painting is surmounted by a rebus, a riddle of words and images, which contains three pictorial symbols. The first, a



heart, is a common element in rebuses of the period, and simply stands for “heart.” The last symbol is a *globus cruciger*, which in Christian iconography usually indicates Christ’s dominion over the earth but in contemporary rebuses is interpreted more generally as the “world.”<sup>36</sup> The middle symbol is crucial for interpretation, yet is the least comprehensible. At first glance, it appears key-like, allowing for a romantic phrase that reads “The hearts of women are the key to the world.” However, further contemplation of the symbol complicates this interpretation, for its resemblance to a key is vague at best, suggesting it is either poorly painted or meant to represent something else entirely. It most closely resembles a jaw harp, a small instrument played with the mouth that produces a distinctive twanging sound (fig. 13). The possibility that this is the intended meaning of the symbol at first seems untenable, as it does not appear to fit the phrase in any logical way. Neither the French term for the instrument, *guimbarde*, nor the German term, *maultrommel*, makes sense in the context of the riddle. However, the insertion of earlier French names for it, *jeu-trompe* and *trompe de Béarn*,<sup>37</sup> suddenly supplies the image with a double entendre. If the word “trompe” is used in the rebus, an unexpectedly negative phrase emerges: “Le Coeurs de dames trompent le monde,” or “The hearts of women deceive the world.” There is little doubt that this is the correct interpretation, as it is a known proverb. The phrase in fact appeared on the Ace of Coins in a playing card ca. 1500 (fig. 14).<sup>38</sup> Yet while this mystery is solved, the question of how it relates to, and informs the image below, is just as cryptic.

The painting is titled the “Arbor Saxonica,” likely a reference to the royal family tree of the Saxons going back to the early medieval period,<sup>39</sup> so calling this image by such a pretentious, regal title is surely tongue in cheek. Here a literal tree has been depicted, with four women perched on different branches. The heraldry of the signer, Johannes Blittersdorff, is attached to the trunk, suggesting that he is the man standing below.<sup>40</sup> He has removed his hat, cloak, and sword and holds a stick in one hand, and perhaps a feather or leaf in the outstretched one. The woman on the right precariously balances on a limb and comically flails as she begins to fall, while the man below strikes a seemingly heroic pose, yet makes no move to catch her. The heraldry attached to the tree, along with the “Arbor Saxonica” inscription, suggests that the image is intended as a reference to Blittersdorff’s family tree.<sup>41</sup> Is he choosing which woman he would like to add to his family tree? Or might this be a commentary on the women already in it? This is certainly one avenue to be explored. However, taken with the rebus above, another line of interpretation becomes possible. It is possible that the phrase appearing on a playing card—the Ace of Coins mentioned above—is a clue to the image. Playing cards of this period varied greatly in themes and imagery, but many German cards depict a vine or tree from which various items sprout. In a famous example, Jost Amman created a series in which the usual German suits—bells, acorns, hearts, and leaves—have been substituted for objects related to his printing profession (fig. 15). Trees shoot up behind the charming vignettes below, carrying objects such as books and

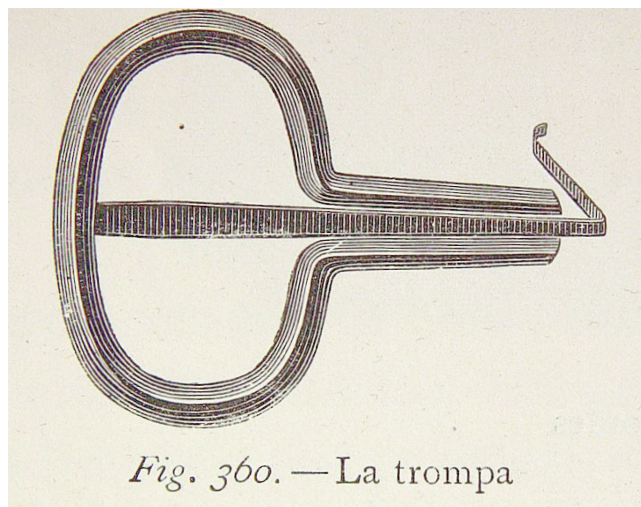


Fig. 13. A. Guillemin, Jaw harp, etching from *El mundo físico: gravedad, gravitación, luz, calor, electricidad, magnetismo, etc.*, 1882.

Fig. 14. French playing card with Queen of Hearts holding inscription found in rebus, ca. 1500. Documented in Leo S. Olschki, *La Bibliofilia*, Florence: Giuseppe Boffito, 1906





Fig. 15. Jost Amman, Two of Books, from *Charta Lusoria*, 1588.

inkpots in their branches. The type and number of objects in the tree reveals the suit and number of the card. In the *liber amicorum*, the women in the tree may serve a similar function. The rebus refers to the “hearts” of women, and the skirt of the falling woman and the man’s cloak, echo the reference through their heart-like shapes. Is this the “4 of hearts?” Could the image be a reference to, or joke about, a card game shared between Joannes and his friend? Or perhaps is it the women, with their deceptive hearts, who are playing games of love with the man? The overabundance of birds—there are twenty-nine of them flying, nesting, and swimming—is odd, and the monstrously large duck makes them appear more comical than naturalistic. The image is strange, and funny, and defies easy interpretation. It has the feel of a visual pun, an inside joke between friends that has been lost to time. Thus the challenge, and the charm, that comes with visual games that are both highly personal and four centuries old.

