THE JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

1938

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

PUBLISHED BY THE TRUSTEES

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VOLUME I
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THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

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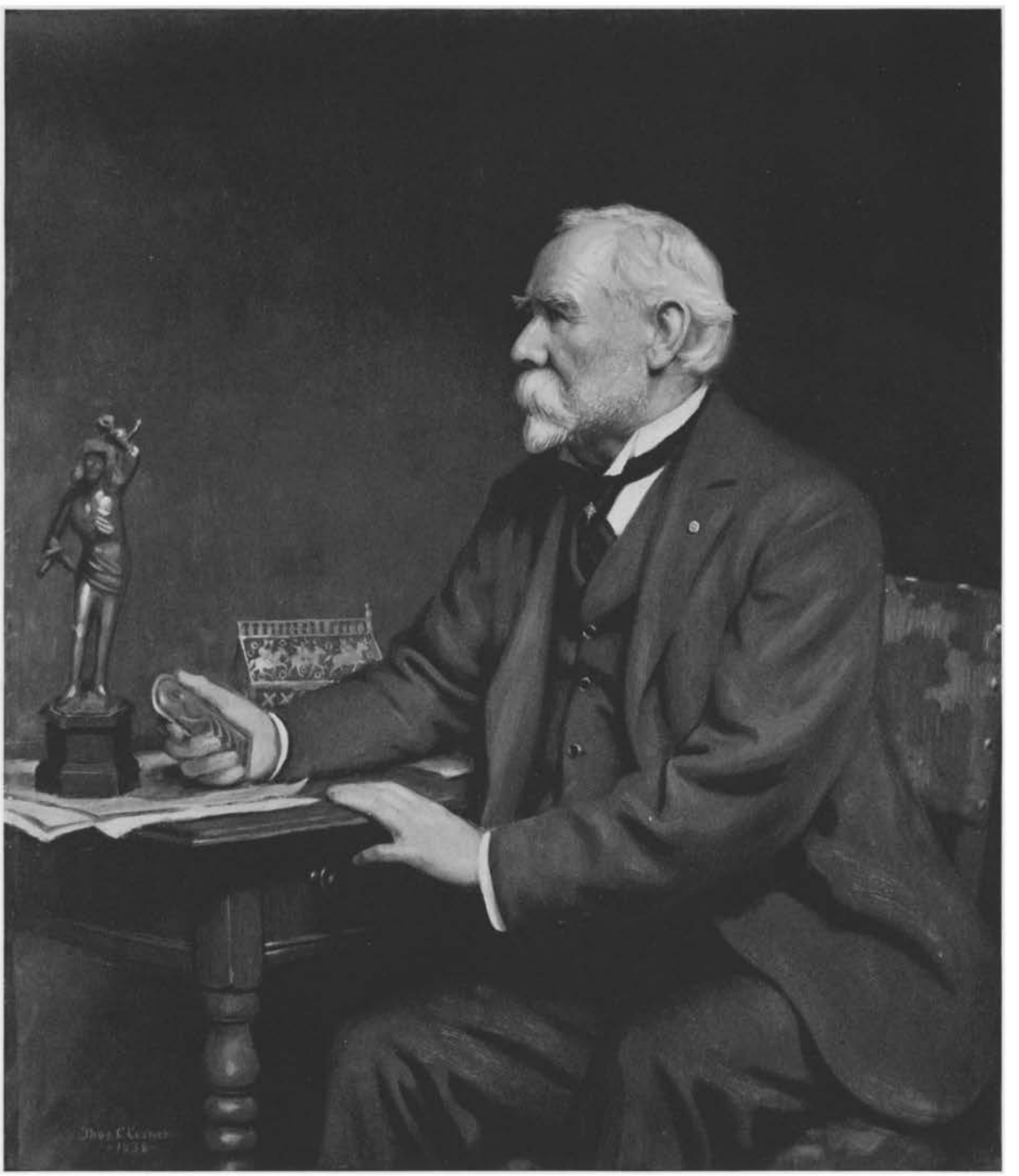

HENRY WALTERS
1848-1931
Portrait by Thomas C. Corner

FOREWORD

The Founders of the Collection

THIS IS the first of what the Trustees hope will be a continuing series of publications devoted to scholarly discussions of objects in the Walters Art Gallery. Many of the items forming the great collection bequeathed to the City of Baltimore by the late Henry Walters have never been published; others merit renewed study in light of additional information and new viewpoints as to their significance. It is believed that these publications, if they receive proper distribution, will serve to make the collection better known and of greater service to the specialist as well as to the public generally, in addition to accumulating a record of benefit to future students.

In embarking on this undertaking, the Trustees are impelled to record again deep appreciation of the generosity of the donor, and to set forth some of the facts indicating his discrimination and vision as a collector—qualities which enabled him to assemble a collection of permanent value to the nation.

A tribute to Henry Walters must begin by being a tribute to his father, for it was he who initiated the various enterprises which his son brought to such distinguished fulfillment. It was following in the footsteps of William Walters, that Henry Walters became engineer, railroad magnate, financier, art-patron, collector, and benefactor, and finally, as an evidence of his devotion, created the greater Walters Art Gallery, not as a monument to his own taste, but as a memorial to his father.

William T. Walters as a young man came to Baltimore from Pennsylvania to engage in business which brought him in contact particularly with the South. With the advent of the War between the States his southern sympathies caused him to remove himself and his family to Europe for the duration of the conflict. It was in this period that his interest in art had an opportunity to develop. He haunted the art galleries of the Continent and was a familiar visitor in the studios of the officially recognized French and English artists of the time. He collected enthusiastically the paintings of the Barbizon school, and to the academicians of the day—Gérôme, Gleyre, Bonnat, Ziem, Pils, Alma-Tadema, Hunt, and hosts of others, he was close friend and liberal patron. He esteemed their meticulous industry and high sentiment, as did other cultured people of the period. Of the undercurrent of insurrection being led by such radicals as Courbet and Manet he could scarcely have been aware, or certainly not with sympathy. In all this he reflected sincerely the tastes and beliefs of his era and environment, but that he was one of independent mind and judgment is proven by the vigor with which he championed the art of the neglected Barye, and by sheer force of enthusiasm made honor and fame for him, if not in France, most certainly in America.

The great European Expositions of 1862 in London, 1867 and 1878 in Paris, and 1873 in Vienna, found him an assiduous visitor and active buyer. It was at the Vienna Exposition and three years later at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia that the bulk of his tremendous assemblage of oriental porcelains was ac-

quired—acquisitions which perhaps more than anything else served to bring the first renown to the Walters collection, and which are credited with having initiated in this country a serious interest in oriental ceramics.

The years that followed Mr. Walters' return to Baltimore at the close of the War between the States were marked by the leading part which he played in developing the transportation systems of the South, particularly through the creation of the Atlantic Coast Line Railway. In time he came to be a factor in most of the railway or steamship lines operating through Baltimore and he has been credited with an important role in the reconstruction of the South.

The enthusiasm for art fortified by his stay in Europe remained alive, however. During frequent trips abroad and also through the cooperation of Mr. George A. Lucas and certain other friends living on the Continent he was able to add to his collections steadily. He threw open his house at certain regular times to the public, so that they might enjoy his paintings and objects of art. He published catalogues of the pictures and a monumental one of his oriental ceramics, in order that these collections might be better known. He was active on boards and on commissions for such expositions as that at Philadelphia in 1876. His enthusiastic admiration for Barye was almost entirely responsible for the popularity which that artist enjoyed in this country—a regard which culminated in the gift of the world's most complete assemblage of his bronzes to the Corcoran Gallery in Washington. In Mr. Walters' own house was one of the greatest collections of Barye's works, and he created a public monument to his enthusiasm in 1885, when he presented to the city five of the artist's larger sculptures which to this day adorn Mt. Vernon Place. William Walters did not confine his championship to European artists. He saw promise in the work of the Baltimore sculptor, William Rinehart, and he became the sponsor, patron, close friend, business administrator and, finally, executor of the man whose fortune and fame were the foundation of the Rinehart School of Sculpture at the Maryland Institute.

In all these enterprises of business and leisure, his son was his constant associate and pupil. Henry Walters was an impressionable lad when he became his father's companion during those first years of roaming the museums, of collecting, and of familiarity with the Paris studios. His zest for collecting developed simultaneously with practical experience in judging and acquiring works of art, which was to provide him with a solid foundation for his later more ambitious activities.

His European schooling was supplemented in this country at Loyola College in Baltimore, Georgetown University in Washington, and the Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard, where he received an engineer's training. Like his father, he embarked on a railroad career, in time joining the staff of the Atlantic Coast Line, which his father had founded. His increasingly important services to this organization culminated with his building it into the chief artery of the southeast, by purchasing control of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad and effecting mergers with other lines.

The public spirit displayed by the father was even more characteristic of the son, although it is significant of Henry Walters' personality that very few people indeed realize in how many shapes his benefactions and interests appeared. Besides the magnificent gift to Baltimore of his collection and gallery with a liberal endowment, his will contained large bequests to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, to Harvard, Georgetown University, and the Family Welfare Association, a charitable organization of Baltimore. During his lifetime, among other benefactions, he pre-

sented Baltimore with its public baths, was a liberal contributor to the endowment of the Johns Hopkins University, founded and endowed at its Medical School the Department of Art as Applied to Medicine which was headed by Max Broedel, erected the main building of Georgetown Preparatory School near Washington, was a generous friend of the Peabody Institute in Baltimore, presented the magnificent Lucas Collection of sculpture, paintings and prints to the Maryland Institute, enriched the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York with an extensive assemblage of Rembrandt etchings and with many other gifts, and served as Trustee of that museum as well as of the Peabody Institute and the American Academy at Rome.

It is only natural, however, that Mr. Walters will be most lastingly and widely known because of the princely art collection which he willed to his native city. Just as he had expanded the Atlantic Coast Line to a railroad of prime importance, so he saw in his father's collection of nineteenth-century academic paintings and oriental ceramics the germ of a gallery which should set forth the artistic history of all the important civilizations from the empires of Mesopotamia and the Nile Valley to the Europe of his own day. Single-handed he set out to bring this vision to reality. He went about it earnestly, and from 1894, when his father died, until the date of his own death his collecting was on a scale possible to few private buyers or even public museums.

His preparation for this task had been shaped by the tastes of the period, but it was sound. He began along the lines marked out by his father, purchasing the works of the prominent painters of the nineteenth century. As he proceeded, the range of his interest widened and his taste became keener. He soon enriched his gallery with paintings of the English schools of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In

WILLIAM T. WALTERS
1820-1894
Portrait by Léon J. F. Bonnat

1902, "to better balance my collection," as he himself said, he acquired the hoard of art objects gathered by Dom Marcello Massarenti, Almoner to the Pope—a vast collection, rich in Italian Renaissance paintings and in classical sculpture, bronzes, and vases, including a notable group of Etruscan objects.

With this great acquisition as a nucleus, the collection expanded rapidly to include all the epochs and all the arts in which man had wrought significantly. Sculptures from Egyptian tombs, gold bowls of the Hallstadt lake-dwellers, potteries of Persia, Visigothic jewels, bronzes of the Renaissance, windows from Gothic cathedrals, products of the earliest printing presses—all these came within the scope of this collector's

enthusiasm. By the time of his death his spacious gallery was crowded to overflowing, and the cellars and store-rooms were stacked high.

Mr. Walters pretended to no specialized scholarly knowledge of the objects which he gathered, but he understood their significance and he enjoyed them. He acquired them because they were to him beautiful or unusual or of quality. He handled them fondly and pored over them and carried them about with him. As is so often the case with privately-formed collections, his gallery abounds with small objects and intricate things which are to be enjoyed fully only by close study and familiar handling.

The constantly expanding range of Henry Walters' interest was characterized by imagination and a sense of adventure. He had a distinct flair for a fine object, which made him increasingly independent of current fashions and fads in collecting. While he never ceased to be lured by the insistent charm of the French eighteenth century and the obvious sentiment of the nineteenth-century academics, at the same time he pioneered in fields then ignored by collectors. He was acquiring—and with telling discrimination—Byzantine and Armenian illuminated manuscripts, Persian ceramics, arts of the folk-wanderers, and Early Christian antiquities at a time when such materials were the concern only of a few specialists.

In the gallery left by Henry Walters to his native city, America has received intact one of the few remaining great collections gathered in the grand manner. In character it differs considerably from most American museums. Its incredible range and abundance give it the flavor of the vast hereditary collections of Europe. The too careful premeditation and weighing of responsibilities which necessarily must discipline the purchases of public museums have here not left their suffocating pressure. A private collector can risk acquiring the unique and undocumented object which turns out to be of pivotal importance. He can possess those tiny works of great art which do not exhibit effectively. He can indulge even prodigally in assembling the nearly duplicated items which reveal to scholars so much about the organization of crafts and the chronology of ideas. And so there is found here material that is rarely accessible to the public in this country. The rank of this great assemblage in relation to other museums and private collections can be determined only after scholars and specialists have had opportunity to become more familiar with this new wealth of unpublished objects. Even at this stage, however, one may draw attention to the importance of such groups as the ancient bronzes, the Etruscan and Phoenician objects, the Islamic pottery and metalwork, the early medieval jewelry, the Byzantine material, the Romanesque and Gothic ivories, the enamels, the large collection of illuminated manuscripts, the Renaissance bronzes, Sèvres porcelains, incunabula, and old bindings.

A man of wide culture, a serious student of economics, a keen observer of social trends, it is easy to sense that Henry Walters was motivated in his collecting by something more than mere pride of possession, the desire to be surrounded by beautiful things, and the urge to honor the memory of his father. He realized the importance of the records of former civilizations which he gathered. It was his chief pleasure and satisfaction to bring them together. He has left to scholars the task and the adventure of seeking out the full significance of these things, so that the public may benefit by the knowledge and enjoyment of its heritage. The studies published here are intended to contribute to this purpose.

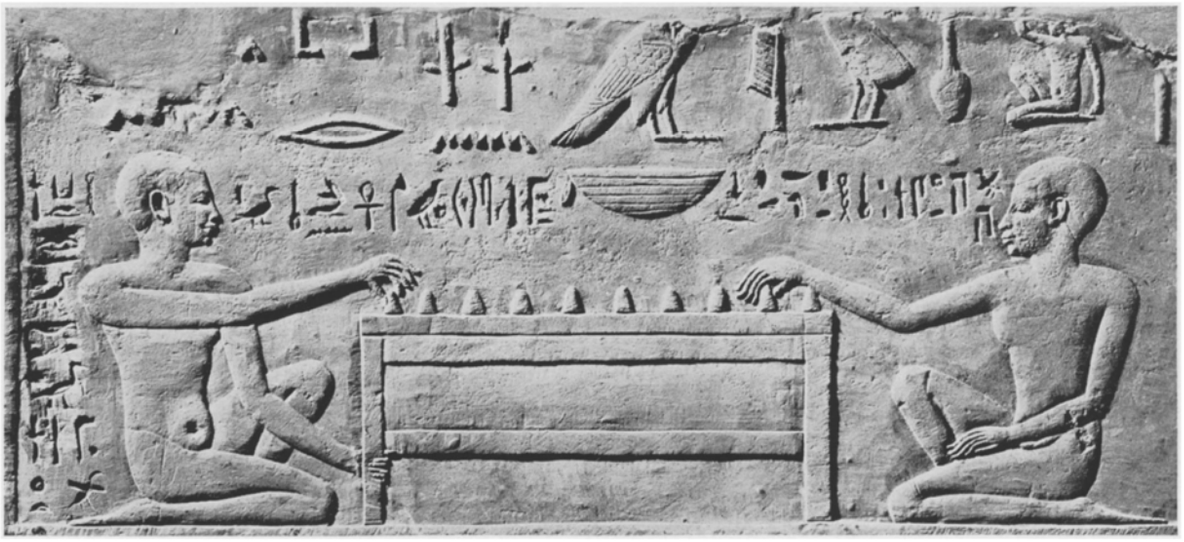

FIGURE 1. *The game of* SENAÏT. *Neo-memphite relief (detail)* WALTERS ART GALLERY

A NEO-MEMPHITE BAS-RELIEF

BY JEAN CAPART

Director, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire. Parc du Cinquantenaire, Brussels

THE FUNERARY customs of the ancient Egyptians present a character of stability more enduring than that observed in any other country in the world. One would be wrong in thinking that this corresponds to a complete immobility in their beliefs and ideas. It is sufficient to notice usages of our modern society to see how much certain gestures and symbols are preserved, even when the beliefs on which they were based have been completely changed. So the Egyptians, from the first dynasty up to the Greek epoch, kept the custom of those processions of servants bringing to the deceased funerary furnishings and offerings of all sorts, the presence of which seemed indispensable to happiness after death.

In most of the funerary chapels, varied scenes associated the deceased person and the members of his family with earthly activities: games, sports, etc. It has been possible to make systematic lists of scenes of private life taken from tombs of the Old, Middle, and New Empires. One notes, in turning over these lists, the iconographic character of the representations which were transmitted from generation to generation by means of the model-books which standardized the craft of the tomb decorators.

There is nothing more instructive than to compare from the stylistic point of view similar scenes used for personages who lived sometimes a thousand years apart. It is the best way to understand once and for all what differentiates the classic art of the early Empires from the more elegant and accomplished art of the New Empire. But besides these two great styles, one

FIGURE 2. *Neo-memphite relief* WALTERS ART GALLERY

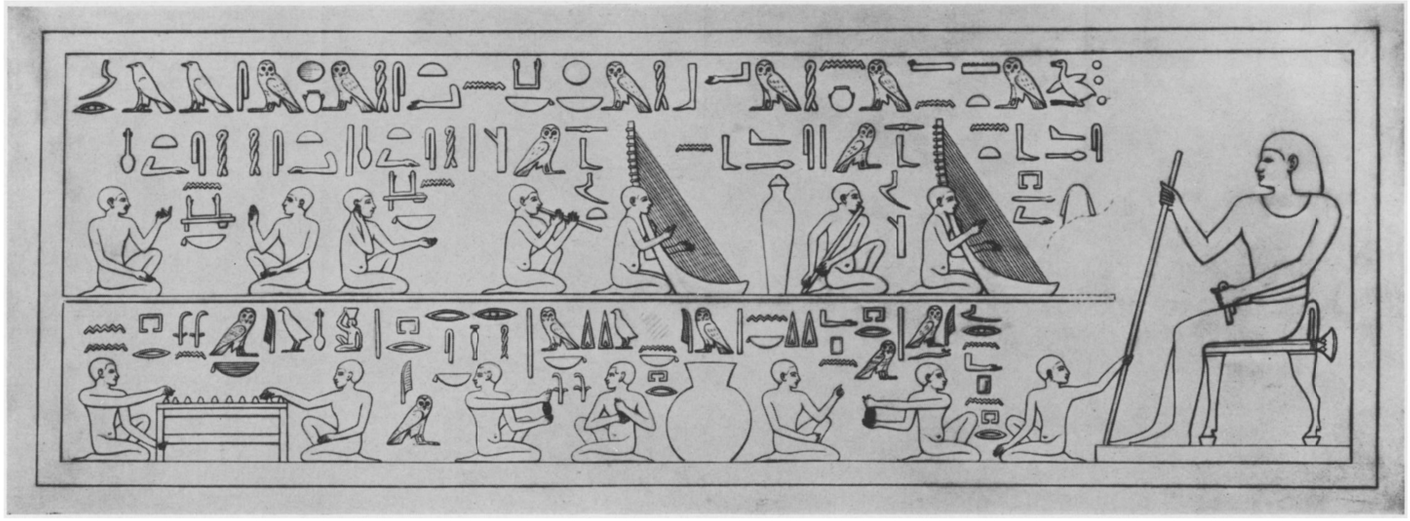

FIGURE 3. *Neo-memphite relief (reconstruction)* WALTERS ART GALLERY

must make a special category for "Neo-memphite" art. It is thus that Georges Bénédite[1] designated a tendency which is manifested, unfortunately, in only a very few monuments. These belonged to the Saitic renaissance. Political power was established in the Delta, and we know that the artists who were charged with the decoration of the new buildings being erected everywhere went and copied admiringly the bas-reliefs of the pyramids and tombs of the first dynasties. Just as some of their works have not aimed further than to be pastiches, so others have succeeded in giving new life to the ensemble. Perhaps one might go so far as to suggest as a comparison the study of the art of classical antiquity which produced the grace and delicacy of Florentine art. The Cairo Museum,[2] the Museum of Alexandria[3] and the Louvre possess a series of small bas-reliefs of this Neo-memphite style: sometimes they are missed by hurried visitors, but they remain fixed in the memories of those who have been able to give them attention. Also I have not neglected to consider several Neo-memphite fragments which are in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (figs.1-4). These, with the exception of a small slab, are merely fragments.

In 1933, M. Charles Kuentz presented one of the most suggestive hypotheses regarding the form of the tombs from which all the known Neo-memphite reliefs might have come.[4] It involved a rectangular mass of carefully cut masonry, in the interior of which was placed the sarcophagus. The upper part of the building, which was constructed above ground, terminated in a torus and cavetto moulding. Under this cornice extended a band of reliefs with funerary scenes, which were surmounted by a continuous inscription forming the dedication.

Two of the Baltimore fragments seemed to me, as soon as I examined them, to have belonged to one and the same slab. In fact, the upper band of inscription of one of the pieces alluded to scenes which were to be found on the second fragment. I thus supposed right away that the two were separated by a stone which had been broken up or had strayed into another collection. With the aid of photographs put at my disposal by the Walters Art Gallery, I was able to establish the exact relationship of the two fragments (fig. 2). The missing part could be reconstructed in almost every detail with complete certainty.

The deceased, whose name we do not know, was seated facing to the left. One may gain a very exact idea of this figure, thanks to another panel in the Walters Art Gallery which one would like to attribute to the same tomb as the fragments studied here (fig. 4). It concerns a priest of Sekhmet and of Ptah named Ankhef-en-Sekhmet. His wife was named Hathor-m-Hat, his daughter Tha-Nefertoum. On the panel which represents them is seen the musician, Psametik-Seneb, who sings and accompanies himself on the harp. Let us then reconstruct the deceased on his throne at the right of the relief (fig. 3). At his feet is seated one of his children, who turns to grasp the staff of his father.

As I have mentioned, the inscription at the top applies to the scenes disposed over the two superimposed registers: "Enjoy seeing the musicians (playing) for thy 'double' every day, and seeing the players of serpent, *senaït*, and balls." The concert is in the upper register, the section with the games in the lower strip.

It is worth while to pause a moment to examine the details of these scenes. First, we notice that the groups of musicians are separated from each other by a representation of one of

[1] G. Bénédite, *Un thème nouveau de la décoration murale des tombeaux néo-memphites*, in *Monuments Piot*, XXV (1921-22), 1-28.

[2] G. Maspero, *Bas-reliefs provenant de tombeaux saïtes*, in *Musée égyptien*, II (Le Caire, 1907), 74-92 and pl. XXXII-XLII.

[3] Tigrane Pacha relief; J. Capart, *Documents pour servir à l'étude de l'art égyptien*, II (Paris, 1931), pl. 91.

[4] Ch. Kuentz, *Bas-reliefs saïtes*, in *Monuments Piot*, XXXIII (1933), 27-42, pl. V.

those large vases which evidently contained refreshments intended for the worthy ones. There are here two groups similarly composed of a harpist and a flutist. Of the first it is said that the harpist is a musician of the Pharaoh; therefore he has been sent by the king to take part in the worship of this personage. Above the musicians is written their activity: "plucker of the harp," "player of the flute." I leave to the historians of musical instruments the task of explaining the fact that the word "flute" is written sometimes in the masculine and sometimes in the feminine gender; that the picture of the instrument in the inscription presents an unusual form, and, moreover, that the instruments being played are different.

We find next a singer in a very characteristic pose: his right hand "grasps the jaw-bone and cheek" according to a practice maintained in Egypt to our day, while the left hand is advanced in an expressive manner. He is evidently a soloist and his song is addressed to the "double" of the deceased. However, it is not the same with the duet executed by the two singers seated facing each other. They do not put their hands to their cheeks, but they both advance one hand. It seems evident that their song consisted of alternating parts.

FIGURE 4. *Neo-memphite relief of Ankhef-en-Sekhmet* WALTERS ART GALLERY

The register of gamesters has not so simple an explanation. Let us commence at the left. There we have two men seated on the ground, their hands reaching to pawns placed on a table. We recognize without difficulty the game of *senaït* mentioned in the upper horizontal inscription. Above the players are written two phrases spoken by them, which refer to the match: "See,

this has come out for us—it is a good play." A Memphite priest and his brother, in the course of a visit to the cemetery, have seen fit to identify themselves with these two figures by affixing their names and titles cursorily engraved (fig. 1). It is a way of choosing a favorable nook in which to spend eternity.

Let us examine now the large vase with spherical body which separates two groups of players. We would be puzzled to find for it a definite meaning if the general inscription had not mentioned the game of *mehen*. We owe to Professor H. Ranke of Heidelberg a minute study of this old game of "serpent," already cited in the texts of the pyramids, and for which have been found tables together with playing-pieces in the tombs of the first dynasties.[5] "Serpent" was played with figurines of dogs and lions by means of marbles; in the Old Empire it was still represented with a knowledge of its origin. In the Saitic epoch the playing-table and its support were mistaken for a vase, since the delineators no longer understood the exact position of the four partners who competed in the game. In the bas-relief which concerns us, the artist has been content to preserve two groups of players, to the right and left of the large vase. The proof that it was forgotten that the whole should form an ensemble is that the general inscription enumerates *mehen*, *senaït*, and the marbles. In fact, there has probably been introduced another game in which marbles also were used. The explanatory inscriptions shed hardly any light for those who do not know the game. At most, one guesses from these scraps of phrases and from the gestures of the small personages that the game had something to do with making the opponent guess the number of marbles hidden in the hand: "See, this is what I give you; come out of there, at your will; come out of there! Come out of this hand, whatever I give you; we see this hand; come out!"

This no longer tells us much. It is not impossible that the text was already enigmatic at the time the sculptor carved it upon this relief. He did not compose out of his immediate inspiration; he took it over from an ancient prototype. The same little phrases are found in the Theban cemetery on the tomb of Aba.[6] Here in the same way, the deceased enjoys songs, to which is added, it is true, some dancing; he looks on at the matches in *mehen*, *senaït*, and marbles. It was many years ago that Mr. Davies pointed out that this tomb of Aba at Thebes, of the twenty-sixth dynasty, contained the tracings of scenes which were to be found in the burial-place of a personage of the same name who lived at Deir el Gabraoui in the period of the sixth dynasty.

Chronologically the little bas-relief of the Walters Art Gallery is probably the most recent having this theme. But its artist, completely impregnated as he was with the tradition of the Old Empire, has succeeded in giving his work an accent which makes it one of the most remarkable objects in a museum where Egyptian art is represented by a number of pieces of the first order.

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[5] H. Ranke, *Das altägyptische Schlangenspiel*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* (Heidelberg, 1920), 4. Abhandlung.

[6] No. 36. B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography, I. Theban Necropolis* (Oxford, 1927), p. 70, scene 9.

FIGURE 1
WALTERS ART GALLERY
Ms. 73, Psalter from Helmarshausen
The Owner

FIGURE 2
WALTERS ART GALLERY
Ms. 73, Psalter from Helmarshausen
Beginning of Psalm I

A GERMAN PSALTER OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY WRITTEN IN HELMARSHAUSEN

BY ADOLPH GOLDSCHMIDT

Emeritus Professor of the History of Art, University of Berlin

THIS ARTICLE originally was a contribution to the publication planned to celebrate the sixtieth birthday of Arthur Haseloff in 1932, a volume which yet remains unprinted. As this illustrious scholar first gained his international reputation through his book[1] on the medieval painting of the region of Thuringia and Saxony, in which he included the monastery of Helmarshausen, it seemed suitable to choose for my subject a Helmarshausen manuscript. This little Psalter I discovered in the library of Mr. Henry Walters in Baltimore when his collection was still a private one, and its rich treasures were seldom accessible. In the English translation of my article here printed some personal compliments of the introduction are omitted and some remarks are added as the result of further studies.

The Walters manuscript, now numbered Ms. 73, is a Psalter of small dimensions, 4 7/16 inches high by 2 9/16 inches wide,[2] with a later cover of red velvet. The circumstance that the upper and outer margins are severely clipped and that the edges are gilt and ornamented in the sixteenth-century manner proves that the cover must be from a later period. The manuscript begins with a calendar, from which, however, the first three months are missing. Among the saints there honored, the following ones are recorded in gold letters: St. Modoaldus, St. Vitus, and St. Martinus, while in the litany only St. Modoaldus is so inscribed, in addition to the names of the apostles.

The illumination begins on folio 6v (fig. 1) with a miniature representing a lady aristocratically dressed, with her hands raised in prayer. Over a long white gown, having sleeves with wide openings which reveal close-fitting undersleeves, she wears a mantle of red brocade lined with ermine. From the clasps on the upper corners hang long golden ribbons, which probably served to tie the mantle close over the chest, when not tied behind the neck as it is here. A short white hood, which covers only part of the chest, frames her face. The background is golden, as is the lily-like ornament of the frame. The outlines are black, while the inner drawing and that of the hands is violet. One cannot say whether the lady's prayer is directed to the Virgin Mary or to her own patron saint, as the opposite leaf which must have contained the corresponding figure is missing. On the next leaf (fig. 2) the text of the Psalter commences with a large initial B and the introductory words in gold letters, on a lavender page framed by the

[1] A. Haseloff, *Eine thüringisch-sächsische Malerschule des 13ten Jahrhunderts* (Strassburg, 1897).

[2] 113 x 66 mm.

FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY

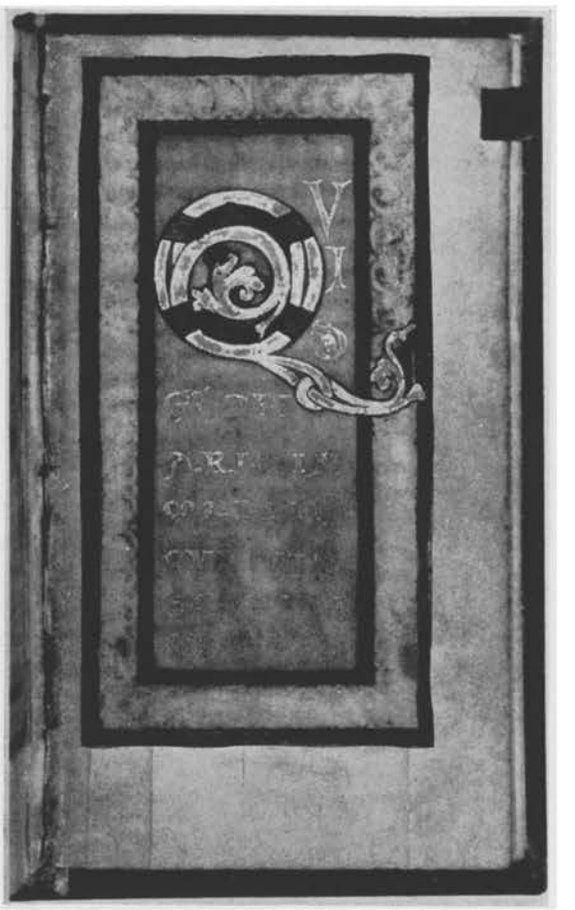

FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Ms. 73, Psalter from Helmarshausen. The Crucifixion and Beginning of Psalm LI

same golden lilies and silver strips as the previous miniature. The body of the initial itself consists of gold volutes with simple leaf endings and silver bands which are relieved against an inner background of pompeian red, green and pale blue. Of the same character as this B are the Q before Psalm 51 (fig. 4) and the D before Psalm 101 (fig. 6), while the D introducing the 109th Psalm is of smaller size (fig. 7). Thus we have here the three-part division of the Psalter as it was used chiefly in England and Germany. This division is marked still more emphatically by the full-page miniature of the Crucifixion with St. Mary and St. John at Psalm 51 on folio 41v (fig. 3) and by that of the *Majestas Domini* with the symbols of the four evangelists on folio 77v at Psalm 101 (fig. 5). The same few colors are used in all pictures: pompeian red, grass green and a very chalky blue, in addition to gold and silver.

The style of the script and of the painting indicates the twelfth century, and the stressing of St. Modoaldus points to the Benedictine monastery of Helmarshausen in the district of the upper Weser, not far from Kassel. Haseloff has discussed in his *Thüringisch-sächsische Malerschule* two manuscripts executed for Duke Henry the Lion and his wife Mathilda, one of which now

FIGURE 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY

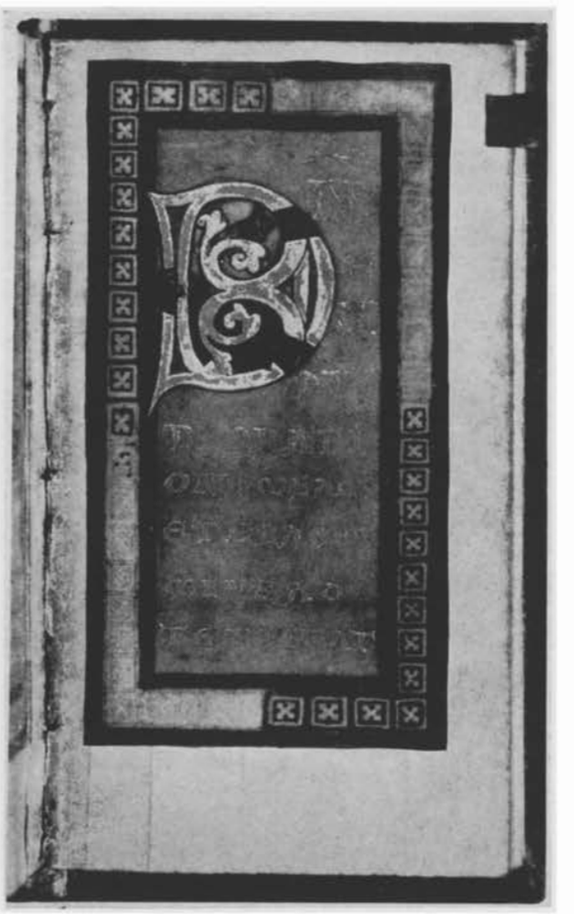

FIGURE 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Ms. 73, Psalter from Helmarshausen. Majestas Domini and Beginning of Psalm CI

is in Gmunden in the possession of the Duke of Brunswick, and the other in London in the British Museum.[3] He has shown that these two works were illuminated in Helmarshausen about 1175 by the monk Heriman and his pupils.[4] Thus in studying the miniatures of the Walters Psalter it is natural to look for similar qualities in these proven Helmarshausen products.

One observes that the proprietress of the Walters manuscript wears just such an ermine-lined mantle, decked with long golden streamers, as those that clothe the Duke and Duchess in the Gmunden Gospels (fig. 8); also that the simple drawing of the folds is similar and that the brocade pattern of her mantle is a repetition of that on the garment of the Duchess in the coronation picture. If one compares the Crucifixion of the little Baltimore manuscript with that in the

[3] Landsdowne ms. 381.

[4] Haseloff, *op. cit.*, p. 337. Franz Jansen, *Die Helmarshausener Buchmalerei zur Zeit Heinrichs des Löwen* (Hildesheim and Leipzig, 1933), Abb. 21 and 22. A. Boeckler, *Corveyer Buchmalerei unter Einwirkung Wibalds von Stablo* in *Bömer-Festschrift* (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 133-147. Hanns Swarzenski, *Vorgotische Miniaturen* (2 Aufl., Königstein and Leipzig, 1931), Abb. 59. Georg Swarzenski, *Aus dem Kunstkreis Heinrichs des Löwen* in *Städel-Jahrbuch*, VII-VIII (1932), pp. 241-379, Abb. 334 and 335.

