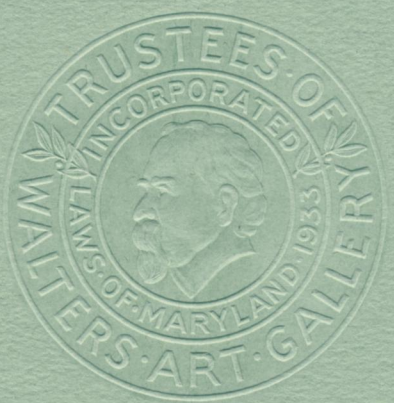
THE JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY



1943

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

PUBLISHED BY THE TRUSTEES

THE JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

VOLUME VI
1943

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
PUBLISHED BY THE TRUSTEES

THE JOHN D. LUCAS PRINTING COMPANY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

•

TRUSTEES

HON. THEODORE R. MCKELDIN . . . . . *Mayor of Baltimore, Ex-officio*
HON. C. MARKLAND KELLY . . . . . *President of City Council, Ex-officio*

GEORGE C. CUTLER — B. HOWELL GRISWOLD, JR., *President*
A. R. L. DOHME — PHILIP B. PERLMAN
ROBERT GARRETT, *Vice-President*

C. MORGAN MARSHALL
Secretary

SAFE DEPOSIT & TRUST CO.
Treasurer

*ALEXANDER BROWN GRISWOLD
Assistant Secretary

•

COMMITTEE ON THE GALLERY

Messrs. GARRETT, PERLMAN and MARSHALL

•

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

FRANCIS HENRY TAYLOR (*Chairman*), *Director*, Metropolitan Museum of Art
BELLE DA COSTA GREENE, *Director*, Pierpont Morgan Library
HENRY MARCEAU, *Assistant Director*, Philadelphia Museum of Art
*GEORGE L. STOUT, *Director of Technical Research*, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University

•

THE STAFF

C. MORGAN MARSHALL . . . . . *Administrator*
*JOHN CARROLL KIRBY . . . . . *Assistant to Administrator*
MARGARET E. MEADE . . . . . *Secretary to Administrator*
WINIFRED KENNEDY . . . . . *Registrar*
MARY COONEY . . . . . *Secretary to Registrar*
*LYNN D. POOLE . . . . . *Supervisor, Department of Education*
MARY B. FILLEY . . . . . *Acting Supervisor, Department of Education*
VIRGINIA B. HENDERSHOT . . . . . *Assistant, Educational Activities*
MARY R. POE . . . . . *Information and Sales*

DOROTHY KENT HILL . . . . . *Curator of Ancient Art*
EDWARD S. KING . . . . . *Curator of Painting and Oriental Art*
*MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS . . . *Curator of Medieval & Subsequent Decorative Arts*
DOROTHY E. MINER . . . . . *Librarian and Keeper of Manuscripts*
EMMA J. EDELSTEIN . . . . . *Assistant to Librarian*

DAVID ROSEN . . . . . *Technical Adviser*
ELISABETH C. G. PACKARD . . . . . *Assistant to Technical Adviser*
SHERLEY B. HOBBS . . . . . *Photographer*

WILLIAM H. SMITH . . . . . *Building Superintendent*

* On Leave of Absence with the Armed Forces.

Editor of the JOURNAL . . . . . DOROTHY E. MINER
Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md., U. S. A.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOL. VI 1943

(*The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery is indexed in "Art Index"*)

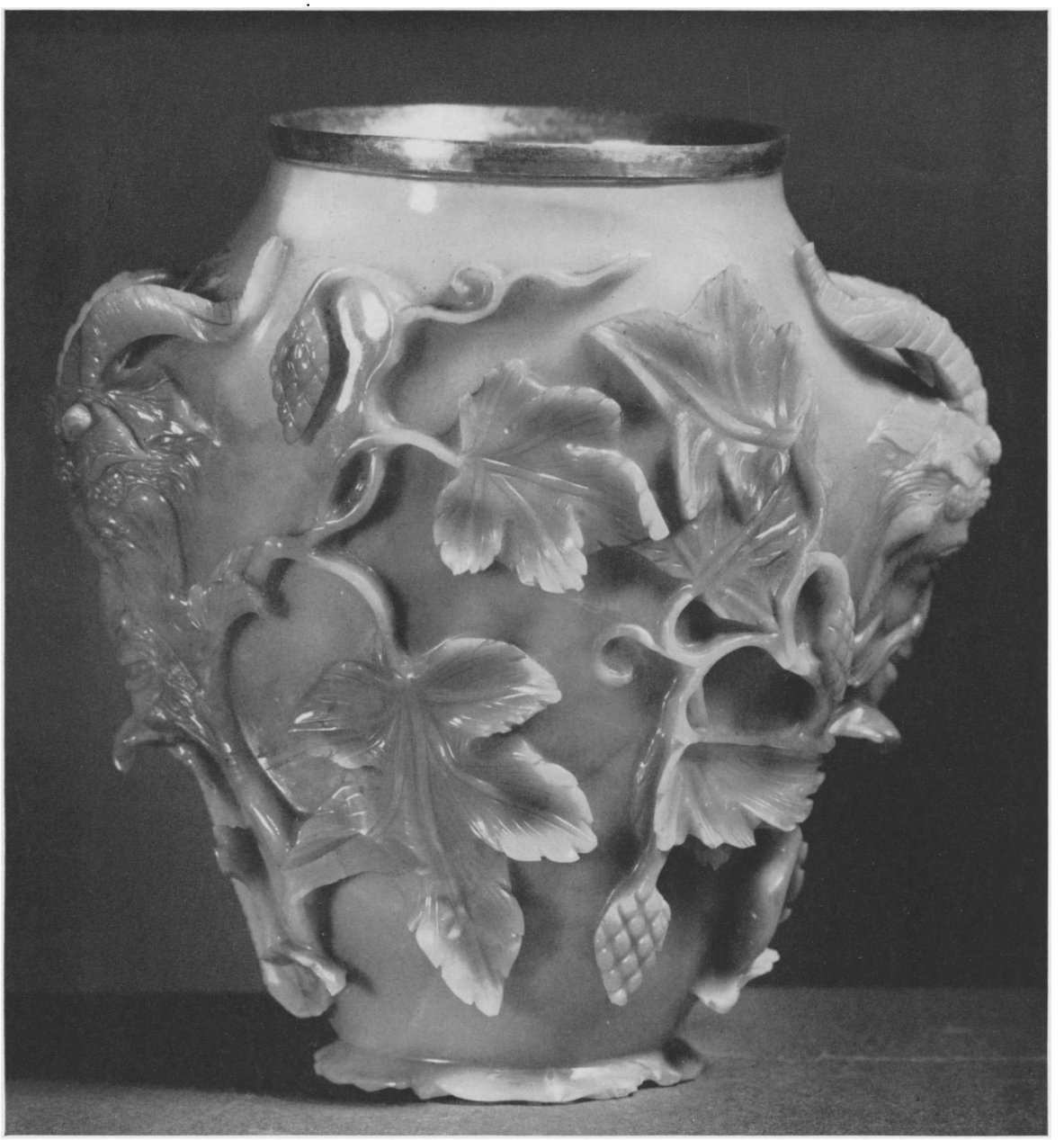


FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Rubens Vase

THE RUBENS VASE
ITS HISTORY AND DATE

BY MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS*
Walters Art Gallery

ANTIQUE GEM carvings, because of their precious material and workmanship, and their easily portable character, have frequently more adventurous and romantic histories than other objects of art. It is only in rare instances, however, that one may trace with any degree of continuity the wanderings of some particular gem, previous to its appearance in the great collections of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In 1941 the Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery acquired at the sale of art objects belonging to Mrs. Henry Walters a large agate vase,[1] that for beauty and rarity ranks among the most important gem carvings of the world. It is a vessel over seven inches high, carved from a single mass of agate, shading from a warm honey color to a milky white (figs. 1-5). The ornamentation is carved in a very high, solid relief, thus adding some strength to the walls of the vase, which are worked to the thinness and translucence of porcelain. It is in remarkably perfect condition, having suffered only a few minor cracks and chips. The shape is, in general, ovoid, tapering to a flanged base, while the wider end at the top is truncated for the opening. As may be seen in the illustrations, the vase is flattened in diameter. The broader profile expands at the shoulders, where two handle-like knobs are carved with heads of Pan, characterized by coarse features, drooping goat-like ears, moustaches, and horns that are cut free from the background (figs. 3, 5). Below each head an acanthus leaf curls upward from a point near the base. From these acanthus leaves emerge grapevines carved in very high relief with leaves, tendrils and immature bunches of fruit that unsymmetrically cover the two flattened sides. The rim is delicately turned and is masked by a gold mount of comparatively recent date. The surface of the bottom is carved in low relief with a rosette composed of two sets of six overlapping petals, their tips providing the base with a wavy silhouette (fig. 4). The stone still has a very high polish that may well be original.

This vase has been famed among collectors and scholars for about sixty years. During this period there had been few opportunities for specialists to study it, but in the first quarter of this century the piece figured in several published discussions by competent authorities,

* This article was in preparation at the time that the author was called to military service overseas. For this reason it was impossible to submit proof to the author or even the revisions of an editorial nature that were necessitated by the hasty completion of the paper. However, it is in accordance with Capt. Ross' wish that the article is published without further delay. —*Editor.*

[1] Museum no. 42.562. H.: 7½ in. *The Mrs. Henry Walters Art Collection* (New York, Parke-Bernet Galleries, April 30-May 1, 1941), II, p. 424. See Appendix IV.

who dated it variously, but agreed in placing it somewhere within the "Graeco-Roman" period.[2] When the agate reappeared on the auction market in 1941, the question of date was reopened by the scholars who examined it. Archaeologists rejected a first or second-century dating. Suggestions were made that it was renaissance, even that it was a product of eighteenth or early nineteenth-century neo-classical art.

The varieties of judgment offered stemmed in general from two factors: (1) the lack of similar objects with which to compare the vase, and (2) the absence of definitely established facts as to the history of the piece prior to 1882, when it figured in the Hamilton Palace Sale.