The character of the painting, while good-natured like most of the earlier images, reflects the different moment in which it was created. Unlike so much of the rest of the book, the image does not include, or even seem to refer to,

Erlenwein at all. It does not try to vaunt his accomplishments, or encourage his heroics, but of course, it did not need to; by the time of this entry, Erlenwein was almost 50 years old, and had already accomplished all a man could hope for. He had married, fathered two sons to carry on his family’s legacy, was a decorated war hero, and had a long and successful career.<sup>42</sup> The heroics of youth, so key to the initial composition of the book, have almost become a joke among these grown men. Blittersdorff strikes a heroic pose, but his actions do not match, as he ignores the damsel in distress tumbling from the tree, and wields a stick instead of his sword. It is a different, more sophisticated kind of playful image than those from Joannes’s youth, and its presence provides insight into the friendships and humor he enjoyed later in life. Plato advised “Life must be lived as play. . . and then a man will be able to win in the contest.” With its playful images and records of success, perhaps it is books like Joannes Erlenwein’s *liber amicorum* that reveal how such a thing can be achieved.

Lynley Anne Herbert ([lherbert@thewalters.org](mailto:lherbert@thewalters.org)) is the Robert and Nancy Hall Assistant Curator of Rare Books and Manuscripts at the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

## NOTES

I am grateful to Martina Bagnoli and Heiner Gillmeister for their help with unraveling some of the book’s mysteries.

1. The epigraph is quoted from Thomas Hackett’s translation in “Passion Play: Play, Free Will, and the Sublime,” in *The Philosophy of Play*, ed. Emily Ryall, Wendy Russell, and Malcolm MacLean (Abingdon and Oxford, 2013), 122.
2. The book was owned by the Erlenwein family through at least 1769, when the birth of “Joh Math. Erlenwein” was recorded as the last in a list of descendants on p. 1. The manuscript was with Erasmushaus Antiquariat, Basel, until March 2011; it was purchased by Maggs Brothers, London in 2011 and acquired by the Walters Art Museum (with funds provided by the Rare Book and Manuscript Acquisition Fund and the W. Alton Jones Acquisition Fund) in 2012.
3. The manuscript now carries the accession number w.922. It has been fully digitized, and can be found under that number on [thedigitalwalters.org](http://thedigitalwalters.org).
4. Information on Joannes’s family can be found in Klaus Scholz, ed., *Das Stift Alter Dom St. Pauli in Münster*. Germania Sacra, Neue Folge 33 Bistum Münster 6. (Berlin, 1905, repr. 1995), 420.

5. For the most recent and in-depth discussion of these books, their history, and function, see June Schlueter, *The Album Amicorum and the London of Shakespeare's Time* (London, 2011), esp. 9–28.
6. This is evident, for instance, in the name of the book's owner – he calls himself “Joannes Carolus Erlenwein, Caesaris Insulanus” — a Latinized version of his name, Hans Carl Erlenwein, and his hometown, Kaiserswerth.
7. John G. Gagliardo, *Germany under the Old Regime, 1600–1790* (London, 1991), 156.
8. For an excellent discussion of this phenomenon, see Schlueter, *The Album Amicorum* (note 5), 13–15.
9. The binding is original and has the date 1615 stamped into the cover, along with Joannes's name.
10. Hippolytus Guarinonius mentions painting being part of the curriculum when he was in a similar Jesuit run school, and I would suggest that perhaps at least some of the paintings in Joannes's *liber amicorum* may have been by his friends. Some, such as the image of Joannes rescuing a damsel, the jousting scene, and the image of him shooting a Turk, are by the same hand and do not seem to be by a professionally trained artist (as others in the book seem to be). There are six paintings by this artist, and they all contain personal images of Joannes, so it is possible that they were executed by an acquaintance, rather than at a painter's shop. For Guarinonius's mention of painting, see Franz Grass, “Dr. Hippolytus Guarinonius zu Hoffberg und Volderthurn, 1571–1654,” in *Hippolytus Guarinonius (1571–1654): Zur 300. Wiederkehr seines Todestages*, ed. Anton Dörner, Franz Grass, Gustav Sauser, and Karl Schadelbauer (Innsbruck, 1954), 11.
11. Heiner Gillmeister, *Tennis: A Cultural History* (New York, 1998), 155.
12. For an excellent overview of how albums were usually illustrated, and by who, see Schlueter, *The Album Amicorum* (note 5), 19–23, esp. 21–22 about professional painters' shops that sold images for albums.
13. Gillmeister, *Tennis* (note 11), 157, about existing representations of tennis from the period.
14. Gillmeister provides an in-depth discussion of the origins of tennis. *Ibid.*, 1–34.
15. *Ibid.*, 34.
16. *Ibid.*, 146–73.
17. For a concise and detailed account of contemporary ideas regarding physiology, see Charles M. Tipton, *History of Exercise Physiology* (Champaign, Ill. 2014), 10–12.
18. On Harvey's contributions, see Luis H. Toledo-Pereyra, “*Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus* Surgical Revolution,” in *Surgical Revolutions: A Historical and Philosophical View* (Singapore and Hackensack, N.J., 2011), 17–30.
19. Tipton, *History of Exercise Physiology* (note 17), 11. For Harvey's full discussion of the heart and how activity affected it, see the facsimile of his original book accompanied by an English translation in William Harvey, *Exercitatio anatomica de motu cordis et sanguinis in animalibus*. trans. and annotated by Chauncey D. Leake (Baltimore, 1928).
20. Tipton, *History of Exercise Physiology*, 11.
21. Guarinonius in fact recounts a cautionary tale about an acquaintance, a nobleman's son, who had exerted himself too forcefully and died as a result. For this see Hippolytus Guarinonius, *Die Grewel Der Verwüstung menschlichen Geschlechts: In Sieben unterschiedliche Bücher und unvermeidliche Hauptstücken, Sampt einem lustigen Vortrag Abgetheilt* (Ingolstadt, 1610), 1210, now available digitally thanks to the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*: [http://reader.digitalesammlungen.de/en/fs1/object/display/bsb11069306\\_00001.html](http://reader.digitalesammlungen.de/en/fs1/object/display/bsb11069306_00001.html). This work also includes his discussion of tennis, pp. 1208–13. For a discussion of Guarinonius's views on tennis see Gillmeister, *Tennis* (note 11), 157–63. On Guarinonius's biography see Grass, “Dr. Hippolytus” (note 10), 9–17.
22. Guarinonius, *Die Grewel der Verwüstung*, 1209. For English translation and discussion. see Gillmeister, *Tennis* (note 11), 161.
23. This can be found in emblem 41 of Guillaume de la Perrière's *Le Theatre des bons engins, auquel sont contenus cent emblems* (Paris: Denis Janot, 1539). English trans. after Gillmeister, *Tennis* (note 11), 136.
24. Claude Paradin, *Devises heroïques* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Gazeau, 1557), 237.
25. Francis Quarles, “On a Tennis-court,” in *Divine Fancies*, 1632. The text given here is from this edition: *The Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Francis Quarles: Verse: A feast for worms. Pentecologia. Hadassa. Job militant. Sion's elegies. Sion's sonets. Historie of Samson. Solomon's recantation. Divine fancies. Notes and illustrations*, ed. Alexander Balloch Grosart, vol. (s.n., 1880), 233.
26. The example used for comparison here dates from ca. 1550, and was likely made in Augsburg. See *Turnierbuch. Ritterspiele gehalten von Kaiser Friedrich III. und Kaiser Maximilian I. in den Jahren 1489–1511*, Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* Cod.icon. 398, available at <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/0000/bsb00002178/images/index.html?fp=193.174.98.30&id=00002178&seite=1>. See also an example ca. 1600, “Tournament Book [German (Nuremberg)] (22.229),” in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–), [www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/22.229](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/22.229).
27. John Nauright and Charles Parrish, *Sports around the World: History, Culture, and Practice*, vol. 2 (Santa Barbara, 2012), 354.
28. See w.922, pp. 129, 152, 153, and 208.
29. For thoughts on the artist of these images, see note 10 above.