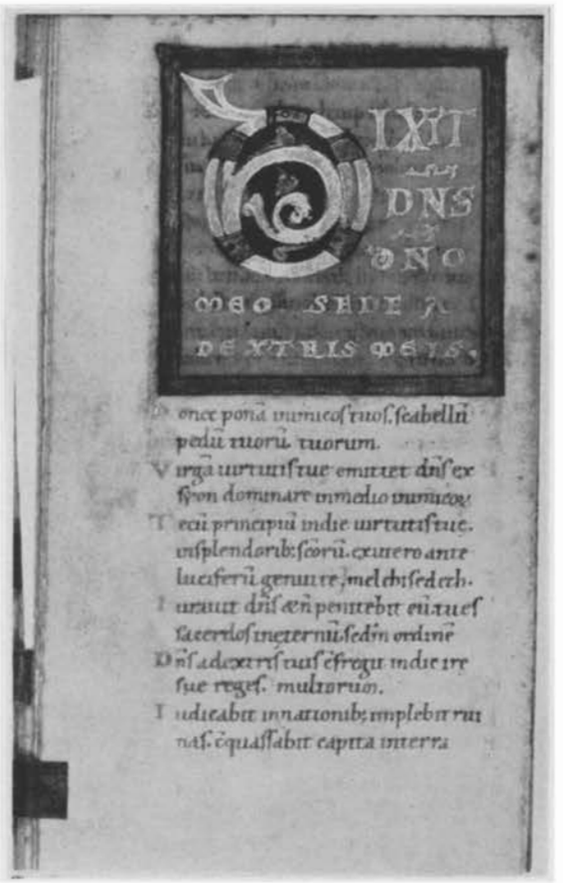

FIGURE 7 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Ms. 73, Helmarshausen Psalter. Psalm CIX

London fragment of a Psalter, one finds in both exactly the same arrangement of the clothing and a slight variation only in the attitude of the hands of Christ and His Mother. In keeping with the neat smallness of the Walters book, its forms are less rich and the ornamentation simpler than in the Gmunden Gospels, thus creating the impression of an artistically felt decoration adapted to its purpose.

What noble lady is represented is not indicated by any inscription, but if one observes the remarkable resemblance of her dress to that of the Duchess Mathilda, Henry's second wife, as depicted in the other manuscripts ordered by him in Helmarshausen, one involuntarily thinks of the Duke's daughter by his first consort, Clementia von Zähringen, whom he married in 1147. This daughter, named Gertrud after the Duke's mother, married in 1166 Friederich von Rotenburg, son of Konrad III of Germany, but he died the following year. Her second marriage in 1177 to Knud Valdemarson, Crown Prince of Denmark, made her Queen of Denmark in 1182. This wedding took place in Lund in southern Sweden. The attribution of the little Psalter of the Walters Gallery to Gertrud is strengthened by the fact that a Gospel-book in the University Library of Upsala[5] and one in the Royal Library of Copenhagen[6] are both written by a Helmarshausen scribe for the Cathedral of Lund. They also are closely connected in

FIGURE 8

Gmunden. Gospels of Henry the Lion (detail)
The Duchess Mathilda

details with our small book, especially in the ornamentation of the frames, such as the lilies with lengthened calyx on the long foliate band around the lady's portrait and around the initial B, as well as the half-rosettes with the dentated outline on the frame of the Crucifixion.[7]

It certainly is quite credible that the Duke who was so very anxious to have portraits of himself and his wife included in the Gospels for the Cathedral of Brunswick and in the British Museum Psalter, which he commissioned from Helmarshausen about 1175, also ordered for his daughter a handy little Psalter with her portrait. It is by no means necessary that this happened for her wedding, but it may have been presented to her any time before that event.

At the bottom of the last page is written in red script of about the year 1400 the name of a proprietor:

> Hic liber fuit domini petri Grillin
> ger Magistri kamere Curie Salzbu. . .

which can cast light on part of the later fate of the manuscript. The ends of the lines are cut off together with the margin of the leaf. The last word certainly was "Salzburgensis," perhaps with some abbreviation. Evidently the reference is to Petrus Grillinger who is represented as a Canon in the splendid Salzburg Bible of 1428-1430,[8] thus proving himself a bibliophile of some taste.[9]

[5] Ms. C. 83.

[6] Ms. Thott quart. 2.

[7] M. Mackeprang, Madsen and Petersen, *Greek and Latin Illuminated Manuscripts (X-XIII centuries) in Danish Collections* (Copenhagen, 1921), pl. XXI and XXIV.

[8] Munich Clm. 15701.

[9] F. Burger, *Die deutsche Malerei vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum Ende der Renaissance. Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft,* I (Berlin-Neubabelsberg, 1913), Taf. XIX.

FIGURE 1. *Cup (exterior). School of Epiktetos* WALTERS ART GALLERY

FIGURE 2. *Cup (exterior). School of Epiktetos* WALTERS ART GALLERY

FIGURE 3. *Cup (interior). School of Epiktetos* WALTERS ART GALLERY

EPIKTETOS AND HIS CIRCULAR DESIGNS

BY DOROTHY KENT HILL
The Walters Art Gallery

RECENTLY KRAIKER[1] with the concurrence of Beazley identified as the earliest work of Epiktetos, master painter of Attic red-figured vases, eight cups in the "bilingual" technique in use between 535 and 530 B. C. They have internal round pictures, chiefly of animals, painted in black, and external red designs of pairs of eyes, palmettes and sometimes figures. There are three reasons for the attribution of vases with black pictures to an artist who was formerly thought to have worked only in the red-figured technique. First, four of the eight cups have the signature of Epiktetos as painter on the red-figured part. Second, between the external eyes of some others of the group are human figures in red which closely resemble human figures in red on cups signed by Epiktetos. Third, a red-figured cup in Aberdeen[2] has a picture of a satyr holding a doe; the satyr is remarkably like satyrs on red-figured cups signed by Epiktetos, and the doe like a black one on a cup of our group in London[3]—pretty good evidence that he who made the

satyrs made the does. In general, the style of the black pictures seems to be the same as that of the red pictures of Epiktetos. But one must remember that less has been accomplished in classifying the styles of black-figured than of red-figured vase paintings, and that we have not yet had sufficient experience to justify confidence that we can recognize the same artist's work in the two techniques.

Because of correspondence in subject and in decorative scheme, two more cups, in Thorvaldsens Museum in Copenhagen and in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, both having black animals inside and red eyes between palmettes outside, can be assigned to this group of Epiktetos' works, though perhaps they are not from his own hand. They are what we habitually call "school pieces," without being sure what we mean by "school piece." After these two have been added to the group, it will be possible to say more about the origin of the black-figured cups and about their relation to the red-figured examples.

The first cup, which is in Copenhagen,[4] has for its outer designs pairs of eyes framed by palmettes. Inside is a doe (fig. 4). Her head and neck are thrown back so that the ears hang down, her left fore foot and left hind foot are raised while she hesitates, the weight of the body is pushed well back over the hind legs. All is rendered in dilute black glaze, while broad and rather careless incised lines give details. The position is very much like that of the does on the black-figured cup in London and on the red-figured cup in Aberdeen. Plan and design connect the vase with Epiktetos, although the workmanship is below his usual standard.

The other cup, which is in Baltimore,[5] has an identical exterior. On each side is the traditional pattern of eyes and eyebrows, the eyebrows and the whites reserved in the red clay, the irises made up of three rings, black, white and black, and the pupils painted red with compass marks at the centers. Between one pair of eyes (fig. 2) is a representation of the nose, little more than a drop. The nose was omitted from the design on the other side of the vase. Between the eyes and the handles are palmettes, the fronds of which are separated one from another by single lines radiating from a red-painted center. The stem of each palmette makes a loop beside the adjoining handle (fig. 1). Inside the vase, opposite each handle are two lumps, showing that the clay was still soft when the handles were attached. The interior surface is black, except for a central medallion in which is a goat standing upon his hind feet, holding up bent fore legs (fig. 3). He is painted in good shiny black with the details indicated by coarse incised lines. His neck is painted red over black. There is a little less reason for calling this cup a work of Epiktetos than there is for the Copenhagen cup, because Epiktetos did not, as far as we know, paint another goat. But the plan of the cup and the use of the animal show it to belong to his group.

I think that both these cups were at least designed by him, since in their round pictures are applied the principles which distinguish his red-figured work. Epiktetos, like all painters of cups, was faced with the problem of filling a round central medallion with figures of men and ani-

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[1] W. Kraiker, *Epiktetos, eine Studie zur archaischen attischen Malerei* in *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,* XLIV (1929), 151-158.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 187, fig. 31.

[3] British Museum E 4. *Ibid.,* p. 153, fig. 4.

[4] L. Müller, *Musée-Thorvaldsen,* III (Copenhagen, 1847), p. 73, No. 93. Diameter of medallion: 4 in. (.10 m.).

[5] Walters Art Gallery No. 48.44. Formerly Massarenti Collection. E. Van Esbroeck and U. and M. P., *Catalogue du Musée de Peinture, Sculpture, et Archéologie au Palais Accoramboni,* II (Rome, 1897), 44-45, No. 207. Height: 5⅛ in. (.13 m.). Diameter: 12 in. (.305 m.). Diameter of inner medallion: 3¼ in. (.085 m.).

mals which were not round. Being a true artist, he made the figures look as if they belonged in the circle. This he achieved not only by expressive contour lines and a general adaptation of figures to space,[6] but also by three tricks in drawing which made the figures and the circle seem as one. The lines of his figures parallel the frame as far as possible, the parts of the bodies, with the occasional exception of a foot, never suggest an action which could not be completed within the circular space, and the feet are placed firmly on the circle in such a way that it seems to be a reasonable boundary line. Because the figures are thus associated with the circle, it can roll with them in one's imagination; whereas, in other designs, it is a fence, immovable, between the figures and the rest of space. When the action is composed with relation to the circle, the circle can take part in the action.

Let us take as an example his satyr who drinks from a jar (fig. 6).[7] The satyr reclines on a bit of a couch, the top of which roughly corresponds to the curve of the circle. Below this line, inside the couch, in delightful disregard of logic, hangs his tail, following the medallion edge more closely. The seam of the cushion, the line of the satyr's back and thighs, and the side of the jar also follow it. The action is complete within the picture. And the feet which are held in space at the gleeful prospect of a pleasant draught, conveniently press against the circle. One can imagine the satyr's lying there all day, while the circle spins around under his eager toes without disturbing him in the slightest.[8]

Or, take another example, the cup with flutist and dancing maenad (fig. 5).[9] The action is self-contained, for each figure looks toward the center, poised on the outside foot while the inside foot is free. The curves of the man's back and legs reflect the curve of the circle. The woman's forward arm does not; but the desired effect is achieved by the broken lines of her two knees and the central line of the animal skin which she wears as a garment. Though the figures stand on a ground line, half of the forward foot of the dancer is bent up to rest on the circle. This ties the frame to the figures as securely as if all the feet touched it. The figures can dance back and forth on the ground line, while the circle rolls around them.

Kraiker described these good red-figured designs as "dynamic," the black-figured and early red-figured as "static." According to him, the dynamic are composed in relation to the circle, whereas the static are orientated horizontally and vertically, and are anchored to imaginary diagonal axes and to the center.[10] It seems to me that dynamic principles are to be found in the designs on the cups in Baltimore and in Copenhagen, and in some of the black designs previously attributed to Epiktetos, as well as in his best red-figured work, while the static designs are exceptional.

Our goat is dynamic. He has reared, and his picture has been caught at the moment before he falls forward. We know that as he falls his fore feet will describe an arc just inside the circle on which his hind feet stand. Meanwhile his bent

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[6] B. Schweitzer, *Die Entwicklung der Bildform in der attischen Kunst von 540 bis 490* in *Jb. Arch. Inst.*, XLIV (1929), 120-121.

[7] Archaeological Museum of the Johns Hopkins University. J. C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases* (Cambridge, Mass., 1919), I, 301; *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Baltimore, III I, pl. 1, No. 3 (Fasc. 2, Robinson and Freeman, 1937). I am obliged to the Department of Archaeology for the photograph. The right foot has been filled in with modern red paste but the contour line preserved under the heel and the relief line of the sole of the foot prove that the foot is in the original position.

[8] Compare with this a scene by a different artist, Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases*, II, 307, No. 23. The subject is the same, but the cross lines of the cushion, the straight line of the couch, and the line of the back are in conflict with the circle. Even the ears turn the wrong way from the standpoint of design, while Epiktetos uses them to the advantage of the design.

[9] British Museum E 38. Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases*, I, 313.

[10] *Op. cit.*, pp. 160, 164-166.

FIGURE 4 THORVALDSENS MUSEUM

Cup (interior). School of Epiktetos

fore legs, his horns, his chest and his rump suggest the circle. His two hind feet tie him to the circle, which seems to spin under them.

The same balance and relation of the parts of the body are to be found in the doe in London, attributed to Epiktetos. The head is thrown back because the neck is longer and the head smaller than those of a goat; and since there are no horns to fill the space over the back, the spread ears do so. Notice how, because of this position, the line of the chest and neck follows the circular frame! The Copenhagen cup varies the pose of the doe; one fore foot and one hind foot are raised, and seem about to paw the ground, following the line of the circle. The Aberdeen red-figured cup, painted late in Epiktetos' life, shows this design in the last stage of development. In this the hind feet of the doe are on the circle (one slightly above, certainly due to carelessness), the fore legs are raised. One fore leg is curved, repeating the line of the frame. The other is bent at the ankle, and the hoof is pressed against the circle, just as is the foot of the satyr who holds the doe. I should find it hard to believe that the Baltimore goat, the London doe, the Copenhagen doe and the Aberdeen satyr and doe were not planned by one man who had a talent for dynamic design, which he achieved by keeping the action within the space, repeating the boundary lines in the lines of the figures and tying the figures to the circles by their feet.

Similarly Epiktetos' horse-and-man designs show not only that the black designs may be dynamic, but also that the red may be static. The cup in London (fig. 8)[11] shows a horse held in check by his rider, his hind feet stretching toward the circle (though not actually touching it), his fore feet bent up, paralleling it; the same old position, given meaning by the angry head and open mouth of the restrained animal. But static is the design of the plate in London (fig. 7)[12] with horse and man. All the feet are on

FIGURE 5 BRITISH MUSEUM

Cup (interior). Signed by Python as Potter and Epiktetos as Painter

[11] British Museum E 3. Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases*, I, 308.

[12] British Museum E 136. *Ibid.*, I, 315.

a ground line. The body of the horse acts as a horizontal axis, the man as a vertical axis. The reason for the lack of action is suggested by the backward turn of the man's head—the two are not moving, but are standing and waiting for comrades. There is unity, but nothing dynamic; the frame cannot spin.[13] Unfortunately, the only late version of the same scene, again in London,[14] is fragmentary, and does not show the feet of the horse. But his straining head and the man's raised right foot indicate action. I think it likely that the action was once more expressed by bent fore legs, and that Epiktetos' design was once more dynamic.

The question now arises: is this method of designing characteristic of the period in which Epiktetos worked, rather than of him as an individual? I think that it is not. Good round designs were many in his age—an age which excelled in design because it could not be altogether realistic. Every artist of the period made his figures fit the space. But various artists had various devices for doing so. Epiktetos would never have painted the swiftly running armed warrior of Oltos:[15] first, because the right leg is violently extended, with only a toe touching the circle, while he liked to plant feet firmly on the frame; also because this outstretched leg forms a radius of the circle and therefore can nowhere parallel it; and lastly, because the violence of the motion tends to carry the warrior on out of the circle, whereas he would have found an excuse to make him hesitate inside. Epiktetos would never have painted another running warrior, by Skythes,[16] because his legs not only are extended with toes touching the circle, but were drawn of unequal length in order to fill

FIGURE 6 THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE

Cup (interior). Signed by Epiktetos as Painter

FIGURE 7 BRITISH MUSEUM

Plate (interior). Signed by Epiktetos as Painter

[13] The painter always held the cup still while he painted, and thus worked with an axis. See Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (Munich, 1923), I, 395-397, §§ 423-424. What is noteworthy is that the painter often did not make this an *artistic* axis.

[14] British Museum E 35, not signed. *Jb. Arch. Inst.*, XLIV (1929), 182, fig. 22.

[15] Tarquinia. Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases*, II, 251.

[16] Louvre CA 1527, not signed. Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, I, 420 §450, III, fig. 335; *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Piot de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, XX, pl. 7, No. 2.

up the space. He would never have painted a figure with head too large and shoulders too broad, just for the sake of design, as Skythes did.[17] He would never have designed a certain cup painted in the workshop of Hegesiboulos, perhaps by Skythes,[18] on which a draped figure fills one side of the circle so that just half is dark, half light. Nor would he have divided a picture symmetrically, as Exekias had done, by a ship's mast up the center,[19] or as the Brygos Painter was to do, by a moon over the heads of two symmetrically placed sea-horses.[20] These designs of Oltos, Skythes, Exekias and the Brygos Painter are all good designs, each based on different principles from the others. Each painter had his own way of filling the round space. We seldom see a contemporary of Epiktetos making the best use of precisely his three devices on any one vase. We never find one consistently using just these three throughout his career.

But one not his contemporary, Tleson the painter of "little-master" cups,[21] had painted scenes amazingly like those of Epiktetos. The correspondence is so close that it is possible that Epiktetos in his early days was closely associated with Tleson.

It is recognized that the animal designs of Epiktetos were derived from the medallions of "little-master" cups.[22] Single animals, or riders on animals, are to be found in the cups of Xenokles, Archikles, and others. But of the "little-masters" Tleson alone developed the animal designs in the same way as Epiktetos. Although Tleson's pair of bucking goats is static[23] because symmetrically arranged beside a vertical axis, his wounded stag is not.[24] The creature is falling after the arrow has gone home. Though the pose is momentary, the action is complete within the circle. Also, the left fore leg follows the circle. His centaur is in a similar position;[25] he has reared, and is about to fall forward. His weight is well back over his hind feet, which are close together on the frame. The fore legs follow the circle, and we know that as the body falls forward they will fall in arcs along it. In this picture the little tree under the body tends to divide the circle in half, while the figure treats it as a whole. Except for the tree, the design is dynamic. Now compare his running hunter who carries his game on a stick[26] with Epiktetos' reveller who carries a bit of drapery on a stick over his shoulder.[27] In both pictures the figure moves, rolling the circle along, because a sizable part of each foot is on the circle. The stick over the shoulder holds the picture together. Epiktetos has let the letters of his signature hang from the stick in a ring. Tleson has introduced a dog, leaping up before the hunter with all his paws touching the circle. His design is essentially the same as Epiktetos'. That his bodies do not have the roundness of the later artist's detracts nothing from their contribution to design. The more complicated designs of Tleson therefore correspond to the more developed designs

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17 Rome, Villa Giulia. Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases,* II, 412.

18 New York, Metropolitan Museum 07.286.47. *Ibid.,* II, 11. For the painter, see J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), p. 22.

19 Munich 2044. J. C. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases* (Paris, 1924), p. 99. M. A. Swindler, *Ancient Painting* (New Haven, 1929), p. 167, fig. 232.

20 Berlin 2293. *Ibid.,* p. 168, fig. 289.

21 The "little-master" cups are a group of black-figured cups with high stand, deep bowl, and external decoration of one or more bands of tiny figures, usually animals. They sometimes have internal figured medallions. They were made in Athens before and after 540 B. C. For discussion of the class see J. D. Beazley, *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* LII (1932), 167-204.

22 Kraiker, *op. cit.,* p. 155.

23 Castle Ashby. Hoppin, *Handbook of Greek Black-figured Vases,* p. 377.

24 Boston 98.920. *Ibid.,* p. 371.

25 Paris, Collection Seillière. *Ibid.,* p. 399.

26 British Museum B 421. *Ibid.,* p. 387.

27 Bibliothèque Nationale 510. Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases,* I, 325. Discussed by Kraiker, *op. cit.,* pp. 169-170. Cf. the cup made in the factory of Euergides; the painter achieved nothing with a similar design: Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases,* I, 362.

of Epiktetos, just as the simple animal designs of the two correspond to each other. Two men, then, whose periods of activity overlapped, designed according to the same principles, each man almost unique among his contemporaries. It seems probable that the older taught the principles to the younger. We could call all of Epiktetos' vases "school pieces of Tleson," just as we call the cups with doe and goat designs "school pieces of Epiktetos."

We have, then, in this paper assigned two cups to the Epiktetan black-figured group on the basis of subject and decorative scheme. We have found the same principles of design in the round pictures of these two vases and in those which he painted whether in black- or in red-figure. We have found that these principles of design distinguish him from all his contemporaries and connect him with an earlier painter, Tleson, who may have been his teacher. The recognition of these principles strengthens the bond between the black-figured and the red-figured Epiktetan groups. It does not, however, make it more probable that the black- and red-figured vases

FIGURE 8. *Cup (interior). Signed by Hischylos as Potter and Epiktetos as Painter* BRITISH MUSEUM

were all from his hand. Rather, after contemplating the fine designs but poor workmanship of these two cups, one realizes that any of the black-figured cups may carry Epiktetos' design and another's workmanship. It is not yet possible to say how factories of the late sixth century B. C. were organized. We do not know how many men worked on a job, nor how much supervision the master gave to the work. We do not know whether designs were copied by one man from another's finished work, or whether models of some sort were distributed. It is therefore impossible to say to what extent "Epiktetos' design" means "Epiktetos' work." This knowledge will come from studying not the style of these vases nor the style of more vases to be excavated, but the remains of Attic workshops; and from a better knowledge of Greek business methods, which depends upon the correlation of facts learned through excavating.

A GREEK BRONZE STATUETTE

BY VALENTIN MÜLLER

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JUST AS individuals of distinctive character are more interesting than people of average type, so monuments with problems to solve intrigue us more than those which tell us everything at the first glance. The classical section of the Walters Art Gallery is distinguished from many other collections by the fact that it contains not works of average merit, but choice pieces which stimulate the imagination.

Just such a little piece, appealing to the connoisseur as well as to the scholar, is the bronze statuette reproduced in Figures 1-5.[1] It is in a good state of preservation, although the feet have been restored. It appears to have been cleaned somewhat after it was found, for instance on the face and on the right leg, which are now very smooth. There is some corrosion of

FIGURE 1
WALTERS ART GALLERY
Bronze Statuette

[1] Height: 6⅛ in. (15.4 cm.). It was first published by Sambon in *Le Musée*, III (1906), 263 ff., pl. 40. A drawing without text is to be found in S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine* (Paris, 1897-1930), IV, 406, No. 3, and a photograph without text in Valentin Müller, *Archaische Plastik. Bilderhefte z. Kunst u. Kultur d. Altertums*, No. 4 (Bielefeld, 1927), pl. 19, No. 35. It is briefly mentioned by the same author in his book *Frühe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien* (Augsburg, 1929), p. 207, and by Neugebauer in *Römische Mitteilungen*, LI (1936), 210. I am much obliged to Mr. C. Morgan Marshall, the Administrator of the Walters Art Gallery, for permission to publish the statuette again, and to Miss Dorothy Hill and Miss Dorothy Miner for valuable help and suggestions.

FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Bronze Statuette (right side)

the surface, especially on the arms and on the garment between the legs. The present color is dark green. It represents a woman striding forward with the right leg advanced. She is clad in a rather thin garment, which clings to the body so closely that its form is plainly visible. The artistic problem of representing a draped figure so as to show the underlying form has here found an intriguing but extreme solution. The silhouette of the body and the legs, when viewed from the side (figs. 2 and 5), is that of a nude figure; nevertheless, we are made aware of it as a draped form by the fact that the garment is rendered between the legs, between the arms and body, and at the neck, elbows and ankles. At these places the garment shows a certain thickness, so that it looks like an elastic skin pulled over the body. We now notice that the left hand grasps the garment, but pulls away only a small part of it, as if it resisted. Between the legs the robe is slightly looser, forming groups of straight-lined folds in front and back. The arms suggest a movement that is somewhat jerky and instantaneous, and this describes the movement of the whole figure, which seems to be urged forward by an inner impulse; the right

FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Bronze Statuette (front)

arm is stretched forward ostentatiously, yet the stride appears a little hesitant (fig. 1). The form of the body is that of healthy youth; it is strong and solid, but neither fine nor graceful. We have the impression of looking upon a girl from the country, clad in an elegant garment, and in a situation wherein she does not feel quite at her ease. But it is this very quality of healthy strength, which lacks refinement and displays a mixture of affectation and straightforwardness, that makes this little work attractive.

What kind of a person is represented here—a mortal woman or a goddess? The somewhat rustic appearance need not exclude the possibility of its being a goddess. The figure may be not from an artistic center where the artists would represent a goddess as a fashionable lady, but from a provincial town. Not only figures of mortals made in such towns, but even those of goddesses, would show a tinge of the country. The clue to the proper interpretation is given by the object which the statuette holds in its right hand. It seems clear that it is an egg, since it is small and rounded at both ends, one end being broader than the other. The egg was to the Greeks a symbol of the power of life; it was

FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Bronze Statuette (back)

FIGURE 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Bronze Statuette (left side)

FIGURE 6
STAATLICHE MUSEEN, BERLIN
Archaic Bronze

FIGURE 7
PIERSON MUSEUM, AMSTERDAM
Bronze from Locri Epizephyrii

FIGURE 8
STAATLICHE MUSEEN, BERLIN
Archaic Bronze (side)

used in the cult of the dead, since the dead, having lost life, needed new vital force for the after-life. Actual eggs or reproductions of eggs were deposited in tombs. On some grave reliefs dating from the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. the deceased are approached by worshippers bringing eggs among other gifts. Frequently the deity of death itself, whether male or female, has an egg as an attribute. Figurines of terracotta representing the upper part of such deities, dating from the fifth century B. C., have been found in Boeotia. It is interesting to note that these figures hold the egg in exactly the same manner as our statuette, that is, between the fingers, not in the palm of the hand.[2]

Thus, the egg shows that the statuette was connected with the cult of the dead, but since it is sometimes held by mortals as well as by divinities, the attribute does not solve the question of whether a goddess or a human being is represented. The type of garment is not decisive either. It is the fine linen *chiton* with sleeves, which was of oriental origin, but commonly used all over Greece at the end of the archaic period.[3] However, it was usual to wear it not alone and ungirded, but with a little mantle covering the upper part of the body with graceful folds. Mantle and chiton are well known as the dress of the maidens of the Acropolis at Athens.[4] There are, however, examples of the

[2] The meaning of the egg in Greek religion and the monuments showing it have been dealt with by M. Nilsson in an article published in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, IX (1908), 530 ff. The terracottas are illustrated in Franz Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* (Berlin, 1903), I, 248.

[3] M. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung* (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 12 ff.; E. Abrahams, *Greek Dress* (London, 1908), pp. 57 ff.

[4] The rarity of the single chiton has been noticed by Neugebauer, *Röm. Mitt.*, LI (1936), 206. H. Payne and G. M. Young, *Archaic Marble Sculptures from the Acropolis* (London, 1936), p. 16, and many plates.

single chiton with and without girdle, worn, unfortunately for us, by deities and mortals alike.[5] Whether there was some ritual reason for it must be left an open question. The cap which covers the hair might be more useful in solving the problem. It is rather elaborate, showing a number of sharp, artificial plaits on the top of the head, and leaving a roll of hair projecting over the forehead. Such caps, called *sakkoi* by the Greeks, are often represented on Attic red-figured vases.[6] They are worn by Athenian women and sometimes by the lesser mythological beings, such as nymphs. Goddesses, on the other hand, preferably are shown adorned with diadems, although an Aphrodite on a "Pontic" vase[7] wears a cap, proving that this is not absolute. We are, therefore, inclined to interpret our figure as a mortal woman, although absolute certainty cannot be reached. This uncertainty of interpretation is interesting in itself and is characteristic of Greek art and civilization: god and man meet on an intermediate level. The god is humanized and the man is idealized to such an extent that often it is hard for us to distinguish between them. Our statuette might have come from a tomb, or more probably, since bronze figurines in tombs were rare,[8] from a sanctuary dedicated either to a deity of the dead or to a "hero." Heroes, according to Greek belief, were mortals elevated to the rank of divinity on account of great deeds.

We are on firmer ground when considering the date of the figure. We see at first glance that there is still much of the "archaic" about it. The general stiffness of the body, the inelastic movement and schematization of the drapery leave no doubt about it. The rigidity of the archaic scheme, which seems to encase a figure and to keep all its parts in a fixed place, is, on the other hand, no longer apparent. A comparison with Figures 6 and 8 will make obvious the difference between our figure and a truly archaic one. In ours the limbs begin to win their freedom of motion. The figure does not appear as a homogeneous block carved in the shape of a human body, but we feel its organic structure, namely, that it consists of a number of parts which balance each other. One detail is significant: archaic statues often advance one leg, and that always so stiffly that thigh and lower leg form a straight line. The leg of the Walters statuette is bent at the knee and the stride is natural and without the stiffness of the archaic scheme. Furthermore, it is the right leg which is put forward, not the left, as in the case of all archaic statues.[9] Closely analogous to our figure is the "Critios Boy" from the Acropolis, which is to be dated in the decade between 490 and 480 B. C. He likewise bends the knee of the advanced right leg.[10] This change took place at the very beginning of the classical period. It is as if the artists wanted to break loose from all the features of the former canon and wished to characterize their new style by doing just the opposite

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[5] I. e. the goddess on the "Ludovisi Throne:" G. Richter, *Sculptures and Sculptors of the Greeks* (New Haven, 1928), p. 501, fig. 474; a mortal woman painted on a Clazomenian vase: *Antike Denkmäler,* II, 9, pl. 54; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (Munich, 1923), III, pl. 33, fig. 143; a girl in the act of worship on an Attic red-figured sherd: J. D. Beazley, *Der Berliner Maler* (Berlin, 1930), pl. 13, No. 1.

[6] G. Richter, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New Haven, 1936), Nos. 7, 10, 23, 28, 32, 82, 96; Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Berlin, 1900, etc.), pl. 92 f.; M. Swindler, *Ancient Painting* (New Haven, 1929), figs. 245, 286, 287, 289.

[7] Furtwängler and Reichhold, *op. cit.,* pl. 21; P. Ducati, *Pontische Vasen* (Berlin, 1932), pl. 1; Pfuhl, *op. cit.,* pl. 36, fig. 156.

[8] G. Richter, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes* (New York, 1915), p. 4.

[9] W. Deonna, *Les Apollons archaiques* (Geneva, 1909), pp. 58, 133, 137; Ch. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque. La Sculpture* (Paris, 1935), I, 233. The few archaic statues which advance the right leg belong to groups of two figures, for which rigid symmetry is required, so that one advances the left leg and the other the right one; cf. Picard, p. 278.

[10] Payne, *op. cit.,* pl. 110; E. Langlotz, *Fruehgriechische Bildhauerschulen* (Nuremberg, 1927), pp. 26 ff. I might mention also the Ionic figure discussed in *Bulletin Correspondence Hellénique,* XLIV (1920), pp. 101 ff.; Picard, *op. cit.,* p. 582.

of what was usual before. So, for instance, was the archaic smile replaced by a grave and almost sad expression. Our lady has a rather genial expression, but she does not smile and thereby shows that she belongs to the moment of transition.[11]

A close dating of Greek statues of the time with which we are concerned can best be accomplished by comparing them with vases, of which we have abundant examples, and which we can, therefore, date within a decade.[12] We must, however, bear in mind that the comparison can be made on general lines only, since we will not find on vases figures identical with works in the round. We will hardly encounter the same motif, namely, a worshipper in a solemn attitude, and hardly the same view—certainly not the full front view, which is not suited to the style of vase painting. Also, figures

FIGURE 9 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (*after* Richter)
Red-figured Vase (detail)

FIGURE 10 VATICAN (*after* Rumpf)
Chalcidian Vase

shown in the side view on vases are special projections on the surfaces, and thus differ from statues. We can compare, on the other hand, the structure of the body and the general rhythm of the lines; the head, too, might be helpful, although it is rather small.

An excellent foundation for such comparative study has recently been laid by Gisela Richter in her publication, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*.[13] If we now compare vases of the decade between 520 and 510

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11 Compare sad expression in Payne, *op. cit.*, pl. 85, 113. It is now assumed by nearly all archaeologists that the archaic smile is intentional and not due to technical incapacity: Picard, *op. cit.*, pp. 264 ff.; V. Müller, *Frühe Plastik*, pp. 217 ff.

12 Such comparative studies have been done by G. von Lücken, *Athen. Mitt.*, XLIV (1919); E. Langlotz, *Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengrotfigurigen Vasenmalerei und der gleichzeitigen Plastik* (Leipzig, 1920); G. Richter, in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, V (1934), 42 ff.

13 New Haven, 1936.

B. C., such as No. 3 in Miss Richter's book, we see that the figures are much stiffer and do not have as flexible a body as our statuette, the lines are hard and sharp and form acutely pointed angles. The faces, too, have very pointed outlines; everything is pretty and affected. This hardness and sharpness softens, and the forms become heavier and broader in the following decade, as No. 10 proves, dated by Miss Richter about 500 B. C. But still we are far from the style of the Walters bronze. When we come, however, to vases dated about 490 to 480, we find great similarity. The pose of the legs of the warrior on vase No. 12 is very like that of our statue, as is the weight of the body, which has increased since the preceding phase. The face no longer consists of two acute angles produced by nose and chin, but is more substantial, with angles approaching right ones. The movement of the girl on vase 52 (fig. 9) is more impetuous than that of our statuette, but the limbs seen through the transparent garment are very similar in shape and flexibility. Compare the contour of the back from neck to heel. Note also that the face is similar in structure. Other analogies are found on vases Nos. 39, 40, 53, all belonging to the same decade, whereas a coin made in 480 shows a slightly more developed type.[14] Broader and more monumental forms and a more settled and tranquil rhythm characterize vases of the decade 480 to 470, such as Nos. 48, 49, 59. Thus we see that we can safely date the statuette within the decade between 490 and 480 B. C.

We come to the last point in our inquiry. Are we able to determine the place where the statuette was made? Greece was divided into a number of rival centers which tried to maintain their independence politically and to surpass each other in importance. The result was great diversity, which manifested itself also in the arts. In many places there existed local schools which preserved a local style and flavor throughout a long period, in spite of the general artistic types common all over Greece and in spite of the general development also taking place everywhere along the same lines. Recent studies have successfully defined a number of such centers and their respective styles.[15] Can we ascribe the Walters bronze to one of them?

FIGURE 11. *Chalcidian Vase* FORMERLY PEMBROKE AND HOPE COLLECTIONS (*after Rumpf*)

[14] E. Langlotz, *Zeitbestimmung*, p. 100, pl. II, No. 10.

[15] Especially Langlotz in his study, *Fruehgriechische Bildhauerschulen* and Jenkins in his articles in *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XXX, XXXII, and in his book *Dedalica* (Cambridge, 1936).

This is no easy task, since it requires a summary of the stylistic principles of all the artistic schools flourishing in Greece at the beginning of the fifth century. The author must, therefore, ask permission to discuss a few points only. Let us first try to define the characteristic style of our statuette. Looking at Figure 1, we see great impetuosity in the motion of the figure. The woman seems to stride forward vigorously, with the whole of her body in action, and with the arms reinforcing the movement. There is no balance, for the thrust is all in one direction, since both the leg and the arm advance on the right side, and on the left both are thrown back. This impetuosity looks a little attenuated in exact side view (fig. 5). There is, nevertheless, a strong and steady push perceptible. The figure does not stand on one spot, but is in continuous motion. Particularly characteristic is the sharp movement of the left arm, which pulls the garment: the elbow is thrust back and forms an acute angle, and the whole arm stretches away from the body. It is so also with the right arm, the elbow of which is widely separated from the body (fig. 4). These devices give to the figure a sprightly appearance. One might say that there is a certain centrifugality in the composition. Notice the following protuberances in the side view (fig. 5): the back of headdress, the right elbow and the right leg point backward; the face and especially the hand with its peculiar gesture of the fingers, point forward. Thus a lack of harmony and balance is characteristic of the statuette. The limbs cannot be called heavy, but they appear firm and solid. The smooth garment seems to press upon the body, and thus appears to increase its firmness. It also gives a touch of mannerism to the figure.

If we now look around, we can exclude a great number of artistic schools at once. The sprightly and energetic movement, with the limbs diverging widely from the body line, is found nowhere in Ionia. A typical Ionic example, such as a bronze mirror support in the Louvre,[16] shows much more tranquil temperament, greater softness of form, and a more closed composition. Works of the Argive school likewise differ considerably; upper and lower parts of the figure are simple but heavy and compact blocks which balance each other perfectly.[17] The figures from the northern Peloponnesus (*e. g.*, fig. 13) display a framework of lines, produced on the body by drapery-folds—a device which attracts the eye, and is entirely missing from the Walters statuette. The few Spartan works we have from this period[18] show a slackening of the former energy, so that a Spartan origin likewise is excluded. Also excluded is the possibility of an Attic source, because Athenian figures display perfect harmony and balance, which ours lacks.[19]

Where, then, must we look? The author some years ago thought that the Walters statuette showed a certain affinity to a bronze figure in Berlin, said to have been found on the Acropolis at Athens (figs. 6 and 8).[20] It is considerably earlier, and exemplifies the stiff and unbroken style mentioned above. Although the figure is standing on one spot and is not in active movement, it shows great potential energy. This is especially evident if we consider that the present pose of the right arm is not the original one, but that it was bent further outward, and was more widely separated from the body. This impetuous movement of the left arm is particularly

[16] Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen*, pl. 73, No. 1.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 27, pl. 23.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 96, pl. 49, 50.