What then was actually *known* about the piece at the time it came up for sale in 1941? Working back, we can list the following: Mr. Henry Walters acquired the agate, through an agent, in London in 1925, at the sale of Sir Francis Cook's collection of gem-carvings.[3] While in the Cook Collection, it was exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club "Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art" in 1903, and figured in the Exhibition Catalogue (1904) of Mrs. Strong with a description written by C. Newton-Robinson.[4] In 1908 a much longer account appeared in volume two of the Catalogue of the Cook Collection written by Sir Cecil H. Smith and C. Amy Hutton.[5] The former gave what then was known of the object's previous history. It was acquired by Sir Francis Cook in 1898, supposedly from Alfred Morrison, who was said to have owned it.[6] In 1882 it was lot number 487 among the effects of Hamilton Palace and went to S. Wertheimer of London for £1,764.[7] The Hamilton Sale Catalogue described the vase as being from the Beckford Collection. It has been supposed that the Duke of Hamilton acquired it, as he did other items, when the property of his father-in-law, William Beckford, was auctioned in Bath in 1845,[8] but the descriptions in the catalogue of the latter sale are not sufficiently detailed to establish this surmise. This, then, was all that was known for certain in 1941 about the history of the vase, the unsupported statement in the Hamilton Sale Catalogue being merely an indicator of a previous ownership that had never been confirmed.

There were other hypotheses about the "Hamilton Vase," as it was called, besides the supposition that it had been among the possessions of the fabulous William Beckford. The painter, Charles Ricketts, had pointed out to Wyndham Cook, son of Sir Francis, that certain letters of the great artist, Peter Paul Rubens, seemed to refer to this or a similar vase. Sir Cecil H. Smith in the Catalogue of the Cook Collection[9] relates that, in following up this

---

[2] The texts of the various published discussions and longer descriptions are reprinted in the Appendices to this article.

[3] *Catalogue of an Important Collection of Greek, Roman and Etruscan Antiquities . . . formed by the late Sir Francis Cook, Bart.* (London, Christie, Manson and Woods, July 14 ff., 1925), no. 90. See Appendix III.

[4] Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* (London, 1904), no. 88* and plates CVI, CVII. See Appendix I.

[5] Cecil H. Smith and C. Amy Hutton, *Catalogue of the Antiquities (Greek, Etruscan and Roman) in the Collection of the Late Wyndham Francis Cook, Esq. Catalogue of the Art Collection,* Vol. II (London, 1908), no. 271 and plates X, XI. See Appendix II.

[6] There is some discrepancy in the accounts concerning the sale of the vase from the Morrison Collection. The 1908 Cook Collection Catalogue states (see Appendix II) that Sir Francis acquired the vase in 1898, but that it does not appear in the Catalogue of the Morrison Sale that occurred June 29 of that year, a fact I have verified. The Cook Sale Catalogue of 1925 (see Appendix III) states, however, that Sir Francis bought it at the subsequent Morrison sale, June 12, 1899. I have not been able to locate a copy of the latter catalogue in order to verify this assertion. Newspaper accounts at the time of the Cook sale mention that Sir Francis Cook paid 1,700 pounds for the vase in 1899.

[7] *The Hamilton Palace Collection Illustrated Priced Catalogue* (London, 1882). "No. 487: A fine vase of oriental agate, the handles formed as satyrs' heads, each side carved with grapes and foliage in high relief, mounted in gold. 7½ inches high. From the Beckford Collection." For a description of the famous sale, see Paul Eudel, *La vente Hamilton* (Paris, 1883).

[8] Lansdown Tower Sale, Bath, 1845: "No. 167. A very antique oval Cup with handle and foliage in relief — the whole sculptured from an entire mass of Chalcedony." Sir Cecil Harcourt Smith suggested that this passage may refer to the Rubens Vase, but there are several other brief descriptions that equally might allude to our cup.

[9] See Appendix II.

FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Rubens Vase
End

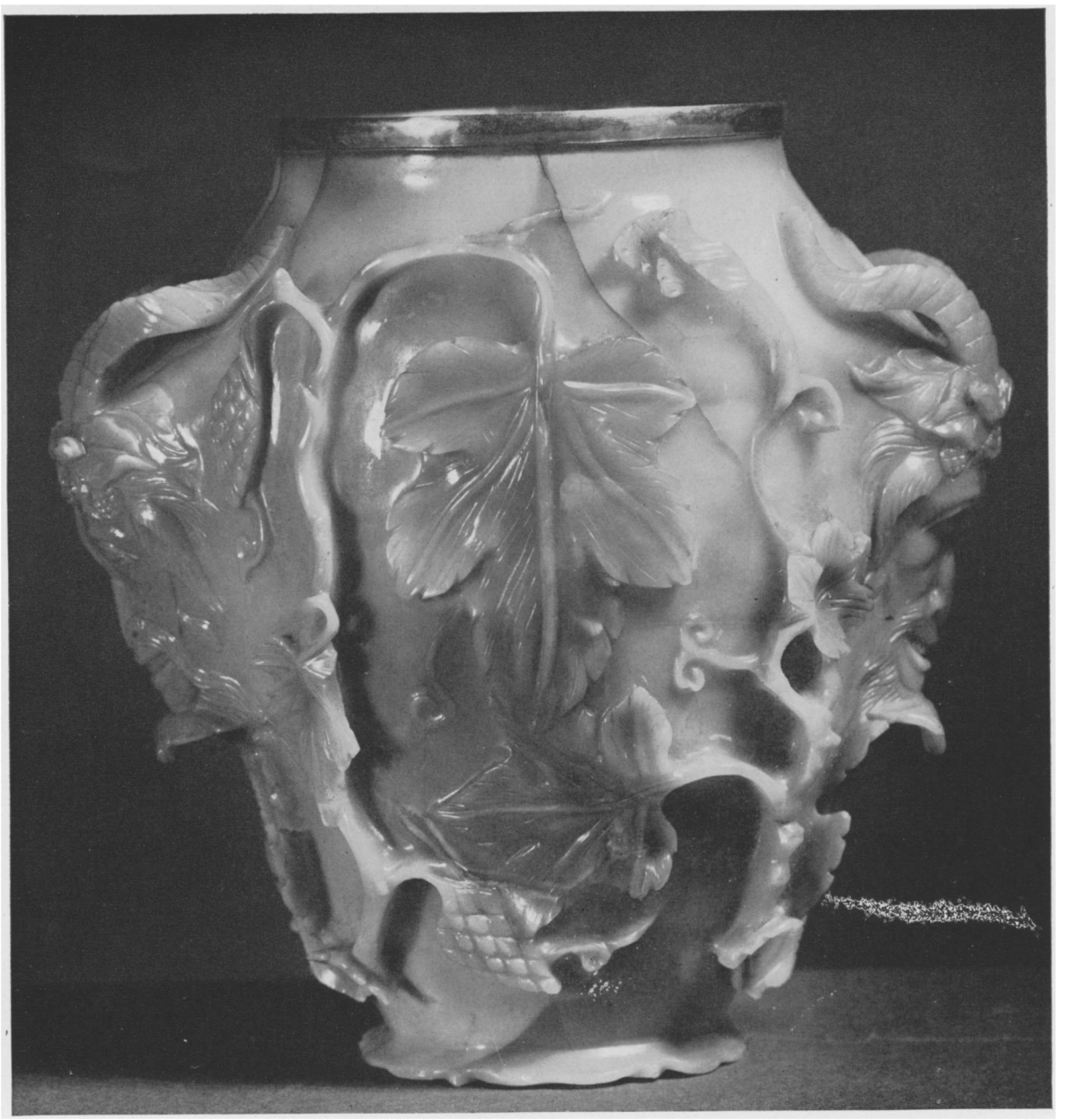


FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Rubens Vase

suggestion with the help of the Rubens scholar, Max Rooses, he sought out the letters in question, and on the basis of these he concluded that the "Hamilton Vase" must almost certainly be that mentioned by Rubens, although definite proof could not be produced. These passages, which are reproduced in Appendix II, allude to a drawing that Rubens made of a valuable antique agate vase he had bought, which in size corresponds to ours. The painter also mentions that in trying to make a cast of the piece, he experienced great difficulty, on account of the high relief and undercutting of the vine-leaves.

It was due to this ingenious and attractive attribution to the ownership of the great seventeenth-century painter-collector that the agate had come to be known as the "Rubens Vase". To be able to establish this hypothesis as a fact would not only push the history of the vase beyond a date when any recent manufacture could be postulated, but would add immeasurably to its interest, as an object that had played its part in the classical studies of the seventeenth century.

So unusual and large a gem would certainly have been noticed in inventories and other records from time to time. To establish its date as well as its history, it was essential to push into every possible channel through which such records might have come to us. It was logical to begin with the unconfirmed attribution to Beckford's collection.