30. Conrad Mertens, *Der heilige Liborius. Sein Leben, seine Verehrung und seine Reliquien* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1873), 93n2. A fuller discussion of the family's history will be featured in the second edition of Heiner Gillmeister's book *Tennis: A Cultural History*, forthcoming.
31. Kenneth Meyer Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1991), 11.
32. I am again grateful to Dr. Gillmeister for providing a translation of this inscription, which I was unable to read.
33. Mertens, *Der heilige Liborius*, 93n2. In w.922, p. 19, Joannes added the heraldry of Louis XIII, and he talks about his service to him in the siege of Caen, but interestingly leaves out the fact that he was awarded a medal.
34. In w.922, p. 19, Joannes mentions being wounded in the siege of Caen. He discusses being discharged two years later in his account of his part in recovering the stolen relics of St. Liborius in *Ökumenisches Heiligenlexikon, Historia reductionis reliquiarum s. liborii. Auctore Joanne Carolo Erlewein*. [www.heiligenlexikon.de/ActaSanctorum/23.Juli.html](http://www.heiligenlexikon.de/ActaSanctorum/23.Juli.html), accessed Sept. 7, 2014.
35. w.922, p. 1 and on the back pastedown.
36. Both the "heart" and "world" symbols appear, for instance, in a slightly later rebus that provides a textual key, which demonstrates these are common translations of these symbols. See Mitelli Giuseppe Maria's 1693 printed rebus "Ventaglio per le mosche," Museo della Città di Bologna, 2485 (rep.1/432).
37. The term "jeu trompe" appears in Pierre de Ronsard, *Les Oeuvres de P. de Ronsard* . . . (Chez Gabriel Buon, 1584), 398, and the term "trompe de Béarn" is used and explained as this type of instrument in Antoine Furetière and Henri Basnage de Beauval, *Dictionnaire Universel: Contenant généralement tous les Mots François tant vieux que modernes, & les Termes des Sciences Et Des Arts .... O–Z, Vol. 3* (Leers, 1701), fol. DDDddd3 verso.
38. I am very grateful to Thierry Depaulis, as well as his colleagues Manfred Zollinger and Josef Pauser, for providing me with more information about this card. M. Depaulis has identified this as coming from a Spanish-suited pack of playing cards made by Antoine de Logiriera in Toulouse around 1500. See Henry-René D'Allemagne, *Les cartes à jouer du XIVe au XXe siècle*, 2 vols., (Paris, 1906), I, p. 298. The cards themselves are in the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes, RÉS KH-206-boîte fol.
39. This phrase has proved difficult to nail down, but it appears to refer to the Germanic royal family line. See, for instance, the story of Hatteburga, the source of which is cited as the "Arbor Saxonica" in Arnold Wion, *Lignum vitae, ornamentum et decus ecclesiae: in 5 libros divisum, in quibus totius sanctiss. religionis Divi Benedicti initia, viri dignitate, doctrina, sanctitate, ac principatu clari describuntur* (Angelierius, 1595), 484. See also a listing for Philliberti Lingonii, *Arbor gentilitia Saxoniae. Sabaudiae Principum. fol. Augustae Taurinorum* (1585), book no. 702 listed in Michael Hertz, *Bibliotheca Germanica, Sive Notitia Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum Quatuor Partibus Absoluta* (Hempell, 1679).
40. Heraldic devices hanging from trees were common visual currency in this period. In manuscript form, they can be found for instance in Walters manuscript W.463, created in France ca. 1510 and titled *Noms, armes, et blasons des chevaliers de la table ronde*, in which each knight's heraldry hangs from an abbreviated tree. This idea is also found often in printer's devices. See many varieties in Louis-Catherine Silvestre, *Marques Typographiques ou recueil des monogrammes, chiffres, enseignes, emblèmes, devises, rébus et fleurons des libraires et imprimeurs qui ont exercé en France, depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie en 1470, jusqu'à la fin du seizième siècle: à ces marques sont jointes celles des libraires et imprimeurs qui pendant la même période ont publié, hors de France, des livres en langue française*, 1 (Brussels, 1966).
41. See note 40. There are in fact images of people perched in family trees. See for instance Loyset Liéder's image in Jehan Boutilier's *Rural La Somme*, 1471, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. fr 202, fol. 15v.
42. In w.922, p. 303, Blittersdorff refers to Joannes Erlenwein as "Praetor" of Linn and Ürdingen, so he we know he was still mayor twenty years after taking the post.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: figs. 8, 15; Reproduced from Henry-René d'Allemagne, *Les cartes à jouer du XIVe au XXe siècle* (Paris, 1906): fig. 14; Reproduced from Amédée Guillemin, *El mundo físico* (Barcelona, 1893): fig. 13; The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore: figs. 1–7, 9–12