[19] G. H. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculptures*, many plates.

[20] Karl A. Neugebauer, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Die minoischen und archaisch griechischen Bronzen* (Berlin, 1931), pp. 107 ff., No. 207, pl. 36.

significant and very much like that of our figure. The body is much slimmer, it is true, but the garment clings tightly to it. The Berlin figure cannot be Attic or Ionic on account of its sprightly and energetic rhythm.[21] The nearest parallels are found on a group of vases which have been ascribed to Chalcis, a flourishing town on the island of Euboea and famous for the metalwork manufactured there.[22] For instance, the central figure on the vase in Figure 10[23] is very similar. The garment clings to the back of the body, the pose is erect and the movement is as impetuous as in the Berlin statuette. There is a certain centrifugality in the composition: the mass of the hair points backward, whereas the head is thrown forward, the arms, too, extend forward, but the folds swinging from the left hand to the legs again move backward. These features: impetuous and thrusting motion and centrifugal composition, are characteristic of the whole style of Chalcidian vase-paintings, as an earlier example shows (fig. 11).[24] Notice also the erect posture of the female figure which is characterized as Athena by the *aegis* with the snakes arranged centrifugally.

The Baltimore statuette is later than the vases and the Berlin figure, and must consequently differ in style. The basic principles of the style are, however, the same, namely: the peculiar pushing motion, the centrifugal composition, and the relation between garment and body. Some figures found in the neighborhood of Chalcis show related, although not identical, style. Of the pedimental group from Eretria only the upper parts of the figures are preserved, but it seems that the composition was exceedingly agitated. A smoothness of surface occurs also in these figures, and the face-structure is similar to that of our statuette, especially in profile.[25] A statuette found at Thebes (fig. 12)[26] has the same clinging garment and firm limbs in active motion. Similar to our sculpture also are

FIGURE 12 LOUVRE (*after Langlotz*)
Mirror-support

[21] The author is much pleased that Neugebauer agrees with him in this respect.

[22] A. Rumpf. *Chalkidische Vasen* (Berlin, 1927).

[23] *Ibid.*, No. 64.

[24] *Ibid.*, No. 5.

[25] *Antike Denkmäler*, III, pl. 27, 28; Picard, *op. cit.*, 319, 588, 647; Pfuhl, in *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVIII (1923), 164.

[26] Langlotz, *Bildhauerschulen*, pp. 30, 34. The hair is very similar to that of the female figure from Eretria.

FIGURE 13 LYONS (*after Langlotz*)
Mirror-support

the contours of the legs and the swelling curves of the shoulders. A figure from Aleai in Phocis[27] likewise is related in the firmness of the limbs and the looseness of their motion.

An ascription of the Baltimore statuette to Chalcis or to a school in central Greece, if we prefer a wider area, thus seems most probable —in case the statuette really does come from Greece.[28] We may even exclude Greece, if we find analogies elsewhere. There are indeed analogies in Italy, as has been pointed out recently.[29] A little statuette ascribed to the Greek town of Locri Epizephyrii in southern Italy (fig. 7) not only wears the same garment tightly clinging to the body, but also shows a similar centrifugal composition and comparable energy in its motion.[30] Other figures probably coming from Locri, and Etruscan sculptures in general, display the same analogies in dress, composition and motion.[31] No one, however, would take the Walters bronze for an Etruscan work, and there are also some differences from the Locrian figures. These Locrian figures generally are softer and slacker in modelling,[32] whereas the body of our statuette appears somewhat firmer in substance, better articulated, and its contours seem a little harder. Notice the modelling of the legs, and especially of the shoulders and arms. Does this rather subjective argument allow us to maintain the ascription to a school in Greece, or must we abandon it?

It is curious that we are confronted with the same alternative in regard to the "Chalcidian" vases, which most scholars believe to have been manufactured in Greece, but which recently have been claimed as Italian production.[33] There is a way out: the Italian Locri was a colony of the Locrians from central Greece, and Cumae, which held the artistic leadership in Italy and widely influenced native Italic and Etruscan art, was a colony of Chalcis.[34] We may thus expect

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[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 43, pl. 21a. The author sees no reason to ascribe this figure and the foregoing from Thebes to Sicyon.

[28] The provenance is uncertain. Miss Hill mentions two dealers' records which *may* refer to this piece: a bill from Canessa, May 31, 1906: "Statuette de nymphe, travail grec archaique, trouvée à Athènes;" and a letter from Durighello, Feb. 14, 1909, which refers to a figure found at Smyrna. Sambon, *Le Musée*, III (1906), 263, simply says Greece.

[29] Neugebauer, in *Röm. Mitt.*, LI (1936), 210.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 194 ff.; U. Jantzen, *Bronzewerkstätten in Grossgriechenland und Sizilien* (Berlin, 1937), p. 17, pl. 3, No. 13. I am indebted to G. Snijder for the photograph of the statuette.

[31] *Notizie degli Scavi* (1913), Suppl., pp. 138 f., fig. 184, 14 fig. 14, a head; 79 fig. 87; G. Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca* (Milan, 1935), pl. 122, 126.

[32] Cf. also 15 fig. 15, 28 fig. 33.

[33] H. R. W. Smith, *The Origin of Chalcidian Ware. University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology*, I, No. 3, pp. 85-145. Cf. Rumpf's review in *Philologische Wochenschrift*, LIV (1934), 680 ff.

[34] M. Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, VIII, 201 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyklopädie der klassische Altertumwissenschaft*, XXVI, 1307.

works from Italy of this period to show a close relationship to works from the Greek motherland. Such a relationship of Locrian and other figures from Italy to pieces originating in northern Greece and belonging to the orbit of the presumable "Chalcidian" school has been pointed out by Neugebauer.[35]

The ascription of the Walters statuette to the "Chalcidian" school seems, therefore, well established, although it must remain undecided as to whether the piece was made in Italy or in Greece. The latter alternative is more probable. The fact that this "Chalcidian" school still is a hazy affair by no means diminishes the value of the statuette. It makes it more interesting to the archaeologist, because it stimulates further research.

[35] *Röm. Mitt.*, LI (1936), 194 ff.

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

JACOBUS DE PUNDER

Portrait of a Bishop

JACOBUS DE PUNDER

BY JULIUS S. HELD

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THERE IS among the paintings in the Walters Art Gallery a portrait of a cleric (fig. 1) which is in many ways a fascinating work of art.[1] One is attracted by its brilliant colors[2] and the meticulous realism with which forms and textures are rendered. One speculates about the various items of an obviously most valuable liturgical outfit, which seems to "steal the show" from the portrait proper. And there is, finally, an inscription which poses as many questions as it answers.

To begin with, the inscription consists of three parts. The first is a motto, or, rather, the expression of a pious wish: *Spiritum rectum inspira*. The second gives the age of the sitter and the date of the picture: *Anno etatis sue* 53 *Anno* 1563. The last, directly underneath, but unfortunately not visible in the photograph, is the signature of the artist. Of the three parts, the signature alone is preserved in mutilated form. It reads:

ACOBUS
FPUNDER
ECIT

Its reconstruction, however, is not too difficult. There is another painting, representing the Resurrection of Christ, in the church of Lausa near Dresden, which is signed in very much the same way: JACOP DEPUNDER. F. A° 1572 (fig. 4).[3]

Since the style of both pictures indicates that the artist was trained in the Netherlands, the question arises as to whether the proper reading of the name should not be "De Punder" rather than the strange form "Depunder." This obvious assumption finds support in the fact that in the second half of the sixteenth century there existed a family of De Punder in Zirickzee (today Zierikzee) in Holland.[4] Although we cannot say whether or not the artist was kin to this family, his origin in the Low Countries is established beyond doubt by the happy contribution which Dr. Stechow is able to add to this article.

An attempt to identify the sitter has proven less successful, despite the several clues which are given in the picture. From them we know the age of the man and the approximate date of his birth, 1510. We know his coat of arms: a silver cross upon an azure field with a six-pointed star in the first quarter. It appears in this

[1] Walters Art Gallery No. 37.258, an uncradled panel, 34 x 23¾ inches. I am indebted to the Director of the Walters Art Gallery for permission to publish the painting; to Mr. E. S. King for much valuable information.

[2] The cope is a light ochre, with the pattern set off by a darker shade of the same color. The mitre has the same shade on its exterior; its lining is in a diluted mulberry. The garment appearing in the opening of the cope is a light scarlet, the tablecover a dark green, the curtain in the upper right a lighter shade of green. The morse and the crozier are a dull gold.

[3] Cf. Thieme-Becker, *Künstler-Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1911), IX, 92.

[4] Cf. Molhuysen-Blok, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenbook* (Leiden, 1911-1937), III, 994; Pieter de Punder, died in Zirickzee in 1597. Cf. also De Vos, *De latijnsche School te Zirickzee*, in *Maandblad De Nederlandsche Leeuw*, XVII (1899), 78.

form on the "sudarium" which hangs from the crozier. These arms are displayed again on the signet-ring, with the star's position reversed so that it would be correct in the impression.[5]

The prayer to the Almighty to "inspire with righteous spirit" (referring probably both to the sitter and to the rest of the world) may have been a personal device, but it cannot be said for certain whether it is one temporarily chosen or permanent. Obviously it refers to the spiritual battle between the Catholic Church and the forces of the Reformation, which was heated enough in these last years of the Council of Trent.

There are still some important points which, even after long study, remain in doubt: first of all, the ecclesiastical rank of the sitter. On first impression he appears to be a bishop. He wears white pontifical gloves and holds a crozier. A mitre stands beside him. Yet there is nothing that could not appear in the outfit of a mitred abbot.[6] There is even one—though remote—possibility of his not being a Catholic cleric at all, for in the Scandinavian countries, even down to our own times, the Lutheran bishops continued to wear the same vestments that they had worn before the Reformation.[7]

Thus, any search for the identity of the cleric has to take into consideration a great many possibilities. Of the writer's attempts in this direction at least one negative result may be mentioned. It can be said with reasonable certainty that the picture does not represent any of the bishops who held sees in the Netherlands in the year 1563.[8]

Whoever he was, the cleric in our picture assuredly is portrayed without any attempt on the artist's part to improve on nature. We see a flat, flabby face of reddish complexion, characterized by dark little eyes, upturned nose and masses of loose skin around the mouth. This head, with its somewhat dull expression, looms upon the huge bulk of a body, the structure of which is obscured by the heavy, unarticulated forms of a cope. Only the hands are visible, and they, indeed, covered by gloves though they are, appear rather elegant and sensitive. It may be noted that the hands are not seen foreshortened, as one would expect from the three-quarter view of the cleric and the position of the desk toward which he is turned. While it is possible that a desire to show the rings and the embroidered *circulus* (containing a letter somewhat resembling an E) may have prompted this inconsistency, the artist elsewhere seems to have had difficulties with perspective construction, as in the drawing of the sill on which the mitre has been placed.

From the personality of the cleric our interest turns without regret to the elements of his outfit. Here, indeed, a wide field is opened up for archeological curiosity. Four pieces stand out: the cope, the morse, the crozier and the mitre. They obviously represent definite objects rendered with the utmost portrait-faithfulness, so that it would be easy to identify them from the picture, should any one of them still exist.

The cope is made of velvet brocade, probably of Venetian origin, ornamented with a pattern of pomegranates and rinceaux.[9] The large size of the pattern would point to a comparatively

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[5] All attempts to establish the identity of the cleric from the heraldic side, so far, have been unsuccessful.

[6] Cf. J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung in Occident und Orient* (Freiburg, 1907), pp. 368-69. Van Mander, in his biography of Frans Floris makes mention of a (full length) portrait of the abbot Lucius of St. Bavo, in his liturgical vestments, with a mitre placed next to him.

[7] Cf. R. A. S. Macalister, *Ecclesiastical Vestments* (London, 1896), p. 194.

[8] The search in this direction had to deal with no less than nineteen bishops, since by the ill-advised bull *"Super universas"* of May 12th, 1559, sixteen new sees had been created in the Netherlands. Of the bishops and archbishops created by this thorough reorganization, *two* were born in 1510: N. Nieulant of Haarlem and Cornelis Janson of Ghent. Yet, Nieulant's shield of arms was entirely different from the one on our picture, while Janson was appointed bishop only in 1568. Cf. P. Pius Bonifacius Gams, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae* (Ratisbonae, 1873); G. v. Gulik and C. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*, III; *Biographie Nationale de Belgique* (Bruxelles, 1866, etc.).

late date, possibly even somewhat later than that of the embroidered strips or "orphreys" which are hinged to it with metal clasps. These strips obviously are of Flemish workmanship and may be dated around or shortly after 1500. They show the characteristic arrangement of single saints standing on checkered floors rendered in perspective, and framed by columns supporting a late Gothic baldachin. Extremely typical are the colonnettes on consoles and with crown-like tops which are attached to the front of the baldachin, three in each case. Of the saints, only St. Paul can be made out with certainty. The others appear only in part. The individual below St. Paul does not seem to have been represented with a halo.

The morse is a characteristic example of the decorative richness lavished upon such objects toward the end of the Middle Ages. It consists of a quatrefoil of gilded metalwork set into a frame of undulating outline. Four rosettes occupy the angles of the quatrefoil. In the center, beneath elaborate Gothic architecture is a standing figure flanked on either side by two smaller ones. While the placing of three figures in the center of a morse is rather a common feature, there is great variety among those preserved. A fairly close analogy to the one in the Baltimore picture is to be found in a well-known morse preserved in St. Ursula in Cologne. It is made of gilded copper and probably was wrought in a Cologne workshop around 1500.[10] This date would seem to be too early for the morse in our painting. The decorative elements are no longer purely Gothic, and the outline is much freer and more irregular. A date around 1520-1530 would correspond better with the stylistic qualities.

[9] For similar patterns cf. O. v. Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei* (Berlin, 1921), pl. 444-446.

[10] Reproduced in F. Witte, *1000 Jahre deutscher Kunst am Rhein* (Berlin, 1932), pl. 280, left (the captions on this plate have been interchanged by mistake).

[11] Cf. Witte, *op. cit.*, pl. 182 and 233 (wood-carvings in Xanten).

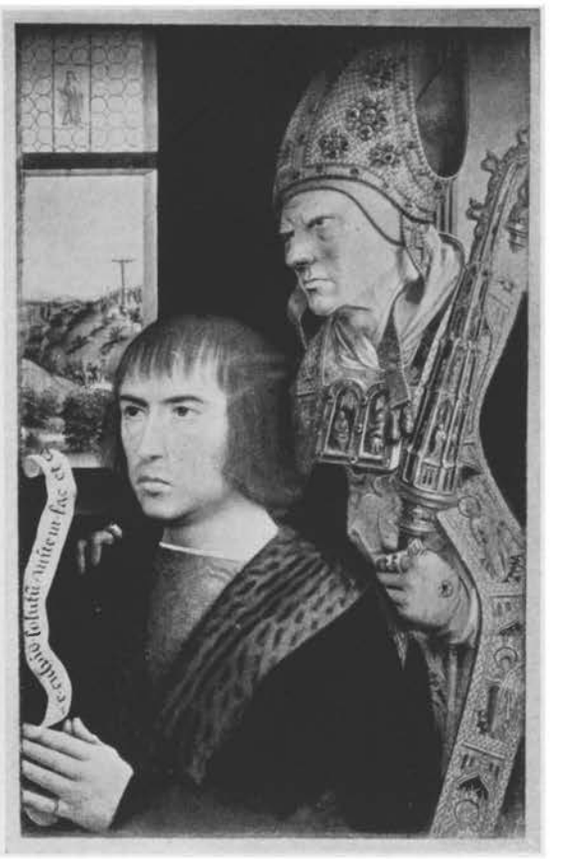

FIGURE 2 FOGG ART MUSEUM

GERARD DAVID

Bishop and Donor

The pastoral staff probably is the most interesting single item in the painting. It must certainly have been a magnificent specimen of late Gothic goldsmith's work. Two tiers of niches and baldachins in rich Gothic, but not flamboyant, architecture compose the hexagonal "nodus," or upper section of the rod. The niches contain figures, of which six are visible altogether. In the lower row they are, from left to right: a figure with a crozier and a chalice, St. Catherine and a saint with a cross (St. Philip?). In the upper tier appear in the same order: St. Jerome with a rather small lion, St. John the Evangelist and the Virgin.[11] This part of the crozier gradually converges until it reaches the base of the crook. This crook is worked in a

FIGURE 3 LAUSA

JACOBUS DE PUNDER

Resurrection of Christ (before restoration)

FIGURE 4 LAUSA

JACOBUS DE PUNDER

Resurrection of Christ (restored)

quite different manner and looks as if it had been detachable. It also is polygonal in section, although the vertical elements do not coincide with those in the nodus. It consists of thin ribs which rise straight from slender socles, then turn full around in a simple curve and end, after intertwining loosely, in big cabbage-like leaves. The spaces between the ribs are filled with rosettes and pearls alternating. The exterior of the crook is decorated with crockets of moderate size. Within the curve are placed on two separate bases the figure of St. Peter enthroned and, facing him, that of a kneeling monk with hands folded and a crozier leaning against him.

The general composition of the staff follows a type that seems to have been at home in the region of the lower Rhine and Flanders. Of the existing croziers of this type the outstanding example is the celebrated one in the treasury of the Cathedral of Cologne.[12] It is a work of the fourteenth century and largely employs enamel for its decoration. Yet the structural features and the profile are fundamentally the same as in our specimen. The architectural niches of the nodus are empty, but the crook contains a similar group, a bishop kneeling before the Madonna. There cannot be any doubt, however, that the crozier in the Baltimore picture is considerably later, and probably dates from the second half or end of the fifteenth century. Among the many croziers rendered in paintings, the closest analogies are found in Flemish paintings of the late fifteenth century. One such staff, although less elaborately done, appears in a painting in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts (fig.2).[13] Another example is to be found in Gerard David's picture of a bishop in the collection of Brignole Sale in Genoa.[14]

An interesting item is the small, triangular, heavily decorated piece of cloth or "bursa" which hangs from the crozier by means of a cord. It obviously is the upper end of the so-called "panisellus" or sudarium, which for a long time was believed to have been the distinguishing feature of abbots as opposed to bishops. It was, however, worn by bishops as well.[15] A long veil usually flows from it, as may be seen in innumerable representations.[16]

The mitre is probably the latest piece in this set of vestments, and the elegant curve of its outline as well as the character of the ornamentation definitely point to a sixteenth-century date. It is a *mitra pretiosa*, the most precious of the three types of mitres,[17] covered with jewels and pearls. In three compartments, formed by lines of pearls, are the embroidered figures of the Virgin, St. Peter and St. Paul. While it may have been of considerable material value, the mitre is inferior in artistic interest to the other items of the set. A date of about 1530-1550 seems to be the most likely.

From this painting in the Walters Art Gallery with all its interesting aspects we turn to the only other known work by De Punder, the Resurrection in Lausa, with expectations which, unfortunately, are not fulfilled. First, the painting[18] is in a ruined condition, and a fairly recent restoration has not improved matters. Yet the photograph of the state before the restoration reveals enough to convince us that no great masterpiece is lost (fig. 3).

The painting definitely gives the impression

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[12] Cf. Witte, *op. cit.*, pl. 130.

[13] The painting was probably executed by two different artists. The donor quite certainly is a work by Gerard David. The bishop, however, must have been done by a man of different training and temperament, and perhaps somewhat later.

[14] Cf. E. v. Bodenhausen, *Gerhard David* (München, 1905), pl. 29b.

[15] Cf. F. X. Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1897), II, i, 495 and Ch. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe* (Paris, 1889), VIII, 107.

[16] Cf. for instance Ph. M. Halm and R. Berliner, *Das Hallesche Heiltum* (Berlin, 1931), pl. 99.

[17] Cf. R. A. S. Macalister, *op. cit.*, p. 119, and J. Braun, *op. cit.*, p. 429: *"Mitra simplex", "mitra aurifrigiata", "mitra pretiosa"*.

[18] On wood, 50 x 38 inches. Cf. C. Gurlitt, *Sächsische Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler,* XXVI (1904), 64.

of a provincial work. The movements and proportions of the soldiers are clumsy and show none of the mannered elegance and energy which by that time were almost common property among progressive artists all over Europe. For the sleeping soldiers the artist still is indebted to Dürer (compare his engraving of 1512 and the woodcut of the same subject in his Great Passion series), whereas the two large figures in the foreground are familiar types with Flemish mannerists of the first half of the sixteenth century, under the influence of Raphael and Michelangelo. The treatment of the armor with gleaming highlights recalls De Punder's rendering of the metalwork in the portrait in Baltimore, although the Lausa painting as a whole has little similarity to this and is inferior in every respect. The only feature which lends a certain interest to this Resurrection is the iconographic motive of a snake and a skull beneath the feet of Christ. Christ appears here according to the Protestant conception as Redeemer of the world by virtue of his victory over Satan (symbolized by the snake of the original sin) and over Death.[19] Although this idea did not remain confined to Protestant representations of the Resurrection, but appears in Catholic iconography as well,[20] the question arises as to whether the painting may not have been commissioned by a Protestant church. It is impossible to say whether the painting in Lausa was originally executed in Saxony, which by 1572 had long been reformed. But that De Punder had connections with Protestant countries will appear clearly enough from Dr. Stechow's article which follows.

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[19] Cf. H. Schrade, *Die Auferstehung Christi* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 295 ff.

[20] Cf., for instance, Rubens' sketch for an altarpiece, formerly collection of A. de Ridder, Cronberg, recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

JACQUES DE POINDRE

BY WOLFGANG STECHOW

Professor of the History of Art, University of Wisconsin

DR. HELD'S comments on the Portrait of a Cleric in the Walters Art Gallery can be amplified in the direction 1) of the identification of the artist, 2) of the history of the picture itself.

Looking carefully at this work, those acquainted with Flemish painting of the sixteenth century will have wondered whether an artist of such individual craftsmanship and of such obvious importance for the history of portraiture of this period could have been omitted in Karel van Mander's comprehensive *Schilderboek*—our main source on this very period. In fact this is not the case. As Dr. Held points out, the curious signature "DEPUNDER" is obviously a combination of Punder as the family name and "De" as a prefix. Moreover, it occurred to me that the letter "u" in "Punder," pronounced in Netherlandish like the German *ü*, might have had a different equivalent in the French spelling of the name. These deliberations finally led me to the identification of "Jacob Depunder" with "Jacques de Poindre," an artist from Mechelen (Malines) of whom van Mander does speak at some length. His passage runs as follows:[1]

> Jacques de Poindre was a pupil of Marcus Willems, who had married his sister. He was a good painter, especially of portraits. He painted a Crucifixion, an altarpainting in which many portraits appeared. Once he painted a certain English captain by the name of Pieter Andries, who was quite a braggart and who let him keep the portrait without paying. Jacques, becoming impatient, painted bars in front of the face, with watercolours, so that it looked as though the captain were serving a sentence in prison; he then exhibited the picture. The captain, when he heard about this, came and asked what kind of a rogue Jacques was, to do a thing like this. Jacques answered that the captain must be imprisoned until he should be fully paid. The captain paid the money and demanded that the bars be removed. The other took a sponge and washed them off. Jacques made many good portraits. He went to Oostlant or Denmark, where he died in 1570, or about that time.

To this I should like to add at once that "Oostlant" (wrongly translated into "Orient" in Hymans' French edition of van Mander,[2] not translated at all by Floerke in his German edition[3] nor by van de Wall) has to be interpreted in most cases as "the country to the East of the Netherlands: Germany, the country of the eastern neighbours of the Netherlanders in the Middle Ages, especially northern Germany, the Baltic shores, sometimes the Hanse, the Hanseatic towns."[4] This medieval use of the word has obviously been retained by van Mander, as may also be gathered from his description of Cornelis Floris' "House

[1] I am making use of the translation by Constant van de Wall (New York, 1936), p. 126, correcting one of the numerous slips made by the translator (*die 't conterfeytsel hem liet houden sonder betalen* does not mean "who wanted to keep the portrait without paying" but "who let him keep the portrait without paying"; rightly translated by Floerke in 1906).

[2] Vol. I (1884), p. 261.

[3] Vol. I (1906), p. 225.

[4] E. Verwijs and J. Verdam, *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*, V (1903), 1626.

of the Hanse" in Antwerp as "Oosters-huys."[5] As no traces of Jacques de Poindre's activity seem to have been found in Denmark[6] it is quite possible that van Mander's statement about de Poindre's stay in that country—itself a rather vague statement—was due to a mistake. On the other hand, a search after works by de Poindre in northern Germany might turn out to be fruitful; in fact, if we are allowed to refer to Saxony as part of "Oostlant," this search already has turned out to be fruitful in the case of the Resurrection by "Depunder" in Lausa, illustrated in Dr. Held's article.

It is obvious that van Mander did not know very much about Jacques de Poindre and, consequently, was glad to make up for his scarce knowledge by providing his readers with the anecdote about the English captain, which seems to be an old drug in the market surviving as late as the nineteenth century, when it reappears in Friedrich Wasmann's diary.[7] Such few dates of importance as have been collected by van Mander about Jacques de Poindre do fit quite nicely into what we are able to gather from "Depunder's" portrait in Baltimore: his approximate dates—the date of his death, vaguely given as "about 1570" by van Mander, can easily be corrected into "after 1572" owing to the date on the Lausa picture—his having been a good portrait painter, his activity in Malines and, later on, abroad. Additional support to the identification of "Depunder" with de Poindre is given by what has been gathered concerning the life of the latter by Immerzeel,[8] who was followed by Hymans in his edition of van Mander's work. According to Immerzeel, de Poindre was born in Malines in or about 1527 and was the teacher of Willem de Vos in 1559; which proves that van Mander's statements are correct, although unfortunately, nothing is known about the style of Willem de Vos—as is the case, too, with de Poindre's teacher Marcus Willems.[9] But there is more evidence. In an article written in 1883[10] Hymans mentions a "Portrait of a Bishop" by de Poindre as being in the collection of the Comte de la Béraudière in Paris—and here we are able to trace the pedigree of the very picture with which we are dealing. There can be hardly any doubt that the picture in the de la Béraudière collection is identical with the one now in Baltimore of which the signature corresponds *exactly* to the one discovered by Hymans. In a second article[11] Hymans mentions—besides the fact that there is no trace of de Poindre's work left in Malines—*two* pictures by de Poindre, both coming from the de la Béraudière collection and later in the possession of a Paris art dealer:[12] "a head of a Bishop and another piece of the same kind," one of them signed and dated 1563, both similar to Floris in style. Here Hymans adds the following description of one of these pictures:

> Le prélat y était représenté à mi-corps, coiffé de la mître, tenant la crosse et levant la main droite pour bénir. L'autre morceau, très proche du précédent, représentait un homme d'église également . . . . Nous ignorons ce qu'elles sont devenues.

As this description does not quite correspond to the Baltimore picture it may give us a clue as to

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[5] Van Mander-van de Wall, p. 178 (without identification, although it has long been known).

[6] Weilbach, *Nyt Dansk Kunstnerlexikon,* II (1897), 606, and J. J. Weber, *Nye Danske Magasin,* II (1806), 97. See also M. Bodelsen and A. Marcus, *Dansk Kunsthistorisk Bibliografi* (1935).

[7] Bernt Grönvold, Friedrich Wasmann, *Ein deutsches Künstlerleben von ihm selbst geschildert* (Leipzig, 1915), p. xi.

[8] *De Levens en werken der hollandsche en vlaamsche Kunstschilders,* etc. (Amsterdam, 1857-64), II, 318.

[9] Walpole's identification of Marcus Willems with the painter of the curious portrait of Edward VI (1546) in the National Portrait Gallery in London (No. 1299) has proved to be incorrect; see C. H. Collins Baker and W. G. Constable, *English Painting of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Florence, 1930), p. 18.

[10] *Courrier de l'art* (1883), p. 351.

[11] *Biographie Nationale de Belgique,* XVII.

[12] Neither of them was in the de la Béraudière sale in 1885.

the appearance of the second portrait. On the other hand, the description may also refer to the Baltimore picture, provided that Hymans was not especially careful in reading or interpreting his notes, as is likely to happen in such a case, *e. g.*, "*coiffé de la mitre*" instead of something like "*la mitre est present dans la peinture,*" etc. As nothing is known in Baltimore about the pedigree of the picture, the identification cannot be proved with absolute certainty, but I think that we are as safe as is possible under these circumstances in asserting that the Baltimore portrait can be traced back to the collection of the Comte de la Béraudière in Paris.

It must be borne in mind, of course, that Hymans made the identification of the artist of the de la Béraudière picture with van Mander's Jacques de Poindre on the same grounds as I did, *i. e.*, with a great degree of probability only—although there may have been, in 1883, some tradition attached to it that pointed in the same direction. Still, I think that the identification of Jacob Depunder with Jacques de Poindre will hardly be disputed. In addition to that, my theory gets some support from the catalogue of the collection of Lord Lumley, put up in 1590,[13] in which we find mentioned a portrait "of the Duke of Savoy Regent in Flaunders doone by Jacques Pindar;" in this spelling we obviously have a sort of intermediate form between "Punder" and "Poindre." The "Duke of Savoy Regent in Flaunders" must be Emmanuel Philibert who was Governor General of the Netherlands from 1556 to 1559. As other portraits of him are known[14] a search after this one might easily have good results. Walpole's remark[15] that Jacques de Poindre actually worked in England may be nothing but a theory based on his having painted the portrait of an Englishman (the captain mentioned by van Mander) or on his being represented in an English collection.

With regard to the relationship of the Baltimore picture to Flemish portrait painting of the same period, it is hardly possible to see any close similarity. The portraits of Frans Floris—mentioned by Hymans in this connection—are infinitely freer and more powerful in their technique as well as in their characterization; the style of other Antwerp masters: the Keys, Frans Pourbus I, Maerten de Vos, is no less different from de Poindre's. The Preaching Members of the Saint-Sang-Brotherhood by Pieter Pourbus in Bruges (Chapelle du Saint Sang, dated 1556) seems to be somewhat more in the quiet, old-fashioned line of de Poindre; the Lausa Resurrection might be compared with the same master's altarpiece in S. Sauveur at Bruges (1559) or his Nativity with Donors in Notre Dame (1574). The great emphasis laid by de Poindre on the ornamental features, his bright colors and his conservative restraint are, upon the whole, quite unusual at that time.[16] But we have to be aware of the fact that we know next to nothing about painting in Malines, de Poindre's native town. When we read van Mander's chapter on the Malines painters of that period we shall see immediately that hardly any work by all the masters that he mentions in his survey has survived: Where are the paintings by Frans Minnebroer (Frans Crabbe?), Frans Verbeeck, Gregor Beerings, Cornelius Enghelrams, by de Poindre's teacher Marcus Willems and his pupil Willem de Vos? The discovery of the Baltimore portrait, although far from filling this gap, provides us at least with one work that is certainly by a Malines artist of that time and, through it, with a chance of learning a little more about the Malines school of painting in general.

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[13] L. Cust, *Walpole Society,* VI (1918), p. 25.

[14] Arturo Segre, *Emanuele Filiberto* (Torino, 1928), with reproductions.

[15] See Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstlerlexikon,* II (1910), 393.

[16] Unless we include the works of some Netherlandish artists working in England (*e. g.*, H. Ewouts), whose style nevertheless does not show any definite relationship to de Poindre's.

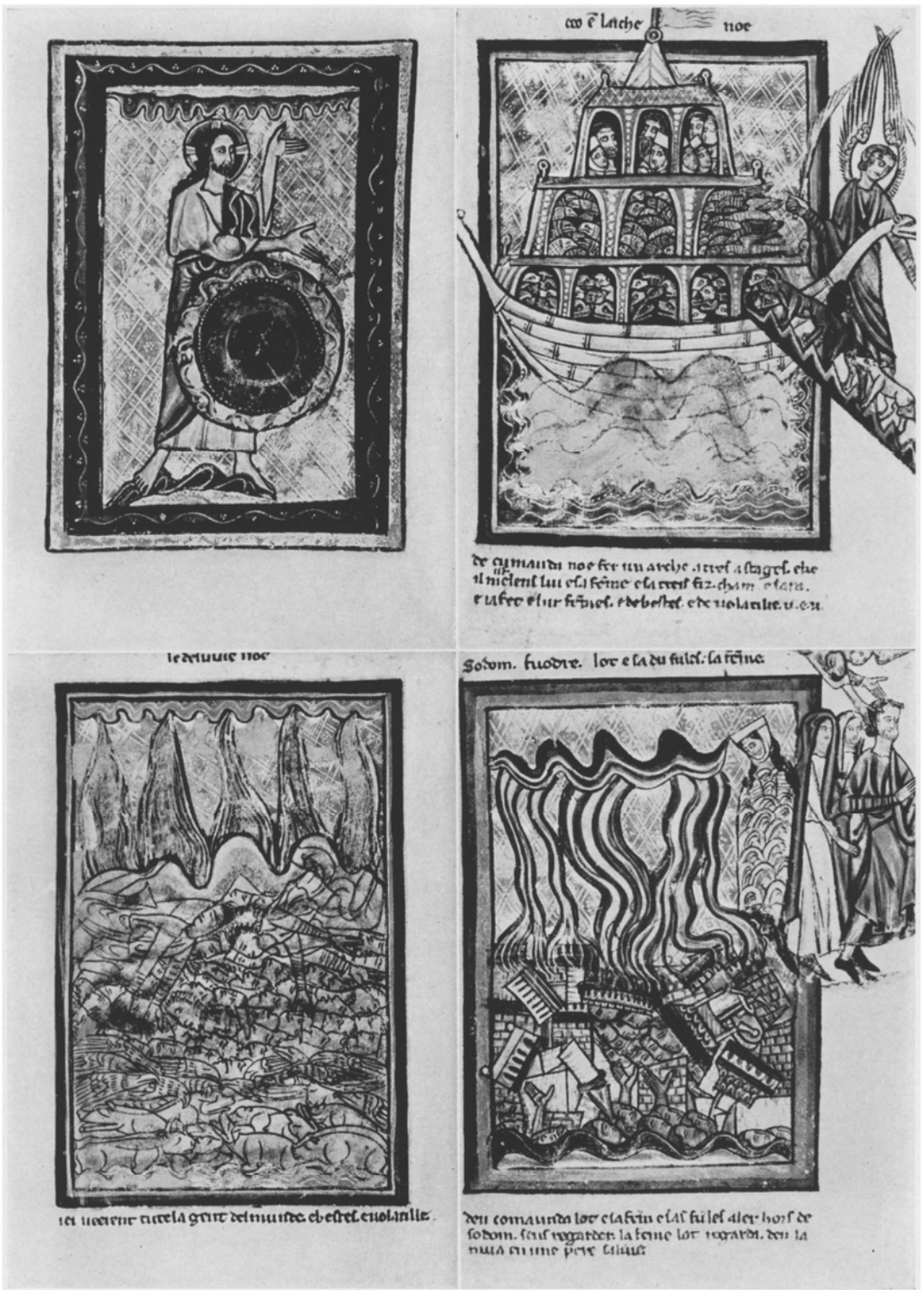

FIGURE 1. FOLIO 1 FIGURE 2. FOLIO 2
FIGURE 3. FOLIO 3 FIGURE 4. FOLIO 4

WALTERS ART GALLERY

W. DE BRAILES

Ms. 500, Scenes from Genesis

UNKNOWN BIBLE PICTURES BY W. DE BRAILES

AND SOME NOTES ON EARLY ENGLISH BIBLE ILLUSTRATION

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IT IS in the very nature of medieval art that extremely few names of artists have been transmitted to us. The attempt to interpret this fact with the reduced number of existing monuments, the hunt for signatures of artists and, in brief, the entire mania for connecting the few names preserved by tradition with well-known masterpieces—all this is characteristic of the nineteenth century's cult of individualism, based upon ideals of the Renaissance.