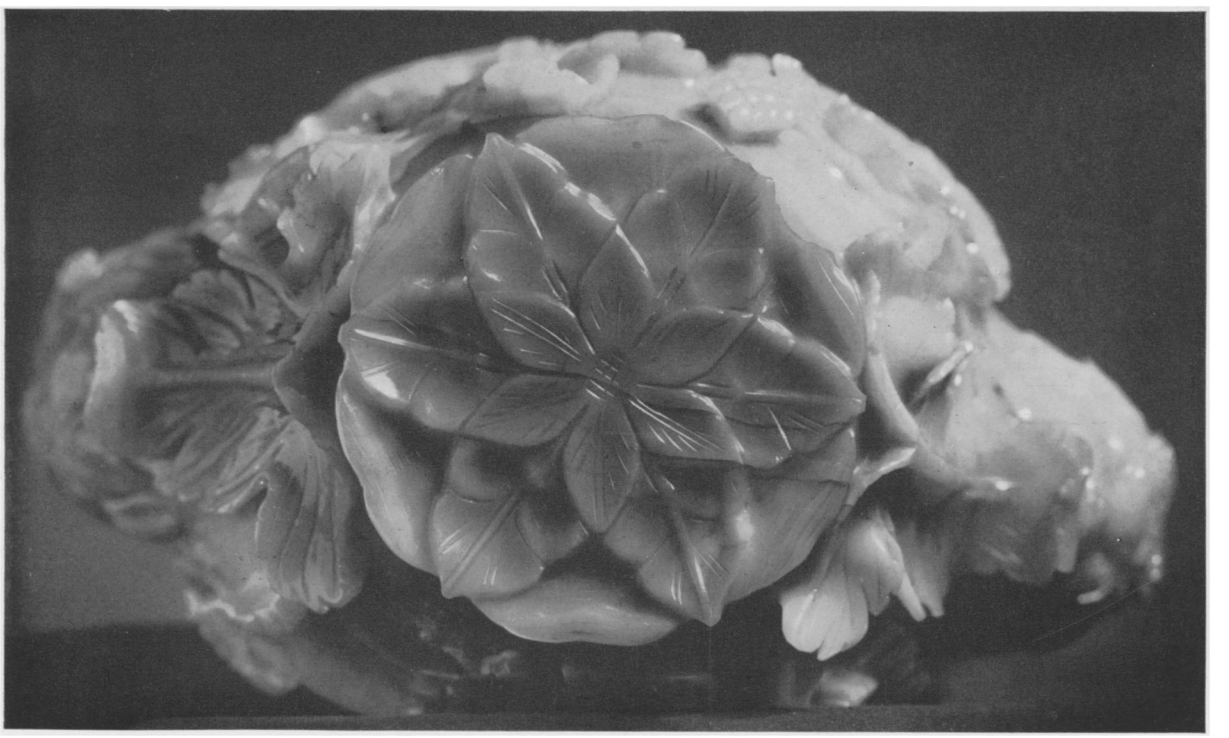


FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Rubens Vase
Bottom

II.
THE HISTORY OF THE VASE.

There is a considerable literature recording the fantastic career and personality of William Beckford, and he himself saw to it that elaborate and detailed publications, with fine illustrations, were published recording the architecture and contents of his fabulous mansions, Lansdown Tower[10] and Fonthill Abbey.[11] The richness and rarity of the agate vase would fit happily among the other exotic items in the collections pictured in these publications. However, a search of the folio on Lansdown Tower reveals no trace of our vase. Of the two descriptions of Fonthill Abbey, that of Rutter[12] includes no specific description that corresponds to this particular agate. Surprisingly enough, however, the *Illustrations Graphic and Literary of Fonthill Abbey* issued by J. Britton in the very same year, 1823, celebrates the vase not only with a description, but with an illustration. On page 57 we read among the accounts of objects in the St. Michael Gallery, of "a vessel or cup formed of a large block of Sardonyx, hollowed out, and the surface incrusted with vine leaves of good design and sharp execution. A pair of Satyr's heads are sculptured as handles to the vase; the bottom is externally carved with foliage, and affords reason for believing that this rare and very curious article must have been executed by a Greek artist of Asia Minor. (*Christie's Catalogue*, p.41)". The incomplete reference to a Christie catalogue cannot at present be traced, but the clarity of this description leaves no possible doubt about the identity with our vase; if sceptics there be, they have only to turn to the front of the same volume (fig. 7), where they will find a precise portrait of the vase incorporated into the engraved title-page, in company with two other objects mentioned in the text as Mr. Beckford's rarest and most prized possessions. The contents of Fonthill Abbey were catalogued for a sale that was scheduled to occur in the autumn of 1823. In the Catalogue of the Library and Art Galleries[13] compiled for this event, no mention of our vase can be identified.[14]

It is obvious that Beckford removed the vase from Fonthill Abbey sometime in 1823, before the contents of the mansion were offered for sale. It held an honored place in his later home, Lansdown Tower, at Bath. We gain this and even more important information that we are seeking, by the lucky preservation of correspondence from a friend of Beckford's. In 1893 Charlotte Lansdown published a limited edition of some letters written to her by her father during various visits to Beckford at Lansdown Tower. On August 21, 1838, he wrote: "Mr. Beckford then, taking off a glass cover, showed us what is, I should imagine, one of the greatest curiosities in existence, a vase about ten inches high, composed of one entire block of Chalcedonian onyx. It is of Greek workmanship, most probably about the time of Alexander the Great. The stone is full of veins, as usual with onyxes. 'Do observe', said he, 'these satyrs' heads. Rubens made a drawing of it, for it was pawned in his time for a large sum. I possess an

---

[10] E. F. English, Jr., *Views of Lansdown Tower, Bath. The Favorite Edifice of the Late William Beckford, from Drawings by Willis Maddox* (London, 1844).

[11] J. Britton, *Graphical and Literary Illustrations of Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire* (London, 1823). John Rutter, *Delineations of Fonthill and its Abbey* (London, 1823). *Catalogue of the Costly and Interesting Effects of Fonthill Abbey . . . to be sold by Mr. Phillips at the Abbey.* 6 pts. (London, 1823).

[12] Rutter, *op. cit.*

[13] *Catalogue of the library . . . , books of prints, galleries of art, missals and manuscripts . . . formerly in the collection of William Beckford . . . sold at Fonthill Abbey . . . 9th September and nine following days; 3rd of October and four following days; . . . 23rd October and following days,* 1823. This is Part I of the Sale Catalogue of Fonthiil Abbey cited in footnote 11. This auction, to be conducted at the Abbey by Mr. Phillips, was never held. The books and apparently certain other objects were transferred to Lansdown Tower, while the rest of the objects were sold to Mr. John Farquhar, who purchased the Abbey itself in 1823.

[14] A number of large antique cameos (p. 275) and cups in agate and chalcedony (pp. 183, 194, 197) are described, but our vase is not one of them.

FIGURE 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Rubens Vase
End

engraving from his drawing,' and opening a portfolio, he immediately presented it to my wondering eyes."[15] Although Lansdown visited Beckford on other occasions during the same summer, he apparently did not go into this particular room again, and he made no further mention of the vase.

Here, then, was unexpected evidence that, unknown to later students, Beckford, too, connected the vase with Rubens, and knew of the descriptions in the painter's letters. What is more, Beckford, if he identified his engravings correctly, possessed some definite proof that the vase described and drawn by Rubens was in fact the vase then in Lansdown Tower. The thing to do was to find the engraving.

A search revealed that an example of the engraving exists in the Berlin Print Cabinet (fig. 6) and was published in the 1870's by Wessely.[16] It removes all doubt that our agate vase was indeed the one that had belonged to Peter Paul Rubens. As may be seen, the vase in the print corresponds in every detail to that now in the Walters Art Gallery, except that the engraving has reversed the drawing. The engraver evidently had difficulty in interpreting the wavy silhouette of the base as rendered in the drawing he worked from. Naturally, also, the engraving exaggerates the curves of the vase and of the foliage, rendering them with flamboyant energy, as one would expect a baroque artist to do. There is doubtless the touch of Rubens in the more sensuous leer of the satyr, as well. By his very nature, Rubens must have loved this vase, that could so perfectly appeal to his robust pagan spirit, as well as to his collector's passion.

Rubens was, indeed, a great collector, particularly of antiques, which he studied enthusiastically. He gathered together a number of ancient marbles including a head of "Seneca", brought from Italy,[17] of which he seems to have been particularly proud. He had a special room where he kept his antique sculptures.[18] Most of these he sold in 1625 to the Duke of Buckingham.[19] Rubens' enthusiasm for such objects led him to make sketches during his travels[20] and to acquire casts, as well.[21] Likewise, throughout his life he was interested in antique coins and medals, and formed a collection of them that was much admired by archaeologists.[22] A number of engravings of coins[23] after drawings by Rubens attest further to this interest, and his series of portraits of the twelve Caesars was doubtless based on old coins.[24]

It was through Rubens' activity as a collector and a student that he became acquainted with Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc,[25] who was the most noted French antiquarian of the day. Peiresc had heard of Rubens' collection of antiques, and he wrote on October 25, 1619, to Gevaerts, a mutual friend, begging him to send an inventory of Rubens' ancient objects.[26] Three years later, Rubens and Peiresc met,[27] and a life-long friendship developed, marked by many exchanges of letters,[28] casts,[29] impressions

---

[15] Charlotte Lansdown, *Recollections of the Late William Beckford* (London, 1893), p. 20. There were printed only one hundred copies of this book, of which there is one in the Library of Congress.

[16] J. E. Wessely, *Das Ornament und die Kunstindustrie* (Berlin, 1877-78), III, nos. 905, 906, pl. 246. The author describes this plate as representing "Two flower-vases, engraved by Pontius or an unknown engraver. From his (Rubens') sketchbook that was published by Alex. Voet in Antwerp. Schneevogt, p. 228."

[17] Max Rooses and C. Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses oeuvres* (Antwerp, 1887-1909), II, pp. 193, 240, 242.

[18] *Ibid.*, II, p. 157.

[19] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 189-194.

[20] M. Rooses, *Rubens,* tr. Harold Child (London, 1904), I, pp. 79 ff., 95, 96 ff., II, p. 345.

[21] *Ibid.*, II, p. 359.

[22] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 193 and 322.

[23] C. G. V. Schneevoogt, *Catalogue des Estampes Gravées d'après P. P. Rubens* (Haarlem, 1873), pp. 198, 223, 238 f.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 223.

[25] M. Rooses, *Rubens,* II, pp. 341 ff.

[26] Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance,* II, pp. 231, 240.

[27] *Ibid.*, II, p. 235.

[28] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 290-291.

[29] *Ibid.*, II, p. 359.

FIGURE 6 BERLIN, KUPFERSTICHKABINET

PETER PAUL RUBENS
Engraving after his drawing of the Rubens Vase

of gems,[30] drawings and paintings,[31] and even actual coins and gems.[32]

For antique gem carvings[33] comprised another important phase of Rubens' collecting and of his general antiquarian interest. He visited a number of places specifically for the purpose of seeing and sketching gems, such as the renowned *Gemma Augustaca* in Vienna, and the large cameos in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris and in the nearby Abbey of Saint Denis.[34] He possessed a number of cameos himself, including a head of "Messalina". Several of his drawings of these still exist.