## ANOTHER SCULPTURE BY FRANCESCO BERTOS IN THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM

SIMONE GUERRIERO

The Paduan sculptor Francesco Bertos (1678–1741) was one of the most singular artists of early eighteenth-century Venice. A sought-after and celebrated artist in his day, Bertos is known for his dynamic marble and bronze sculpture groups composed of several figures united in acrobatic contortions and often arranged in pyramidal structures. The production of this type of small-scale statuary has no parallels in Venetian art of the period and was probably dictated by Bertos's desire to satisfy sophisticated patrons who would appreciate his ingenious designs and technical virtuosity. Bertos's works were collected by the most important aristocratic families of the eighteenth century and found a place in the collections of the Pisani, the Sagredo, and the Manin, in addition to examples assembled by Field Marshal von der Schulenburg, the Savoy monarchs in Turin, and Czar Peter the Great in Saint Petersburg.<sup>1</sup> The Walters Art Museum owns examples of this genre: the set of bronze allegories of the Four Continents (*America, Asia, Europe, and Africa*; see p. 85, fig. 6) and two groups, also in bronze, representing Spring and Autumn.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to this type of complex multifigured compositions, the sculptor, like many other Venetian artists of his time, executed small-scale paired compositions consisting of single figures. An interesting example of this type of work is in the collection of the Walters Art Museum: a small marble of a nude female figure—a river or source nymph—lying on her side (figs. 1, 5, 8). The identity of the figure is clarified by the presence of an urn from which water pours forth and a cornucopia, symbol of fertility and abundance that the nymph holds in her left hand. Both are attributes of river gods.

The small sculpture, purchased by Henry Walters and until now assigned to a Flemish or Venetian artist of the second half of the seventeenth century, shows all the characteristics of Francesco Bertos's style and fits nicely in the

artist's body of works. The woman's figure and face recall other works by Bertos, such as, to cite a few examples, the signed personification of *Spring and Summer* (fig. 3), the female figure in the allegorical group of *Earth* (fig. 6), and the figure of Aphitrite in the group *Neptune and Aphitrite* (fig. 9), which recently appeared on the art market in Paris.<sup>3</sup> Similar in all these works is the way that Bertos models the soft and luminous feminine body, with small breasts, a small waist and generous hips, long limbs, and pointed hands and fingers. The shape of the face of the Walters' *Nymph* recalls those of the above-mentioned figures. In particular, the shape of the mouth and the eyes with the incised iris and the drilled pupils resemble those of Deianeira in the group *Hercules Wrestling with Achelous*, as well as the *Cleopatra* at the Villa Erizzo of Bassano del Grappa (fig. 7).<sup>4</sup> Even the figure at the top of the allegorical bronze portraying *Asia* has similar stylistic characteristics; the hairstyle framing the face of these ethereal feminine figures is identical (fig. 10).

In comparison with other images sculpted by Bertos, the Walters' *Nymph* presents a fuller silhouette, a greater and more energetic articulation and modeling of the figure. The elements are indicative of an early production, allowing us to date this piece to the very early eighteenth century, at a time when Bertos was still very much under the influence of Giovanni Bonazza (1654–1736), Bertos's Venetian teacher and active in Padua from the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup>

Indeed, the Walters' *Nymph* does not yet show the almost Mannerist lengthening of the arms and legs and the increased formal simplicity that are a hallmark of Bertos's later production, particularly the complex marble and bronze groups like those already mentioned in the Walters' collection. Instead, the Walters' *Nymph* is still very much influenced by Bonazza, especially with respect to the feminine figure, the formal vocabulary but also the composition and treatment of the







Fig. 1 (opposite top). Francesco Bertos (Paduan, 1678–1741). *Reclining River Nymph (Arethusa)*. Marble, 32.4 × 56 × 22 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by Henry Walters (27.426)

Fig. 2 (opposite bottom). Francesco Bertos, *Reclining River God (Alpheus)*. Marble, 68 × 23 cm. Private collection



Fig. 3 (left). Francesco Bertos, *Allegorical Figure of Spring and Summer*. Marble, height 162.5 cm. Present location unknown

Fig. 4 (above). Giovanni Bonazza (Paduan, 1654–1736), *Reclining Nymph*, ca. 1700. Marble, 21 × 33.7 × 22.9 cm Dallas Museum of Art, The Wendy and Emery Reves Collection (1985.R.1)

naturalistic details that decorate the sculpture's base. This is demonstrated by a comparison with the *Allegory of a River Nymph* at the Dallas Museum of Art (fig. 4) recently attributed to Bonazza, or better still, with the *Penitent Magdalene* in the Musei Civici, Padua, which repeats the exact position of the Baltimore figure's recumbent body.<sup>6</sup>

The recent discovery in a private collection of an unpublished sculpture of Bertos representing a river god (fig. 2), with dimensions similar to those of the Walters' river nymph and so close to it stylistically that it is possible to place it in the same moment of the sculptor's production,<sup>7</sup> suggests that these two works were made as pendants. In addition to the similarities in composition, style, and dimensions, the two sculptures are linked by their iconography and would have been exhibited next to one another for the enjoyment of some collector of the time, who would have recognized in the two small sculptures the mythological couple of Alpheus and Arethusa. In his *Metamorphosis* (V, 572–641) Ovid recounts the story of the rough and rude river god Alpheus who fell in love with the beautiful nymph Arethusa, whom Diana rescued from the unwanted pursuit by transforming her into a fountain.