The truth is that in the Middle Ages, when the individual power of an artist hardly manifests itself, a name can claim importance for the history of art only when it is connected with one of the great personalities of high rank among the clergy, such as Bernward of Hildesheim or Rhabanus Maurus, both mentioned by literary and documentary sources as artists in various fields of artistic enterprise. In such cases, the person commissioning a work of art replaces, to some extent, the individuality of the executing artist. Therefore, it is not astonishing that in the few instances where we have a manuscript or group of manuscripts signed by an artist, we usually can recognize several hands and even different styles and techniques—as, for instance, in the case of Goderanus, who about 1090 A. D. wrote or illuminated a large Bible in the monastery of Stavelot and another in that of Lobbes.[1]

After the middle of the twelfth century the awakening of a new sense of individuality, inherent in the more secular viewpoint of the period, is reflected by the increasing occurrence of names of artists, signed miniatures[2] and even signed self-portraits. We may cite as an example in Germany the monk Rufilus of the monastery of Weissenau,[3] while in England were Hugo Pictor,[4] W. de Brailes and Matthew Paris of St. Albans.[5] We even know the name of the most important goldsmith of that period, Nicolas of Verdun. But as a whole, even in these cases, the individuality of the artist is not quite evident. These names tell us nothing, or at least very little, about the artistic or historical im-

[1] Now London, British Museum, Ms. Add. 28106/7, and Tournai, Grand Séminaire, Ms. 149, respectively.

[2] F. de Mely, *Les primitifs et leur signatures: Les miniaturistes* (Paris, 1913), although now antiquated, is still the most comprehensive treatise on this subject. It would be instructive to analyse the successive changes in the placing and wording of the signature, from the acrostic-like record of the artist's name in a colophon to its actual insertion in the frame or in some more or less hidden place in the picture itself.

[3] Besides the one in Sigmaringen, reproduced in Mely, *op. cit.*, p. 16, fig. 22, there is a hitherto unmentioned Psalter with a signed self-portrait of Rufilus in Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, fond Lecalop., Ms. 30.

[4] Oxford, Bodleian Ms. 717. Reproduced in O. E. Saunders, *English Illumination* (Firenze—Paris, 1928), pl. 47a.

[5] The drawings of Matthew Paris have been completely reproduced by M. R. James in Vol. XIV of the Walpole Society (Oxford, 1926).

FIGURE 5. FOLIO 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY FIGURE 6. FOLIO 6

W. DE BRAILES

Ms. 500, Scenes from Exodus

portance of the objects connected with them. They do not even help us to understand the complicated system of work in medieval studios. Indeed, it may not be merely accidental that in most cases the signed objects are but second-rate, while the really important art of the Middle Ages remains anonymous. All these facts are to be kept in mind in evaluating the significance of a new attribution to the work of one of the artists mentioned above, W. de Brailes.

This new attribution concerns the miniatures in a hitherto unsignalled manuscript in the library of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore. It is a small volume acquired by Mr. Walters in Paris in 1903.[6] The modern binding of red velvet is set with a fine French ivory plaque of the fourteenth century, ornamented on the front with a carving of the Nativity and on the back with the Crucifixion.[7] The manuscript itself is a fragment consisting of only twenty-four vellum leaves,

[6] Ms. 500. See S. de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Mss. in the U. S. and Canada*, I (New York, 1935), p. 844.

[7] Gothic ivories carved on both sides seem to have been extremely rare. The only other one known to me, brought to my attention with the help of Mrs. Irène Underwood, is in Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Inv. 659; reproduced in W. Vöge and Vollbach: *Die Bildwerke der christlichen Epoche, Die Elfenbeine* (Berlin, 1923), pl. 47.

FIGURE 7. FOLIO 7
FIGURE 9. FOLIO 9

WALTERS ART GALLERY

FIGURE 8. FOLIO 8
FIGURE 10. FOLIO 10

W. DE BRAILES

Ms. 500, Scenes from Exodus

FIGURE 11. FOLIO 11 WALTERS ART GALLERY

W. DE BRAILES

Ms. 500, Pharaoh's Army Destroyed

severely clipped during the modern rebinding, so that now they measure but 5¼ by 3⅞ inches. The leaves are embellished with the following twenty-seven full-page miniatures, eight of which are divided into two scenes:

Fol. 1: Division between the clouds and the waters (*Genesis*: I, 6-8). Figure 1.

Fol. 2: Noah's Ark (*Genesis*: VII, 1-16). Figure 2.

Fol. 3: The Flood (*Genesis*: VII, 19-24). Figure 3.

Fol. 4: Lot and his family leave Sodom. His wife looks back (*Genesis*: XIX, 15-26). Figure 4.

Fol. 5: Moses and the plague of frogs in Egypt (*Exod.*: VIII, 1-14). Figure 5.

Fol. 6: Moses and the plague among the cattle (*Exod.*: IX, 3-7). Figure 6.

Fol. 7: The plague of hail and thunder (*Exod.*: IX, 18-34). Figure 7.

Fol. 8: The plague of darkness (*Exod.*: X, 21-26). Figure 8.

Fol. 9: The plague of locusts (*Exod.*: X, 4-19). Figure 9.

Fol. 10: The Children of Israel cross the Red Sea (*Exod.*: XIV, 15-22). Figure 10.

Fol. 11: The Red Sea overwhelms Pharaoh and his army (*Exod.*: XIV, 23-28). Figure 11.

Fol. 12: Moses smites water from the rock of Horeb (*Exod.*: XVII, 1-6). Figure 13.

Fol. 13: The Israelites worship the Golden Calf, whereupon Moses breaks the Tablets (*Exod.*: XXXII, 1-20). Figure 14.

Fol. 14: Jacob sends Joseph to his brethren in Shechem (*Genesis*: XXXVII, 13-14). Figure 15.

Fol. 15: Potiphar's wife accuses Joseph (*Genesis*: XXXIX, 7-20). Figure 16.

Fol. 16: Joseph's cup is found in Benjamin's sack (*Genesis*: XLIV, 12). The meeting of Jacob and Joseph (*Genesis*: XLVI, 29). Figure 17.

Fol. 17: Hannah prays in the temple for a son and is blessed by Eli (*I Samuel*: I, 12-17). Samuel is born to Hannah (*I Samuel*: I, 20-23). Figure 18.

Fol. 17v: Samuel serves the priests with meat (*I Samuel*: II, 13-17). Hannah brings Samuel to serve in the temple (*I Samuel*: I, 24-28). Figure 19.

Fol. 18: Ruth meets Boaz as she gleans (*Ruth*: II). Boaz sees Ruth lying at his feet (*Ruth*: III). Figure 20.

Fol. 18v: The Kinsman draws off his shoe in token that he renounces his property-rights in favor of Boaz (*Ruth*: IV, 1-10). Ruth gives birth to Obed (*Ruth*: IV, 13). Figure 21.

Fol. 19: The stoning of Achan (*Joshua*: VII, 25). The city of Hai is captured (*Joshua*: VIII, 19-28). Figure 22.

Fol. 19v: The Gibeonites make peace by craft (*Joshua*: IX, 3-15). The Lord kills with hail the attackers of Gibeon (*Joshua*: X, 11). Figure 23.

Fol. 20: Christ walks on the waters (*Matth.*: XIV, 25-31). Figure 24.

Fol. 21v: The Ascension (*Luke*: XXIV, 51; *Acts* I, 9-10). Figure 25.

Fol. 22v: The Pentecost (*Acts*: II, 1-4). Figure 26.

Fol. 23: The Last Judgment (*Matth.*: XXV, 31-46). Figure 27.

Fol. 24: The Fall of the Angels (*Rev.*: XX, 11-15). Figure 28.

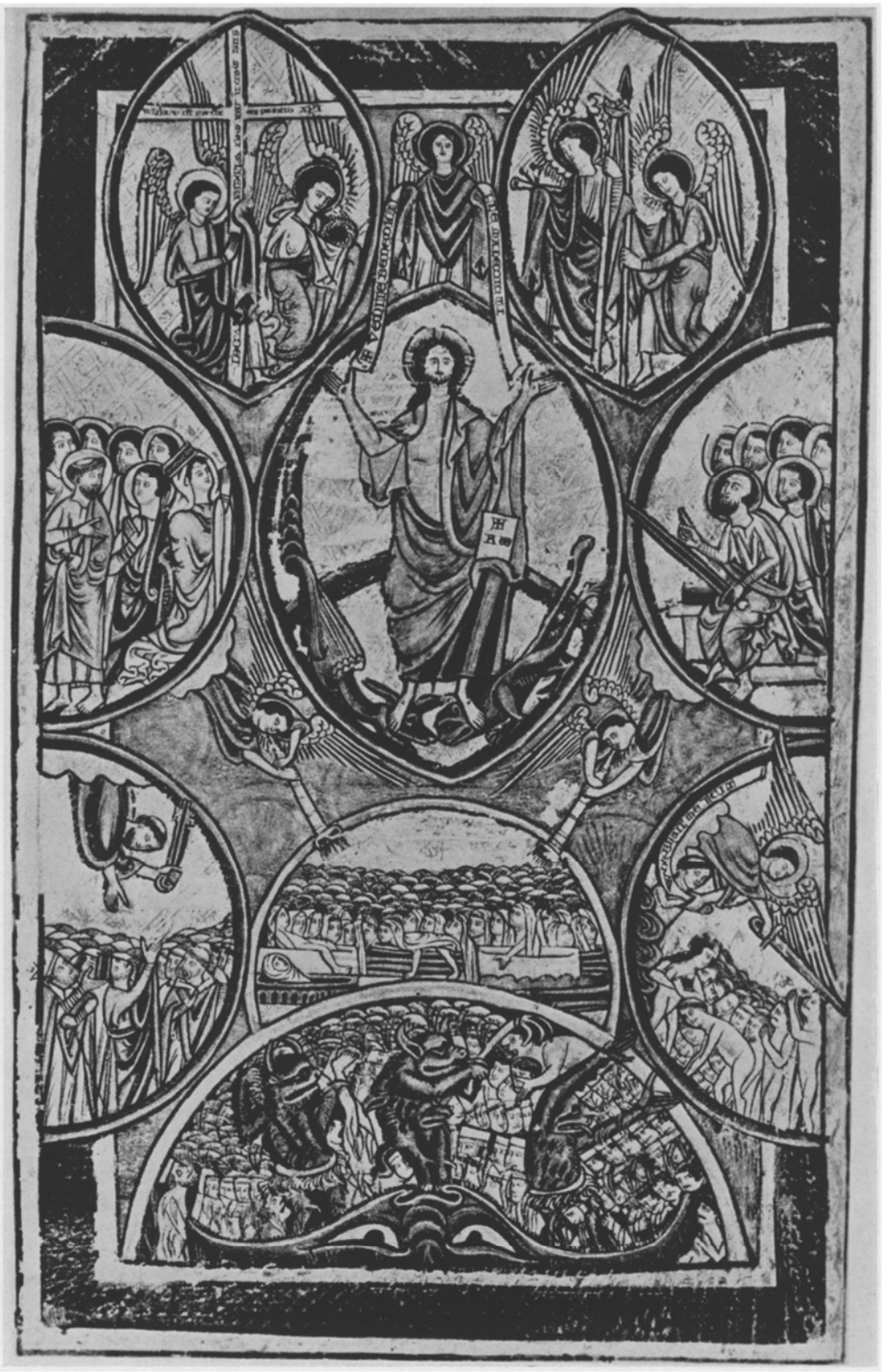

FIGURE 12 FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM

W. DE BRAILES
The Last Judgment

FIGURE 13. FOLIO 12 — WALTERS ART GALLERY — FIGURE 14. FOLIO 13

W. DE BRAILES

Ms. 500, Scenes from Exodus

These miniatures are of some artistic interest, since they are not only distinctively English work of the thirteenth century, with a marked tendency toward caricature, but obviously in the style of W. de Brailes; indeed there are good reasons to regard them as characteristic works by his hand. Moreover, the theory of W. de Brailes' cooperation in the decoration of the manuscript of which these formed a part rests not only on their stylistic resemblance to miniatures known to have been executed by him, but can be supported by certain external facts established by Sir Sidney Cockerell in his magnificent and extensive monograph on the work of W. de Brailes, offered to the members of the Roxburghe Club in 1930.[8]

The most startling analogy between known works of W. de Brailes and this newly attribu-

[8] S. C. Cockerell, *The Work of W. de Brailes. An English Illuminator of the Thirteenth Century* (For the Members of the Roxburghe Club, Cambridge, 1930). This monograph gives a full description and reproduction of the following six manuscripts or groups of single leaves illuminated by W. de Brailes, which Cockerell had been able to trace since he first discovered in the United States a work by his hand, some thirty years ago: 1. Psalter in New College, Oxford, Ms. 322. 2. Psalter in the possession of Sir Sidney Cockerell. 3. Six leaves from a Psalter, formerly Ms. 38 in the library of Mr. Chester Beatty, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. 4. Book of Hours in the library of Mr. Dyson Perrins, Ms. 4. 5. A small Bible in the library of Mr. Dyson Perrins, Ms. 5. 6. A small Bible once in the possession of Richard Smartford (present owner unknown).

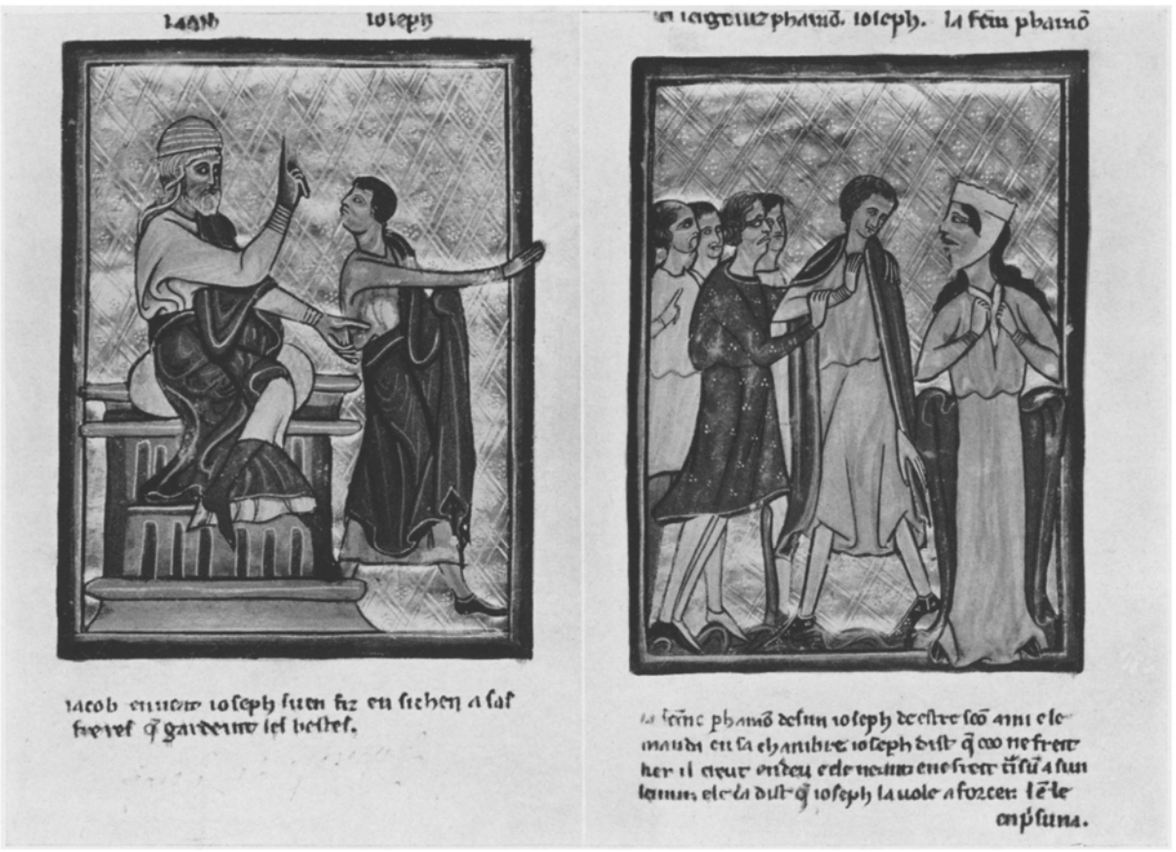

FIGURE 15. FOLIO 14 — WALTERS ART GALLERY — FIGURE 16. FOLIO 15

W. DE BRAILES
Ms. 500, Scenes from Genesis

ted series of miniatures is provided by the Last Judgment and the Fall of the Angels. These scenes in the Walters manuscript recall by their arrangement in circular and elliptical compartments and by other details the representations of the Last Judgment and of Christ in Glory in the Brailes fragment now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (figs. 12 and 29). Furthermore, the entire coloring, the drawing of the faces, the proportions and movements of the figures, the treatment of the drapery in its strange but typically English mixture of stiff flatness and deep-cut folds, and the strength of the whole design are characteristic features of the work of W. de Brailes. We have no difficulty in tracing all the striking qualities which Cockerell mentions as typical of this master: tightly drawn faces, wide-open eyes, straight mouths, short upper lips, crowns sometimes rectangular, bold handling of crowds. There are even other details in which the Walters miniatures correspond to well-established works of W. de Brailes: grinning profiles revealing the teeth, as in the case of Potiphar's wife in the Walters manuscript (fig. 16) and of Cain in the above-mentioned Fitzwilliam leaves;[9] the sailing-ship in the scene of Jesus Walking on the Water in our book (fig.

[9] Cockerell, *op. cit.*, pl. XV b.

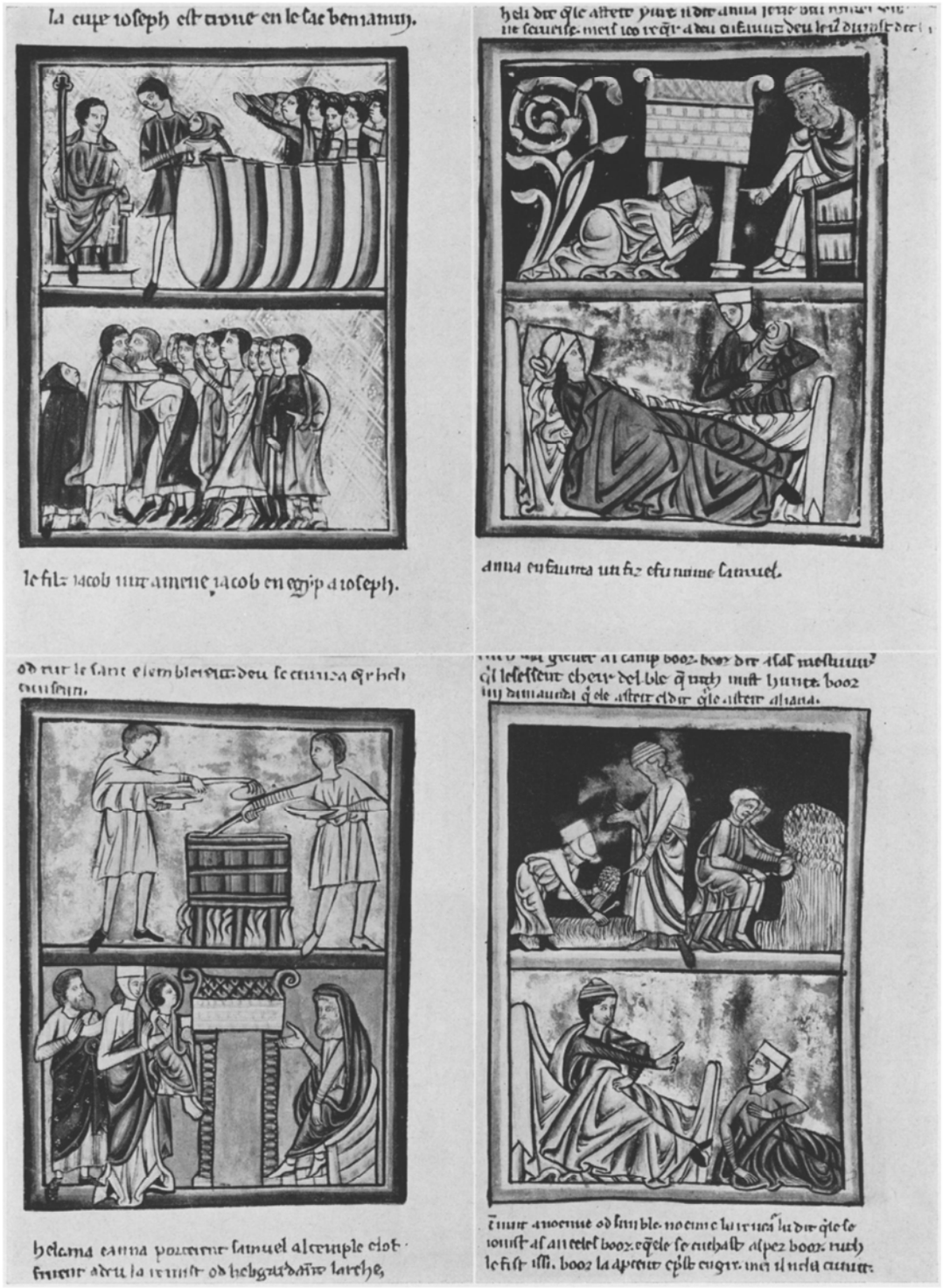

FIGURE 17. FOLIO 16 WALTERS ART GALLERY FIGURE 18. FOLIO 17
FIGURE 19. FOLIO 17v FIGURE 20. FOLIO 18

W. DE BRAILES

Ms. 500, Scenes from Genesis, Samuel, and Ruth

24), and of Jonah in the Psalter at New College, Oxford;[10] and the figures of Ruth or Hannah in the Walters example (figs. 19, 20, 21), which may be compared to the maid who questions Peter in the so-called "Hours" in the Dyson Perrins collection.[11] Although less fine in execution, the Walters manuscript resembles very closely indeed this calendar-less "Book of Hours" in such details as the identical ornament of the gold background, the approximately equivalent size, and similar French *tituli*, which unfortunately have been clipped in rebinding. So close is this correspondence that both manuscripts may be considered to have belonged originally to the same codex, once forming a Psalter plus a Prayer-book with a prefixed cycle of Bible-illustrations. This theory is all the more likely inasmuch as at that period a Book of Hours without a Psalter would have been quite unique.

Despite Cockerell's efforts, nothing is known about the personality of the illuminator and the place where he worked. In the southern projection of Warwickshire is a place of his name. Four times he made his self-portrait: once in the Last Judgment of the Fitzwilliam leaves (fig. 12), and three times in the "Hours" of Mr. Dyson Perrins; in each instance he is tonsured, but does not wear the habit of any specific order. The saints honored in the only two calendars extant in his books, and the litanies of both these manuscripts point to different places of use: one to Winchester and Christ Church, Canterbury, the other to London and Peterborough. The style of the miniatures indicates the second quarter of the thirteenth century and derives ultimately from the Canterbury and St. Bertin works of about 1200 A. D., such as the famous copy of the Utrecht Psalter.[12]

In an attempt to arrange the works of W. de Brailes in a chronological order showing his artistic development, one would put the Fitzwilliam leaves, being more Romanesque in style, earlier than the Psalter of New College, the Dyson Perrins "Hours" and the Walters manuscript. The latter may be latest of all, as one can notice a stronger Gothic feeling in the drawing of the faces, in the sharper folds of the drapery, and especially in the swinging contour of elongated figures, such as that of Christ in Figure 24, which approaches the monumentality of English stained-glass and wall-paintings of the later thirteenth and early fourteenth century.[13]

As Cockerell has convincingly pointed out, there is a certain similarity between the page of the Jesse-tree in the Huntingfield Psalter[14] and the manner of W. de Brailes. But we do not know where this important English work of about the year 1200 was executed. The foliage of his initials may best be compared with those in the magnificent Psalter of the Duke of Rutland[15] dated about 1240, which again lacks clues sufficient to trace its provenance. Brailes' style shows a certain resemblance on one hand to the approximately contemporary Bible of Lord Lothian,[16] which in turn is related to the manner of the second artist in the Huntingfield Psalter,

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[10] *Ibid.*, pl. VII.

[11] *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII a.

[12] Published by H. Omont, *Psautier illustré (XIIIe siécle). Réproduction des 107 miniatures du manuscrit lat. 8846 de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris).

[13] In this connection one may mention a curious and interesting pictured parchment frieze in the cathedral of Velletri, purely English in origin and somewhat related stylistically to the miniatures of W. de Brailes; it may have served as some kind of a roll of patterns for wall-paintings. Reproduced by E. Monaci, *Un rotolo miniato d'arte Franchese* in *Mélanges offert à M. Emile Chatelain* (Paris, 1910), p. 440.

[14] Now Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 43. For reproduction and bibliography see: Belle da Costa Greene and Meta P. Harrsen, *The Pierpont Morgan Library. Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts* (New York, 1934), p. 19, pl. 34.

[15] Published by Eric G. Millar, *The Rutland Psalter* (For the Members of the Roxburghe Club, Oxford, 1937). Through Mr. Millar's kindness I had the privilege of examining this manuscript last summer.

[16] Now Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 791. Reproduced in: *The Pierpont Morgan Library 1930-35. A Summary of the Annual Reports of the Director to the Board of Trustees* (New York, 1937), p. 21, pl. IV.

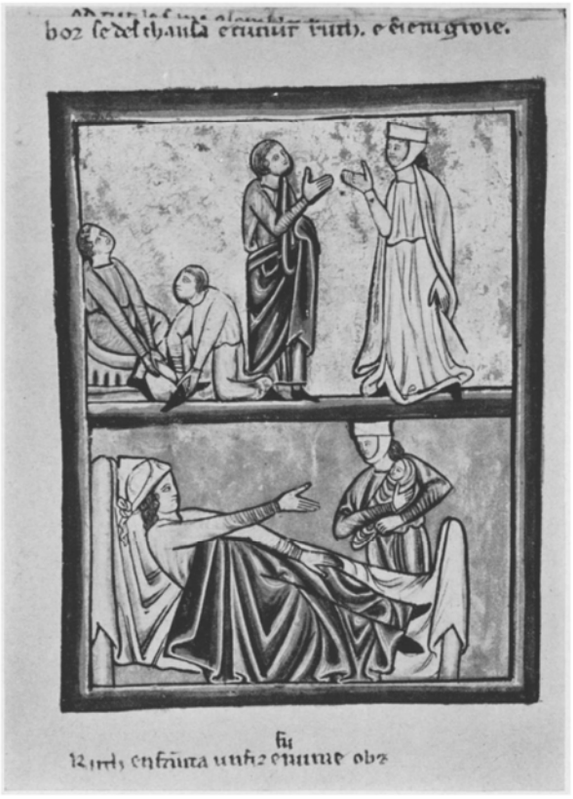

FIGURE 21. FOLIO 18v WALTERS ART GALLERY

W. DE BRAILES

Ms. 500, Scenes from Ruth

and on the other hand to the noble group of Peterborough manuscripts of the early thirteenth century, particularly the Psalter in Trinity College, Cambridge.[17] This last manuscript is in part copied after a Psalter in Munich[18] with a calendar probably for Gloucester, which is unquestionably the most richly illustrated English Psalter of this period that may be regarded as a model of W. de Brailes in style as well as in the selection of representations. All these manuscripts are in some way artistically connected with each other—a fact which will be corroborated by the following iconographical observations.

Unquestionably, the importance of the Walters manuscript lies in the fact that it is the remaining part of one of those extensive Bible-cycles without text and prefixed to a Psalter, which can be traced from the eleventh century on, almost exclusively in England.[19] These cycles, on the one hand, form the basis of the greatest enterprise of book-illumination in Paris during the period of St. Louis: the *Bible Historiée* with its 283 miniatures—and on the other hand, they allow us to assume, as we shall see, the exist-

FIGURE 22. FOLIO 19 WALTERS ART GALLERY

W. DE BRAILES

Ms. 500, Scenes from Joshua

[17] Ms. B. 11. 4. Reproduced in: *New Palaeographical Society*, pl. 214-16.

[18] Cod. lat. 835. It must have been executed, as A. Haseloff has pointed out, in the same scriptorium as a Psalter in the British Museum, Ms. Arundel 137. See: A. Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, vol. II, I (Paris, 1906), p. 320. A hitherto unknown manuscript by the same group of illuminators is the great Bible in Oxford, Bodleian, Ms. Auct. E. infra 8.

[19] *E. g.*, British Museum, Ms. Cotton Tib. C. 6.

ence in England of a western early Christian Bible-cycle.

With the exception of the Stoning of Achan (fig. 22) and of Samuel serving the priest with meat (fig. 19), two scenes which otherwise occur in the west only in the *Bible Historiée*, we find all the Old Testament subjects of the Walters manuscript represented also in the English Psalter in Munich, mentioned above in connection with its stylistic relationships. Both manuscripts include even so rare a scene as that of the kinsman who draws off his shoe as a token that he renounces his property-rights in favor of Boaz (fig. 21). Chronologically preceding these are two larger English Bible-cycles, which approximately resemble the Trinity College Psalter in the arrangement of scenes in compartments. This Psalter, as we have previously mentioned, is connected with the English Psalter in Munich.[20]

FIGURE 23. FOLIO 19v WALTERS ART GALLERY

W. DE BRAILES

Ms. 500, Scenes from Joshua

FIGURE 24. FOLIO 20 WALTERS ART GALLERY

W. DE BRAILES

Ms. 500, Christ Walks on the Waters

The first of these Bible-cycles, prefixed to the copy of the Utrecht Psalter in Paris,[21] was probably executed in Canterbury around 1200 A. D.,

[20] Attention may also be called to even a third picture-cycle in Cambridge, Pembroke College, Ms. 120. See: M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 117 ff. We must suppose that the whole cycle is now incomplete and probably is not an integral part of the present manuscript, a Gospel of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, but also was originally prefixed to a Psalter. But, in spite of their fragmentary condition, the miniatures are important for our study on account of the strange representation of the Holy Trinity showing God the Father and His Son under the same cloak, also copied on the title-page of the Lothian Bible, already mentioned in note 16.

[21] See note 12 for reference.

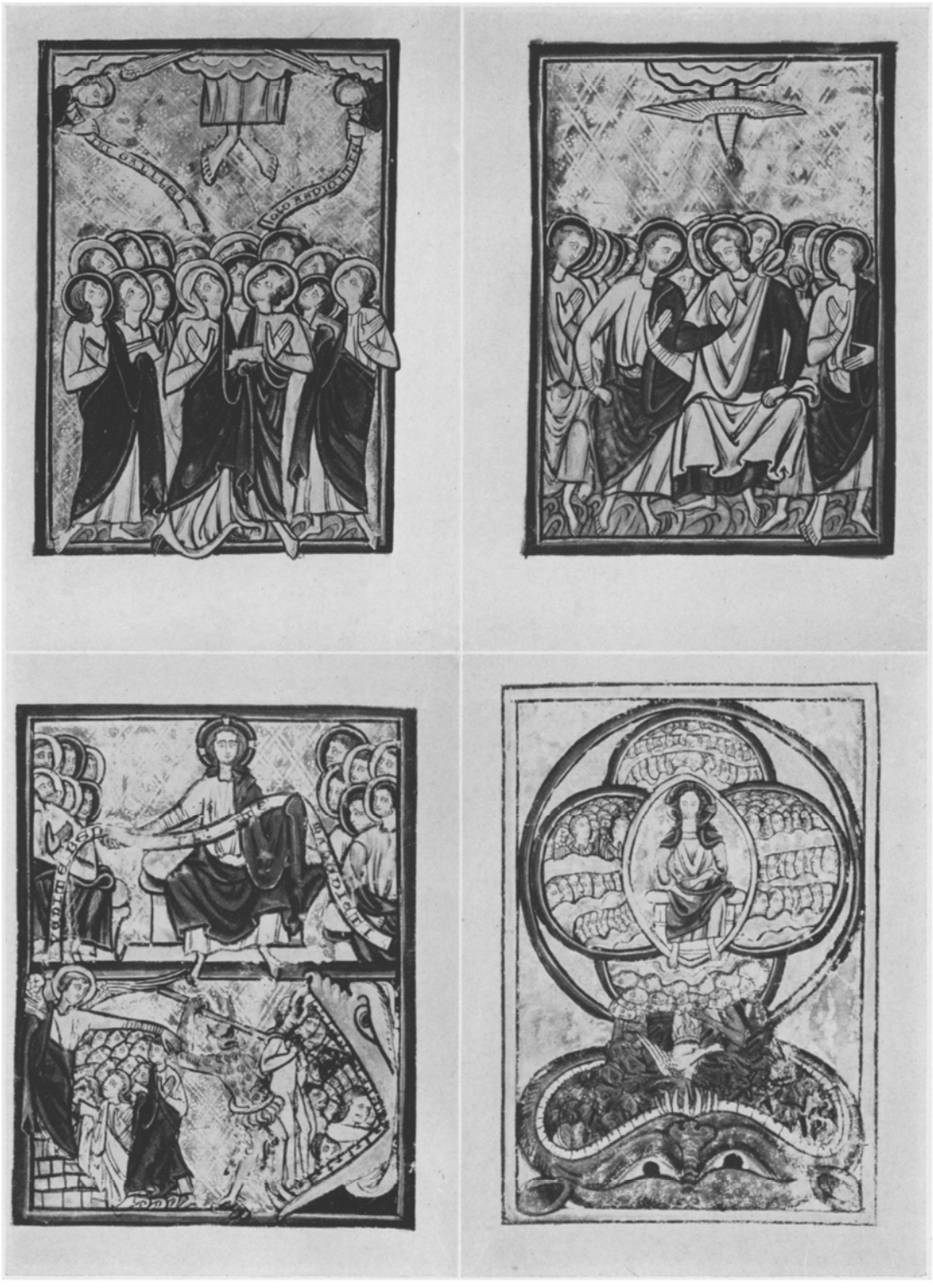

FIGURE 25. FOLIO 21v
FIGURE 27. FOLIO 23

WALTERS ART GALLERY

FIGURE 26. FOLIO 22v
FIGURE 28. FOLIO 24

W. DE BRAILES

Ms. 500, Illustrations to the New Testament

and consists of eight leaves having thirty-five scenes from the Old Testament and forty-six from the New Testament. The second series consists of four single leaves scattered among the Pierpont Morgan Library, the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum.[22] Inasmuch, however, as the first leaf commences with a representation of the two midwives before Pharaoh, which is most unlikely to have been the initial scene of the series, we must suppose that the cycle is now incomplete and may at least have started with the Creation of Man. These four leaves and the Paris cycle correspond to each other, however, not only in size and in arrangement of scenes, but even in the occurrence of such rare subjects as the Death of Herod and "Foxes have holes . ." (*Luke: IX, 58*), so that we must assume that these single leaves were prefixed to a Psalter as is the Paris cycle. Moreover, since these single pages correspond even in style and size to the Eadwin Psalter in Cambridge (another copy of the Utrecht Psalter),[23] the question arises as to whether they or similar leaves might not have been prefixed to the Eadwin Psalter, as is the case with the Paris example; furthermore, whether the Utrecht Psalter itself or even its Roman original might not have had such a Bible-cycle? These questions cannot yet be answered. Indeed, the fact that the style and iconography of the single leaves reflect an early Christian original which differs by at least a century from the original of the Utrecht Psalter, seems to indicate some contradictory evidence for such a statement.

The first evidence that we may be dealing here with the reflection of an early Christian cycle is provided by the introductory scenes of the first of the four single leaves. It is the episode of the two midwives, Shiphrah and Puah, before Pharaoh (*Exodus: I, 15 ff.*) in the scene of the Discovery of Moses, which occurs—aside from the wall-painting in the Synagogue at Dura-Europas[24]—only in the Ashburnham Pentateuch,[25] which is probably somehow connected with that monument. A scene not less rare, that illustrating the passage: "Foxes have holes . .", which we have already noticed in the single illustrated leaves and in the Psalter in Paris, occurs also in one of the two extant illuminated pages of the ancient "St. Augustine's Gospel" in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.[26] This manuscript, generally ascribed to

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[22] Pierpont Morgan Library, Mss. 521 and 724; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms. 661; British Museum, Ms. Add. 37472. According to the catalogue of the exhibition of the manuscripts of the Pierpont Morgan Library (see note 14), p. 18, Prof. Meyer Schapiro suggests that these leaves possibly served as patterns or iconographic models for miniaturists. Cf. also E. G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the X to the XIII Century* (Paris, 1926), p. 46.

[23] Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. R. 17.1. Facsimile Publication by M. R. James, *The Canterbury Psalter* (London, 1935).

[24] Reproduced by C. H. Kraeling, *Preliminary Report on the Synagogue at Dura* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1936), pl. XLVIII.

[25] Reproduced by O. v. Gebhardt, *The Miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (London, 1883), pl. XIV.