The mutual interest in cameos shared by Rubens and Peiresc seems to have given Rubens the idea of collaboration on a book, he to do the drawings for the engravings,[35] and Peiresc to supply notes for the text. In 1621, Peiresc wrote giving Rubens permission to make use of his notes on the cameo in Vienna.[36] In a letter to Aleandro, dated June 23, 1623, Peiresc said Rubens was going to publish the most famous cameos in Europe.[37] Apparently the only out-

[30] *Ibid.*, II, p. 345.
[31] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 334, 341, 437, etc.
[32] *Ibid.*, III, pp. 99-100, 241, etc.
[33] The correspondence of Rubens abounds with references to this interest. See also H. Koehler, *Erläuterung eines von Peter Paul Rubens an Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc gerichteten Dankschreibens* in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg, Série VI, Sciences politiques, histoire et philologie,* III (St. Petersburg, 1836), pp. 1 ff.
[34] E. Babelon, *Catalogue des camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1897), pp. 131, etc. G. Glück and Franz Haberditzl, *Die Handzeichnungen von Peter Paul Rubens* (Berlin, 1928), no. 24.
[35] M. Rooses, *L'oeuvre de P. P. Rubens,* V (Antwerp, 1892), p. 20.
[36] Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance,* II, p. 297.
[37] *Ibid.*, III, p. 182.

come of this plan was several drawings and the few sheets of engravings that exist after such sketches by Rubens.[38]

The pride and joy of Rubens' gem collection was the large agate vase that we have just succeeded in identifying as the one now in the Walters Art Gallery. We know that he greatly admired it and spoke of it often in his letters. Peiresc was particularly intrigued by the vase, and Rubens not only made a drawing of it for Peiresc, but also a cast — a most difficult feat, due to the deep undercutting of the leaves.[39] The drawing may still exist unpublished among the many papers of the antiquarian, or it may have been destroyed by the niece who used so many of Peiresc's papers for fire-lighters. But it is fortunate that the engraving after this or a similar drawing has survived to establish the identity of the treasure of which Rubens wrote so often. It is curious that in one of his communications Rubens gave the capacity of the vase. Doubtless Peiresc had requested this information, since he made notes on how much antique vases would hold[40] — an interesting sidelight on the abundant curiosity of the scholar.

A note by Peiresc reveals that Rubens bought the agate vase in 1619 at the Foire St. Germain in Paris.[41] Rubens himself tells us that he paid two thousand gold *scudi* for it.[42] Later, in 1626-28, when he became in need of money, the painter disposed of certain gems to Daniel Fourment for nine hundred florins. The vase was sent to the East Indies on a boat that was captured by the Dutch. Rubens made representations to the office of the Dutch East India Company, but never seems to have received any news of his "jewel", as he called the vase.

The history of the agate between the time that Rubens lost sight of it on its way to India and its appearance at Fonthill Abbey in 1823 is unknown, except for the clue afforded by the gold band around the lip, bearing the French gold-standard stamp for the years 1809-19[43] and the guarantee stamp of the Department of Ain for the same decade.[44] Ain being near Switzerland, we can assume, with some chance of being correct, that the vase had been in Italy and was brought north, either by a returning tourist or by a dealer who wished to dispose of it in the more lucrative market in the north. The tantalizing reference made by Britton to a Christie catalogue,[45] will, when finally traced, also establish the year in which Beckford purchased the agate, and possibly its previous owner.

The story of these intervening years may easily be as romantic as the other periods of the known history of this vase, but the chances of tracing it are very slight. Possibly it had been in the Far East, where Rubens seemed to think there might be a market for such a piece. Indian potentates are known to have bought rich objects from the West. Several exotic renaissance jewels with great baroque pearls mounted in gold and enamel in the so-called Cellini manner, were acquired by the English in the early nineteenth century in India,[46] where they had found their way after they went out of fashion in Europe. Similarly, the Rubens Vase might well have appealed to the exuberant taste of some Oriental prince, and remained among his jewels until a change in fashion released it to return to the European market.

---

38 Schneevoogt, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

39 See Appendices II and V.

40 *Cf.* Cabrol and Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie,* XIV, pt. 1 (Paris, 1939), col. 34; *ibid.*, n.11. *Cf.* also Ph. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres de Peiresc,* V (Paris, 1894), no. XLIX, pp. 99 ff.; no. L, pp. 105 ff.

41 See Appendix V.

42 Appendix II, p. 37.

43 M. Rosenberg, *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen,* 3rd ed., IV (Berlin, 1928), no. 5855.

44 *Ibid.*, IV, no. 5867, combined with a numeral 1 (the indication for Ain, see *ibid.*, p. 209).

45 See page 14 above.

46 *Cf., e.g.,* the Italian jewel brought by Lord Canning from India: H. Clifford Smith, *Jewellery* (Connoisseur's Library; London, 1909), p. 249, pl. 1.

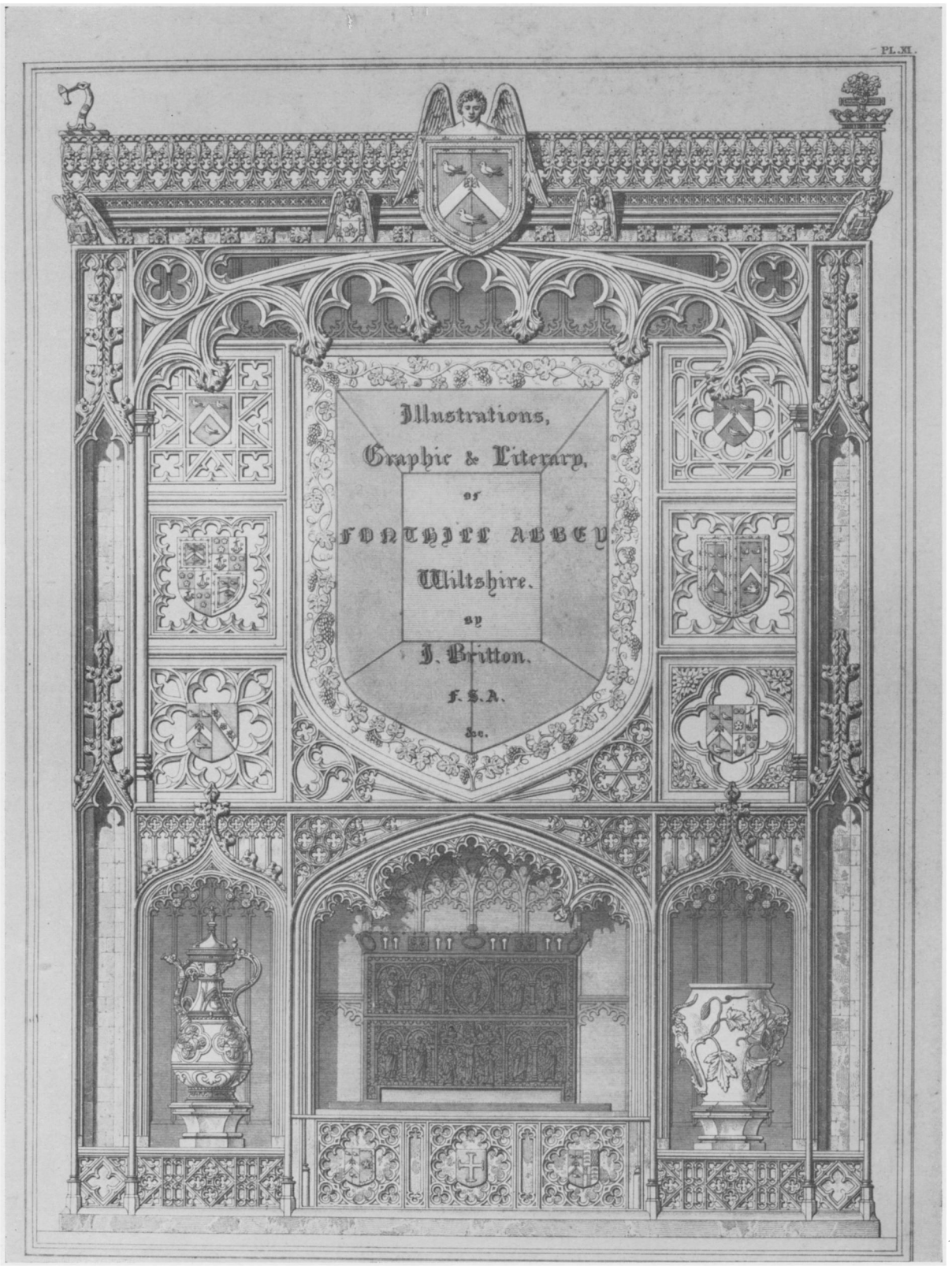


FIGURE 7 BALTIMORE, EVERGREEN LIBRARY

J. BRITTON

Title page to his "Fonthill Abbey"

In seeking to push back the history of the vase previous to 1619, the date when Rubens acquired it, we are reminded that suggestions have sometimes been made that the agate is of renaissance workmanship. A stylistic analysis of the object will be presented in the last section of this article. For the present, it is useful to recall that Peiresc as well as Rubens considered the vase to be ancient[47]—this is perhaps the most important thing that we learn from their correspondence on the matter. No doubt they were both deceived at times in the matter of antiques, yet they had a sharp critical sense and did not accept objects offered them by dealers without looking at them carefully.

Peiresc in one letter to Rubens, for instance, mentions that an intaglio he had recently acquired had been retouched.[48] Peiresc, one of the greatest scholars of his time, also had a great regard for Rubens' knowledge in matters of archaeology. On February 26, 1622,[49] he wrote to Guidi da Bagni, as follows: "Concerning antiquities, especially, he (Rubens) possesses a knowledge that is the most universal and remarkable that I have ever encountered." And again on March 7, 1622, he wrote to Aleandro in a similar vein: "He is very learned in all branches of archaeology."[50]

Since these two men knew many of the finest cameos that are still accepted today as being antique, and since they appear to have tried to be discriminating in their judgment, we can give some weight to the argument that the agate is of pre-renaissance workmanship. Certainly in an object of such size and importance Peiresc and Rubens would not easily be fooled by a craftsman of their own time.[51] Moreover, in a period when great gem carvings were sought after by collectors such as Rudolph II of Austria, who bought contemporary as well as ancient gems, there would be little need for any artist who could carve agate so magnificently to pawn off his work in the market at Saint-Germain. He would have had an honored place at court.

If the agate vase had not been made by a sixteenth or early seventeenth-century craftsman, where then had so conspicuous a gem been before Rubens found it in the "flea-market" in 1619? It was just about this very time that another great cameo, the *Gemma Augustaea*, now in Vienna, was bought by Rudolph II, the Hapsburg Emperor. This famous gem was mentioned as early as 1246 as belonging to the treasure of Saint-Sernin at Toulouse, where it remained until 1533. In that year Francis I gained possession of it, and it is described in the 1560 inventory of the Royal Collection at Fontainebleau. The cabinet of the King at Fontainebleau was looted by the Huguenots in 1590, and the cameo disappeared. It found its way to Venice, and then in 1619 Peiresc mentions it as being in the possession of the Emperor.[52]

Might the appearance of the agate vase in the Saint-Germain market in 1619 likewise be the sequel of the looting of Fontainebleau twenty-nine years before? A search through the same inventory of the royal jewels at the palace, made in 1560, brings to light one item that might refer to our vase. Under number 250 is described: *Une*

[47] Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance,* III, p. 1.