*Simone Guerriero (simone.guerriero@cini.it) is coordinator of scientific activities at the Art History Institute of the Giorgio Cini Foundation, Venice*



Fig. 5 (top left). Detail of fig. 1; Fig. 6 (top center). Francesco Bertos, *Earth* (detail). Marble, height 74 cm. Private collection; Fig. 7 (top right). Francesco Bertos, *Cleopatra*. Marble, dimensions unrecorded. Villa Cà Erizzo, Bassano del Grappa  
Fig. 8 (bottom left). Detail of fig. 1; Fig. 9 (bottom center). Francesco Bertos, *Neptune and Amphitrite* (detail). Marble, height 84.5 cm. Guy Ladrière Gallery, Paris; Fig. 10 (bottom right). Francesco Bertos, *Asia* (detail), ca. 1710–25. Bronze, height 63.8 cm. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by Henry Walters, 1917 (54.660)

## NOTES

1. For a biography of the artist and a discussion of the popularity of Bertos's works among collectors of his time, see Charles Avery, *The Triumph of Motion: Francesco Bertos (1678 – 1741) and the Art of Sculpture* (Turin 2008), 13–23. For an account of the presence of Bertos's sculpture in the collections of the Sagredo, see Simone Guerriero, "Le alterne fortune dei marmi: busti, teste di carattere e altre "sculture moderne" nelle collezioni veneziane tra Sei e Settecento," in *La scultura veneta del Seicento e del Settecento: nuovi studi*, atti della Giornata di Studi, Venezia (30 November 2001), ed. G. Pavanello (Venice, 2002), 93–94.
2. Respectively acc. nos. 54.657–54.660 and acc. nos. 54.721, 54.722. See Avery, *The Triumph of Motion*, 209, 230–31, nos. 103, 104, 134–37.
3. See Avery, *The Triumph of Motion*, 164, 189, nos. 6, 58. For the Neptune and Amphitrite group, see Simone Guerriero, "Francesco Bertos, Neptune et Amphitrite," in *De Stefano Maderno à Joseph Chinard*, exh. cat., Paris, Galerie Ratton-Ladrière (Paris, 2014).

4. See Avery, *The Triumph of Motion*, 174–175, no. 35; Simone Guerriero, "Per un Atlante della statuaria da giardino," *Arte Veneta* 66 (2009): 271 fig. 19.
5. Simone Guerriero, "Per l'attività padovana di Giovanni Bonazza e del suo 'valente discepolo' Francesco Bertos," in *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova* 91 (2002): 105–20.
6. Simone Guerriero, in *Dal Medioevo a Canova: Sculture dei Musei Civici di Padova dal Trecento all'Ottocento*, ed. Davide Banzato, Monica De Vincenti, Franca Pellegrini (Venice, 2000), 169, no. 95 (inv. no. 106). See Oliver Meslay, "Une nymphe allongé par Giovanni Bonazza dans les collections du Dallas Museum of Art," *Arte Veneta* 70 (2013): 190–91.
7. The sculpture will be the subject of a detailed study by this author.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: Dallas Museum of Art: fig. 4; Fondazione Giorgio Cini: fig. 7; Simone Guerriero: figs. 2, 9; Private Collection: fig. 6; Sotheby's London: fig. 3; The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore: figs. 1, 5, 8, 10



## HENRY WALTERS IN CHICAGO, 1893

DIANE BOCKRATH

In 2013–2014, a focus exhibition titled *Bookbindings from the Gilded Age* explored the Walters' collection of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century bespoke bookbindings, the majority of which belonged to Henry Walters, as evidenced by frequent "HW" monograms and "ex libris Henry Walters" notations worked into the gold tooling of the cover designs. Walters purchased many of his contemporary books, as well as significant numbers of medieval manuscripts, rare printed books, and other objects, from the Parisian bookbinder and bookseller Léon Gruel (1841–1923). Indeed, the two men seem to have shared a warm and productive relationship, with Walters visiting Gruel's atelier at 418 rue St. Honoré (see fig. 1) during his buying trips to Europe.

Many of the Gruel bindings featured in the exhibition are easily identifiable by Gruel's gold-tooled signature on the binding itself and the application of his binder's "ticket" or label to the flyleaves. It is more difficult, however, to ascertain exactly when a given book was purchased, as the invoices that survive in the Walters Archives from Gruel are not detailed in their itemization and survive in scant numbers. One interesting clue lies in a sales catalog produced by Gruel shortly before he exhibited his "artistic bindings" at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893.<sup>1</sup> The catalog features descriptions and photographs of the thirty books, both antiquarian and newly published, plus two leather boxes, blotter, card case, and scissors case, that Gruel planned to exhibit at the World's Fair, all bound or fabricated by the Gruel atelier.

Several copies of this catalog are in the museum's holdings, indicating that Henry Walters, as a longtime client of Gruel, was in receipt of it. A close examination of the photographs reveals that four of Gruel's Chicago books appear to match books in the Walters' rare book collection: a Tuscan romance of 1527 titled *The Prison of Love* (fig. 2),<sup>2</sup> a Book of Hours

printed on parchment,<sup>3</sup> a nineteenth-century manuscript of a Thomas à Kempis text that was produced in the medieval style,<sup>4</sup> and a copy of Léon Gruel's own 1887 publication on bookbinding, *Historical and Bibliographical Manual for Collectors of Bookbindings*.<sup>5</sup> These were bound by Gruel in imitation of historical bookbinding styles. A comparison of the detailed descriptions in the catalog with the physical evidence of the volumes, including a matching edition number for the Gruel publication, strongly indicates that Gruel's Chicago books and the Walters books are in fact the same.