[26] Ms. 286. Reproduced in *Palaeographical Society*, pl. 33, 34, 44. It is impossible to discuss at length here the two types of illustrations found in this manuscript. One type, already traceable in the fourth-century Vatican Virgil, and in the Quedlinburg-Itala Fragments (see also H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VIe au XIVe siécle* [Paris, 1929], pl. XXII, XLVIII, LVI) shows scenes which fill the whole page like a chessboard. One can explain this composition by assuming that, at the time when the roll was superseded by the codex, the single illustrations originally set between the columns of the text were now all gathered and arranged side by side, filling the whole page which was then surrounded by a frame. In the other type, similar small rectangular scenes surround like a frame the central representation of the saint (in this particular case the portrait of St. Luke). It probably represents the first form of a title-page with historical scenes, and the arrangement is to be found in a similar form in bookbindings with contemporary ivory carvings (*e. g.*, the one belonging to the Etschmiadzin Gospel). The composition of the Cambridge Gospel suggests also the panels of Irish crosses (see Kingsley-Porter, *The Crosses and Culture of Ireland* [New Haven, 1930], p. 89 f.) and of a single leaf of the twelfth century in the Cathedral of Auxerre (reproduced in *Gazette Archéologique* [1887], pl. 19). As a matter of fact, this type ultimately goes back to the *Tabula Iliaca* as F. Sachsl has pointed out (*Mithras* [Berlin, 1931], p. 33, 81, pl. 123) and it reaches its apogee and richest forms in the pictures of the Italian *Dugento*. For the latter see B. Schweizer, *Dea Nemesis Regina* in *Jahrbuch d. Deutschen Archeolog. Instituts*, XLVI (1931), pp. 175 ff. I am indebted to Dr. Kurt Weitzmann for having brought this article to my attention.

FIGURE 29 FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM

W. DE BRAILES
Psalter Illustration

the sixth or seventh century, was probably brought to England soon after its execution (according to tradition, it was sent there from Italy by Pope Gregory the Great)—if indeed it is not to be regarded as an English work copied after an Italian original of a style roughly like that of the Cosmodilla catacomb-paintings. But the relationship between this early manuscript and the four single leaves is far more than merely iconographic. Despite their general conformity with typical English twelfth-century works in the style of the St. Albans or the Eadwin Psalter, these leaves still reflect the style of "St. Augustine's Gospel," not only in the arrangement of the scenes in compartments, some of which are bisected, but also in the strange, dead agitation of the figures, their proportions, and even the facial type with low, flat forehead; in the single figures crouching on the hills; and finally in the space-arrangement with figures coming forth from behind the scenery. We may, therefore, conclude that the "St. Augustine Gospel" or its original might have contained most of the other scenes represented in the single leaves, thus enabling us to reconstruct for England the original version of an ancient cycle of Bible-pictures, which, in various abbreviated forms, survived until the thirteenth century.

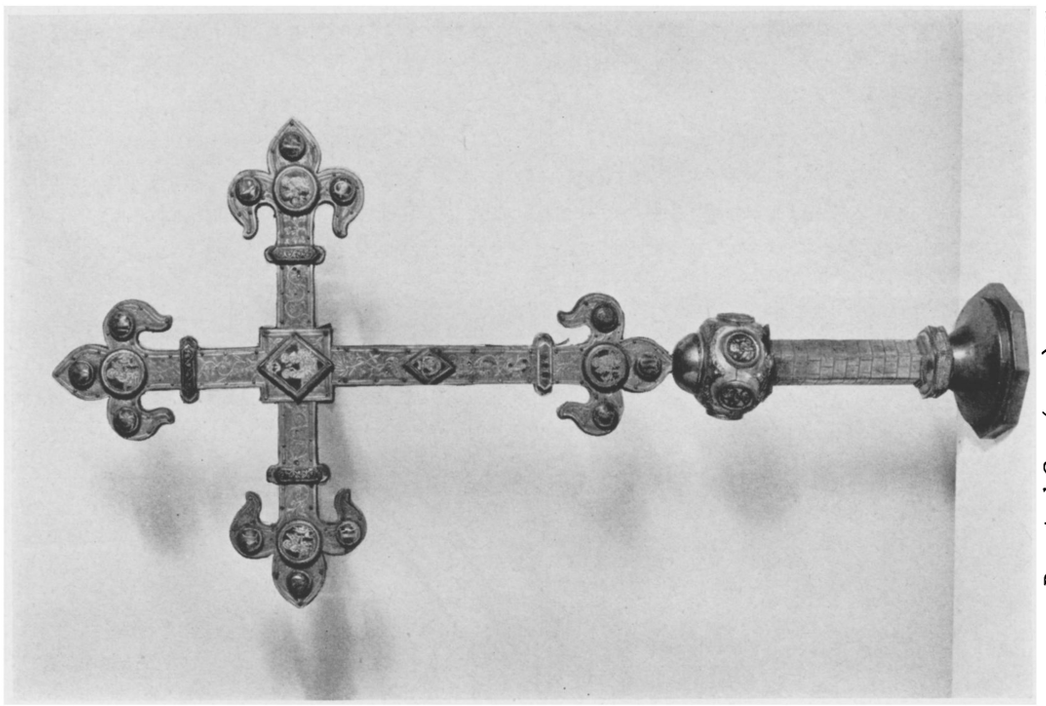

FIGURE 2. *Processional Cross (reverse)* WALTERS ART GALLERY

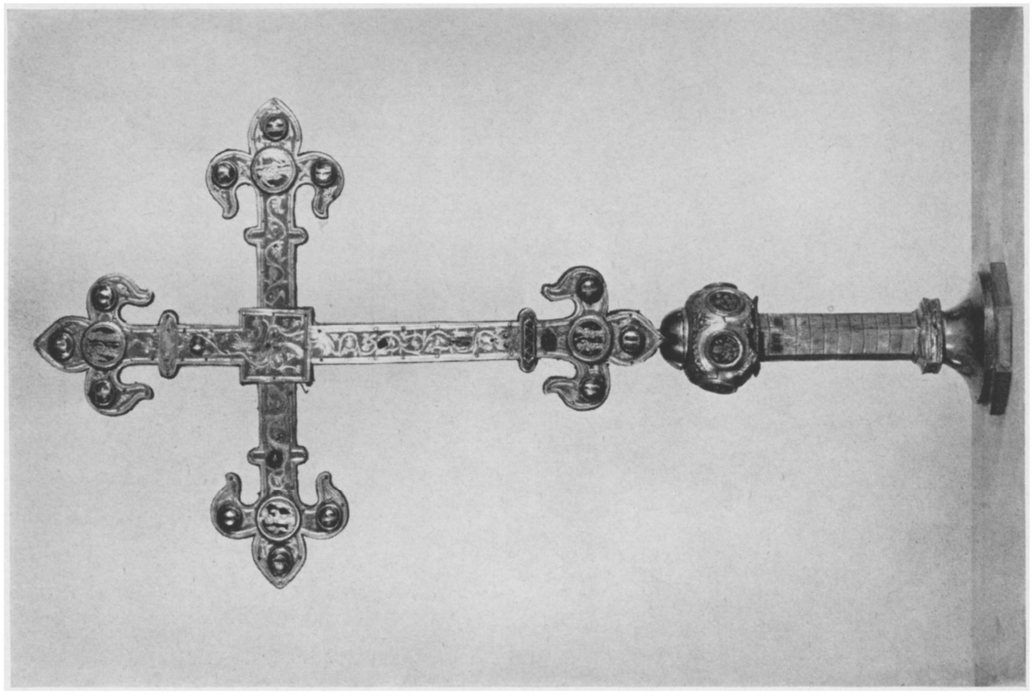

FIGURE 1. *Processional Cross (front)* WALTERS ART GALLERY

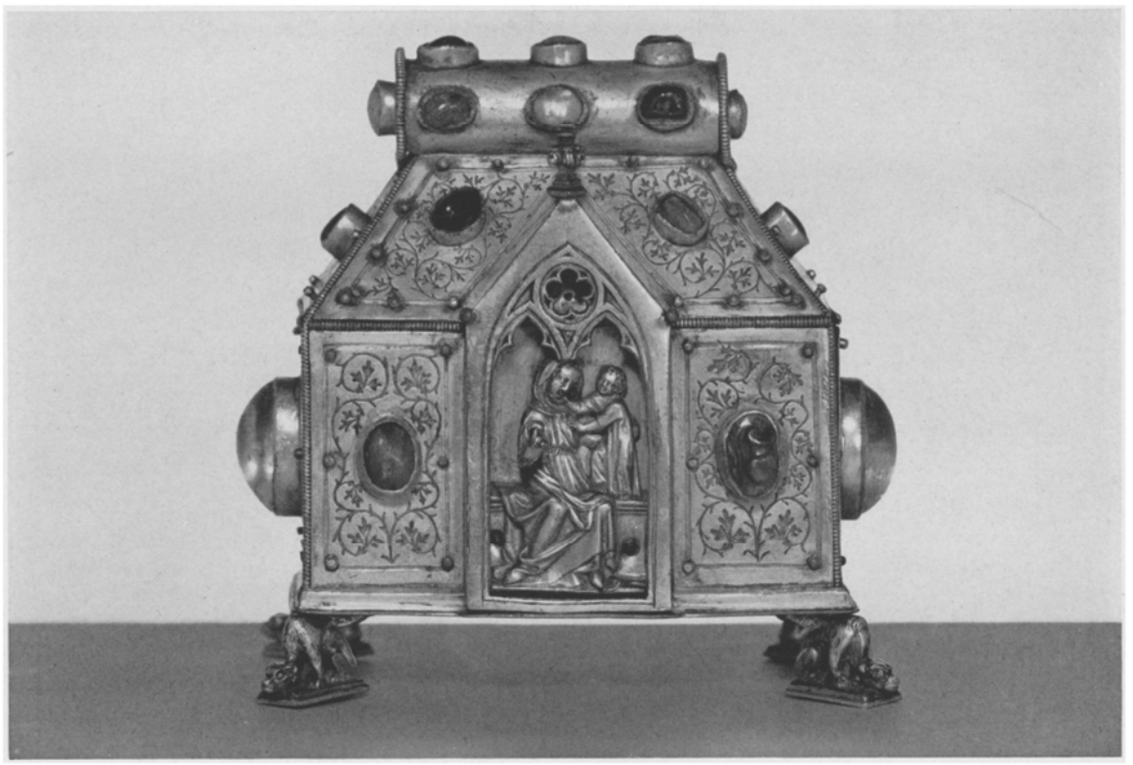

FIGURE 3. *Châsse* WALTERS ART GALLERY

AUSTRIAN GOTHIC ENAMELS AND METALWORK

BY MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS
The Walters Art Gallery

Cloisonné enamelling on gold was one of the most glorious creations of the Byzantine art that flourished from the sixth to the twelfth centuries. Western Europe during the first millenium imported many examples of this luxurious art from Byzantium. As early as the seventh century European craftsmen learned the technique themselves and left us such beautiful pieces as King Alfred's jewel at Oxford or the Castellani brooch in the British Museum. During the eleventh century, with the increase in relics brought from the Near East and the need for reliquaries to hold them, European goldsmiths experimented with a new technique, that of *champlevé* enamelling on copper, which was far less costly and much easier to make. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw champlevé enamelling carried to a great height and several centres, such as the Mosan country, Cologne, Hildesheim and especially Limoges, produced great quantities of enamelled objects. From these regions all sorts of reliquaries and secular objects were sent over

most of Europe where numbers may be seen still today in many church treasuries.

The close of the thirteenth and the early fourteenth century witnessed the return to luxury in the minor arts, particularly in France. Simple champlevé enamelling on copper was in many instances replaced by the technique of enamel in translucent colors on silver or gold, a method called *bassetaille* because of the engraved background which showed through the enamel. The first scholars to write about enamels had the theory that in the fourteenth century bassetaille enamelling completely replaced champlevé, but this has long since been disproven.[1] Although little study has been made of the centres where champlevé enamels were made during the fourteenth century, in contrast to the work devoted to the earlier centuries, the production of one of them, Vienna, has been definitely separated from the great numbers that date from that century. Otto von Falke[2] was the first student of enamels to study the sole document concerning Viennese enamellers and to isolate a number of pieces mentioned in this document (and hence definitely Viennese), and the first to relate them to others.

Austria had not, to our present knowledge, practiced enamelling in the Romanesque period, and the early medieval enamels still in many Austrian churches and monasteries were clearly made at Cologne, Limoges, Hildesheim or other centres[3] famous during the twelfth and through the thirteenth centuries. In 1181[4] the canons of the Abbey of Klosterneuburg near Vienna summoned Nicholas of Verdun, probably the most famous enameller among those of the younger generation at that time, to decorate the ambon of the choir screen in their monastery. This undertaking was a considerable one and Nicholas quite possibly had an assistant or assistants to aid him. When Abbot Suger[5] called Godfroid de Clair to St. Denis to do the great enamelled candlestick, the artist brought with him several assistants. Jean de Limoges also had assistants when in the thirteenth century he made the enamelled tomb for Walter Merton, Bishop of Rochester, and added a charge for their help.[6] Hence, one can conclude that the great enamellers of the Middle Ages customarily had their assistants. Whether Nicholas of Verdun had helpers at Klosterneuburg, some of whom might have

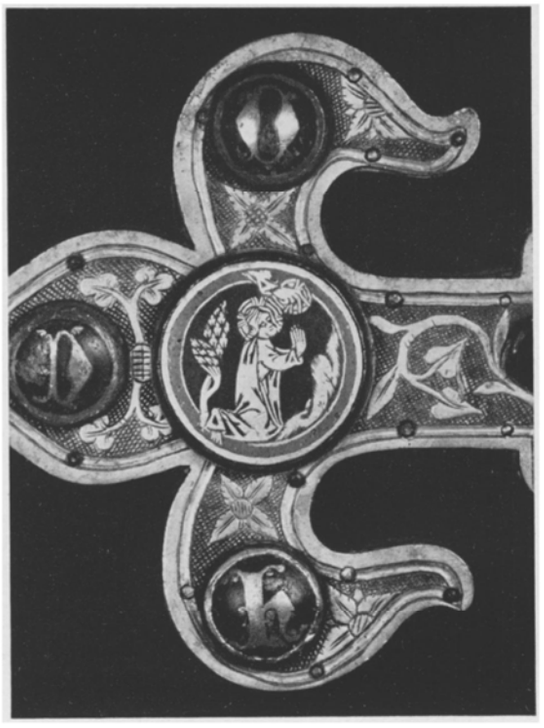

FIGURE 4
Gethsemane. Detail of Processional Cross

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[1] Willy Burger, *Abendländische Schmelzarbeiten* (Berlin, 1930), p. 72.

[2] *Wiener Grubenschmelz des XIV Jahrhunderts* in *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst,* XIX-XX (1906), No. 11, pp. 321 ff. *Gotische Grubenschmelzarbeiten* in *Pantheon,* VIII (1931), 340 ff.

[3] Falke, *Wiener Grubenschmelz,* p. 322.

[4] O. von Falke and H. Frauberger, *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten des Mittelalters* (Frankfort, 1904), p. 87.
A. Camesina and G. Heider, *Der Altaraufsatz in Regul. Chorherrnstifte zu Klosterneuburg* (Leipzig, 1860).
Drexler and Strommer, *Der Verduner Altar* (Vienna, 1903).

[5] E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XII siècle en France* (Paris, 1928), p. 153.

[6] See *Revue Archéologique* (1844), I, 339.

remained behind, or whether later on artists who worked in his tradition migrated to Vienna, may never be known. Whatever may have been the case, the late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Austrian enamels distinctly continue the tradition of Nicholas' work.

The attribution of these fourteenth-century enamels and metalwork to Vienna by von Falke was based not solely upon the objects themselves, but partly, as already noted, upon a statement in the "Little Chronicle" of Klosterneuburg, dated 1322. The text reads:[7]

> Anno Domini 1322: In the same year of the raising of the cross the monastery burned down . . . the large picture was saved with difficulty together with the wine . . . Anno 1324: he (Hobbst Steffan) had the beautiful pictures sent to Vienna to the goldsmith's, who renewed them with gold and put the beautiful ciborium on it, and the picture of our Lady in the midst in honor.

Von Falke identified this ciborium of the Abbot Stephen von Sierndorf as being the one still in the possession of the monastery, and the mention of the Madonna's picture as referring to the great altarpiece still there composed of the old enamels by Nicholas from the ambon, some paintings, one of them representing the Madonna, and six new enamels. Thus, the document definitely proves that enamels such as the ciborium and the new pieces on the altarpiece were made in Vienna. The year 1329 appears to have seen the completion of the alterations on the altarpiece, and so we not only have a group of enamels localized in Vienna, but the date of their production.

Von Falke, in his first article[8] on the Austrian Gothic enamels, studied in detail besides the ciborium, the paten and the six panels now at Klosterneuburg: a second ciborium from the same abbey that today belongs to The Pierpont Morgan Library; a third ciborium, remounted in the fifteenth century, which passed from the von Sallet collection into the Cologne Museum; a reliquary once in the Pickard collection of Nuremberg and now in the Kestner Museum at Hannover; another in the Louvre (Sauvageot collection); a cross in the Schnütgen collection in Cologne and a second in the church at Frauenchiemsee.

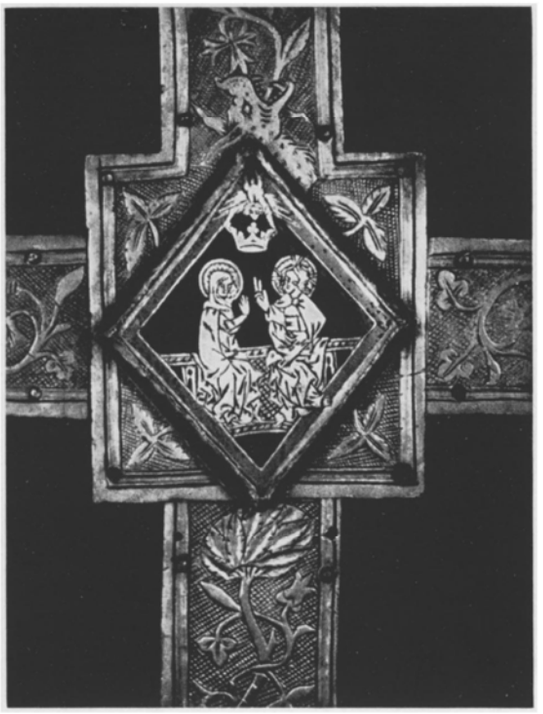

FIGURE 5

Coronation of the Virgin. Detail of Processional Cross

In a later article[9] the same writer published a

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[7] Falke, *Wiener Grubenschmelz*, p. 324:
Anno Dni 1322: in den selben jar[ar] creucz erhebung da bran das closter ab . . . die gross täffl hat man khäm erret mit wein . . . Anno 1324: er (hobbst steffan) scheuf, das man die schön taffel gehn wien fuert under die goldschmit, die verneuerten sie wider mit goldt und machten das schönn zibarn darauff und unser frauen bilt mitten in der eeren darein.

[8] *Wiener Grubenschmelz* with illustrations and bibliographies.

[9] *Gotische Grubenschmelzarbeiten* with illustrations and bibliographies.

fine silver cross in the hands of Gebrüder Lion, Munich dealers, a reliquary in the Bavarian National Museum and another later acquired by the Cleveland Museum. This last was published by W. M. Milligan[10] in the museum's *Bulletin* with an excellent summary of the German scholar's writings and a detailed discussion of the various distinctive traits of the workshop. Finally von Falke, in the portion of the Figdor sale catalogue written by him,[11] described a reliquary in that collection as being either South German or Austrian.

The enamels made in Vienna are very limited in color scheme: red, blue and turquoise being the chief colors employed. The actual enamel seems not to be of as fine quality as that found in Mosan or Limoges work. The figures are generally reserved in the copper and gilded, while the background is enamelled. The shadows in the drapery are represented by deeply engraved lines which are spiked at the ends and filled also with enamel. The metalwork has the same motifs as the enamels, being closely connected with the latter in every way. The shapes of the reliquaries are usually distinctive and rarely found elsewhere. The scenes depicted in enamel often have a direct relation to fourteenth-century Austrian paintings. The enamelled panels on the Klosterneuburg altar, for example, have been compared with the paintings on the back of the altar.

To von Falke's list, already impressive, the purpose of this paper is to add a discussion of the pieces from the Viennese or closely related ateliers which are now in the Walters Art Gallery. In all, the Gallery possesses seven pieces, four only being enamelled, the others merely in copper gilt. These seven add very much to our knowledge of the workshop and prove that it was even more active than hitherto suspected. In addition, several other examples in European collections not included in von Falke's discussions will be mentioned, one of them proving that the workshop flourished much earlier than is indicated by any item in the group published by him.

The most impressive piece in the possession of the Walters Gallery is a superb processional cross (fig. 1)[12] in copper gilt with medallions of champlevé enamel. The whole surface is engraved and etched with vine scrolls, oak leaves and animals. The figure of Our Lord crucified was originally in relief on the front, but is now missing. The engraved pelican remains just above, to mark where His head was. On the fleurdelizé arms are circular enamels representing the Annunciation, Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane, the Deposition and Peter and Paul. At the ends are round enamelled bosses each with a gilt letter. Of four other enamelled strips with vines or scrolls, only one now remains.

The reverse of the cross (fig. 2) has similar engraved designs, the bosses with gilt letters, three enamelled strips with scrolls and one inscribed I N R I. In the centre is a quadrangular plaque in enamel with the Coronation of the Virgin, while below it is another small one with the bust of a prophet. The four circular medallions at the ends represent the evangelists writing, accompanied by their symbols. The sides of the cross are covered with strips of silver worked *en repoussé*.

The whole cross fits into a large knop with enamelled medallions representing apostles. The handle is engraved to simulate mason-work.

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[10] *A Viennese Reliquary of the Fourteenth Century* in *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, XII (1933), 51, with illustration.

[11] *Kästchen aus Metall* in A. Figdor sale catalogue (Berlin, 1930), V part I, No. 346, pl. CXLII; from the Geiger Collection in Meran.

[12] No. 44.120. From the Chalandon Collection. H., .975; W., .485. Acquired 1927.

FIGURE 6. *Châsse (back)* WALTERS ART GALLERY

The enamels on the front and back of the cross are in the same style as those on The Pierpont Morgan Library ciborium, so close, in fact, that one might suspect the same hand. Many details and motifs relate this cross directly to the Viennese atelier: the use of the pelican above the crucified Christ, the little tree in the medallion of the Agony in the Garden (fig. 4), the rosettes as in the roundel representing SS. Peter and Paul, the prophet depicted in a lozenge as in the cross belonging to the Gebrüder Lion, the crown in the coronation scene (fig. 5) which is found on the Morgan ciborium,[13] the enamelled scroll work as on the Klosterneuburg triptych and the engraved scrolls and oak leaves of the background such as are found on all the various pieces already described as Viennese by von Falke. In short, the cross is one of the most typical objects that can be attributed to the Viennese workshop, not only being stylistically related, but having all the motifs affected by the Viennese goldsmiths and enamellers.

Next in importance among the objects in Baltimore, but without enamel work, is the beautiful house-shaped châsse (fig. 3)[14] in copper gilt over a wooden core, resting on four grotesques cast in copper with chiselled details. The front has in the centre a protruding gable sheltering a relief of the Madonna and Child. The panels on the front and sides are engraved with scrolls terminating in oak leaves. These

[13] Schnütgen, *Frühgotische kupfervergoldeter emailliertes Ciborium der Sammlung-A. von Oppenheim* in *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst*, XVII (1904), 271.

[14] No. 53.27. Ex-colls. E. Odiot (Sale Paris, April 26-27, 1889, No. 62) and Chabrière-Arles. H., .135; L., .14; W., .08.

panels and a cylinder crowning the roof are set with chatons containing colored stones, mother of pearl, turquoise and rock crystal, the last appearing on the sides and covering relics. The lower panel at the back has a long inscription giving an inventory of the relics which the reliquary was originally designed to contain. This inscription, illustrated in Figure 6, may be translated roughly in these words:

> Of a tooth of St. Bartholomew; of SS. Peter and Paul, Thomas, Stephen, Pantaleon, martyrs; and of the head of Christopher, martyr; of the Eleven Thousand Virgins; of the sepulchre of Our Lord; of Benedict, Abbot; of the cradle of the Lord; of the hair of the B. Virgin; of the garment of Cornelius and of other Saints.

The shape of this reliquary together with the roll at the top recurs often among those from the Austrian workshop, such as those in the Cleveland Museum, the Kestner Museum in Hannover, the former Figdor collection, and one in the Cathedral of Eriskirch[15] as yet unpublished in connection with the Austrian goldsmiths' work. The scroll-work appears on the cross of Frauenchiemsee, on the reliquary in the Bavarian National Museum, on the Deposition panel of the Klosterneuburg altar and also on another reliquary, not yet mentioned in connection with the Viennese workshop, that came to the Vienna Museum from Ambras.[16] The cabochon settings are like those on the last-mentioned reliquary and on the one in Cleveland, the latter having also a relief of the Madonna and Child. The device of placing figures under two trefoiled Gothic arches may be seen in many medieval Austrian paintings.[17] In the inscription the form *de dente* probably meaning "part of the tooth" may be paralleled by the *de oleo* on the Ambras reliquary. In short, the Walters reliquary not only stylistically resembles objects in Austria, but has details and motifs relating it directly to pieces identified as Viennese. Unfortunately the monastery for which it was made is not known, but the phrase "of Benedict, Abbot" in the inscription suggests it was of the Benedictine order.

Closely connected with the above reliquary is another[18] of a vesica, or pointed oval shape (fig. 7), which has an old label stating that it came from the Benedictine Abbey of Zweifalten near Ulm, once a direct fief of the Holy Roman Empire. The reliquary is composed of a wooden core covered with gilded copper plates. The central portion of the front is hollow for holding a relic and is covered with grill-work. The border is engraved with the same scrolls and interspersed with cabochons in raised collars as on the reliquary just described. The back (fig. 8) is engraved with a fret design filled with quatrefoil with a copper *repoussé* medallion in the centre depicting the *Agnus dei*. At the sides are two handles for suspending it above the altar.

The scrolls on the front border interspersed with cabochons class it at once with the reliquaries already identified as Viennese, while the shape is the same as that of the Ambras reliquary in Vienna. The fact that Zweifalten was a fief of the Holy Roman Empire and the Ambras collection was formed by Hapsburgs may have some significance, since pointed oval reliquaries for suspending are rare, indeed they are unknown to me in any other region. On the reverse (fig. 8) of the Walters reliquary is a *repoussé* medallion in copper such as is often found among the Vien-

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[15] G. E. Pazaurek, *Alte Goldschmiedearbeiten aus Schwäbische Kirchenschatz* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 23, pl. VII.

[16] E. Kris, *Goldschmiedearbeiten des Mittelalters, der Renaissance und des Barock aus den Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* (Vienna, 1932), pl. 1.

[17] B. Kurth, *Die Wiener Tafelmalerei in der erster Hälfte des 14. Jhrs.* in *Jhb. der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, Neue Folge, III (1929), figs. 29-30. Also note other comparisons of enamels and paintings.

[18] No. 53.6; H., .165; W., .14.

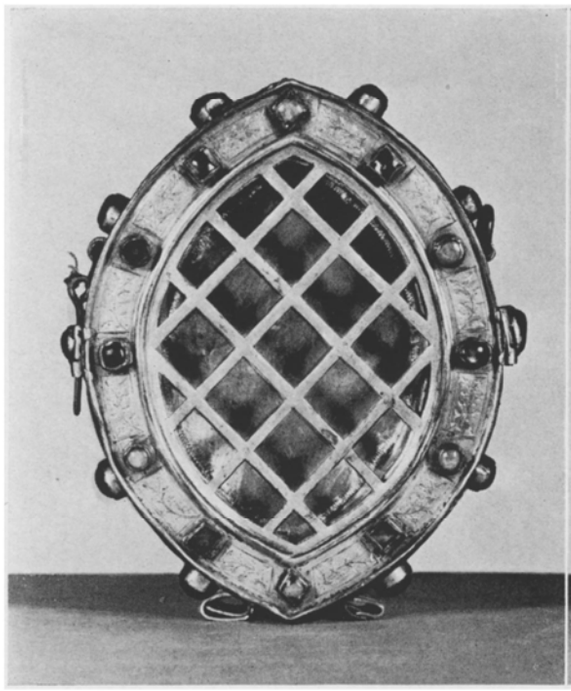

FIGURE 7 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Reliquary (front)

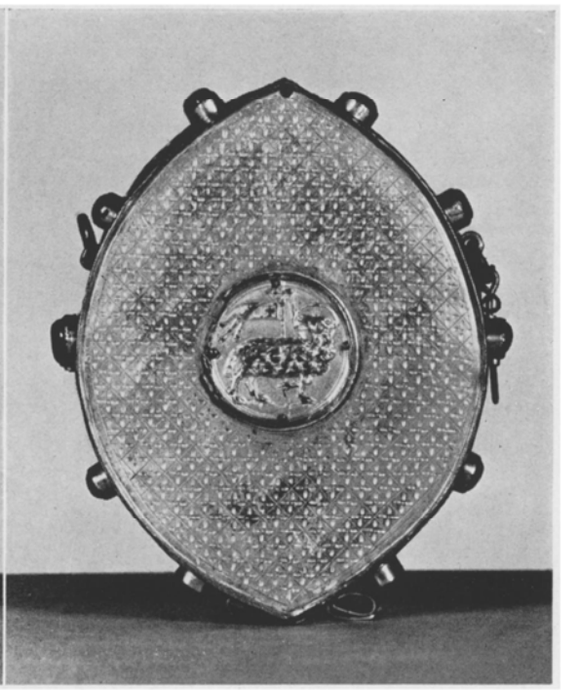

FIGURE 8 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Reliquary (back)

nese productions, a splendid instance being those about the base of the Klosterneuburg ciborium.

A square enamelled panel, representing a bishop saint blessing and standing in a quatrefoil, is the next enamel[19] to be discussed (fig. 9). On either side of the bishop is a small oak tree with acorns. In the corners are oak leaves and masks of monsters; the border is a dentil motif recalling that about the top of the Klosterneuburg ciborium. The back has four projecting loops for attaching the whole to a reliquary or a cross.

Although this enamel was published as Spanish by Victor Gay[20] to whom it once belonged, it has no connection with those enamels *known* as Spanish, of which I have made a special study. The technique is certainly Viennese, while the oak trees are almost a signature of the Austrian atelier. Even the crenelated border is typical and is found again on the Eriskirch reliquary. The bishop saint has no symbol by which he can be identified; possibly he is St. Nicholas who figures on the Ambras reliquary, or the St. Bambacius found on the Hannover one.

Not nearly as fine is a square plaque (fig. 10)[21] with the representation of the Christ crucified between Mary and John, with the sun and moon at the top. The background is broken up by a number of quatrefoils reserved in the gilded copper. The reverse is grooved for attaching it to something larger and the four corners have been cut away. This panel came in all probability from a box such as the one from the Piet-Lataudrie collection in the Louvre, published as

[19] No. 44.70; H., .078; W., .079. Acquired 1925.
[20] *Glossaire Archéologique* (Paris, 1887), I, 623.
[21] No. 44.8; H., .075; W., .057.

FIGURE 9 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Bishop Saint

Viennese by Gaston Migeon.[22] On this box the same quatrefoils fill the backgrounds of the two end panels, while the familiar oak decorates the central one. Separate enamels for attaching to a frame of copper form another trait of the Viennese work.

A rectangular plaque (fig. 11)[23] in the Walters Gallery is also partly enamelled. The central motif is the Crucifixion in relief under two Gothic arches, the whole raised above the background. To the sides are fastened two enamelled panels with coats-of-arms, probably those of the donors. The whole has a frame with pearling for a border, while at the upper right corner is a sole remaining rivet, formed like a flower. At the back are again four loops for fastening to a larger object. The workmanship is on the whole poor and the enamel has been injured in several places. This enamel, acquired as French, has too many stylistic and other characteristics of the Austrian school for one to believe it could be from any other region. The enamelled portions are separate and detachable in a fashion not found among Limoges enamels. The pearled border, the flower-like head of the rivet at the corner, the Crucifixion scene under a double Gothic arch, are details that can all be paralleled in this atelier. The Christ with His hands raised is an iconographical detail similar to that on the Eriskirch reliquary, and the sketchy rendering of the fingers recurs often among the figures on the enamelled medallions from Vienna. Lastly, the crests consisting of elaborate helmets surmounted by bulls' horns, like those which had formed an ornament for helmets in Viking days, continued to be used in German and Austrian heraldry,[24] many examples of which may be seen in the Zurich *Wappenrolle*[25] or the Manasseh manuscript,[26] and place this panel definitely in a Germanic country.

The last Walters piece to be described is a fragment of a six-sided ciborium in copper gilt (fig. 12).[27] Each side was once adorned with a *repoussé* medallion, only three now remaining; these represent the Crucifixion, Resurrection and Christ in Majesty. About the upper edge appears the crenellated decoration as on the Klosterneuburg ciborium. This crenellation and the use of *repoussé* medallions are both typical of Austrian work. The ciborium may be somewhat later in date than the others discussed and perhaps may even have been produced in southern Germany, but it has enough Austrian traits for it to be included in any discussion on the subject.

In addition to the group in the Walters Gallery, the reliquaries of Ambras, Eriskirch and the Louvre, several other pieces from the Vienna

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[22] *La Collection de M. Piet-Lataudrie* in *Les Arts* (August, 1909), p. 10.

[23] No. 44.111; H., .108; W., .17.

[24] A. C. Fox-Davies, *The Art of Heraldry* (London, 1904), p. 152. I am indebted to Miss Meta Harrsen for this reference.

[25] W. Merz and F. Hegi, *Die Wappenrolle von Zuerich* (Zurich, 1930), cf., Nos. 69 or 334.

[26] *Die Manessesche Handschrift* (Leipzig, 1927), I, 165 r; II, 82 v, etc. Date of ms.: ca. 1304-1340.

[27] No. 53.7; H., .14; W., .10.

atelier not discussed by von Falke might be mentioned here. On a book cover from Kloster Metten,[28] now in Munich, is a rectangular enamelled panel with St. Michael slaying the dragon. The technique of the shadows with spiked ends and the crude hands are enough to place this at once as Viennese. A buckle in the museum at Budapest[29] with the same draperies and the tree motif so often mentioned has the unique distinction of being the only secular object in this group so far known to me; the subject, too, is secular, being the representation of a battle scene. In the cathedral treasure at Prague is a small enamelled fragment related to this group.

Most remarkable of all, however, are two crosses in the cathedral of Regensburg published by Dr. Hanns Swarzenski.[30] The older one (fig. 13), more beautiful even than the Klosterneuburg ciborium, bears the inscription: R E X. OTAKARVS. ME. FECIT. Ottakar, the second of that name, reigned in Bohemia from 1253-78. We may conclude that his reign was important for the production of goldsmiths' work, since the cross at Vyssi Brod with Byzantine enamels in a local setting was, according to a very old legend, given by Zavis Vitkovic[31] who came into power during Ottakar's time. In 1251 Ottakar was elected Duke of Austria, where he strengthened his position by marrying Margaret (d. 1267), sister of Duke Frederick II, last Batenberg ruler of the duchy. Ottakar held Austria until 1276 when he lost it in battle, thus giving us an *antequem* date for the cross.

The Regensburg cross is very elaborately decorated and calls to mind at once the nielloed cross from Clairmarais[32] now in the Museum of Saint-Omer. On both the four evangelists are represented seated at their desks composing the Gospels, a tree growing beside each one. The cross from Clairmarais is thought to date from the early years of the thirteenth century and its importance for us lies in the fact that it follows closely the tradition of Nicholas of Verdun and

FIGURE 10 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Crucifixion

is one step nearer to him. This seems to me definite proof that the earlier cross at Regensburg was made by enamellers trained in the traditions of Nicholas, although actually it is to be dated nearly a hundred years after he had been called to Austria to decorate the ambon of Klosterneuburg. Limoges continued its traditions for nearly the whole of the thirteenth century,[33] with only slight changes or innovations, so that such a closely followed tradition is not beyond possibility in Austria where art was flourishing much

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[28] M. Rosenberg, *Geschichte der Goldschmiedekunst auf technische Grundlage: Niello* (Frankfort, 1924), I, 13, fig. 2.

[29] *Ibid.*, II (Frankfort, 1925), fig. 63, p. 63.

[30] *Die lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften des XIII Jahrhunderts in dem Ländern am Rhein, Main and Danau* (Berlin, 1936). Ottakar's cross, fig. 24; later cross, fig. 25. See note 1, page 36. I am indebted to Dr. Swarzenski for much help and advice.