[48] *Ibid.,* II, p. 457.

[49] *Ibid.,* II, p. 336.

[50] *Ibid.,* II, p. 341.

[51] Rubens apparently also had comparatively modern agates. See *Catalogue of the Works of Art in the Possession of Sir Peter Paul Rubens at the Time of his Decease,* 2nd ed. (London, 1839), p. 18: "a very rare salt-cellar of Agate." This was doubtless of the time of Rubens or of the Renaissance, since the salt-cellar as such did not exist in classical times. Rubens' son, Albert, continued his father's interest in gem carvings. See F. W. von Thiersch, *Über das Onyxgefäss in der K. preuss. Sammlung geschnittener Steine zu Berlin* in *Abhandlungen der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosoph.-philolog. Classe,* II, Abth. I (1837), pp. 63-106; *cf.* also A. Rubens, *Dissertatio de Gemma Augustaea* (Brussels, 1655).

[52] For the history of the *Gemma Augustaea* and bibliography, see F. Eichler and E. Kris, *Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum. Publikationen aus den Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien,* II (Vienna, 1927), pp. 52 ff.

tasse de cacydoyne taillée d'ung grant feuillaige anticque et ung camahieu rapporté au fons, estimée II c.[53] All through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance chalcedony and agate were confused.[54] The other details of the large foliage and the cameo on the bottom could easily refer to our vase—in fact the bottom cameo could refer only to it among those that still exist.

The description in the 1560 inventory may not be explicit enough to prove identity with the Walters vase, but the correspondence of the details given, together with the fact that another spectacular cameo from the Royal Collection appeared on the market simultaneously with our vase, amounts to noteworthy circumstantial evidence.

If the vase at Fontainebleau was in truth our agate, it is of interest that in 1560 it was considered antique among a large group of modern vases carved in semi-precious stones. And if all these things were so, one would certainly expect mention of the gem in earlier inventories. Such is indeed the case, and this time the description is more explicit. An inventory of Louis de France, Duke of Anjou (1339-1384), believed to have been compiled between 1360 and 1368,[55] describes the following under item 385: *un Godet d'un quamhieu, ouvre à feuillages de vigne, et aux deux costez a II testes de bouc a toutes les cornes, et est le pié sizelé et semé d'esmaux en lausange, et poise IIII. Mars V onces et demie.*[56] This description fits the Rubens Vase in every way, except, possibly, for calling it a *godet*. A *godet*, according to Victor Gay, [57] is a flattened vase, of irregular or lobed section, having two handles. Our vase is definitely irregular, is flattened in section, and has two handles. However, the two *godets* he illustrates show cups flattened only in terms of height, and it is this that does not correspond. On the other hand, the numerous quotations that he gives from old inventories do not seem to fit his definition consistently. Evidently the word was loosely used for a vase or cup in the Middle Ages. De Laborde, in fact, defines a *godet* as a "sort of wide goblet, sometimes made in the manner of a cup."[58] Since the agate is described as having an enameled foot in the Anjou inventory, it is evident that its cup-like qualities were increased by this mounting, and *godet* may furthermore have taken cognizance of the irregularity characteristic of our object. It turns out, indeed, that in a subsequent inventory compiled by this same Duke of Anjou in 1379-80, and believed by the editor to have been dictated to a scribe by Louis himself,[59] the agate vase is no longer described as a *godet*, but as a large goblet. Under number 1562, in the section entitled *Gobelés de cristal et d'autres pierres, garnis d'argent*, we read this item: *Un grant gobelet d'un camahieu, ouvré de soy mesmes à fueillages de vigne, et aus deux costez à deux grans testes de bouc à tout les cornes. Et le pied est d'argent doré, cizellé et semé d'esmaus en losenges. Et poise IIII mars V onces XII deniers.*[60]

The entries in the two Anjou inventories certainly present close descriptions of the Rubens Vase. The latter is in every sense a cameo, and is carved with vine leaves. These are in such high relief that it is natural to describe them not just as "carved" but as "worked in self material". When mounted on a medieval foot the vase would certainly be a large goblet. The bestial Pan-heads with their prominent horns were quite naturally described as "goats" by a fourteenth-century observer unschooled in

53 L. de Laborde, *Inventaire des joyaux de la Couronne de France en 1560* in *Revue universelle des arts*, III (1856), p. 350.

54 E. Babelon, *op. cit.*, pp. x-xiii.

55 L. de Laborde, *Notice des émaux, bijoux et objets divers . . . du Musée du Louvre, IIe partie. Documents et glossaire* (Paris, 1853), p. ix.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 64.

57 V. Gay, *Glossaire archéologique* (Paris, 1887), I, p. 785.

58 De Laborde, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

59 H. Moranvillé, *Inventaire de l'orfèvrerie et des joyaux de Louis I, Duc d'Anjou* (Paris, 1906), pp. vii ff.

60 *Ibid.*, pp. 351-2.

classical mythology.[61] He details that there are two such heads, large ones, located at the two sides and complete with horns. It is most extraordinary that in medieval inventories the descriptions should be so specific. The enamelled foot has long since disappeared, but that is not unusual. Gold, silver, or jewelled settings were frequently changed on such objects, since in the days before banks existed, this was the manner of keeping funds to be cashed (melted down) when needed.[62]

The transfer of the vase from the possession of the Dukes of Anjou to the Royal Collection is easily explained. The Anjou jewels were in large degree scattered as gifts, payments, and pledges, many going to the King;[63] the remainder passed in succession until the line became extinct in the sixteenth century, when they were seized by the King and became Crown property. This fact, added to the other items, strengthens the probability that number 250 of of the Fontainebleau inventory is a reference to the Walters vase.

For its history before it entered the possession of the Duke of Anjou, we have only surmises. From all we know about the history of gem carvings and about medieval artistic style, it is quite impossible to consider that the vase was carved during the high Middle Ages. If the inventories can be considered as showing that it existed as early as the 1360's, it must then perforce be much older, and its history must extend at least into the late antique or early Byzantine period.

The agate might have come into the possession of the Duke of Anjou from any one of several sources. It is known that the Duke, because of his passion for riches, appropriated much from the royal treasury, while he was Regent during the minority of his nephew, Charles VI.[64] If the vase chanced to be among this booty, it may have been for a long period previously part of the royal property, or it might have been seized from some ancient church treasure, as sometimes happened.[65] There were, however, two other main sources for such antique gems, and these are more likely to have a bearing on this case. The first possibility is that it was brought back from Constantinople, storehouse of art from the ancient world, by some homecoming Crusader. It was by this means that so many antique intaglios and cameos have come down to us. Count Riant's work, *Exuviae Constantinopolitanae*[66] is filled with recorded instances of churches and abbeys receiving presentations of gems from returning Crusaders. For example, it appears that Phillip Augustus left to the Abbey of Saint Denis a certain number of gems that he had obtained from Baldwin I.[67] Another source for the French Royal Collection was the large group of gem carvings which were included in Saint Louis' purchase of the "Crown of Thorns" from Baldwin II, Emperor of Constantinople, who was then in want of money. Although these gems are referred to in contemporary accounts, detailed descriptions are absorbed by the importance of the "Crown of Thorns", so that we have no exact knowledge of how many jewels Saint Louis acquired or what most of them were like.[68]

Constantinople was well known for its hoards of cameos from Roman times—this is recorded

[61] For medieval ignorance in descriptions of classical subject matter, see Babelon, *op. cit.*, p. cxiv. Note that at least two modern writers have referred to the goat-like character of the satyrs' heads on the Rubens Vase (*cf.* Appendices I, II).

[62] Babelon, *op. cit.*, p. cxvi; p. 4.

[63] Moranvillé, *op. cit.*, pp. xi ff.

[64] *Ibid.*, pp. x ff. S. Luce in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XXXVI (1875), p. 301.

[65] Francis I obtained the *Gemma Augustaea* from St. Sernin of Toulouse by a ruse; see Babelon, *op. cit.*, p. cxv. An antique agate vase with a Merovingian mounting is still preserved in the treasure of St. Maurice d'Agaune; see note 118.

[66] *Cf.* also P. E. D. Riant, *Les dépouilles religieuses enlevées à Constantinople au XIIIe siècle* in *Mémoires de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France, 4e série*, VI (1875), pp. 1-214.

[67] P. E. D. Riant, *Exuviae Constantinopolitanae*, II (Geneva, 1878), p. 109.

[68] Babelon, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

in Byzantine texts and early medieval travel accounts, as well as in the later tales of the Crusaders and the Venetian traders. Constantine the Great had brought to his new capital in the fourth century much of the wealth accumulated at Rome,[69] and this vast treasure increased during succeeding centuries. Even the relatively small proportion of ancient gem carvings that has come down to us from the Crusaders' loot fills us with astonishment. How much greater must have been that treasure house before it was ransacked!

That so pagan an object as the Rubens Vase should have been treasured by the pious Middle Ages need not surprise us. Although sometimes mythological subjects on cameos were given a Christian significance by medieval owners,[70] in this instance it was the love of precious materials that insured the preservation of such an object as our agate. One need only go through medieval inventories to find other citations of agate or chalcedony vases that must have been antique, listed among the treasures of kings and princes. In 1380, King Charles V of France had several: *ung triaclier ou reliquaire de cassidoine blanc, ront, à deux petites anses, garny d'un très peu d'argent,*[71] and also: *ung petit pot de camahieu garny d'or et est pour mectre triacle, pendant à une chayne d'or.*[72] A few years earlier, in 1363, the Duke of Normandy had: *un petit pot rond, à manière d'un flacon semblant à camahieu.*[73] Jean de France, Duke of Berry, owned in 1416: *Un pot de cassidoine, ouvré à un couvercle de mesmes, garny d'or . . .*[74] He had still another that had belonged to the Church of Bourges and which he caused to be mounted in gold after it had been presented to him.[75] The Renaissance continued to prize such antique vases in semi-precious stones, as is evident from the inventory made at Fontainebleau that was cited earlier. An additional instance from this period is the inventory of Gabrielle d'Estrées, made in 1599, which contained: *un grand vase d'agathe faict en un anticque taille et lequel n'est point garny, prize deux cent ecus.*[76]

These and many other documents give some notion of the extent to which ancient vessels of semi-precious stone were treasured in medieval collections, and the sources from which they were obtained. Even those descriptions that cannot be connected with the Rubens Vase itself assist us in our speculations. For more direct evidence of the time and place of its origin we must now turn to the critical examination of the agate vase itself.