This evidence, however, does not prove that Walters actually purchased the books in Chicago, although he is known to have attended the fair. They could certainly have been ordered directly from Gruel after eliciting Walters' interest in the catalog. A second clue to their acquisition lies in a scrapbook that Léon Gruel kept of his time at the World's Fair, now held at the University of Maryland.<sup>6</sup> The only French binder to represent his country in Chicago, Gruel clearly felt the fair to be a significant accomplishment in his career,



Fig. 1. Léon Gruel's binder's ticket from Oscar Wilde, *Deux Contes* (Paris, 1926). The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by Henry Walters between 1926 and 1931 (92.1124)

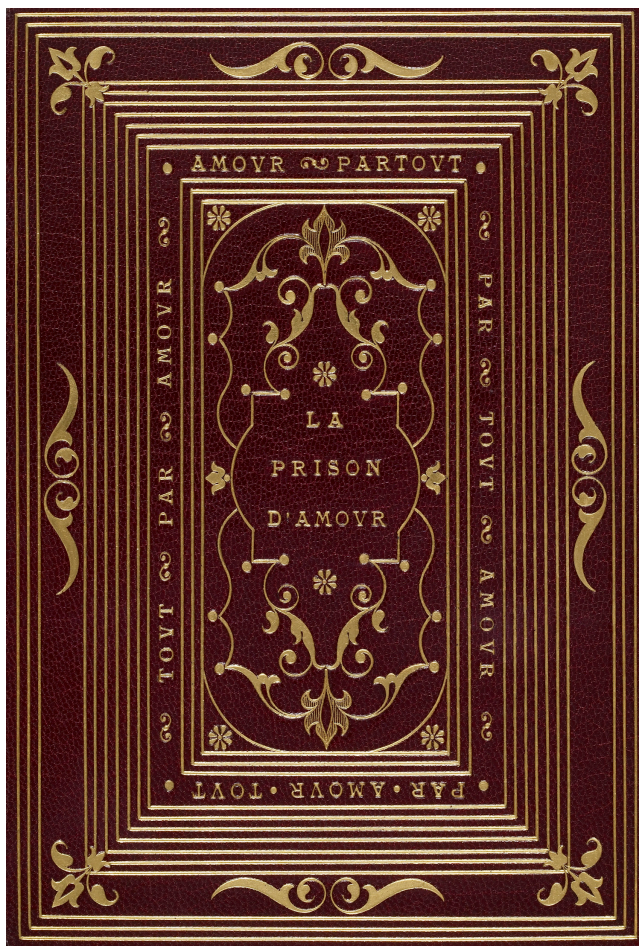


Fig. 2. Léon Gruel (binder), Diego de San Pedro (author), *La priso[n] damour . . .* (Paris, 1527). Printed book, 17.9 × 13 cm. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by Henry Walters, 1893 (92.324)

as the scrapbook, assembled with great care and precision, contains extensive correspondence regarding his application to exhibit, press clippings, menus from celebratory banquets, and—of greatest importance to the four Walters books in question—a shipping inventory and insurance documents. The inventory, written as a ledger on Gruel atelier letter-head and signed by Gruel, contains the phrase “dispatched to Mons. Em. Terquem” (Gruel’s representative in Chicago). It lists each book in the shipment, with price, in the order of appearance in the sales catalog. Two insurance policies follow the shipping inventory, each containing its own matching list.<sup>7</sup> The Walters books can be found on all three lists as numbers 13, 17, 18, and 32, strongly indicating that they did, indeed, ship from Paris to Chicago, and that Henry Walters purchased them there.<sup>8</sup>

This exercise in document sleuthing not only yields a helpful detail about the acquisition of four objects in the

Walters’ collection; it also offers a glimpse into the collecting life of one of the museum’s founders. Moreover, the existence of Gruel’s scrapbook is a delightful discovery for enthusiasts of his work. One of the most influential and inventive of French design binders working at the time, Gruel was also known as a scholar on the history of his craft. Sadly, the bulk of the archives from the Gruel atelier are not known to survive, so the evidence contained in the scrapbook is an especially valuable addition to our knowledge and understanding of what is certainly, at the Walters, one of the most significant Léon Gruel collections anywhere.

Diane Bockrath ([dbockrath@thewalters.org](mailto:dbockrath@thewalters.org)) is archivist/librarian at the Walters Art Museum.

## NOTES

1. Léon Gruel, *Catalogue de reliures de style et objets artistiques en cuir xisé, exposés par Léon Gruel*. Paris: [1893].
2. Diego de San Pedro, *La priso[n] damour, laquell traite d[e] lamour de Leriano et Laureole . . .* Paris: 1527 (92.324)
3. Book of Hours, Use of Rome. Paris: Simon Vostre, 1498 (91.613).
4. Thomas à Kempis, *L’imitation de Jésus-Christ*, trans. Félicité Robert de Lamennais. Original manuscript illuminated by E. Moreau and G. Ledoux, used to create a printed version in chromolithography. Paris: Gruel and Engelmann [before 1893] (92.1318)
5. Léon Gruel, *Manuel historique et bibliographique de l’amateur de reliures*, vol. 1. (Paris: Gruel and Engelmann, 1887) (92.809.1)
6. Léon Gruel, *Exposition de Chicago, 1893*. National Trust for Historic Preservation Library Collection, University of Maryland Libraries Special Collections and University Archives (T500.G1 F84 1892)
7. Identical policies in the amount of 38,015 francs covering the period 1 April 1893–1 January 1894 were taken out in Léon Gruel’s name with L’Union Compagnie Anonyme d’Assurances and the Compagnie Française du Phénix.
8. Léon Gruel’s shipping and insurance lists indicate the addition of seven books and one card case not included in the original sales catalog. No definitive match can be made between the descriptions of the additional items and pieces held in the Walters’ collection.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: The Walters Art Museum, Susan Tobin: figs. 1, 2