[31] Karel Chytil, *The Byzantine Enamels on the Závis Cross at Vyssi Brod* (Prague, 1930).

[32] Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 30.

[33] See E. Rupin, *L'oeuvre de Limoges* (Paris, 1890-92).

less vigorously in the thirteenth century than in such centres as Paris or along the Rhine. The enamels on the cross have many of the characteristics identified as Austrian. The folds in the drapery are done with the same spiked ends, the oak trees so popular with these enamellers are here, and the various panels are held in place by rivets with star-like heads very like those on the later portions of the Klosterneuburg altar. The artist who made the cross was, however, nearer the old traditions, less careless, and rendered such details as hands and feet far more ably. Metalwork and enamels of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century cannot often be dated. Hence the cross of Ottakar II is particularly noteworthy. Also it serves to link more closely the fourteenth-century Gothic enamels of Vienna and those made by Nicholas of Verdun in the twelfth century.

The second cross at Regensburg has a panel with the Crucifixion and the familiar oak trees. This is a little later than the cross just discussed, but forms an excellent transition to the Sierndorf ciborium and the six panels of 1322-29 at Klosterneuburg. The beautiful filigree on the arms of the cross is ample proof that the traditions of the thirteenth century are still in full force.

Curiously enough there are no other enamels to bridge this gap between 1253-78 and 1322-29. Perhaps they exist in museums or collections but have not yet been studied and dated.[34] A number, however, may be grouped around the Sierndorf ciborium and paten, and the six panels at Klosterneuburg, all of which appear to have been completed between the years 1322 and 1329. The Pierpont Morgan ciborium, though less elegant, is of the same period, as is also the Walters processional cross, another belonging to

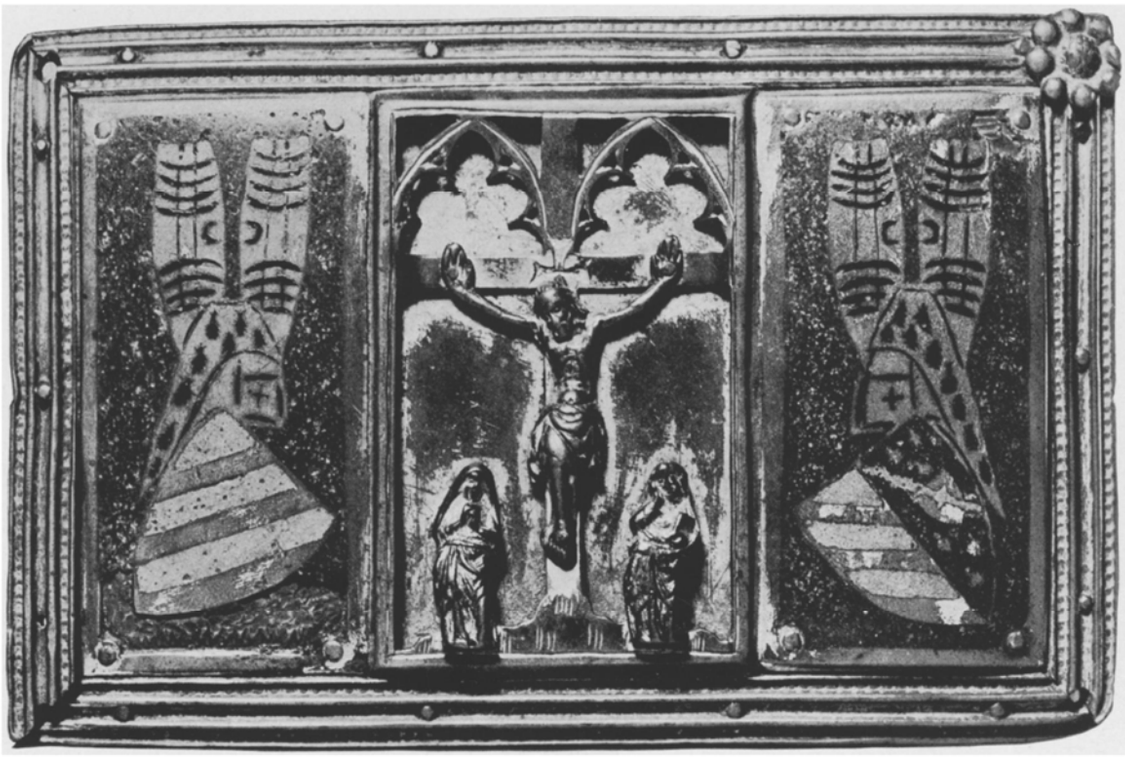

FIGURE 11. *Crucifixion* WALTERS ART GALLERY

the Gebrüder Lion of Munich, a third in the Cologne Museum and the reliquary at Hannover. Slightly later, perhaps, are the bishop plaque in the Walters Gallery and the panel on the Kloster Metten book cover.

Four other pieces already mentioned have precisely the same sort of decoration and may be directly related to one another. They are the reliquaries in the Walters collection with the Madonna and Child and the one from Zwiefalten, the reliquary from Ambras and the cross of Frauenchiemsee.[35] Since one of them has always been in Austria and all have the same decoration as the Vienna pieces of the Klosterneuburg altar, they seem definitely Austrian. Kris compared the shape of the Ambras reliquary with seals of about 1330-40, a date approximately correct for all four. Only slightly later are the Cleveland châsse, the Schnütgen cross and the little enamelled Crucifixion panel in the Walters Gallery.

The scroll decoration becomes more degenerate on the reliquary at Eriskirch and on another one in the Figdor collection. Von Falke suggested a South German *or* Austrian origin for the latter, but the shape and so many of the decorative motifs are like the Vienna pieces that the inspiration must surely have been Viennese, if they were not actually made in Austria. The Gothic art of southern Germany and Austria[36] was closely linked, as one can see from the painting, so that a successful workshop in one place might encourage a rival in the other to imitation.

FIGURE 12 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Fragment of Ciborium

The Eriskirch reliquary with the enamelled medallion of the Crucifixion, in which Christ hangs with His crudely depicted hands pointing upwards, dates from approximately the same time as the Walters plaque with the Crucifixion similarly represented, but in relief. These are the latest and crudest of all the pieces that can be connected with the Viennese atelier and their poor technique points to a decline that spells the end. Probably the new style of bassetaille enamelling on silver had reached Austria and pushed aside the older, simpler technique of champlevé. The crozier[37] from Reichenau now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London was made for the abbot of that monastery in 1351 and is of South German origin. The use of

[34] As this is going to press Dr. Swarzenski has called my attention to a metalwork bookcover on a manuscript dated 1320, which belongs to the city of Vienna. This cover shows Christ in a mandorla surrounded by the familiar oak-leaf scrolls worked in relief in metal. Photographs of this manuscript may be seen in The Pierpont Morgan Library.

[35] *Kunstdenkmäler des Königreich Bayerns,* vol. II of plates, pl. 233. Text, vol. I, part 2, p. 1772 says restored in 1590.

[36] See B. Kurth, *op. cit.,* p. 27.

[37] W. W. Watts, *Catalogue of Pastoral Staves* (Victoria and Albert Museum), (London, 1924), No. 8, pl. 13. And H. P. Mitchell in *Burlington Magazine,* XXXII (1918), 65-73.

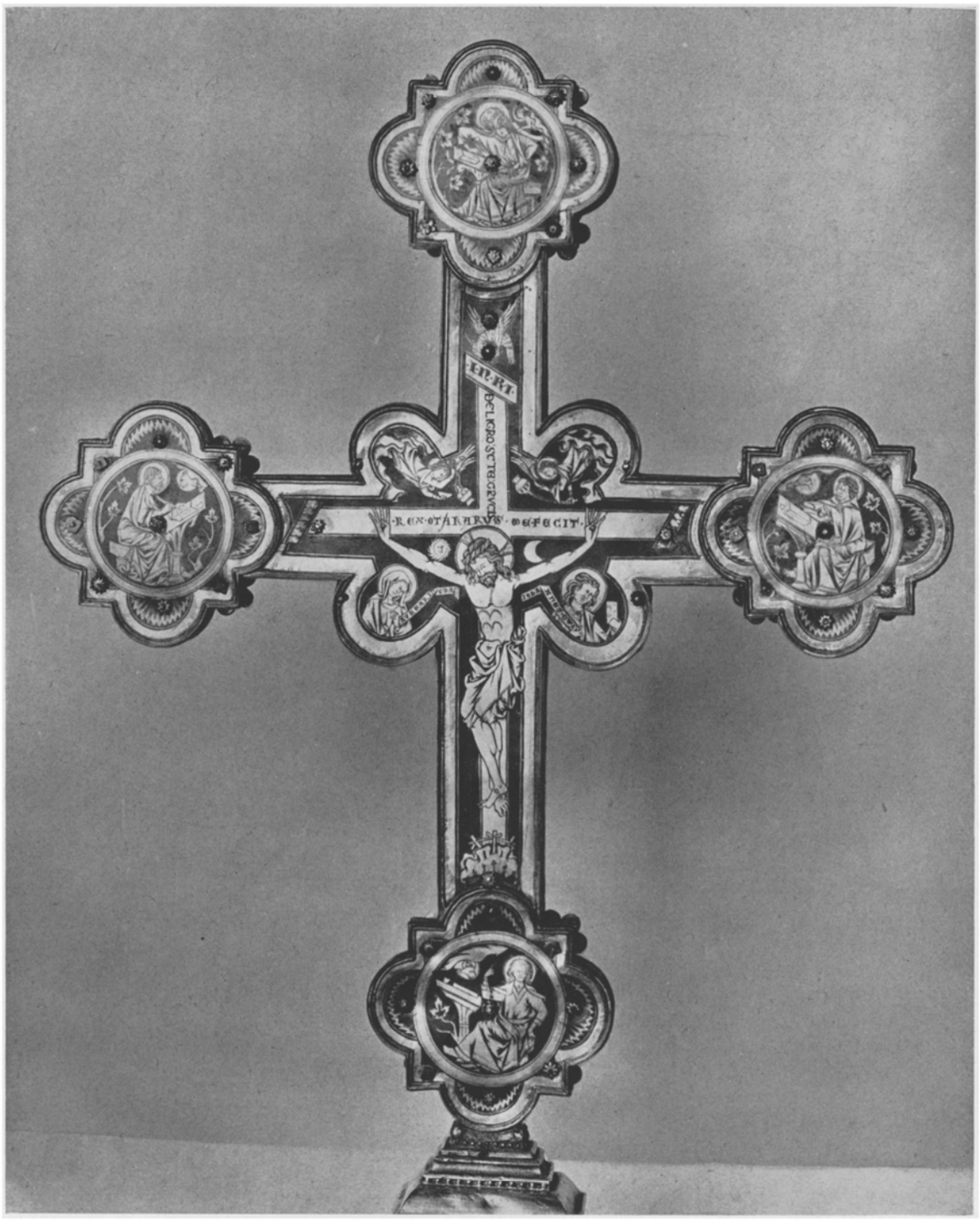

FIGURE 13. *Ottakar's Cross (courtesy of Dr. Hanns Swarzenski)* CATHEDRAL TREASURY, REGENSBURG

the newer technique in this instance seems to indicate that the theory that champlevé enamelling declined in Austria about the middle of the century might be the true one.

The Austrian enamels and goldsmiths' work in the Walters Art Gallery indicate that the Viennese workshop was far more prolific than we have hitherto known. These, together with the others newly discussed as Austrian, add greatly to our knowledge of the workshop, while Ottakar's processional cross of before 1276 pushes the history of the atelier back nearly fifty years earlier than von Falke supposed when he published the document from the Klosterneuburg Chronicle of 1322 and the enamels which it mentions.

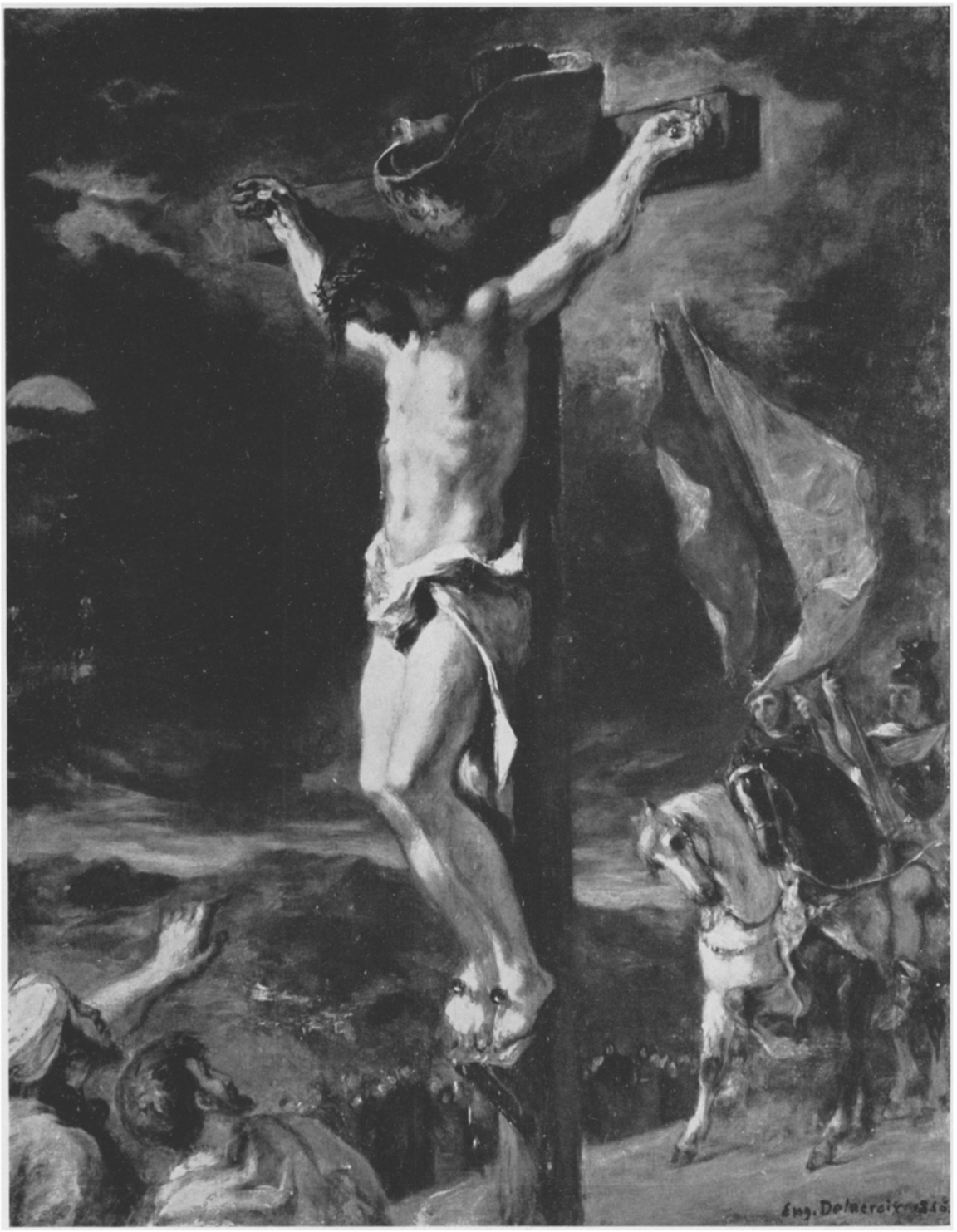

FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

DELACROIX

Christ on the Cross

DELACROIX'S PAINTINGS
IN THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

BY EDWARD S. KING
The Walters Art Gallery

I.

THE PRESENT publication of Delacroix's pictures in the Walters Art Gallery affords an opportunity for probing into certain aspects of his style and technique. The character of this style or language remains notably illusive of interpretation, despite the many interpretative remarks that have been passed upon it; consequently, the art of Delacroix, though classified, still largely defies definition in critical terms.[1] Delacroix's expression of form and function by drawing and modeling has often seemed negative when compared to the strength and fulsomeness of perhaps his greatest model, Rubens. There are always those who regard Delacroix as a more or less weak reflection of the Flemish master, and his style as more or less inadequate for the embodiment of his ideas.[2] And there are those, in considerable number, for whom his style supposedly performs all that is demanded of it, as the language of "one of the greatest masters of all time," or as that of "the greatest of French painters."[3] In this connection, Delacroix's great repute with and his influence on later artists of note—"*Je serai le trompette de ceux qui feront de grandes choses*"[4]—Courbet, Manet, Renoir, Cézanne, demand their due respect.[5] Delacroix's technique, or painter's procedure, both in regard to its own characteristics and in its relation to comparable technical modes of other painters, yet awaits a satisfactory study and definition. A more intimate understanding of his technical processes should make his relationship to Rubens fairly clear, as well as provide data of real value for an estimation of his own manner.[6]

Delacroix has left us a body of literary reflection, of a volume almost unparalleled in the history of writings by artists, to which many of the difficult problems posed by his art may be cogently referred. On the other hand, his written work also poses many matters for the fulfillment of which some look to his paintings. The following discussion is restricted mainly to the Walters pictures and offers a number of observations arising therefrom which contribute their quota toward a reply to these perplexing questions.

The Walters Gallery owns nine works all listed until recently under the name of Delacroix; two of them, however, must be regarded here as copies or forgeries (Nos. 5 and 9 below). The first three in the following list are reproduced for the interest of those concerned: they remain unstudied and there is consequently no comment of a critical nature to offer.

[1] Notes will be found at end of this article.

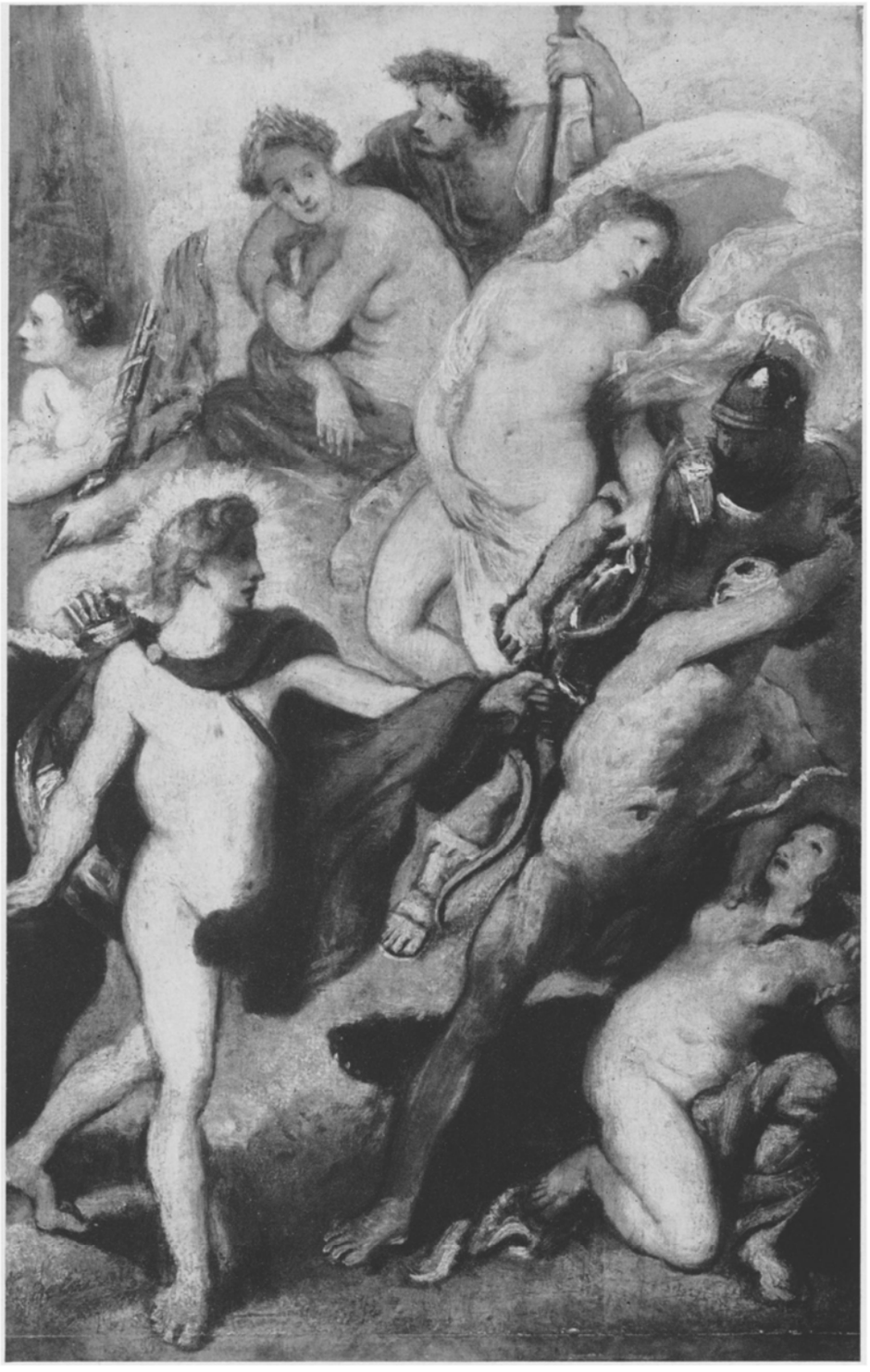

FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Oil-sketch after Rubens' "Government of the Queen." Imitation of Delacroix's manner

(1) Pencil drawing of a Monk in a Grotto with a Skull, a Crucifix and a Flagellant's Scourge (1821).[7] (Fig. 21.)

(2) Pen drawing of a Lion and Tortoise (1835).[8] (Fig. 23.)

(3) Watercolor of a Lion and Snake (1846).[9] (Fig. 22.)

The paintings in oil are:

(4) Sketch for the Battle of Poitiers (1830).[10] (Fig. 19.)

(5) Combat of Moorish Horsemen (1833.)[11] (Fig. 15.)

(6) Christ on the Cross (1846).[12] (Fig.1.)

(7) Marfisa (1852).[13] (Fig. 11.)

(8) Christ on the Sea of Galilee (1854).[14] (Fig. 5.)

(9) Oil sketch after part of Rubens' "Government of the Queen" of the Marie de Médici series in the Louvre (fig. 2). This last work must be considered spurious because it is in no respect like Delacroix's own. The illustration makes it fairly obvious that its clumsiness and crudity are not alone due to its casualness as a sketch-copy; inspection of the painting itself leaves no doubt as to the falseness of the attribution. The distortions of form appear as sheer ineptitude with no parallels to Delacroix's manner. The paint is applied in a heavy, ungainly fashion as though laid on by a house-painter, and the high lights are lacking in any meaning. The work is as weak a reflection of Delacroix as it is of Rubens.[15]

II.

It is a commonplace that Delacroix's manner continues the general Baroque tradition, and many of his creations seem, consequently, as though haunted by memories of earlier masters. In a number of instances these intimations take on the more specific character of translations from particular pictures of the past. In the ensuing section, certain effects in some of his works are regarded as resulting from his study of Rubens and Michelangelo particularly. The general situation regarding this matter of adaptation has been well put in an epigrammatic way when it was said that "the great Fleming lurks in all his figures."[16] It is in this sense that the influence of Rubens and Michelangelo, etc., is taken in the instances which follow, and not in any sense suggestive of exact copying. Delacroix, like Brahms, may be said to have imitated from many directions and to have copied from none. A good deal could be quoted from his writings to show how inimical copying in the sense of tracing was to his point-of-view: one passage from his *Journal* will serve to indicate his position.

> . . . the admiration which these privileged men[17] (i. e., the great masters) inspire . . . should not be a blind admiration; to worship them in all their aspects would be . . . most dangerous; the majority of artists . . . are inclined to lean upon the weaknesses of the great men and to assume authority therefrom. Those sides of the great, which are generally exaggerations of their particular feeling, easily become gross blunders with weak imitators; whole schools have been founded on badly interpreted parts of the masters, deplorable errors have been the result of their thoughtless zeal, . . . or rather from the inability to reproduce something of their sublime parts.[18]

There are seventeen, perhaps more, portrayals of the Crucifixion by Delacroix, if sketches are included.[19] Throughout the series there appear to be consistent reminiscences of Rubens' and van Dyck's portrayals of the subject.[20] Delacroix made a broadly handled pastel sketch after Rubens' "*le Coup de Lance*" in the Antwerp Museum[21] (fig. 3), and when this *souvenir* is compared with the Walters picture (fig. 1) the essential similarities in the figures of Christ become clear. In the sketch it is the principal muscular masses, the saliences of form and the character of the contours with which Delacroix was preoccupied, and these same features treated after the same, if in a more finished, fashion, appear again in the Walters version.[22] The

FIGURE 3 LOUVRE (*Archives photographiques*)

DELACROIX

Pastel-sketch after Rubens' "le coup de lance"

sketch on canvas in the collection of Mme. Clemenceau-Meurice[23] (fig. 4), which repeats the composition of the Walters picture, resembles still more the *souvenir* after Rubens, owing to its similar manner as a sketch. We would have an intelligible enough sequence had these three works by Delacroix been executed in the order: the Louvre sketch after Rubens, the Clemenceau-Meurice study and the finished Walters painting. It is the reverse order, however, that we find at hand. The Walters picture is dated 1846; according to Robaut (No. 995) the Clemenceau-Meurice study was done after the Walters painting in 1847; and the *souvenir*

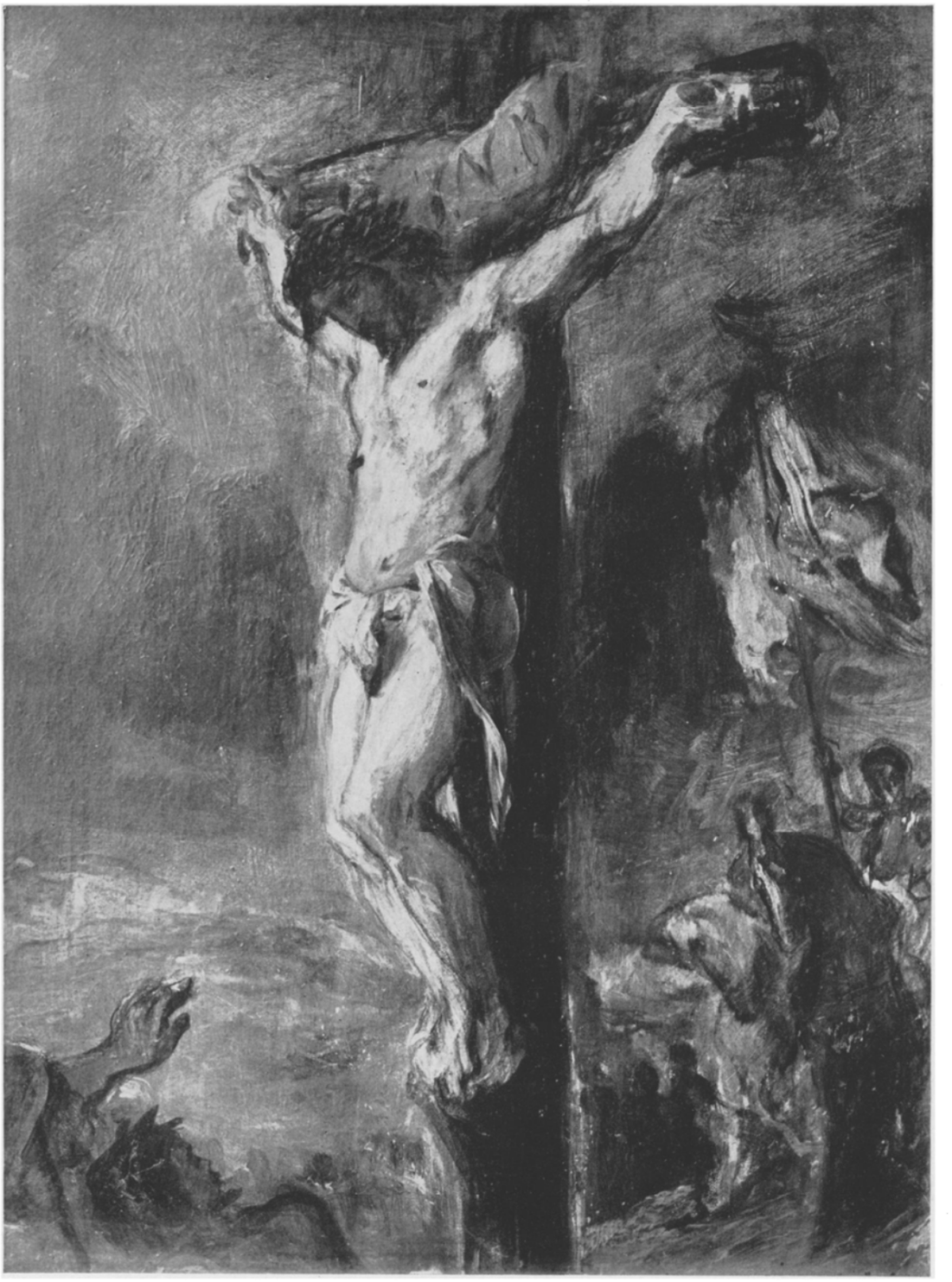

FIGURE 4 COLLECTION CLEMENCEAU-MEURICE (*Archives photographiques*)

DELACROIX

Oil-sketch of Christ on the Cross

of "*le Coup de Lance*" has been dated 1850 to agree with Delacroix's visit to the Antwerp Museum on August 10th of that year.[24] But whatever might be the chronological sequence of the three works, the conformity among them in all essentials is perfectly apparent. And it is the supposedly later *souvenir* which explains the formal character of the Walters "Christ on the Cross": by showing in its *rôle* as a study the characteristic intermediate step between the point-of-departure in Rubens and Delacroix's finished painting.

The pointing man at the left of the Walters picture recalls the figure in the same position and performing the same function in van Dyck's "Crucifixion" in Malines Cathedral,[25] and the horsemen with banners at the right are analogous to the group at the right of van Dyck's Brussels Museum "Crucifixion."[26]

Including preliminary studies and drawings, Delacroix represented the scene of "Christ on the Sea of Galilee"[27] at least fourteen or fifteen times. All of these versions fall into two types of composition.[28] One type, probably the first used by Delacroix, is illustrated by the Walters example, the other type by that in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 6). The examples of the first type show in common a single or double masted sailing vessel carrying either seven or eight figures. The boat is placed further away from the picture plane than is the case with the arrangement in the second group, giving in consequence a larger *rôle* in the composition to the sea.[29] The compositions of the examples forming the second group are all almost identical, with small variations in the waves and distant hills. In each case the boat, without sail, moves toward the upper left of the picture and is crowded to overloading with ten figures.[30]

Delacroix's adaptations or translations of Renaissance-Baroque postures and gestures are recognizable as such in several of the figures of these Galilee versions. Thus the man pulling on the rope in the center of the Walters picture is a kind of echo of the man also pulling a rope in Rubens' "Elevation of the Cross" in Antwerp Cathedral, a picture with which Delacroix was greatly taken.[31] The Apostle with outstretched arms who approaches the sleeping Christ, while evocative of Baroque disposition, can scarcely be referred, however, to any particular earlier likeness.[32] The most interesting aspect of this figure is its peculiarly Delacroix character,[33] particularly the outstretched hand which is of the sort that occurs numberless times in Delacroix's works and which is as recognizable as a signature. His "Prisoner of Chillon" (fig. 7) offers an instance especially close in treatment. The outstretched hand, or hands, expressive of such a variety of motives in later Renaissance and Baroque art, are likewise widely employed by Delacroix in the same general fashion, but with the difference that in his work, whatever the nature of the subject, the hands seem invariably incapable of performing any really effective action; they have a curious, uncertain, floating effect, as though the intention back of them was unresolved. In Roger Fry's words, Delacroix's "poses are only approximate, they have not the inevitability of vital gestures."[34] If, however, his hands are taken as denoting a kind of feebleness or a sort of tentative supplication, they appear as peculiarly expressive "emotive fragments" in his style and make the sharpest contrast with the more 'normal' and purposeful hands of his Renaissance-Baroque predecessors or with counterparts as seen in a style of greater actuality, as in the case of Baron Gros (figs. 7 and 8).[35]

Still closer analogies obtain between Renaissance-Baroque postures and gestures, or those of classical works (of which the later examples are doubtless modifications in many instances) and certain figures of Delacroix's second type of

WALTERS ART GALLERY

DELACROIX
Christ on the Sea of Galilee

FIGURE 5

composition for the Galilee theme (figs. 6 and 10). Thus the conspicuous figure with upraised arms, a gesture most characteristic of Renaissance-Baroque excitement, occurs frequently with Raphael and Rubens.[36] The figure with the right arm raised and bent back over the head[37] (fig. 10) succinctly recalls the familiar classical gesture used in scenes of strife, as in the reliefs from the Temple of Apollo at Bassae (Phigaleia) in the British Museum (fig. 9). Delacroix presumably saw these reliefs on his visits to the British Museum during his stay in England in 1825,[38] when he made studies after the Parthenon sculptures.[39] He has not of course made a replica here of any particular Greek detail, but when a considerable number of Greek examples is examined, showing the variations of the gesture, it becomes difficult to avoid the impression that he composed or 'distilled' his figure from Greek sources.[40] His long preoccupation with and great admiration for classic art would alone be sufficient to account for classical features in his style; in the present instance, as in that of the nude of the "Marfisa," discussed below, there is more specific evidence of this interest in his artistic practice.[41]

In the "Marfisa" (fig. 11) the figure of Pinabel's mistress has a particular interest. This nude is of a somewhat more monumental mould than the other two figures and stands in a decidedly posed manner. These qualifications, despite the compact way in which the figure is worked into the composition,[42] produce an effect of its being to some extent a thing apart, as though drawn from another context and imposed upon the scene. The appreciably disjoined effect and the suggestion of another context appear to be readily explained by the figure's classical reminiscences. Its general disposition recalls a modification of the Venus dei Medici type[43] and still more, in view of the drapery, a variation on the themes of the Syracuse Venus[44] and the *vénus au bain* generally.[45] The elements of these classical types are repeated here: the weight on one leg, the turn of the head and torso, and the arms crossing before the body. The principal differences lie in the departure from the usual classical manner of balance, which raises the arm opposite the leg on which the weight of the body rests—although the Artemis from Gabii, for example, rests on the right leg and lifts the right arm as here[46]—and in the greater twist which Delacroix has given the body. This last feature merely suggests a more Baroque treatment, as in similar adaptations from the antique by Giovanni da Bologna and Rubens.[47]

Another case of the transformative uses to which Delacroix put earlier works is illustrated by his "St. Sebastian Succoured by Holy Women" in the church at Nantua (Ain) (fig. 13).[48] The posture of St. Sebastian's body appears more than casually reminiscent of the figure of Christ in four paintings by Rubens. In general position the resemblance is with the two "Lamentations over Christ," in the Liechtenstein Gallery, Vienna (fig. 14), and the Antwerp Museum.[49] The latter picture is also analogous to the "St. Sebastian" in its diagonal composition with a deep landscape vista to one side, a typically Baroque arrangement.[50] The disposition of the torso and arms of the Sebastian shows fairly close similarity with Rubens' "Christ in the Sepulchre," in the Antwerp Museum, while the foreshortened position of the legs is strikingly like that of the Christ in the same Museum's "Trinity,"[51] even though the two figures are inclined in opposite directions.[52]

These resemblances are too close to be accidental; rather they appear as veritable transformations of Rubens' work. So considered, they merely add to the many other adaptations from Rubens which Delacroix made for his own ends, and thus appear as one of the normal features of his style.[53]

FIGURE 6 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (*courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum*)

DELACROIX

Christ on the Sea of Galilee

The three heads of the Nantua picture, on the other hand, with their marked effect of idealized beauty and a certain nobility of form, have subtle connotations of Michelangelo. Their contours and shapes of facial features, softly modeled though they are, bring certain heads of Michelangelo constantly to mind. The underlying similarity herein appears so manifest that the implication of Michelangelo as the source of inspiration seems plausible enough. The pertinent confrontations for the heads are as follows. For the woman who extracts the arrow, see Michelangelo's Bruges "Madonna;" and, close in a number of facial particulars, the "Madonna" of the Bargello relief; the "Delphian Sibyl;" the figure to the left of the "Cumaean Sibyl;" and the Virgin of the "Last Judgment."[54] For the woman to the right, compare the profile of Michelangelo's figure to the left of the Sistine Isaiah and the "Night" on Giuliano dei Medici's tomb.[55] Here especially, and allowing for Delacroix's modifications in the way of feminine

FIGURE 7 LOUVRE

DELACROIX
The Prisoner of Chillon (detail)

softness of contours, the likeness in outline of the two heads is quite striking, albeit they face in opposite directions. The same sort of derivation seems probable for the head of the Sebastian when it is compared with that of the "Dawn" on Lorenzo dei Medici's tomb. (Fig. 12.)[56]

It would therefore appear that the peculiar *allure* of the Nantua heads, with their aura of pathos and sadness and a certain beauty, is due in appreciable measure to Delacroix's appreciation (or is indebtedness the better word?) of the artist of whom he wrote: "*Les ouvrages de Michel-Ange donnent incontestablement la sensation la plus épurée et la plus élevée qu'il soit possible d'éprouver dans un art.*"[57]

Perhaps these imputed connections of Delacroix with Rubens and Michelangelo serve to throw some light on the questions of a critic of 1836, who, in writing of the Nantua "St. Sebastian," said:

> Certainly, this painter has talent and a great talent; everyone feels it, everyone recognizes it and yet no one can define this talent. Is it color? But a dull tone obscures the whole canvas of the "St. Sebastian." Is it drawing? But here are women inaccurately [drawn], and one can not understand the tormented corpse which the painter has put in the front of the picture, or the legs separated in such a clumsy fashion. Is it thought? Perhaps.[58]

III.