III

THE STYLE OF THE WORKMANSHIP.

The Rubens Vase has up to the present been considered an ancient gem carving in every published account of it. As I have mentioned earlier in this article,[77] the discussion that arose when the vase was first available for re-examination in 1941, stimulated other attributions. The suggestion tentatively made by one scholar that it might be a product of the neo-classicism of the

---

69 O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911), p. 637.

70 Giov. Marangoni, *Delle cose gentilesche e profane* (Rome, 1744), pp. 70 ff.; Th. Wright, *On Antiquarian Excavations and Researches in the Middle Ages* in *Archaeologia,* XXX (1844), pp. 447 ff.; Cabrol and Leclerq, *Dictionnaire,* VII, pt. 1, cols. 1199 ff.; W. DeGray Birch, *Seals* (New York, 1907), p. 102, and many examples described *passim.* D. Osborne, *Engraved Gems* (New York, 1912), pp. 157 ff.

71 J. Labarte, *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V. Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, 3e série* (Paris, 1879), p. 245, no. 2249.

72 *Ibid.,* p. 303.

73 De Laborde, *Notice* (*op. cit.*), II, p. 185 B.

74 Abbé Jacques R. A. Texier, *Dictionnaire d'orfèvrerie* (Paris, 1857), col. 347.

75 A. de Champeaux and P. Gauchery, *Les Travaux d'art exécutés pour Jean de France, duc de Berry* (Paris, 1894), p. 166: "Une autre salière dagathe dont le couvercle est dor a fleur de lis taillées aux armes de Monsigr., au fretelet de laquelle est un ours tenant une perle en la pate, assis sur quatre roes dor en manière de chariot, et au bout du moieu de chacune roe a une perle; laquelle salière Jehan Chenu a faite d'un vaissel d'une pierre d'agathe garnie d'or que le chapitre de l'église de Bourges donna à mond. Sgr. le IIe jour de septembre l'an mil CCCC et deux, pesant IIm VIo Ve prisié VIxx l.t." (Bibl. Sainte-Géneviève, Lf. 58, Arch. Nples K. K. 258).

76 De Laborde, *Notice* (*op. cit.*), II, p. 476.

77 See p. 10 above.

late eighteenth or early nineteenth century is nullified by the proof now produced that the vase did indeed belong to Rubens. More frequently has the question been raised as to whether we may not have here a renaissance object.

Although I have presented what data I could toward tracing the history of the agate back into the Middle Ages, the indefiniteness and ambiguities of medieval inventories prevent such evidence from being conclusive, favorable though it seems in this case. The question of renaissance workmanship requires examination.

Certainly the possibility that the agate was carved as late as Rubens' time is ruled out by a comparison of the seventeenth-century engraving (fig. 6) with the photographs of the vase shown herewith. The exuberance and restlessness with which the artist and engraver infused even a copy after our agate, gives a clear indication of how a baroque artist would have conceived the design.

As for the proposition that the vase could have been made in the early Renaissance, this seems to be untenable when one compares it with the number of fine stone vessels from this period that exist and studies carefully the way the renaissance glyptic artists carved such details as leaves, grapes, and masks.[78] In my opinion, the style and cutting on these examples is quite unrelated to what we see on our vase. In all of them there is evident the renaissance sense of organization that instinctively subordinated the decoration to the form of the vessel as a whole. As a result, one finds a preference for extremely low relief in vase decoration, with delicately refined modulations of plane. Even in the relatively few instances of decoration in high relief, the silhouettes are smooth and suave. One looks in vain for such brusque, vigorous cutting and sharp projections as on the Rubens Vase. While considering such details of workmanship, it may not be out of place to call attention once again to the fact that Rubens, who was in a position to note *facture* with the eye of an artist as well as that of a scholar, saw in the Rubens Vase a work of antiquity, not of a recent craftsman.

If the workmanship does not correspond to that of the early Renaissance, what is the next previous period in the history of art that might have produced an object so strongly imbued with classical tradition, and yet of so distinctive a style? Obviously, we must push back through the centuries of the Middle Ages. Cecil Smith in his account in the Cook Collection Catalogue was inclined to date the vase in the second century A.D., while Newton-Robinson considered it "Hellenistic." Present-day archaeologists dissent. Furtwängler, as recorded in a conversation with E. Newton-Robinson, seemed to believe it to be antique, but had no idea of precisely when it was made.[79]

I should like to suggest that the Rubens Vase is a product of that important period in the history of art when Roman tradition had not lost its force, but when also the new medieval Byzantine style was forming—a moment when we would expect that gem carving, so beloved by the ancients, was still practiced, and when paganism had not yet been completely forgotten. There are many reasons why it would be appropriate to place the vase in such a transitional period and these will be taken up in detail.

The plan that seems best to follow is to discuss in order the various separate elements of the decoration, and then to consider the vase in its entirety. Sir Martin Conway[80] once pointed out the danger of discussing details, forgetting

[78] *Cf.* the plates in E. Kris, *Meister und Meisterwerke der Steinschneidekunst in der Italienischen Renaissance* (Vienna, 1929), pls. 103, 110, 150, 161, 173, 176, 185 and 186.

[79] See Appendix I.

[80] *A Dangerous Archaeological Method* in *Burlington Magazine,* XXIII (1913), pp. 339 ff.

FIGURE 8 PARIS, LOUVRE

Silver Cup from Boscoreale
Before 79 A.D.
(After de Villefosse)

the whole, so we will try to avoid this pitfall and combine both methods.

At first glance, the least Byzantine feature of the vase might seem to be the two heads of Pan or of satyrs. It is a fact, however, that pagan subjects continue on into the seventh century[81] in Byzantine metalwork and ivory-carving, and Pan is found among these. Instances of the survival of Pan in art of the early Byzantine period may be seen in the Orpheus mosaic in Jerusalem,[82] the Ariadne ivory in the Cluny Museum,[83] and the large ivory on the pulpit at Aix-la-Chapelle. In the latter, Pan is rendered even more realistically than on the Rubens vase.[84]

It is also possible to find parallels in ancient and early Byzantine art for various peculiarities in the details of the masks on our vase. The curious drooping ears, for instance, occur on a Pan on a third-century sarcophagus in Rome.[85] The open mouth revealing only the upper row of teeth belongs also to a mask on a third-century sarcophagus in Baltimore,[86] as well as to a pair of fourth-century lion-heads of rock crystal in Paris.[87]

For the cutting of the eyes the closest com-

[81] H. Pierce and R. Tyler, *L'art byzantin,* II (Paris, 1934), p. 122.
[82] Dalton, *op. cit.,* fig. 247.
[83] Pierce and Tyler, *op. cit.,* II, pl. 35b.
[84] *Ibid.,* II, pl. 155.
[85] K. Lehmann-Hartleben and E. C. Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1942), fig. 39.
[86] *Ibid.,* frontispiece.
[87] Pierce and Tyler, *op. cit.,* I, pl. 17.

FIGURE 9 BERLIN, KAISER-FRIEDRICH MUS.
Carved Marble Baluster
Venetian, about 1500
(after Schottmüller)

parisons are the eyes of the Emperor on the superb Rothschild Cameo in Paris, that all scholars agree in dating towards the end of the fourth century, or about 400 A.D.[88] The method of rendering the pupil and iris and of showing the upper lid overlapping the lower at the outer corner are the same on both vase and cameo. The drooping, prominent lower eyelid of our agate satyrs is common on early Byzantine ivories, *cf.* for instance, that detail on the famous plaque of an Empress in the Bargello,[89] or the eyes of the horse on the Barberini carving in the Louvre.[90] The casually rendered leaves and grapes in the hair occur frequently among late antique ivories from Egypt.[91]

The beautiful outcurving acanthus leaves that emerge beneath the heads of Pan, are a heritage from Roman days that continues into Byzantine art. This later manifestation of it may be seen on a fourth-century capital in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem,[92] on the transept capital (possibly from Constantine's time) in St. Demetrius at Saloniki,[93] on a capital of the fourth or fifth century in the Cairo Museum,[94] as well as on the Empress ivory cited before. In all of these examples, the rendering of the acanthus is strikingly similar in style to that on the Rubens Vase, the simplification of the planes and the tendency to stylization being in all of them advanced to a point about halfway between classical illusionism and high-Byzantine colorism. The use of acanthus leaves as a base or pedestal has parallels also: in the spandrel-mosaics between the windows of the Orthodox Baptistery at Ravenna are ornamental standards represented as arising from clumps of acanthus;[95] a detail of the ivory throne of Maximian, also in Ravenna,[96] shows a vase nested in acanthus; again, on the Bargello Empress ivory, two eagles perch on acanthus leaves, this being in some ways more comparable to the conception on the Rubens Vase.[97]

The dominating ornament of our agate is, of

[88] *Ibid.*, I, pl. 70.
[89] *Ibid.*, II, pl. 27.
[90] *Ibid.*, II, pl. 1.
[91] *E.g.*, two plaques in the Walters Art Gallery, nos. 71.27 and 71.616.
[92] Dalton, *op. cit.*, fig. 169.
[93] *Ibid.*, fig. 100.
[94] *Ibid.*, fig. 69.
[95] Pierce and Tyler, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 136.
[96] *Ibid.*, II, pl. 3.
[97] *Ibid.*, II, pl. 27.

course, the grapevine that covers the flatter sides —a motif that is one of the most common in Byzantine art. It is unnecessary to point out other instances of so frequent a decoration, but it will be to our purpose to search for other works of early Byzantine art that show comparable details in the method of rendering the vines.

To serve as a yardstick, we may note first the way in which the Roman artist of the first or second century used a leaf-pattern of similar character. A famous altar in the Terme Museum[98] or one of the vases of the Boscoreale treasure (fig. 8) illustrates the careful balance with which a first-century artist would have distributed the elements of his design, manipulating the planes with a naturalistic modulation that does not cause sharp contrasts of light and shade. Vacant spaces function as the air in which the leaves move. The cup shows us very well indeed how an artist of this era dealt with very much the same compositional problem as that presented by the Rubens Vase. The next step toward the colorism that was to characterize the transition from Roman to medieval art is to be seen in a pilaster in the Lateran[99] dating from the third century and in a marble urn, a century earlier, that is in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 10)[100]. In both of these the growing taste for contrasts of light and dark areas is evident, but is expressed merely by cutting sharply down to the background, so that the silhouettes of the leaves are vivid. The surface of the leaves themselves is modelled gently, and with delicate indications of veins. The classical desire for balance and symmetry has now resulted in covering the entire surface with the pattern evenly, so that few spaces show to suggest air as in the earlier works. There is still an impression of naturalism, although designs of this kind evolved in Byzantine times into completely stylized pattern.