## ILLUMINATING THE *INTERIOR OF THE MOSQUE AT CORDOVA* BY EDWIN LORD WEEKS

MARIANNA SHREVE SIMPSON

In a previous essay on the *Interior of the Mosque at Cordova* of circa 1880 by Edwin Lord Weeks (Walters Art Museum, 37.169), I discussed how the American Orientalist painter manipulated and enhanced—in other words, how he “staged”—his dramatic depiction of this magnificent monument of early Islamic architecture (eighth–tenth centuries) for pictorial effect (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The most prominent feature that Weeks introduced into his composition and that serves as its primary focal point was the pierced metal lamp hanging in front of the mosque’s *mihrab*, or prayer niche. In its overall design and shape, as well as its specific material and technique, the piece is reminiscent of pyramidal lighting

devices that illuminated mosques and other Muslim religious buildings in Cairo during the Mamluk period (1389–1517), and of the variants that continued to be produced and used in Egyptian and Syrian buildings until the nineteenth century. No object in such a form would ever have been part of the lighting system of the Great Mosque of Cordova, however, since its function as a Muslim house of worship ceased in 1236, when Cordova fell during the Christian overthrow of Muslim rule and the mosque converted into a cathedral. While the lamp that Edwin Lord Weeks incorporated into his Cordova interior is not anything that he would have seen in situ, he certainly could have become familiar

with both Mamluk and post-Mamluk examples during his periodic travels through Syria, Morocco and especially Egypt in the 1870s. Thus, in my initial discussion of the Walters’ great mosque painting, it seemed plausible to propose this as the prototype—if not the specific model—for the hanging lamp that Weeks had in mind.<sup>2</sup> Subsequent research, however, has yielded the exact source for Weeks’ hanging lamp, connected both to the artist’s Spanish sojourns and to publications that he might have perused while working on *Interior of the Mosque at Cordova*.

The chronology and itinerary of Weeks’ time in Spain, and more particularly in the



Fig. 1. Edwin Lord Weeks (American, 1849–1903), *Interior of the Mosque at Cordova*, ca. 1880. Oil on canvas, 142.2 × 184.3 cm (unframed). The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, acquired by Henry Walters, 1905 (37.169)

southern region of Andalucia, remain to be securely established. Signed and dated views of Granada, including several set in the large palace complex of the Alhambra built during the Nasrid dynasty (1230–1492), suggest, however, that the artist was there by at least 1876 and apparently also in 1880. The American author of a *Century* magazine article also reports meeting Weeks in the Granada studio of the late Spanish artist Mariano Fortuny (1838–1874) in the summer of 1881.<sup>3</sup> Weeks' attraction to the Alhambra as a scenic setting seems to have extended to its furnishings, or more accurately to objects that formerly furnished structures within the palace. Indeed, the lamp suspended in Weeks' Cordova composition is modeled directly on a large and magnificent bronze lighting fixture that originally hung in the Alhambra's Mezquita Real, or Royal Mosque, constructed in 1303–5 by the Nasrid sultan Muhammad III.<sup>4</sup>

The lamp's later history, which included a particular physical alteration to be discussed below, is complicated, and its documentation and scholarly record extensive.<sup>5</sup> Following the fall of the Nasrid dynasty and conquest of Granada in 1492, the lamp was transported to the Mediterranean port city of Oran on the northwestern coast of Algeria and apparently installed in the *masjid-i jami* or Friday mosque there. In 1509 it was seized by the Spanish statesman and cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, during a successful naval campaign against Oran. Cisneros then deposited the lamp and other booty at the Universidad Complutense in Alcalá de Henares, northeast of Madrid, where it was listed in several inventories following the cardinal's death in 1517.<sup>6</sup> In March 1868 the lamp was transferred from the university to the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid, where it remains to this day (50.519).

In its present form, the lamp consists of four spheres in graduated sizes pierced with inscriptions exclaiming the motto of the Nasrid dynasty ("There is no victor but God, be He exalted") and aligned on a central shaft topped with a suspension hook. The shaft then connects to a eight-sided pyramidal unit decorated with vegetal designs. Below this is a large, four-sided polygon, 54 centimeters in height and 79 in diameter, intricately pierced with more vegetal designs and with epigraphic cartouches at the top and bottom giving the name of Muhammad III. Another longer inscription on the lower rim exalts the sultan and gives the *hijra*, or Muslim era, date when the lamp was cast: Rabi' I 705, corresponding to September 1305.<sup>7</sup> The lamp no longer has the arms that once

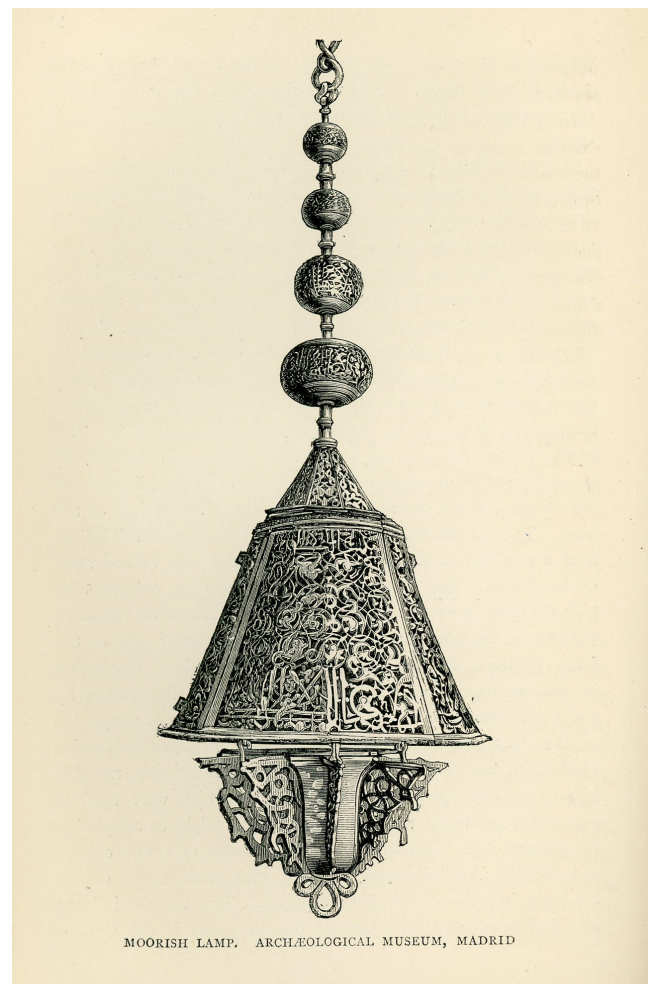


Fig. 2. Lamp of Muhammad III for the Alhambra mosque, dated AH 705 / AD 1305, Granada, Spain. Woodcut illustration after J. F. Riaño, *The Industrial Arts in Spain* (London, 1879), 73

extended from the two cartouche levels and that would have held some several dozen glass cups for lighting.<sup>8</sup>