Observation of "The Combat" (fig. 15) has led to the conclusion that it is both too poor in quality and too different in manner to be acceptable as a genuine Delacroix. Forms are represented by the edges between the passages of paint; there is no drawing in any legitimate sense of the word. The forms are so uncertain,

FIGURE 8 LOUVRE

A. J. GROS
The Battle of Eylau (detail)

FIGURE 9 BRITISH MUSEUM

Frieze from the Temple of Apollo at Bassae (detail)

the contours—which Delacroix called "the first and most important thing in painting"[59]—are so feeble that, even making every allowance for Delacroix's traditional 'dislocations', 'incorrections' and 'failings,' the work can not be accepted as his own. Modeling, paint-structure and color, which are discussed below, all also show the most distinct differences with his style.

There is another version of this subject which, to judge from a reproduction, seems patently so superior in every respect of draughtsmanship and functional expression that the answer: "original and copy," appears inescapable.[60] Figures 15 and 16 make detailed description unnecessary. In the former, we have a real *choc* of horsemen, with muscular tension and strain admirably expressed. Note, for example, the inward turn of the neck and head of the white horse and the feeling of contraction in the contour of the animal's flank. A similar expressiveness of action appears in the modeling. Furthermore, the pen drawing and the etching which Delacroix made of this composition show the same characteristics for these forms in movement.[61] Even so, one must reserve judgment as to the authenticity of "The Combat" represented here in Figure 16, both because the final word can not be said from a reproduction and because the peculiar hardness of line which the illustration shows contrasts with Delacroix's characteristically softer and less determinate outlines; which are not, however, of the functionless quality of those in the Walters painting.

Besides the irreconcilable features in drawing, the Walters "Combat" appears equally questionable in the matter of the painter's technique; that is, in the character of the paint-film and its manner of application. This matter is readily revealed in a contrast between photographs made with raking light of "The Combat" and the other paintings under discussion whose authenticity there is no reason to doubt (figs. 17 and 18). Thus in the latter works the paint is laid on with a relatively heavily loaded brush, the paste being much heavier in the lights than in the

FIGURE 10 FORMERLY PAUL GALLIMARD COLLECTION

DELACROIX

Christ on the Sea of Galilee (detail)

FIGURE 11

DELACROIX
Marfisa

WALTERS ART GALLERY

darks, which means merely that Delacroix is following the normal method of using glazes (*glâcis*) in the darks and impasto (*empâtement*) in the lights. The prominences of form are modeled, or broadly drawn, in heavy pigments which approach the contours in various ways and degrees, now giving repetition to the outline shapes or themselves forming the contours, now being reserved for the passages of higher relief. "The Combat," however, is handled throughout, in both the light and dark areas, by means of consistently thin washes of glaze; consequently, there is no really direct modeling but only suggested modeling, from the contrast of the lighter and darker passages.[62] The forms thus have a flimsy and smudged-in appearance and the picture seems misty. Delacroix's proper manner of defining forms by means of heavy flows of paint is entirely absent.

His method and interest are well indicated in the following remarks from his *Journal*. In speaking of the advantages of oil paint over other media, he mentions "the possibility of using, according to the character of the work, either thin passages or heavy impasto, a thing that favors the rendering in an incomparable way through the contrast of opaque and transparent passages;" and, further: "it is necessary to calculate the contrast between impasto and glazing in such a way as to make this contrast felt, even when successive varnishings have produced their effect, which is always to render the picture smooth."[63] This statement, with its insistence on the contrast between impasto and glazing in a painting, but adds to the implausibility of associating "The Combat's" technique, wherein that contrast is precisely lacking, with the hand of Delacroix.[64]

IV.

THE INTERESTING aspects of the paint-sketch for "The Battle of Poitiers" (fig. 19) are principally two: generally, its relation to the important *rôle* played by the sketch in Delacroix's process of creation; particularly, its relation to the finished picture, now in the Louvre (fig. 20).[65] The difficulty of arriving at some conclusive estimate of the completed work is sharply indicated by two opinions which have been expressed of it: on the one hand, it has been called "melodramatic nonsense;"[66] on the other, "a masterpiece," and, like Delacroix's comparable "Battle of Nancy," "a triumph of the adaptation of history to expression."[67]

The illustrations here give a fair notion of what is contained in the paint-sketch and how and to what extent this content is freed and given form in the final version. The changes in composition are altogether apparent: from a high and almost level horizon line to a lower one with a long, slow, lateral movement; from a kind of hopeless jam of figures below the spec-

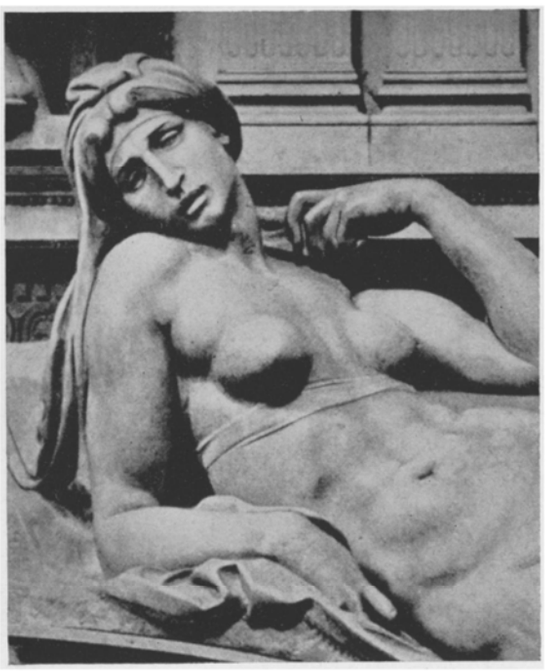

FIGURE 12 SAN LORENZO, FLORENCE
MICHELANGELO
"Dawn" from Tomb of Lorenzo dei Medici

FIGURE 13 NANTUA (AIN)

DELACROIX
St. Sebastian Succoured by Holy Women

tator to a higher placement of the combatants, whose articulation into groups and individuals is worked out in some detail. It has been said of the Walters sketch that it is "almost as engrossing as the picture itself."[68] From the standpoint of expressiveness, however, it is hard to agree with this opinion, not alone because of the latter's richer compositional interest, but also because the actors in the sketch remain too "embryonic" in definition; they give, as Delacroix would likely have put it, "less career for the imagination."[69] There are no harassed and suffering persons here, but only agitated shadows in uncertain turmoil. The figures in the completed picture have come into their character, and we meet again that peculiar sad-eyed race of men, arrested in their actions,[70] as though posed in a sort of melancholy warning, that makes up the original world of Delacroix's vision.

It is interesting to pass from this obvious relationship between two stages of a particular work to the context in which this relationship belongs; to consider, that is, the general question in Delacroix's thought of the relation of the initial inspiration (v. sketch, *passim*) to the fin-

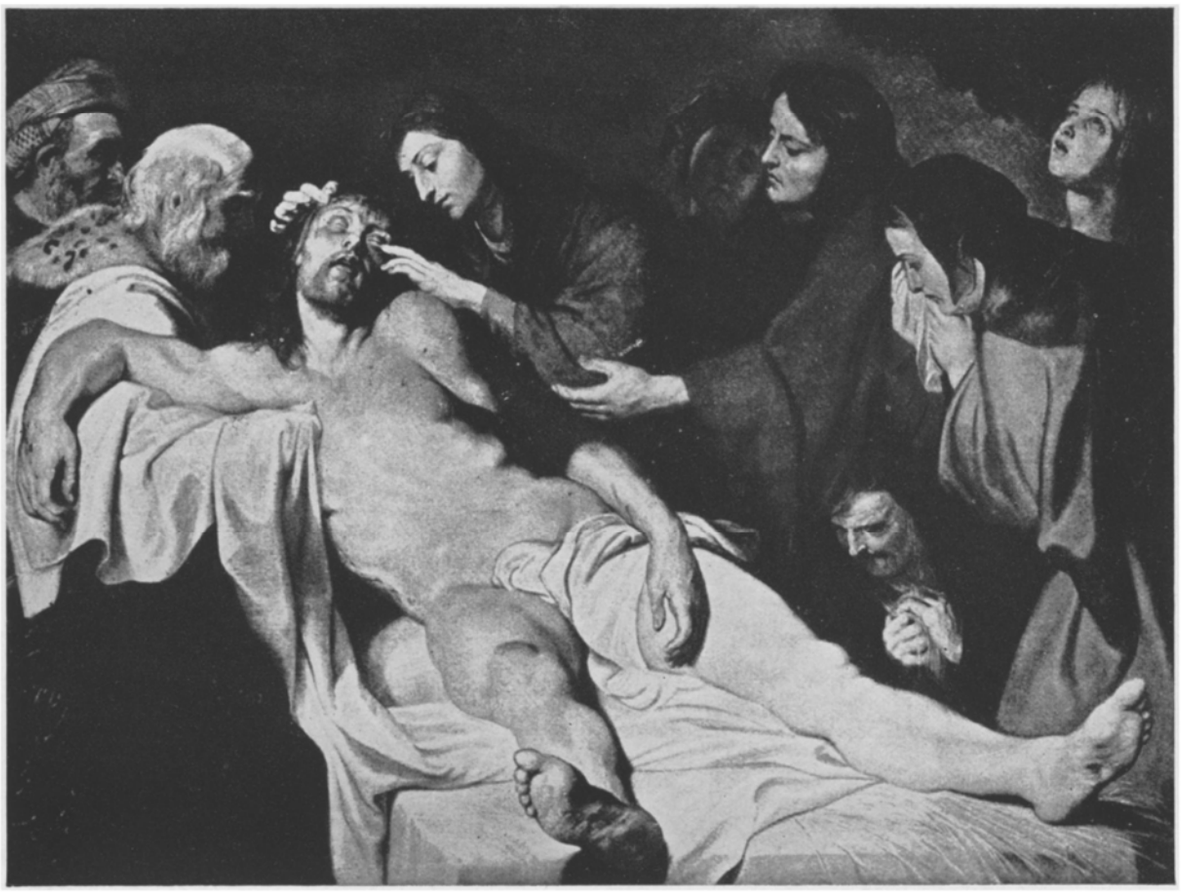

FIGURE 14 LIECHTENSTEIN GALLERY, VIENNA

RUBENS
Lamentation over Christ

ished work. Throughout his whole process of realization in paint, and in his thinking on aesthetic matters generally, the relation of the first thought to the completed expression looms as one of his major preoccupations. Many, indeed, of the principal topics dealt with in his writings may be associated with this problem, as is illustrated in his reiterated attacks on those whose main concern is with details, or the exact copying of nature (or the old masters), or a high degree of finish, or exactitude in portraying the model; briefly, in his well-known antagonism to 'realism,' which he termed the "antipodes of art."[71] For all things done in these ways destroy by their dead weight the freshness of the original impression and block free imaginative activity both for the artist and the spectator.

The typical events involved in the production of a picture may be outlined from Delacroix's remarks as follows:[72]

(1) The original idea, or "ideal impression," is captured "in the first moment of inspiration" . . . "that first passionate seeing of the subject."[73]

(2) This idea is embodied in embryonic form in the sketch: "The first outlines through which an able master indicates his thought contain the germ of everything striking that the work will offer."[74] "With the great artists this sketch is not a dream,

FIGURE 15 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Combat of Moorish Horsemen. Imitation of Delacroix

it is something other than a collection of barely appreciable lineaments; the great artists alone start out from a fixed point . . ."

(3) "The greatest difficulty" arises in keeping details properly subordinate to the general effect, lest that "first idea," caught in the sketch and to be returned to and expressed in the picture, give way to the interest in accessories.[75]

(4) Execution therefore becomes of the greatest importance in maintaining "that pure expression" through which alone this desired effect will be achieved.

"The more talent the painter has, the more the calm of study will add beauties, not in conforming in the most exact possible way to his first idea, but in promoting that idea by the warmth of his execution. Execution in painting should always hold to improvisation . . . the execution of the painter will only be fine if he has saved himself up for some abandonment, for making discoveries in making the picture."[76] "The good, or rather the true, execution is that which by practice, in appearance material, adds to the thought, without which the thought is not complete . . ."[77] "In the arts, ideas and form mutually penetrate in almost as intimate a manner as the soul and body."[78]

(5) It is the effect of the whole that should rule in the finished picture:

> "That art of wholly capturing the flower, of never fatiguing the reader by useless details, in a word, the art of being brief, which corresponds in painting to the art of making the essential seen, that is the quality which charms and the absence of which spoils work which is full of things, whose arrangement confuses and whose indiscreet abundance deadens the imagination which knows not where to stop."[79] "For what is the supreme goal of every kind of art, if it is not the effect?"[80]

These not unfamiliar quotations give evidence of the consistent character and aims of Delacroix's general pictorial program. A considered inspection of his paintings indicates a similar sort of consistency in his practice. It can be appreciated in some degree how much of the subject-idea is included in the sketch and how far the artist had to go and through what intermediate stages he passed before "the warmth of execution" and the "discoveries" made as the picture progressed brought the work to the stage of full expression (figs. 1, 3, and 4; 19 and 20). Conversely, it can be appreciated to what extent the finished work holds to improvisation and retains something of the initial freshness of the sketch, an effect which no doubt had its influence on Baudelaire when he said

FIGURE 16 LOCATION UNKNOWN

DELACROIX (?)
Combat of Moorish Horsemen

FIGURE 17 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Combat of Moorish Horsemen (detail). Photograph taken with raking light

FIGURE 18 WALTERS ART GALLERY

DELACROIX

Christ on the Sea of Galilee (detail). Photograph taken with raking light

that "Delacroix is the most *suggestive* of all painters."[81] No doubt Delacroix's desire to make his execution, "in appearance material," "entirely sentimental, entirely ideal like the conception itself,"[82] also contributed to the indefinite and "suggestive" character of his style. His adaptations from older works likewise acquire added meaning when associated with "the first idea," or at least with an early stage of formulation, whether these elements derive from sketch- or copy-studies or from impressions remembered. In these adaptations we may doubtless see something of Delacroix's interest in those "sublime parts" in the works of the great which preoccupied his thought almost as much as his own hopes of achievement.[83]

To gather up the fragmentary matters which make up this article and put them in their context would require a broad seeking into Delacroix's thought and practice. To explain his theoretical position one must refer to what in his conception of things may be called summarily the life of the imagination. For it is quite clear, as well as traditional, that imagination was the dominant force of his life.[84] It is the imaginative handling or 'idealization' of the materials of experience, whether deriving from nature or human works, that one meets with at every turn

WALTERS ART GALLERY

DELACROIX
Sketch for The Battle of Poitiers

FIGURE 19

FIGURE 20

DELACROIX
The Battle of Poitiers

LOUVRE (*courtesy Galleric Matthiesen, Berlin*)

in his writings. The intimate way, for example, in which conception and execution are associated in this process of idealization is indicated in the following remarks:

> "It is . . . very much more important for the artist to approach the ideal which is in him, and which is particular to him, than to allow the transitory ideal which nature may present [to prevail], even in a strong way. . . . The work of idealization takes place with me almost without my knowing it when I trace a composition which has come from my brain. This second edition is always corrected and nearer to a necessary ideal; thus there results something which seems a contradiction and that yet explains how a too detailed execution, like that of Rubens, for example, may not injure the effect on the imagination. That execution is performed upon a thoroughly idealized theme; the super-abundance of details which slips into it, because of imperfect memory, cannot destroy that simplicity, quite differently interesting, which was first discovered in the exposition of the idea. . . . So that, if you introduce into such a composition a passage done with great care after the model, and do so without producing a complete discord, you will have accomplished the greatest of feats, that of harmonizing what seems irreconcilable; it is, so to speak, the introduction of reality into a dream; you will have united two different arts."[85]

The much ramified subject of Delacroix on imaginative activity cannot be dealt with here in detailed and methodical fashion, which would be required to do justice to the richness of his conceptions.[86] His ideas and beliefs strike one as always personal, if not, needless to say, always original. To trace his leading conceptions to their sources, past and contemporary, would be no small undertaking, but it is one that holds promise of interesting results.[87]

The broader aspects of Delacroix's remarks on imagination come to a head in his notion of the character of ideas—which were, ultimately and in a word, the intended content of his pictures. His source for the artist's ideas appears to be mainly ideas of an innate kind:

> ". . . man has in his soul inborn sentiments which real objects will never satisfy, and it is to these sentiments that the imagination of the painter and poet give a form and a life."[88] "The fact is nothing, since it passes. There remains only the idea of it; in reality, the fact does not exist without the idea, since the idea gives the fact a color, which it represents according to its manner and following the disposition of the moment."[89]

Thus it follows that what Delacroix principally wished to render in sensible form were 'ideas,' "the impressions of the spirit," "the effect for the soul," the artist's emotions before nature, etc. "Original artists have painted their soul in painting things . . . the novelty is in the spirit that creates and not in nature which is painted."[90] We are prepared therefore to expect of Delacroix a certain preoccupation with spiritual or immaterial considerations in regard to the content of painting.

> "Painting in the hands of an ordinary artist makes without contradiction the most material impression of all the arts, and I hold that it is the art which a great artist leads the furthest toward those obscure sources of our most sublime emotions, and from which we receive those mysterious shocks which our spirit, freed in some sort from earthly bonds and drawn back into the most immaterial side of its nature, receives without being scarcely conscious of it."[91]

This credo-in-brief leaves one, however, with little solid ground to stand upon from which to attack the problem of Delacroix the artist. A firmer footing than generally obtains at present should be provided by a study of the various aspects of his technical procedure, showing intimately the way in which he handled his *matière*. This subject, briefly referred to above, awaits its real presentation.[92] The gist of the matter lies in Delacroix's method of execution by the *ébauche* or lay-in, wherein the picture is worked up from a unifying ground tone to the finished stage by means of glazes, half-tones and impasto.[93] In this procedure the example of Rubens would appear to qualify considerably any too conclusive interpretation of Delacroix's statement that "*Tout ce que je sais je le tiens de Paul Véronèse.*"[94] The concrete data resulting from

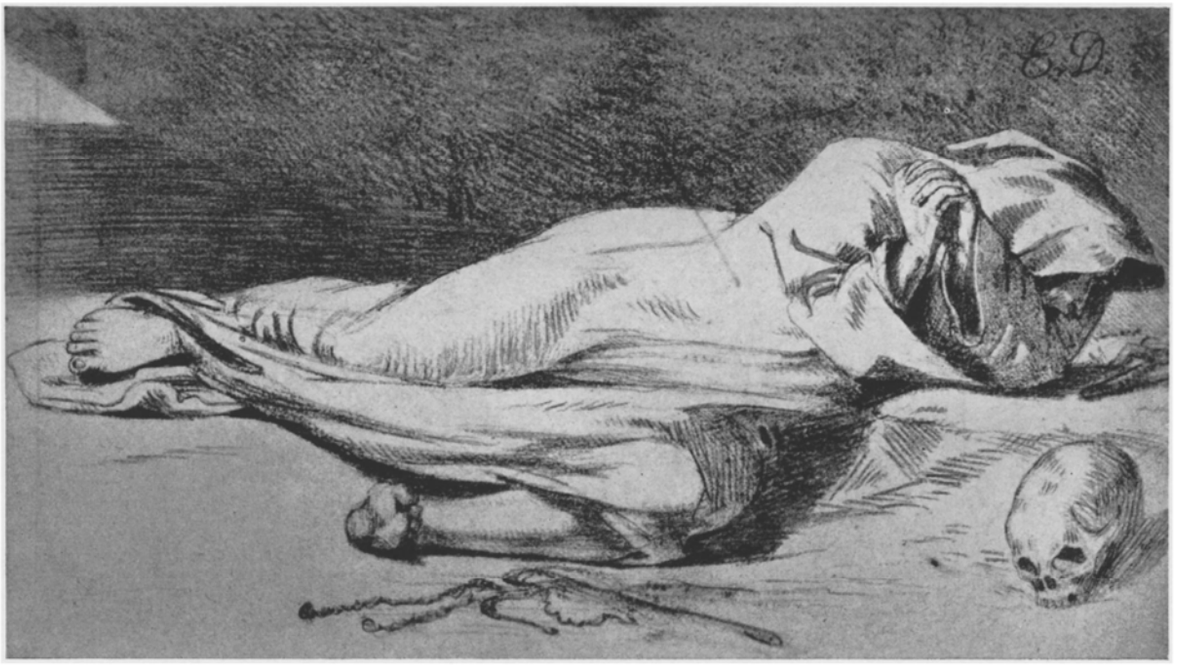

FIGURE 21 WALTERS ART GALLERY

DELACROIX
Monk in a Grotto. Pencil drawing

FIGURE 22 WALTERS ART GALLERY

DELACROIX
Lion and Snake. Watercolor

a study of this procedure would give added body and meaning to his many remarks on technical matters. The results of such a study should also put one in a more advantageous position from which to see how all those preoccupations of his, here noted under the heading of imagination, apply in his pictures; one should be much the more able to grasp the probable ways in which his proper imaginative outlook and way of seeing took form in paint.

This suggestion is not made with the idea of denying the truth of Baudelaire's remark that: "*Delacroix restera toujours un peu contesté . . .*," or of offering a substitute, necessarily, for Baudelaire's reaction to his own remark: "Et *tant mieux!*"[95]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] The enigmatic and obscure nature of Delacroix's meaning is signaled out, among others, by Léon Rosenthal, *La peinture romantique* (Paris, 1900), p. 203; *id., Du romantisme au réalisme* (Paris, 1914), p. 123; and E. Faure (ed.), *Eugène Delacroix, Oeuvres littéraires,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1923), I, xii. *Cf.,* also H. Gillot, *E. Delacroix, l'homme, ses idées, son oeuvre* (Paris, 1928), p. 383.

[2] As a general estimate this opinion is more often heard than seen in writing. *Cf.* J. Pope-Hennessy in *The Burlington Magazine,* LXIX (1936), 222; and Clive Bell, *An Account of French Painting* (N. Y., 1932), p. 160.

[3] One could list many a superlative opinion of Delacroix; that of Baudelaire goes about as far as any could. *"M. Delacroix est décidément le peintre le plus originale des temps anciens et des temps modernes. Cela est ainsi, qu'y faire?" V. Curiosités esthétiques* (Paris, 1923), *Salon de 1845,* p. 7; *v.* the *P.S.* on p. 13, and p. 467. *Cf.* also Rosenthal, *Du roman. au réal.,* p. 136.

[4] *Journal,* I, 17. References throughout this article to the *Journal* are to: *Journal de Eugène Delacroix, publié par* André Joubin (Paris, 1932), 3 vols. This new edition supersedes the earlier ones of Flat and Piot (1893 and 1926) in every respect.

[5] See, *inter alia,* Paul Signac, *De Delacroix au néo-impressionnisme* (Paris, 1899 and 1911); E. Waldmann, *Die Kunst des Realismus u. des Impressionismus* (Propyläen-Verlag, Berlin, 1927); H. Focillon, *La peinture aux XIXe et XXe siècles* (Paris, 1928); J. Meier-Graefe, in *International Studio,* XCVI (1930), 28 ff.; Robert Rey, *La renaissance du sentiment classique* (Paris, n. d.); R. Fry, *Cézanne* (N. Y., 1927); *cf.* pl. XXXVII, fig. 50 with Delacroix's *Le Lever,* illus. in R. Escholier, *Delacroix, peintre, graveur, écrivain,* III (Paris, 1929), op. p. 154.

[6] See note 95.

[7] Walters coll., Cat. No. 37.1291. On paper; H.3¾" x W.6⅞", (.095m x .168m). The initials *E D* at the upper right resemble the initials on other works by Delacroix, but they look as though carefully copied and were doubtless put on after his death. On the reverse is written in ink: *"Dessin fait par Eug. Delacroix pour l'album d'une dame, vers 1820. Je l'ai gravé, J B"* (?). Robaut (1821), No. 34; .106 x .190. Robaut's measurements are not always dependable; see notes 8 and 10; he gives no indication that the work was initialed. The references to Robaut throughout are to: *L'oeuvre complet de Eugène Delacroix . . . catalogué et reproduit par* Alfred Robaut (Paris, 1885).

[8] Walters coll. Cat. No. 37.1220. On heavy paper with pale blue surface; H.7 13/16" x W.10¼" (.199m x .261m). Initialed *E D,* lower left, with the red stamp of the *vente posthume* (No. 474). Robaut (1835), No. 625; .17 x .24. Adolphe Moreau, *Eugène Delacroix et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1873), pp. 135, 325.

[9] Walters coll. Cat. No. 37.1219. On paper; H.15" x W.22⅞", (.382m x .582m). Signed and dated, lower right, *Eug. Delacroix 1846.* Robaut (1846), No. 985; .38 x .59. Baudelaire, *Cur. esth.,* p. 119 (*Salon de 1846*).

[10] Walters coll. Cat. No. 37.110. Canvas; H.20¾" x W.25½", (.528m x .648m). Initialed *E D,* lower right. *The Walters Collection* (Baltimore [1909]), No. 110; cities: Centennial Exposition of French Art (*i.e., Exposition Universelle,* 1855); *id.* [1929]. Robaut (1830), No. 322. Inasmuch as Robaut is mistaken in a number of instances regarding the dimensions of pictures, the incorrect measurements he gives here, .45 x .55, may be taken as an error rather than as indicating another painting than the Walters Poitiers. From the collections of de Laage, the painter N. Diaz (Sale, Jan., 1877), Baron de Beurononville, Tabourier (*Cat. de tableaux . . . compos. la coll. M. L. Tabourier,* Sale, Hotel Drouot, June, 1898, No. 19). Moreau, *op. cit.,* p. 311; E. Moreau-Nélaton, *Delacroix raconte par lui-meme* (Paris, 1916), I, fig. 72; J. Meier-Graefe, *Eugène Delacroix* (Munich, 1922), p. 150; R. Escholier, *op. cit.,* I (1926), ill. op. p. 238; mentioned in the *Journal,* III, 371, n. 13. See note 65.

[11] Walters coll. Cat. No. 37.6. Canvas; H.32" x W.39", (.813m x .991m). *The Walters Coll.* [1909], No. 6; *id.* [1929]. For detailed comment on this picture, see note 60.

[12] Walters coll. Cat. No. 37.62. Canvas; H.31½" x W.25¼", (.800m x .642m). Signed and dated: *Eug. Delacroix 1846,* lower right. *The Walters Coll.* [1909], No. 62; id. [1929]. Robaut (1846), No. 986; *Salon de 1847; Exposition Universelle,* 1855; *Exposition d'Alsace-Lorraine,* 1874; Albert Wolff, *Cent chefs-d'oeuvre* (*Exposition,* Paris [June, 1883]; Eng. ed. [n. d.], with etching by Ch. Courtry op. p. 4, discussed pp. 35-36); collections Solar, Osiris, Gavet, Fanien, Defoer (*Cat. de tableaux modernes,* etc., *de M. Defoer . . ., vente Gal. Georges Petit,* Paris, 22 May, 1886, No. 16, illus.); Moreau, *op. cit.,* pp. 182, 187, 260; Moreau-Nélaton, *op. cit.,* II, fig. 272; Escholier, *op. cit.,* II (1927), illus. op. p. 314. A confusion in the notes of M. Joubin's edition of the *Journal* may be corrected here. Robaut says No. 986, the Walters *Christ en croix,* was shown at the *Salon* of 1847. In the *Journal,* I, 208 (16 March, 1847), on the occasion of Delacroix's visit to the *Salon,* note 1 mentions the six pictures that he had hung that year, among them a *Christ en croix* which is referred to as Robaut No. 994, which is, however, a sketch of a panther. On May 7, 1847, Delacroix visited the *Salon* again, remarking in his *Journal,* I, 225, that *"le Christ ne m'a pas trop déplu."* Note 2 on p. 225 refers to this painting as Robaut, No. 996, and calls it the Christ for Count de Geloës; but this picture for de Geloës is a *Christ au tombeau* (Robaut, No. 1034; correctly so given in note 2, p. 218, Vol. I of the *Journal*), now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Robaut, No. 996 is a *Christ en croix* placed in the year 1848. The Christ referred to on pp. 208 and 225 seems, therefore, to be Robaut, No. 986, the Walters painting, which Robaut states was in the *Salon* of 1847.

[13] The subject derives from Ariosto's *Orlando furioso,* Canto XX, stanza 108 sgg.
Walters coll. Cat. No. 37.10. Acquired 1904. Canvas: H.32¼" x W.39¾", (.820m x 1.010m). Signed and dated, lower right: *Eug. Delacroix 1852. The Walters Collection* [1909], No. 10; *id.* [1929]. Robaut (1852), No. 1198. .80 x 1.00. Robaut incorrectly places the signature at the lower left; he makes similar mistakes in other instances. Collections Bonnet (Sale, 19 Feb., 1853); H. D. (Sale, 20 May, 1881). *Cf.* the sketch listed in Robaut as No. 1197 (illus. in Escholier, *op. cit.,* III, op. p. 144. Escholier, *ib.,* also illustrates a paint-sketch for the Walters picture op. p. 146). Exhibited: *Ecole des Beaux-Arts,* Paris, 1885; *Exposition E. Delacroix, Musée du Louvre, Juin-Juillet,*

1930, *Cat.*, No. 148. Moreau, *op. cit.*, pp. 115, 247; Moreau-Nélaton, *op. cit.*, II, 102; mentioned in the *Journal*, III, 437-438, n. 5.

[14] Matthew VIII, 23-27. Walters coll., Cat. No. 37.186. Canvas; H.23½" x W.28⅞" (.598m x .733m). Signed and dated, lower right, *Eug. Delacroix 1854*. (The characters are faint but quite legible.) *The Walters Coll.* [1909], No. 186; id. [1929]; both give the date incorrectly as 1856. Robaut [1853], No. 1214; .59 x .72; Moreau, *op. cit.*, p. 262, n. 1; A. Wolff, *Cent chefs-d'oeuvres* (*Exposition*, Paris, June, 1883; Eng. ed. [n. d.], illus. op. p. 28); *Cat. des tableaux modernes . . . formant la coll. de M. Viot*, Sale, Gal. G. Petit, 25 May, 1886, *Cat.*, No. 2, illus.; M. Tourneux, *Eugène Delacroix* (Paris, 1907), illus. op. p. 112; Moreau-Nélaton, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 334. In view of the date on the canvas, 1854, the date of 1853 given by Robaut and Moreau is incorrect. Robaut gives the Walters example as the first of the series of the subject (*v.* notes 28, 29, 30); Moreau as the first of a number of variants, after first mentioning the example listed in Robaut as No. 1220. Moreau further states that the example, belonging to John Saulnier, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, which is undated, was painted the year after that which the painter Troyon acquired from (the dealer) Beugniet, *i. e.*, the Walters picture, which has the Beugniet stamp on the reverse. Apparently, Moreau has confused the dates of the Metropolitan and Walters versions, and the probable order of execution seems to be Robaut Nos. 1220, 1215 (Metropolitan), 1853; 1214 (Walters), 1854.

[15] Walters coll., Cat. No. 37.1. Panel; H.19⅝" x W.12¾", (.499m x .324m). Signed, lower left, *E. Delacroix*. *The Walters Coll.* [1909], No. 1; *id.*, [1929]. Colls. Daniel Cottier, London; E. F. Milliken, N. Y. (Sale Amer. Art Galleries, Feb. 14, 1902, No. 20, illus.). Exhibited at Edinburgh International Exposition, 1886. This painting is not listed in Robaut. The colors generally have none of Delacroix's subtlety, nor can one associate with him the garish lavender-pink tint of Venus' scarf. Another copy by Delacroix (?) of the figures of Athena and Apollo (which derives from the Vatican Apollo Belvedere) is in the collection of M. Eugène Spiro, Paris. *V.* Rubens, *Klassiker der Kunst*, V, (n. d.), 254.

[16] Thomas Craven in *Men of Art* (N. Y., 1931), p. 446.

[17] "Privileged" because, in the last analysis, apparently divinely inspired. *V. Journal*, III, 329.

[18] *Journal*, III, 250-51; *v.* also *ib.*, pp. 24-25, 223, and *Oeuvres litt.*, I, 141.

[19] On the demand for Delacroix's smaller pictures, *v. Journal*, II, 15, n. 1.

[20] The examples are grouped here according to their likenesses to Crucifixions by Rubens and van Dyck. Needless to say, none of them repeat literally compositions by the Flemings, but echoes occur in the postures of Christ and the thief on the cross, even though the Delacroix figure may be turned in the opposite direction, which may be due in part to Delacroix's study of the masters after engravings which in some instances reverse the original composition. *Cf.* note 56. Besides the three examples discussed above, there are: (4) Robaut (1829), No. 296 (illus. in Escholier, *op. cit.*, I, p. 257, Hodebert coll.); (5) Robaut (1846), No. 987, and p. 495; and (6) the sketch in the collection of Mme. Philippe Vernes (1930 *Exposition, Cat.*, No. 752, *Album*, p. 65). These examples are reminiscent of van Dyck's *Christ Crucified* in the Liechtenstein Gallery, Vienna (*Klassiker der Kunst* [1931], p. 27); formerly listed as by Rubens (*Klass. d. K.*, [n. d.], p. 170), while No. 4 above also recalls *le Coup de Lance* type of Christ. Recalling the Christ on the Cross of van Dyck's picture in Notre Dame at Dendermonde (*Klass. d. K.*, p. 242), is (7), the "Calvary" in the Vannes Museum, Robaut (1835), No. 602 (1930 *Exposition, Cat.*, No. 77; illus. in Escholier, *op. cit.*, II, 225 and Moreau-Nélaton, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 125). The thief on the cross here recalls Rubens' *le Coup de Lance* and van Dyck's Malines Cathedral "Crucifixion" (*Klass. d. K.*, p. 240; see note 25 below). Suggestions of van Dyck's Crucifixions in the Louvre (*Klass. d. K.*, p. 19) and at Antwerp (*Klass. d. K.*, p. 236), appear in the examples listed in (8) Robaut (1837), No. 656 and (9) Robaut (1856), No. 1289. For suggestions of Rubens' "Christ on the Cross" in the Toulouse Museum (*Klass. d. K.*, p. 420) and van Dyck's at Genoa (*Klass. d. K.*, p. 133) and at Vienna (*Klass. d. K.*, p. 220), see (10-11), Robaut (1847), Nos. 996 and 997, and (12), the example in the Jules Strauss collection, Robaut (1853), No. 1223 (illus. in Escholier, *op. cit.*, II, 312; *v.* 1930 *Exposition, Cat.*, No. 154; *Journal*, II, 71). (13), Robaut (1848), No. 1047 (1930 Exposition, *Cat.*, No. 125; *v.* J. Guiffrey, *La collection Thomy-Thiéry au Louvre* [Paris, 1903], No. 2849), has no apparent connections with either van Dyck or Rubens. Reproductions of the following were not available: (14), Robaut (1835), No. 1680, a drawing or sketch; (15), Robaut (1840), No. 1699, on panel; (16), Robaut (1844), No. 1729, a sketch; and (17), "a small sketch" mentioned in the *Journal*, III, 372, dating probably about 1843.

[21] *Klass. d. K.*, p. 216. For Delacroix's sketches after this picture, *v.* 1930 *Exposition, Cat.*, Nos. 740, 741, 742, and *Album*, p. 75.