On the Rubens Vase the vine scrolls are conceived in a sparse, uneven manner, with no attempt to balance the units of the design in the symmetrical fashion of first-century works, nor with the intricate interweaving of pattern that came, even in naturalistic decoration, a century or two later. Instead of this, there is a thrusting energy and movement to the design that is typical of the art of the late fourth and early fifth centuries. The almost brusque sharpness of the cutting and the detachment of elements from the

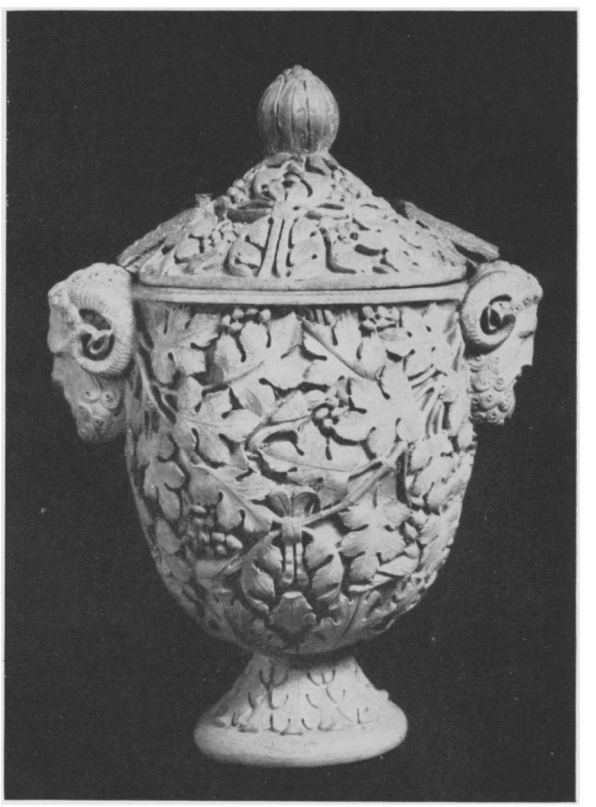


FIGURE 10 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Marble Funerary Urn
about 100 A.D.

[98] F. Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, trans. Mrs. S. A. Strong (London-New York, 1900), pl. IV.

[99] *Ibid.*, pl. XI.

[100] No. 23.180. Marble; total height: 20¾". Inscribed on panel on one side of body: NOVIA P. L. CLARA. Base, handle of cover, parts of leaves restored.

FIGURE 11 NEW YORK, KOUCHAKJI BROS.
The "Chalice of Antioch"
(detail)

background makes for a conspicuous play of light and shade, that is in itself part of the pattern. There is a mixture of semi-realism, energetic but not yet formalized design, and a certain maladjustment of scale that characterizes other fine transitional pieces, especially those dated in the late fourth or the fifth century.[101] The vine leaves do not cover the whole surface, rug-fashion, and the vine stems and tendrils show conspicuously, too, giving a picturesque, but somewhat dry effect. The empty areas carry no implication of air or atmosphere, but exist solely as a foil for this rich projection of the vines.

The manner in which a renaissance artist would have cut such a motif in stone may be seen in figure 9. Here we see none of the atmospheric realism of the first-century works. The sculptor has conceived his vines in their most ornamental sense. But when comparing the carving with the Rubens Vase, we are aware once again of the control and suavity of renaissance organization and cutting. Here, as on the agate vase, the vine stems are apparent, but they are consciously manipulated to bind the design together in a rhythmic manner, instead of rupturing the surface with a counter-emphasis all their own.

The most discussed example of this particular type of vine ornamentation is the famed silver "Chalice of Antioch" (fig. 11), now in the possession of a New York dealer.[102] On this, one finds the leaves not at all symmetrically arranged, yet carefully balancing, while the vine stems are very conspicuous, as well as the decoratively disposed tendrils. The long-continued dispute about the chalice makes it unwise to adduce it in attempting to date another object.[103] However, the discussions concerning it have usually brought forward for comparative purposes a well-known drum of a column in the Ottoman Museum at Istambul (figure 12). Here the same effect of vines is to be seen in a marble sculpture whose history goes far back of the time when forgeries of Early Christian or Byzantine objects were made.[104] If the marble is compared with the Rubens Vase, it will be seen

[101] *Cf.* for these qualities Pierce and Tyler, *op. cit.*, I, pls. 41, 86, 93, 96, 121-125, 127, 146-148.

[102] G. Eisen, *The Great Chalice of Antioch* (New York, 1923).

[103] J. Wilpert, *Early Christian Sculpture* in *Art Bulletin,* IX (1926), pp. 122 ff.; C. R. Morey, *The Chalice of Antioch* in *Art Studies,* III (1925), pp. 73 ff.; G. de Jerphanion, *La voix des monuments* (Paris, 1930), pp. 120 ff. *Idem, Le Calice d'Antioche. Les théories du Dr. Eisen et la date probable du Calice* in *Orientalia Christiana* (Rome, 1926). The most complete account of all that has been said about the chalice was published recently in an excellent discussion by H. H. Arnason, *The History of the Antioch Chalice* in *Biblical Archaeologist,* IV (1941), pp. 50 ff.; V (1942), pp. 10 ff. He concludes in favor of its authenticity and the likelihood of a fourth or fifth-century date.

[104] G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines. Musée Impériaux Ottomans,* II (Constantinople, 1914), pp. 435 ff., no. 658.

that the vine leaves in each case have certain similarities, in that they all have heavy veins and ragged edges, and are sharply detached from the background, and that the vine stems have a certain insistent and almost clumsy prominence; but here the resemblance of the style of the two objects ends. Other examples of similar leaves are on the ivory diptych of Philoxenus (*ca.* 525 A.D.), now in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (fig. 13); on the upper border of the St. Peter relief from Sinope,[105] and on a silver ewer in the Antiquarium in Berlin.[106]

The grapes on the vase are rendered in a curious fashion by cross-hatching. When the Renaissance attempted to suggest grapes in a similar manner, a completely different effect was achieved, as may be seen in the case of a vase in Florence from the Medici Collection.[107] In the fourth and fifth centuries, on the other hand, this was a very usual method for representing grapes. The Walters Art Gallery has a bone carving from Egypt showing this rendering[108] and others are to be seen in the Cairo Museum. Other instances are on the ivory plaque of "Europa and the Dioscori" in the Trieste Museum,[109] on an early sixth-century ivory in the Cabinet des Médailles,[110] and on a consular diptych once in the Trivulzio Collection, that Delbrueck says was carved in Constantinople about 500 A.D.[111]

The arrangement of the leaves, the vine stems, the tendrils and the grapes in a fashion that balances subtly, but not at all in any precise fashion, recalls a famous marble Byzantine relief in S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (fig. 14), usually attributed to the same general period. Here, the somewhat dry effect, due to the conspicuous stems and tendrils, as well as the style of the heavily veined leaves, recall the agate vase, but it is the correspondence of aesthetic conception that is most interesting.

The rosette on the bottom of the vase is another detail that links the agate with the late antique and the early Byzantine world. The rosette is a fairly common decoration on consular diptychs[112] and is even found in marble sculpture. There is a beautiful one in the center of a porphyry vase,[113] in a Florentine private collec-

FIGURE 12 ISTAMBUL, OTTOMAN MUS.
Drum of Column
Fifth Century A.D.

105 Dalton, *op. cit.*, fig. 88.
106 Pierce and Tyler, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 58. *Cf.* also Sambon Sale Catalogue (Paris, May 25-28, 1914), no. 148.
107 Kris, *op. cit.*, pl. 103.
108 No. 71.15, fourth or fifth century.
109 Pierce and Tyler, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 152.
110 *Ibid.*, II, pl. 31.
111 R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen* (Berlin, 1929), pl. 49.
112 *Ibid.*, pls. 8, 26, 27, 28.
113 R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke* (Berlin - Leipzig, 1932), fig. 121.

FIGURE 13 WASHINGTON, DUMBARTON OAKS COLL.
Leaf of Diptych
of Philoxenus (525 A.D.)

tion, and in a mosaic in Santa Costanza in Rome.[114] Of closer reference to our problem is the fact that it is a common feature on the bottom of vases, especially those that are generally ascribed to the fourth and fifth centuries.[115] It occurs as well on the base of a silver vase from the Traprain Law hoard in Scotland.[116]

Vases in agate and other semi-precious materials were very popular in Roman times,[117] especially with the emperors, who seem to have collected them. It is supposed that these were among the treasures carried off to Constantinople by Constantine the Great. A number of antique agate vases exist, either whole or in a fragmentary state, a list of which I append in a footnote.[118]

---

[114] M. van Berchem and E. Clouzot, *Mosaiques chrétiennes du IV^me au X^me siècles* (Geneva, 1924), p. 5, fig. 8.

[115] G. Eisen and F. Kouchakji, *Glass, Its Origin, History,* etc., II (New York, 1927), figs. 196, 204, 234, 250, etc. *Cf.* also pl. 188 (first century A. D.) and pl. 136 (third or fourth century).

[116] F. Cabrol and H. Leclerq, *Dictionnaire,* XII, pt. 2 (Paris, 1936), col. 2487, fig. 9152.

[117] C. Davenport, *Cameos* (London, 1900), p. 21.

[118] Paris, Cabinet des Médailles: Coupe des Ptolemées, see E. Babelon, *Catalogue des camées antiques et modernes* (Paris, 1897), pp. xxi, 201 ff. and pl. XLIII; M. Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis* (Paris, 1706), p. 545; a plain one, Babelon, *op. cit.,* no. 375, and fragments of three others, *ibid.,* nos. 376-8.

Paris, Louvre: a number of antique vases, quite plain, see Marquet de Vasselot, *Catalogue sommaire de l'orfèvrerie, de l'émaillerie et des gemmes du Moyen Age au XVII^e siècle au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1914), nos. 19, 996, 1005, 1011, pls. II, V.