Of course, Edwin Lord Weeks never saw Muhammad III's lamp in the Alhambra, since it had long since left Granada before his stay there, nor could he have ever seen it in its current form had he, for instance, visited the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, founded in 1867. At some point between the lamp's sixteenth-century repatriation from Oran and its nineteenth-century museum acquisition, the lamp acquired an additional element terminating in a trefoil ornament and attached upside-down to the lamp's lower, polygonal section. (This section was initially thought to serve as an actual light fixture and only later identified as a Christian church bell, dating from the Merinid period [1244–1465].)<sup>9</sup> As it happens, this was the lamp's composite appearance when it was first published in 1873, in a detailed and oversized





Fig. 3. Weeks, *Interior of the Mosque at Cordova*, detail of hanging lamp

Spanish study, and reproduced in various other nineteenth and early twentieth century publications.<sup>10</sup> These include a 1879 pocket-size book by Juan F. Riaño entitled *The Industrial Arts in Spain*—precisely the kind of convenient survey in English that Edwin Lord Weeks might have consulted either in preparation for a trip to Spain or while working on his various scenes of Granada and Cordova, particularly those dating or attributed to 1880 (fig. 2).<sup>11</sup>

While Weeks may have drawn on the woodcut reproduction of Muhammad III's lamp in the Riaño publication, he was not content with mere replication. Apparently realizing that the lamp needed something to fulfill its recognized lighting function, Weeks added a row of bulbous units, similar in shape to the spheres on the central shaft, between the object's large polygonal body and the suspended "bell-lamp" below (fig. 3). In this way he created a fixture that would give the

illusion of being suitable to cast light within the Cordova mosque, and revealed once again his capacity for artistic adoption and adaptation. Weeks' selection and modification of a published object, one that in its original form had illuminated the Royal Mosque at the Alhambra palace, fits perfectly with what seems to have been his overall approach to staging the *Interior of the Mosque at Cordova*.

Marianna Shreve Simpson ([shrevesimpson@gmail.com](mailto:shrevesimpson@gmail.com)) was Director of Curatorial Affairs and Curator of Islamic Art at the Walters Art Museum from 1995 to 2000. She is now an independent scholar in Philadelphia.

## NOTES

1. M. S. Simpson, "Staging the *Interior of the Mosque at Cordova* by Edwin Lord Weeks," *Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 70–71 (2012–13): 109–20.
2. *Ibid.*, 115.
3. *Ibid.*, 111.
4. For the mosque, see L. Torres Balbás, "La mezquita real de la Alhambra y el baño frontero," *Al-Andalus* 10 (1945): 197–214; D. Cabaleas Rodríguez, "The Alhambra: An Introduction," in J. D. Dodds, ed., *Al-Andalus: The Art of Islamic Spain* (New York, 1992), 127.
5. I am indebted here to Stephen Vernoit for bibliographic references and related research advice, and to Juan Zozaya for invaluable archaeological information and insights.
6. R. Amador de Los Rios, "Lámpara de Abú-Abdil-Láh Mohámmad III de Granadá, apellidada vulgarmente lámpara de Orán, y custodiada hoy en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional," *Museo Español de Antigüedades* 2 (1873): 466–91.
7. *The Arts of Islam* (London, 1976), 168, cat. no. 175; Dodds, *Al-Andalus* [as in note 4], 276–77, cat. no. 57; J. Zozaya, "Lámpara," in *Arte islámico en Granada: Propuesta para un Museo de la Alhambra* (Granada, 1995), 434–35, cat. no. 187. See also: [www.discoverislamicart.org/database\\_item.php?id=object;ISL;es;Musor;11;en](http://www.discoverislamicart.org/database_item.php?id=object;ISL;es;Musor;11;en)
8. A. Fernández-Puertas, "Tipología de lámparas de bronce en al-Andalus y el Magrib," *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos: Sección Árabe-Islam* 48 (1999): 389–92; idem, "Gilded and Enamelled Glass in al-Andalus," in R. Ward, ed., *Gilded and Enamelled Glass from the Middle East* (London, 1998), 77.
9. Personal communication from J. Zozaya, April 2014, summarizing the lamp's peregrinations and explaining the museum's removal of the extraneous "bell-lamp" in 1972–74.
10. Amador de Los Rios (as in note 6), in a 1873 volume measuring 45 × 32 cm; S. Lane-Poole, *The Moors in Spain* (London and New York, 1890), 249; idem, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (London,

1896), 249; G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman 2: Les arts plastiques et industriels* (Paris, 1907), 229 and fig. 190. See also S. Vernoit, "Hispano-Moresque Art in European Collections," in A. Lermer and A. Shalem, eds., *After One Hundred Years: The 1910 Exhibition "Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst" Reconsidered* (Leiden and Boston, 2010), 233 and fig. 1. It was this article that pointed me fortuitously toward the source of the lamp in Weeks' mosque painting.

11. J. F. Riaño, *The Industrial Arts in Spain* (London, 1879), 71–72. This book (measuring 19.5 × 13 cm and containing 276 pages with numerous woodcut illustrations) formed part of a series of art handbooks issued by the South Kensington Museum, renamed the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1899.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: The Walters Art Museum, Susan Tobin: figs. 1, 3; Reproduced from J. F. Riaño, *The Industrial Arts in Spain* (London, 1879), 73: fig. 2