[22] The way in which Delacroix has seized upon the essentials of form in this *souvenir* after Rubens recalls his similar interest in drawing by ovals; *v.* Escholier, *op. cit.*, I, 274 and Walter Pach (transl.), *The Journal of Eugène Delacroix* (N. Y., 1937), p. 18. Another, but more finished, instance of Delacroix's free and accomplished handling of an older work is his sketch-copy of van Dyck's "Mourning over the Body of Christ" in the Louvre. The copy is in the Lucas collection of the Maryland Institute, Baltimore; *v.* D. Rosen in *Technical Studies*, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., Vol. III, No. 3 (Jan., 1935).

[23] 1930 *Exposition, Cat.*, No. 119-A, 2nd *Album*, p. 65.

[24] We do not know when Delacroix first saw the Rubens painting, either actually or in reproduction. His first trip to Belgium was made in 1839, but no record of *le Coup de Lance* remains from this voyage. (A. Joubin in *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts* [1932], *sér.* 6, VIII pt. 2, p. 317, fixes the date of this trip in September, 1839; the date was previously given as 1838; *v. Journal*, I, 375, n. 1). On his second trip in 1850, Delacroix gives a description of *le Coup de Lance*, which he was now able to see, thanks to a young copyist's ladder, "in a different light" (*Journal*, I, 406-7). The remark indicates that he had seen the picture before and thus offers a suggested explanation for the reflection of Rubens' work in the Crucifixions of 1846 and 1847. The earlier and less advantageous view suggested may well have been, however, Delacroix's visit to the Museum only the month preceding (July 8, 1850; *Journal*, I, 379), but on this occasion *le Coup de Lance* is not mentioned.

[25] *Klass. d. K.*, p. 240. When Delacroix saw this painting on August 7, 1850, he remarked that he found it very weak; but on a second viewing two days later he said that it displeased him less. *V. Journal*, I, 401.

[26] *Klass. d. K.*, pp. 246-7. This painting is not mentioned in the *Journal; v.* Vol. I, 381 and 411. For copies by Delacroix after Rubens, see the following: that after "The Miracle of St. Benedict" (*Klass. d. K.*, p. 302; 1930 *Exposition, Cat.*, No. 225, *Album*, p. 105); both works are in the Brussels Museum. *V.* L. Hourticq in *Rev. de l'art anc. et mod.*, XXVI (1909), 227. Copy after Rubens' sketch for "The Entombment", in the Munich Alte Pinakothek (*Klass. d. K.*, p. 170), illus. in Escholier, *op. cit.*, II, 277. The examples listed in Robaut as Nos. 259, 260, 736, 737, 1732, 1938-1959; for Robaut No. 1941, *v. Journal*, p. 379, n. 2. The examples given in the 1930 *Exposition Catalogue*, Nos. 226, 227, 227-A, 228, 228-A, 743, 744. Also, Nos. 184-185 in *Cat. des tableaux*, etc., *composant la coll. P.-A. Cheramy, vente Gal. G. Petit, Mai*, 1908. For Delacroix's paintings which have been influenced by Rubens, *cf.* the group in the center background of "La Justice de Trajan" (Rouen Museum; Robaut [1840], No. 714; 1930 *Exposition, Cat.*, No. 98, *Album*, p. 55), with the right wing of Rubens' "Elevation of the Cross" (Antwerp Cathedral; *Klass. d. K.*, p. 36; *v.* E. Lambert, *Delacroix et Rubens* in *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts* [1932], *sér.* 6, VIII pt. 2, pp. 245-48). For the composition of the "Trajan", see also Rubens' "Loyola Healing" (*Klass. d. K.*, p. 204). *Cf.* Dela-

croix's "The Way to Calvary" (Metz Museum; Robaut [1859], No. 1377; 1930 *Exposition, Cat.,* No. 186, *Album,* p. 99), with Rubens' "Christ Carrying the Cross" (Brussels Museum; *Klass. d. K.,* p. 419; *Journal,* 1, 379, n. 2). *Cf.* also L. Réau in Michel, *Hist. de l'art,* VIII[1], 126, and H. Focillon, *La peinture au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1927), p. 232.

[27] Also called the Lake of Genesareth or the Lake of Tiberias.

[28] The writer cannot speak, however, for (1) Robaut (1853), No. 1218; (2) Robaut (1856), No. 1782 (a drawing; the same as that listed below as No. 8 ?); or (3) the study in the collection of M. Claude Roger-Marx, Paris (1930 *Exposition, Cat.,* No. 490, 1853), reproductions not being available.

[29] B. Myers in H. E. Barnes, *An Intellectual and Cultural History of the Western World* (N. Y., 1937), p. 1048, notes that the conflict between man and the forces of nature is an important feature of Delacroix's content, and that this conflict is vividly expressed in the "Christ on the Sea of Galilee." Regarding this hostility in Delacroix's view, *v. Journal,* I, 359-361, and *Oeuvres litt.,* I, 117 ff.

Gillot, *op. cit.,* p. 286, gives a quotation from Delacroix in which he says: " . . . *cette couleur indéfinissable qui est celle de la vaste mer me transporte toujours.*" The color of the sea in the Walters "Galilee" is indeed of an undefinable green and the water has a peculiar weightless quality. *Re* Delacroix's observation of the sea, *v. Journal,* II, 239.

The first type of composition is represented by (4) the Walters picture (*v.* note 14); (5) a study for it which was formerly in the possession of Durand-Ruel (illus. in Escholier, *op. cit.,* III, op. p. 188, and in Pach, *Journal,* op. p. 496); (6) the picture in the van Horne collection, Montreal, Canada (Robaut [1853], No. 1216. Formerly Barbedienne coll.; Sale, Durand-Ruel, Paris, June, 1892, Cat. No. 60); and (7) the example listed in Robaut (1853) as No. 1220 (illus. in Moreau-Nélaton, *op. cit.,* II, fig. 337). A study (8) for Robaut, No. 1220, is in the Louvre (1930 *Exposition, Cat.,* No. 491).

[30] Comprising this group are: (9) the Metropolitan Museum picture (Robaut [1853], No. 1215; illus. in Moreau-Nélaton, *op. cit.,* II, fig. 335, and in Pach, *Journal,* op. p. 497); (10) the picture formerly in the Paul Gallimard collection, Paris (illus. in *Les Arts* [Sept., 1908], p. 17); (11) the study for the Gallimard painting in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; and (12) the sketch preceding the Boston Museum study, in the collection of Mr. Walter Pach, New York. Also, (13) the picture listed as No. 1213 in Robaut (1853), and (14) the study for it illus. in Escholier, *op. cit.,* III, op. p. 184). Finally, there is (15) the picture in the Portland Museum of Art, Portland, Oregon, listed in Robaut (1853) as No. 1219 (illus. in Moreau-Nélaton, *op. cit.,* II, fig. 336). This example is referred to as the one Delacroix painted for Count Grzymala (*v. Journal,* II, 32, 71). Andrieu, Delacroix's pupil and collaborator, made a *répétition* of this painting which Delacroix supposedly finished himself (*v. Journal,* II, 211, n. 1).

[31] See note 26; and *Journal,* I, 408-9, regarding Delacroix's remembrances of Michelangelo in front of this work and in connection with his own paintings for the ceiling of the *Galerie d'Apollon* in the Louvre.

[32] *Cf.,* however, Raphael, *Klass. d. K.* (1905), pp. 50, 57, 98 (above), 106 (above).

[33] A rather similar figure occurs in the version in the van Horne collection.

[34] *Characteristics of French Art* (N. Y., 1933), p. 89.

[35] A hand-gesture practically identical with that of the "Prisoner of Chillon" (1835), appears with the figure to the rear of the boat in Delacroix's "Shipwreck of Don Juan" (1840; illus. in Escholier, *op. cit.,* II, op. p. 266). *Cf.* also the old man in the foreground of the "Entrance of the Crusaders into Constantinople" (1840; illus. in Escholier, *op. cit.,* f. p. 268). L. Hautecoeur, *Les origines du romantisme* in *Le romantisme et l'art* (Paris, 1928), p. 9, identifies the gesture of the "Prisoner of Chillon" with those in the engravings of Baculard d'Arnault's *Epreuves du sentiment,* remarking that such manners of expression were "catalogued" and already in use with the artists of 1775-80. The *Epreuves du sentiment* were not available for this article.

[36] For Raphael, *v. Klass. d. K.* (1905), pp. 54, 113, 120; for Rubens, *ib.,* pp. 305, 378, 428; also van Dyck, *ib.,* p. 253; and Pietro da Cortona, *v.* E. K. Waterhouse, *Baroque Painting in Rome* (London, 1937), fig. 6. Regarding Raphael herein, *v. Journal,* III, 196, and for Delacroix's knowledge of Raphael via engravings, *v. Journal,* I, 67, n. 1; 94, n. 1.

For the figure who makes a somewhat similar gesture in regarding the sleeping (?) man (St. John ?) next to Christ. *cf.* the St. Peter of Rubens' "Assumption" in the Brussels Museum (*Klass. d. K.,* p. 120); also, Sacchi (Waterhouse, *op. cit.,* fig. 10).

[37] A comparable figure appears in Robaut, No. 1220 (fig. 337 in Moreau-Nélaton, *op. cit.,* II), and there are two such figures, producing something of a rhythmical effect, in the van Horne picture.

[38] Escholier, *op. cit.,* I, 139; *Journal,* I, 28, n. 1, 116. The Bassae reliefs were acquired by the British Museum in 1814.

[39] See his lithograph (in reverse) after a lapith and centaur metope; Escholier, *op. cit.,* I, 141; *Journal,* I, 116, n. 5. One of the Parthenon metopes illustrates the gesture in question; *Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte* (III): *Die Kunst der Antike* (Berlin, 1927), p. 329.

[40] *Cf.* G. A. M. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (New Haven, 1930), figs. 106, 201, 298, 392; and Carl Robert, *Die Antike Sarkophag-Reliefs,* II (1890) and III (1919), Berlin, *passim,* where a large number of examples of this specific but varied strife-gesture is illustrated.

[41] On Delacroix's interest in classic art generally, *v.* Gillot, *op. cit.,* pp. 161-166, 346-7; Escholier, *op. cit.,* I, 204-7; *Journal,* I, 70, n. 1; III, 260-62; Robaut, Nos. 144-152; Rosenthal, *La peint. roman.,* pp. 207, 215; *id., Du roman. au réal.,* p. 121.

[42] The picture has its interest from the standpoint of composition, as, indeed, what picture of Delacroix's has not? If one begins with Marfisa's spear, a plane close to the plane of the picture is established; back of this plane the two mounted figures recede in an inwardly curving fashion. This swing is continued by the head and torso of the nude, the inclination of whose body carries the direction out again nearly to the picture plane. This curve in depth is echoed in the recessions among the trees of the background. The curve at the left is discontinued by the picture's edge, in the center is a wide concave swing, and at the right a sharp recession in the forest clearing, up which gallops Pinabel's horse. The rapidity of movement at the right is also expressed by the pyramidal grouping of the figures, where the line of the three heads and the elbow of the nude is brought down abruptly to a point in the prostrate figure of Pinabel.

[43] *Propyläen, op. cit., Antike,* p. 397.

[44] *Propyläen, op. cit., Antike,* p. 478. For an example of the Medici Venus with drapery, *v.* B. H. Wiles, *The Fountains of the Florentine Sculptors* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), fig. 186.

[45] *Propyläen, op. cit., Antike,* pl. XXIII: *University Prints* (Boston, 1931), A200; S. Reinach, *Répert. de la statuaire grecque et romaine,* I (Paris, 1930), p. 322, Nos. 1317-18; p. 323, No. 1329, etc.; IV (1913), p. 232, No. 3; V (1924), Nos. 7-8. The fact that Pinabel's mistress is seen from the rear does not of course preclude the comparison.

[46] *Propyläen, op. cit., Antike,* p. 389.

[47] *Cf.* Wiles, *op. cit.,* figs. 44, 113, 119. For Rubens, *cf. Klass. d. K.,* p. 344. (The Vienna "Helena Fourment in a Fur Coat" [p. 424] may owe something to the Syracuse and Capitoline Venuses). *Cf.* also the figure to the right in Poussin's "Death of St. Cecilia" (illus. in E. Mâle, *L'art rél. après le concile de Trente* [Paris, 1932], fig. 72).

[48] Robaut (1836), No. 627. *Journal,* I, 214, n. 2, incorrectly gives the number in Robaut as 1363; n. 4, p. 236, also gives numbers in Robaut which refer to other subjects.

[49] *Klass. d. K.,* p. 77.

[50] There are many instances among Delacroix's pictures in which analogies with the spatial arrangements of Baroque paintings can be seen.

[51] *Klass. d. K.*, pp. 160, 91.

[52] Delacroix saw the "Trinity" on his visit to the Antwerp Museum, August 8, 1850, saying that he enjoyed it very much. *Journal*, I, 379, n. 5, says the picture in question was the "Lamentation", which seems unlikely, however.

[53] See note 26.

[54] *Klass. d. K.*, (n. d.), pp. 17, 19, 44, 56, 126.

[55] *Klass. d. K.*, pp. 53, 104.

[56] M. Louis Réau in Michel, *Hist. de l'art*, VIII[1], 128, likens the woman to the right in "Dante's Bark" (Louvre; there is also a version in the Art Institute of Chicago), to the "Night" of the Medici tomb. The figure of Charon in the "Bark" may be likened to the veiled figure in the "Last Judgment" (*Klass. d. K.*, p. 120, upper right; *v.* also, p. 119, left), and the floating figure below Dante is suggestive of the figure being pulled up in the same composition (*v.* also the figure in the central part of the Cross; *Klass. d. K.*, p. 118). The young bowman of Delacroix's "Education of Achilles" (illus. in Escholier, *op. cit.*, III, 41-2) recalls such Michelangelo details as that mentioned under *Klass. d. K.*, p. 119, and the soldier coming from the water in Marcantonio's engraving of the "Battle of Cascina" (*Klass. d. K.*, p. xxv). Delacroix knew Michelangelo's work only in reproductions (engravings). In the *Journal*, II, 281-2, he says that *"le jugement dernier . . . ne me disait rien du tout. Je n'y vois que des détails frappants comme un coup de poing qu'on recoit; mais l'intérêt, l'unité, l'enchainement de tout cela est absent." V. ib.*, p. 282, n. 1. Delacroix's many references to Michelangelo in the *Journal* are listed in the index to Vol. III.

[57] *Oeuvres litt.*, II, 33.

[58] Quoted in Rosenthal, *Du roman. au réal.*, p. 123.

[59] *Journal*, I (1824), 69.

[60] Robaut (1833), No. 469; .81 x 1.00. Refused at the *Salon* of 1834. *Cf.* Robaut, No. 130; *Journal*, I, 124; Moreau-Nélaton, *op. cit.*, I, 144-5.

Robaut warns against *"un mauvais copie . . . traitée en frottis"*, and states that the original belonged to Messrs. Arnold and Tripp in Nov., 1881. A version appears in the sale catalogue of the S. Goldschmidt collection, Paris, May 7, 1888, No. 29 (.80m x .98m), illustrated by a rather poor etching. The writer learns from good authority that this picture still remains in the Goldschmidt family and that it does not appear to be an authentic Delacroix. The etching just mentioned resembles the example reproduced here in fig. 16 (*v.* Moreau-Nélaton, op. cit., I, fig. 108), while the Walters composition resembles more the cut in Robaut, though the latter is so slightly indicated that little can be inferred from it. Definitive solution of the matter would have to await a study of the Goldschmidt painting; the possibility of the existence of a third and authentic version results from the argument in the text and in the present note.

[61] The etching is listed in Robaut (1834), as No. 562; the pen drawing as No. 563. Both are illustrated in *L'Art*, XXIX, 2 (1882), pp. 105 and 107, respectively. *Cf.* 1930 *Exposition, Cat.*, Nos. 357, 357-A, 823-C.

[62] The paint-film of the light areas in "The Combat" is, indeed, thinner than that of the dark areas of the other paintings.

[63] III, 45-6.

[64] The colors of the Walters "Combat" seem particularly lifeless compared to his usual effects, and in some passages they look like attempts to ape his manner of giving sparkle with small touches of bright tints—attempts that are uncertain and quite ineffective. The signature is painted in an angular hand and contrasts sharply with the more flowing style witnessed on an authentic work.

[65] Formerly owned by the Galerie Matthiesen, Berlin. Robaut (1830), No. 321; 1930 *Exposition, Cat.*, No. 51-A. The scene represents the battle between the forces of King John of France, shown with his young son, Philippe-le-Hardi, and those of Edward, the "Black Prince" of England, which took place near Poitiers on the 19th of September, 1356. For other mediaeval subjects by Delacroix, *v.* the *table alphabétique* in vol. III of the *Journal*.

[66] W. G. Constable in *The Burl. Mag.*, XLIX (1926), 227.

[67] Moreau-Nélaton, *op. cit.*, I, 102.

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] *Journal*, II, 22.

[70] Regarding the effect of lassitude in Delacroix's figures, *v.* Rosenthal, *La peint. roman.*, p. 212.

[71] *Journal*, III, 266.

[72] These considerations are given perhaps fuller statement in Delacroix's *Journal* in the entry for April 23, 1854 (vol. II, 168-70) than in any other single passage in his writings. The quotations given here are taken from this passage unless otherwise noted.

[73] *Journal*, I, 173-4; *v.* also, Gillot, *op. cit.*, p. 340, n. 1: "It is necessary to content oneself, even in the best works, with a few gleams, which are the moments wherein the artist has been inspired."

[74] *Journal*, III, 34.

[75] The more important references in the *Journal* to details, accessories, exactitude, finish, the model, etc., on the one hand, and to the ensemble and general effect, on the other, are: I, 74, 188, 440; II, 26-31, 85-88, 91, 139, 168-70, 174, 212, 262, 319, 416; III, 22, 47-48, 55, 141-142, 197-98, 231-33, 267-91, 335, 417, 433.

[76] *Journal*, I, 174; *v.* Gillot, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

[77] *Journal*, III, 44.

[78] *Journal*, III, 51; extract from an article by Scudo on music. *V. Journal*, III, 55.

[79] *Journal*, III, 142.

[80] *Journal*, III, 267.

[81] *L'oeuvre et la vie d'Eugène Delacroix* in *L'art romantique* (Paris, 1925), p. 6.

[82] *Journal*, III, 54.

[83] *Cf.* his articles on Raphael, Michelangelo, etc., and his discussions of artists generally, in the *Oeuvres litt.* and the *Journal*. *V.* Gillot, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-81, where Delacroix's handling of other works is characterized as "creative imitation", like earlier masters' reworking of traditional material.

[84] *Journal*, III, 44; *cf.* note 86.

[85] *Journal*, II, 87-88.

[86] The reader may be referred to M. Gillot's book, already cited, which alone, so far as the writer knows, has attempted to systematize the scattered remarks that make up Delacroix's expressed thought. M. Gillot's conclusions regarding Delacroix the artist are of such an enthusiastic character that one wonders if he may not perhaps have been influenced in this respect by his admiration for Delacroix the thinker.

In addition to the several comments given above which indicate the imaginative nature of Delacroix's outlook, the following references may be noted. In regard to seeing, *Journal*, III, 231-32; thought and memory, *Oeuvres litt.*, I, 115; imitation, *Journal*, II, 88; on the necessity of everyone seeing the beautiful in his own fashion, *Journal*, II, 395, and the long section on *la question sur le beau*, in III, 344-57. Reference to the universal laws governing the beautiful is partially contained in the note following.

[87] It is a great merit of M. Joubin's edition of the *Journal* to have included excerpts from Delacroix's wide reading, which show in a number of cases in what direction his sympathies lay. (*V. Journal*, I, xvi-xvii). Several instances may be noted here. Besides that mentioned in note 78 above in connection with the critic Scudo, Delacroix's remark that the supreme goal of art lies in the effect (also quoted on p. 101 above), corresponds to his quotation from Byron that *"Le grand art est l'effet . . ."* (*Jour-*

nal, I, 388; III, 39). His interest in the universal aspect of beauty runs parallel with an underlined passage from Lerminier (*Journal,* I, 231; Gillot, *op. cit.,* 340). His insistence on achieving unity of effect is similarly stressed in a passage from Sénancourt's *Obermann* (*Journal,* III, 83). In regard to his remarks on the immaterial aspects of painting (*v.* p. 106 above), see his reference to Mme. de Staël (*Journal,* I, 50); in regard to Boileau on truth and beauty, *v.* Gillot, *op. cit.,* 342.

[88] *Oeuvres litt.,* I, 67; *v.* Gillot, *op. cit.,* 326-7.

[89] *Oeuvres litt.,* I, 114. Delacroix had little patience with "the axiom of the sensualists, that *nil est in intellectu quod non fuerit prius in sensu*". *V. Journal,* III, 45.

[90] *V.* Gillot, *op. cit.,* pp. 312-14, 317.

[91] *Journal,* III, 402; *v.* III, 48; Gillot, *op. cit.,* pp. 316-17.

[92] A beginning in the technical study of Delacroix's paintings has been made by M. Jacques Maroger, technical director of the Louvre laboratory, from whom the writer learns that much of interest has been found, particularly with respect to the relation of Delacroix's technique to that of Rubens, and that an article on these matters may be expected in the not distant future.

[93] See, generally, *Journal,* I, 176, 195-199, 243, 501; III, 15, 33-34, 45, 427-28; Escholier, *op. cit.,* I, 271-72.

[94] Charles Blanc, *Les artistes de mon temps* (Paris, 1876), p. 77.

[95] *Curiosités esthétiques, Salon de 1845,* p. 7.

FIGURE 23 WALTERS ART GALLERY

DELACROIX

Lion and Tortoise. Pen drawing

ABSTRACTS FROM OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Synopses of Articles and Books of More Than Ordinary Interest Concerning Walters Material

G. Hanfmann, "Daidalos in Etruria;" and Eva Fiesel, "The Inscription on the Etruscan Bulla," American Journal of Archaeology, *Vol. XXXIX (1935), No. 2, pp. 189-197. Five text illustrations and one plate.*

A DELICATELY wrought Etruscan bulla of gold in the Walters Art Gallery proves that the Greek myth of Daidalos and Ikaros is considerably earlier than had been supposed. Decoratively worked in fine archaic style, the surface of the bulla shows the winged figure of Daidalos carrying an adze and saw, which he was said to have invented, while his son Ikaros has a double-axe and a carpenter's square, again in tribute to his father. A comparison with the style of reliefs at Locri in Southern Etruria would date the bulla in the second quarter of the fifth century B. C., making it the earliest known representation of Daidalos. Since the myth was undoubtedly taken over from Greece, the story itself must have been known as early as the sixth century B. C. Varying from the Greek representations of the theme, the contrast between age and youth is not implied, but the bulla shares with all other Etruscan renderings an emphasis upon the character of Daidalos as a craftsman and technical genius, for which he was particularly honored in Etruria. The Etruscan names of the two gods, Taitle (Daidalos) and Vikare (Ikaros) are inscribed above their heads in characters which show some of the peculiarities of those used in Central Etruria. There are reasons to think that Daidalos originated in some personality, possibly historic, of the Dorians of Asia Minor, whereas the form of Ikaros' name as inscribed on this bulla shows that it does not derive from Indo-European roots, but must be originally Proto-Greek. He probably took his origin in a god of one of the pre-Greek tribes of Asia Minor of the Minoan period.

The bulla was used not only as a necklace ornament, but as a perfume-container—a fact proven by the remains of resinous "labdanum," a substance still used to hold and "fix" perfumes.

Grace Frank and Dorothy Miner, "Proverbes en Rimes." Text and Illustrations of the Fifteenth Century from a French Manuscript in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. The Johns Hopkins Press, *Baltimore, 1937. x+117 pp.; 184 plates. Published under the sponsorship of the Modern Language Association of America and with the aid of the American Council of Learned Societies.*

THE MANUSCRIPT here published for the first time is a comparatively rare survivor of the kind of book used by the humbler folk of the Middle Ages, at the time when the growth of town-life and the gradual spread of literacy caused a demand for books among the middle classes. The luxurious manuscripts produced for wealthy nobles and book-collectors have been preserved in considerable numbers, whereas little has survived to show us what reading material was available for the less discriminating people of lower class. There are records to show that pro-

fessional ateliers met this need by producing quantities of unpretentious and inexpensive illustrated books. Their very scarcity at present attests to their popularity and the eagerness with which they were "read to tatters."

There were important relationships between these popular manuscript books illustrated with rapid pen and ink drawings, and the early wood-cut illustrated books of the first printing presses. A certain number of such fifteenth-century manuscript books have survived in Germany, but almost no French examples have come down to us. The Walters manuscript gains particular importance from this fact. It contains a series of 182 eight-line verses, each terminating in a popular proverb and each illustrated by a drawing in pen and ink depicting the saying in terms of daily life. On the basis of the style and details of the drawings the manuscript may be assigned to the period between 1485 and 1490 and to the region of Lyons or thereabouts. That it is the product of a commercial atelier is attested by the existence of another and more extensive manuscript in the British Museum. This contains the same text as the Walters example with additional verses. Although the London book must be about ten years later, the illustrations are closely related in style and detail, and the format, script, and paper are the same. Another fragment of the text is preserved at Gap in the department of Hautes-Alpes—not far from the region to which the whole group is probably to be attributed.

These verses form an interesting link between the proverb-literature so popular in the Middle Ages and the fashionable illustrated "Emblem-books" of the Renaissance, which also were produced largely around Lyons. These gained particular importance in the arts by providing a wealth of illustrations to serve as models for workers in the crafts, such as enamellers, glaziers, wood-carvers, etc.

Agnes Mongan, "Six Aquarelles Inédites de Daumier," Gazette des Beaux-Arts. *Vol. 17, part 1 (1937), pp. 245-253.*

THERE HAVE recently been discovered in the Walters Art Gallery six important water-colors by Daumier, four of which were absolutely unknown hitherto. These drawings had escaped notice because they were attached to the last leaves of a large album of drawings by Gavarni. Two of the Daumier water-colors, one of lawyers and a spirited scene in a studio, were known and reproduced many years ago before they dropped out of sight at the dispersal of the Cyrus Lawrence collection in 1910. The drawing of the artists' studio is to be related to Daumier's lithograph *"Viste à l'atelier"* published in *Charivari* March 19, 1864, in the series *Moments difficiles de la vie.*

The other four water-colors, particularly fresh and clear in their color, thanks to the oblivion of the album, represent omnibus and train scenes.

The "Interior of an Omnibus," the most humorous of these, is the drawing for a wood-cut which appeared in *le Monde Illustré*, January 30, 1864. A preparatory sketch of this subject is known, as well as a related lithograph.

The railway interiors form a series depicting carriages of the first, second, and third class. The delicate coloring and refined style of the "First Class Carriage" recall Daumier's manner around 1865. He made several lithographs of the same subject about 1864 to 1865. The water-color of the "Second Class Carriage," a winter scene, was preliminary to a wood-cut entitled *"Train de plaisir, Dix degrés d' ennui et de mauvais humeur."* This first appeared in *le Monde Illustré*, January 18, 1862. The fine water-color of the "Third Class Carriage" must have preceded the important painting of that subject in the Havemeyer Collection in the Metropolitan Museum. Variations in detail between the two can be

seen first sketched in the oil painting in accordance with the Walters drawing, and then altered as the painting progressed.

Dorothy Kent Hill, "The Rediscovered Seal of Tarqumuwa King of Mera," Archiv Orientálni, Vol. IX (1937), No. 3, pp. 307-310 and plate XXVI.

A SMALL silver seal, which was in effect the "Rosetta Stone of the Hittite language," after being lost for seventy-five years and supposedly destroyed, has now come to light in the Walters Art Gallery. Miss Hill's article records the method by which this tiny object, the key to our knowledge of an ancient civilization, has been proven definitely to be the original and not some clever replica. Spectrographic analysis of the material and microscopic examination of the structure have demonstrated that the seal is not an electrotype, and other details prove that this is the original from which several replicas were made by scholars in the nineteenth century.

The story of this precious object begins around 1860 when there was offered for sale to the British Museum a convex disc of silver, about an inch and a half in diameter. Incised in its surface with meticulous precision of detail was the standing figure of a king, garbed in the royal garments of the ancient Near-East, and surrounded by mysterious symbols. Around the border ran an inscription in cuneiform. So pristine was the condition of the object and so unintelligible were the symbols that the museum was suspicious of its genuineness and rejected it, after first taking care to make two electrotype impressions.

A few years later a German scholar, Mordtmann, saw the object in Constantinople and, still ignorant of its full significance, published a description and drawing, while a French scholar, Lenormant, who saw it was sufficiently intrigued to have a cast made. It was a full twenty years later that the distinguished English archaeologist, A. H. Sayce, who had become interested in cuneiform inscriptions surviving in Armenia, came upon Mordtmann's article. The style of the kingly figure and many details of the mysterious symbols reminded him of the great Hittite rock-carvings which he had seen at Eyuk, Boghaz Keui, Chiaur Kalessi, and other places over which the Hittites had ruled before their final overthrow by the Assyrians in 717 B. C. The inscriptions carved in the rocks had kept their secret and remained undeciphered. Mr. Sayce realized that the seal contained a bilingual inscription in which the cuneiform, which could be deciphered, would duplicate the message of the Hittite characters, and therefore give the first clue to that language. This proved to be the case. The seal gave the name and domain of a king: "Tarrik-timme (Tarqumuwa), king of Ermé." Sayce detected evidences to show that this kingdom must have been in the region of Cilicia, in which the Hittites were strong. He supposed date of the seal to be about the time of Sargon (eighth century B. C.), when the rising tide of Assyrian power was overwhelming the Hittites. At such a transitional period an official emblem would require two languages—that of the subjects and that of the recent conquerors. Others date it as early as the twelfth century.

Having solved the riddle of this small silver disc, Sayce and other scholars were able gradually to untangle the secrets of the great rock-cut inscriptions which contain all that remains of the story of the Hittites.

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For the convenience of scholars and others interested in collections in the Walters Art Gallery we give here a list, as complete as possible with available data, of the publications authorized by Mr. William T. Walters and Mr. Henry Walters in connection with their collections. There follows a bibliography of pertinent publications which have appeared since the gallery was incorporated as a public institution in 1933. Only those articles and books which treat of Walters material exclusively or to a notable extent are included. Important objects and groups of objects which had been well known and studied before being identified with this collection will be indicated from time to time in special notes and bibliographies in future issues of the JOURNAL.

Publications issued or authorized by Mr. William T. Walters and Mr. Henry Walters, in connection with their collection:

PICTURES

Collection of Mr. William T. Walters. 65 Mt. Vernon Place, Baltimore. (Baltimore, 1884.) 12mo. 112 pp.
Catalogue of paintings, water-colors and drawings, statuary.

The Art Collections of Mr. Wm. T. Walters. 65 Mt. Vernon Place, Baltimore.
Catalogue and Descriptive and Critical Articles. Published by Permission of Mr. Walters. Published by the *Baltimore American* (Baltimore, ca. 1884). 12mo. 96 pp.
List of paintings, water-colors, and statuary; reprinted newspaper accounts of the collection.

Anonymous, *Poems upon Pictures in the Collection of Mr. William T. Walters.* (Baltimore, n.d.) 8vo. 21 pp.

The Walters Collection. 5 Mt. Vernon Place, Baltimore. (Baltimore, 1895.) 12mo. 128 pp.
Catalogue of paintings, water-colors and drawings, miniatures, and statuary.

The Walters Collection. 5 Mt. Vernon Place, Baltimore. (Baltimore, 1901.) 12mo. 144 pp.
Catalogue of paintings, water-colors and drawings, statuary and miniatures.

The Walters Collection. 5 Mt. Vernon Place, Baltimore. (Baltimore, 1903.) 12mo. 144 pp.
Catalogue of paintings, water-colors and drawings, and statuary.

The Walters Collection. The Lord Baltimore Press. (Baltimore, n.d.) 8vo. 175 pp.
Catalogue of paintings, water-colors and drawings.

The Walters Collection. The Lord Baltimore Press. (Baltimore, ca. 1922.) 8vo. 169 pp.
Catalogue of paintings, water-colors and drawings.

The Walters Collection. The Lord Baltimore Press. (Baltimore, n.d.) 8vo. 161 pp.
Catalogue of paintings, water-colors and drawings.

ORIENTAL COLLECTION

Walters, W. T., *Oriental Collection of Mr. W. T. Walters.* 65 Mt. Vernon Place, Baltimore. (Baltimore, 1884.) 12mo. 127 pp. 7 plates.
A descriptive handbook, with some reference to European ceramics ancient and modern.

Bushell, S. W., *Oriental Ceramic Art.*
Illustrated by examples from the collection of W. T. Walters. (New York, 1897.) Fol. 10 sections; 429 + viii pp. 116 color lithographs (Louis Prang); 400 + halftones.
An extensive treatise on the entire field of oriental ceramics.

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Walters Art Gallery. Act of Incorporation, Ordinances of Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, By-Laws, etc. (Baltimore, 1934.) 8vo. 16 pp.

First Annual Report of the Trustees of Walters Art Gallery to the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore for the year 1933. (Baltimore, 1934.) 8vo. 6 pp.

Taylor, Francis Henry, *What Baltimore Will Do with the Walters Bequest* in *The American Magazine of Art,* XXVII, 5 (May, 1934), pp. 261-266.

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Second Annual Report of the Trustees of Walters Art Gallery to the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore for the year 1934. (Baltimore, 1935.) 8vo. 8 pp.

Third Annual Report of the Trustees of Walters Art Gallery to the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore for the year 1935. (Baltimore, 1936.) 8vo. 8 pp.

Handbook of the Collection. Walters Art Gallery. (Baltimore, 1936.) 8vo. 177 pp., 96 illustrations.

Fourth Annual Report of the Trustees of Walters Art Gallery to the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore for the year 1936. (Baltimore, 1937.) 8vo. 7 pp.

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EXHIBITIONS

SINCE NOVEMBER, 1934, when the Walters Art Gallery reopened after its rearrangement, the following special exhibitions have been presented. These have been organized entirely from material belonging to the Gallery, by drawing upon the abundant reserves of objects not on permanent exhibition.

1934

November 21: Paintings by Jean Lèon Gérôme and bronze sculptures by Antoine-Louis Barye. Gallery XV.

December 22: The Christmas theme in various media; an exhibition of paintings, sculpture, ivories, wood-carvings, and metal-plaques. Gallery XV.

1935

January 12: Eugène Fromentin and Mario Fortuny. Paintings of North Africa and the Near-East. Gallery XV.

February 9: Sèvres Porcelains of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Gallery XV.

March 23: Snuff-boxes of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Gallery XV.

June 16: Summer Show: French academic painters of the nineteenth century.

October 6: The Bible from the ninth to the sixteenth century. An exhibition of manuscripts and early printed books in commemoration of the three-hundredth anniversary of Coverdale's English translation of the Bible. Court.

December 15: Christmas Show: The Madonna and Child in Italian painting and sculpture. Gallery XV.
The Christmas legend illustrated in illuminated manuscripts. Court and Foyer.

1936

January 20: Chinese Porcelains and other objects of art, eleventh to eighteenth century. Galleries XIV and XV.

March 15: Eighteenth-century European porcelain flower-containers and pieces illustrating the use of flowers. Galleries XI and XII.

May 1: Medieval Persian ceramics. Gallery IV.

October 27: Exhibition for the meeting of the American Ceramic Society. Greek, Roman and Etruscan pottery. Court. Medieval Persian faience: Gallery IV. Chinese porcelains: Galleries XIV and XV.

November 7: Ornamental doorknockers, locks, and keys of the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. Gallery XV.

December 13: Ecclesiastical vestments and embroideries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Gallery XV.
The Christmas story in fifteenth-century French painting—a manuscript exhibition. Foyer.

1937

February 1: Byzantine and Armenian illuminated manuscripts from the tenth to the seventeenth century. Foyer and Gallery XV.

February 3: Daily life in classical times. Gallery III.

February 21: Books of Hours and Missals from the Paris atelier of the "Bedford Master." Gallery V.

March 6: Early firearms: Cross-bows, guns, pistols, and powder-flasks of the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Gallery XV.

May 17: Summer Show: Animal sculpture by Antoine-Louis Barye. Gallery XV.

October 1: Honoré Daumier—an exhibition of paintings, sculpture, and graphic works. Gallery XV.

November 6: Majolica-ware of the Renaissance. Gallery XV.

December 15: Little masterpieces of the Middle Ages. An exhibition of small objects accompanied by enlarged photographic studies of details. Gallery XV.

1938

March 6: Clocks and watches of the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Gallery XV.

May 13: French academic and official paintings of the nineteenth century. Exhibition organized in connection with the Courbet Symposium which was held at the Baltimore Museum of Art. Gallery XII.