Florence: without decoration for the most part, see E. Kris, *Steinschneidekunst,* pls. 100-101. One vase recalls the picture of a vessel in one of the mosaics at Ravenna; *cf.* W. Holzhausen, *Florentinische Halbedelstein-Gefässe im Palazzo Pitti* in *Pantheon,* III (1929), pp. 16 ff., fig. 8.

Naples: see Kris, *op. cit.,* pl. 18, no. 64.

Strogonoff Collection: plain, see *Sammlung Strogonoff, Leningrad, Rudolph Lepke, Katalog 2043* (Berlin, 12-13 Mai, 1931), no. 141, fig. p. 183.

Morrison Collection: Sale Catalogue (London, June 29, 1898), no. 272.

Brunswick: B. de Montfaucon, *L'antiquité expliquée* (Paris, 1719), II, pt. 1, pp. 180 ff., pl. LXXVIII; A. L. Millin, *Introduction à l'étude des pierres gravées* (Paris, 1796), p. 50.

Vienna: see F. Eichler and E. Kris, *op. cit.,* nos. 110 (fig. 37) and 111 (pl. 19).

Berlin: see A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1896), no. 11362.

St. Maurice d'Agaune: see E. Aubert, *Le Trésor de l'Abbaye de Saint-Maurice d'Agaune* (Paris, 1872), pls. XVI-XVIII; Sir Martin Conway, *The Treasury of S. Maurice D'Agaune,* pt. I,

FIGURE 14 RAVENNA, S. APOLLINARE NUOVO

Marble Slab
Fifth-Sixth Century

Of these, only one, the Waddesdon Vase in the British Museum, seems to have any relation to the Rubens Vase (fig. 17). The decorative motives are the same in general as those of the Rubens agate, but otherwise it is very different. In no way could it be confused with the vase owned and drawn by Rubens, since not only its proportions, but the whole spirit of the thing is quite different. Nor could it ever be taken for the vase mentioned in 1560 in the inventory of Fontainebleau, since there seems to be no place for a cameo on the bottom. The general shape is quite different from that of the Rubens Vase, being tall and narrow rather than squat. The vines, grapes, Pan's heads and acanthus leaves are all here, but the restrained design shows none of the almost eccentric vigor and the daring undercutting of the Rubens Vase. The heads of Pan again serving as handles recall those on a small Roman agate vase in Vienna[119] and also on a Roman glass and silver phial in the Walters Art Gallery,[120] in that they are greatly elongated. Nothing is known of the earlier history of the Waddesdon Vase, beyond that in the nineteenth century it belonged to the Duke of Devonshire, and that it still possesses a fine gold and enamel mount of renaissance workmanship. The comparisons seem to indicate that this vase belongs with late Roman

in *Burlington Magazine,* XXI (1912), pp. 258 ff.
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery: plain, no. 41.204.
London, British Museum: Waddesdon Bequest, see Davenport, *op. cit.,* p. 39; C. H. Read, *The Waddesdon Bequest* (London, 1902), no. 68, pl. XVII.
Venice, San Marco: plain.

[119] A. Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen,* III (Berlin, 1900), p. 341, figs. 192, 193.

[120] No. 57.932. H. 3¾". Glass phial, the body mounted with silver case worked in repoussé with garland, rosettes, and two bearded Pan-masks.

FIGURE 15 WALTERS ART GALLERY
MISERONI ATELIER
Rock-Crystal Cup
Sixteenth Century

gem carvings, in which case it precedes the Rubens Vase in date and represents a type from which the latter derived.

The examination of the details of the Rubens Vase seems, on the basis of the comparable material adduced, to indicate that the period of its origin was the late fourth or early fifth century A.D. Turning away from details, it would be well to look at the vase as a whole. In so doing, we find the most convincing argument that it could only have been conceived in this early Byzantine period, for it is the only time in which the agate will fit aesthetically. Renaissance vases that are carved from irregularly shaped pieces of stone always are done smoothly and with a precise outline, whereas our vase is to a degree "lop-sided". If the original stone was larger on one side than on another, then the renaissance artist ingeniously designed a vase shaped to fit that particular form with obvious style and fantasy.[121] A large renaissance rock-crystal tazza in the Walters Art Gallery,[122] formerly in the Mathilde von Rothschild Collection, illustrates this perfectly (figs. 15, 16). The Rubens Vase is in sharp contrast. Although, because of its general character, one would expect it to be evenly balanced, it certainly cannot be said to be so. There is a curious irregularity about it that is lacking in any of the existing agate vases that are called Hellenistic or Roman or renaissance in origin. Even when these vases are carved with relief high enough to break the silhouette, the effect is never unbalanced. On the other hand, this tendency to be careless about making a perfect silhouette is found in a number of ivory pyxes of the fourth and fifth centuries[123] and in many glass vessels, that are ascribed to the same period.[124]

This peculiarity of the aesthetic conception of the Rubens Vase, when added to the accumulation of fourth and fifth-century comparisons for

FIGURE 16 WALTERS ART GALLERY
MISERONI ATELIER
Rock-Crystal Cup
Sixteenth Century

the style of details, such as the tendrils, leaves and the coarsely rendered grapes of the vine decoration, the acanthus, the Pan's heads, the rosette on the base, all seem to me to justify the attribution of this particular vase to the years around 400.

The argument may be brought forward that one should not date such an object in a period when gem carving of this kind seems generally not to have been in fashion, but rather in an era when we know vases of such size and quality were frequently made. The attributions to classical or renaissance workmanship gain particular impetus from this consideration. This method of reasoning is based, of course, on the generally accepted axiom that gem carving passed out of fashion when Constantine the Great moved the capital from Rome to the Bosporus, and that thereafter the emperors limited themselves to collecting gems, rather than commissioning new ones.[125] This notion, it seems to me, grew out of two things: first, that the books on gem carvings were written for the most part by classical archaeologists, who were not interested in gems later than the second or third century; secondly, that most of the Early Christian gems (ordered generally, no doubt, by comparatively humble folk) are of a quality far below that of contemporary pagan gems. A glance at the plates in Delbrueck of fourth and fifth-century gem carvings[126] will readily disprove any idea that there was a falling off either in the art or in the quality of the workmanship. The distinction lies rather in the change in viewpoint of the gem carvers, analogous in every way to that found in all the other arts of the period. Certainly there are few Roman gem carvings of better quality than the Rothschild Cameo or the fourth or fifth-century bust in the Cabinet des Médailles.[127]

But even if portrait gems from the fourth and fifth centuries are not infrequent, it might be

FIGURE 17 LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM
Waddesdon Vase

[121] Kris, *op. cit.*, pls. 118, 176, 198, etc.

[122] No. 41.66. H. 7 1/16 in. Smoked topaz, with encrusted enamel mounts. Acquired 1927.

[123] F. Vollbach and G. Duthuit, *Art byzantin* (Paris, n. d.), pl. 17b.

[124] Eisen and Kouchakji, *op. cit.*, II, pls. 110-160. Irregular results in blown glass appear at all periods, but an actual lack of interest in symmetry seems to characterize fourth and fifth-century examples.

[125] D. Osborne, *Engraved Gems* (New York, 1912), p. 125.

[126] R. Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts* (Berlin, 1933), pls. 74, 75, 105, 111, 113, 121. I hope myself soon to publish several more portrait gems of the fourth century.

[127] Babelon, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVI.

argued that large agate vases are unknown. There seems to me to be one piece of evidence that refutes this. In 1544 there was discovered during reconstruction in St. Peter's in Rome a sarcophagus that was identified almost certainly as being that of the Empress Maria, wife of Honorius (ruled 395-423 A.D.). There was in this sarcophagus an extraordinary quantity of objects in gold, silver, gems, agate, crystal, ivory, etc., that, had they been preserved, would have made literally a museum of the minor arts of the period. Unfortunately, only one object from this hoard is known actually to exist today. The gold and gems apparently went to make a tiara for the Pope and are lost forever. Other things doubtless entered collections, but without documentation, so their identification is impossible today. The contemporary accounts are usually too sketchy to be of much help for the purpose, and, moreover, there is great divergence among the descriptions written up at the time of the exhumation, as well as in the later ones.[128] One writer, for instance, mentions thirty crystal vases. It seems strange that they should have all disappeared, since they would not have been used in the Pope's tiara, and at that date such things would have been of interest to collectors.

Among this great quantity of objects were eight in agate, five of which were vases.[129] By great good chance, the five agate vases entered into the collection of Fulvio Orsini, and although we do not know their present whereabouts or whether they still exist, there is a rough drawing showing them (fig. 18). Very little can be told from the sketch. One of them seems to have had the uncertain outline that is so characteristic of the Rubens Vase. It was decorated with a band of vine leaves, but apparently completely different in type from that of our object. The point that I wish to make is that agate vases were certainly known around the year 400 A.D. Such a large number found in one place would seem to indicate that they were somewhat common at the time of the burial. It is likely that Maria's own personal things were put in her tomb rather than objects from the Imperial Collection. The records of this excavation dispose, it seems to me, of any argument that excludes gem carving from the period around the late fourth and early fifth centuries.

It is possible that there was something of a special revival in gem carving around 400 A.D. There was a definite renaissance at the end of the fourth century in the other arts, so it should be scarcely a matter for surprise if the movement included gem carving, an art so beloved of the earlier Roman emperors. The accounts of the gems and agates in Maria's tomb certainly give weight to the supposition. Moreover, the Rothschild Cameo, which is usually considered to represent Honorius and Maria, has qualities that suggest such a revival. The carving of Honorius' robe recalls in manner an earlier cameo of the Emperor Claudius, now in the British Royal Collection, and may therefore represent a conscious effort to go back to the art of an earlier period. There are other fine gem portraits, in intaglio, of Honorius, and the important bust of uncertain identification in the Cabinet des Médailles is assigned to the turn of this same century. The Rubens Vase fits in admirably with this theory of a glyptic revival and in cutting compares favorably with the other outstanding gems of the Honorius era.

In the foregoing article I have tried to set forth briefly what can at present be learned about the history of the Rubens Vase, what can be conjectured by reason of documented historical

128 The best short account with bibliography is that given by Cabrol and Leclerq, *op. cit.*, X, pt. 2, cols. 2136 ff. See also R. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome* (London, n. d.), p. 203.

129 G. de Rossi, *Disegni d'alquanti vasi del mondo muliebre sepolti con Maria moglie di Onorio imperatore* in *Bul. d'archeologia cristiana* (1863), pp. 53 ff.

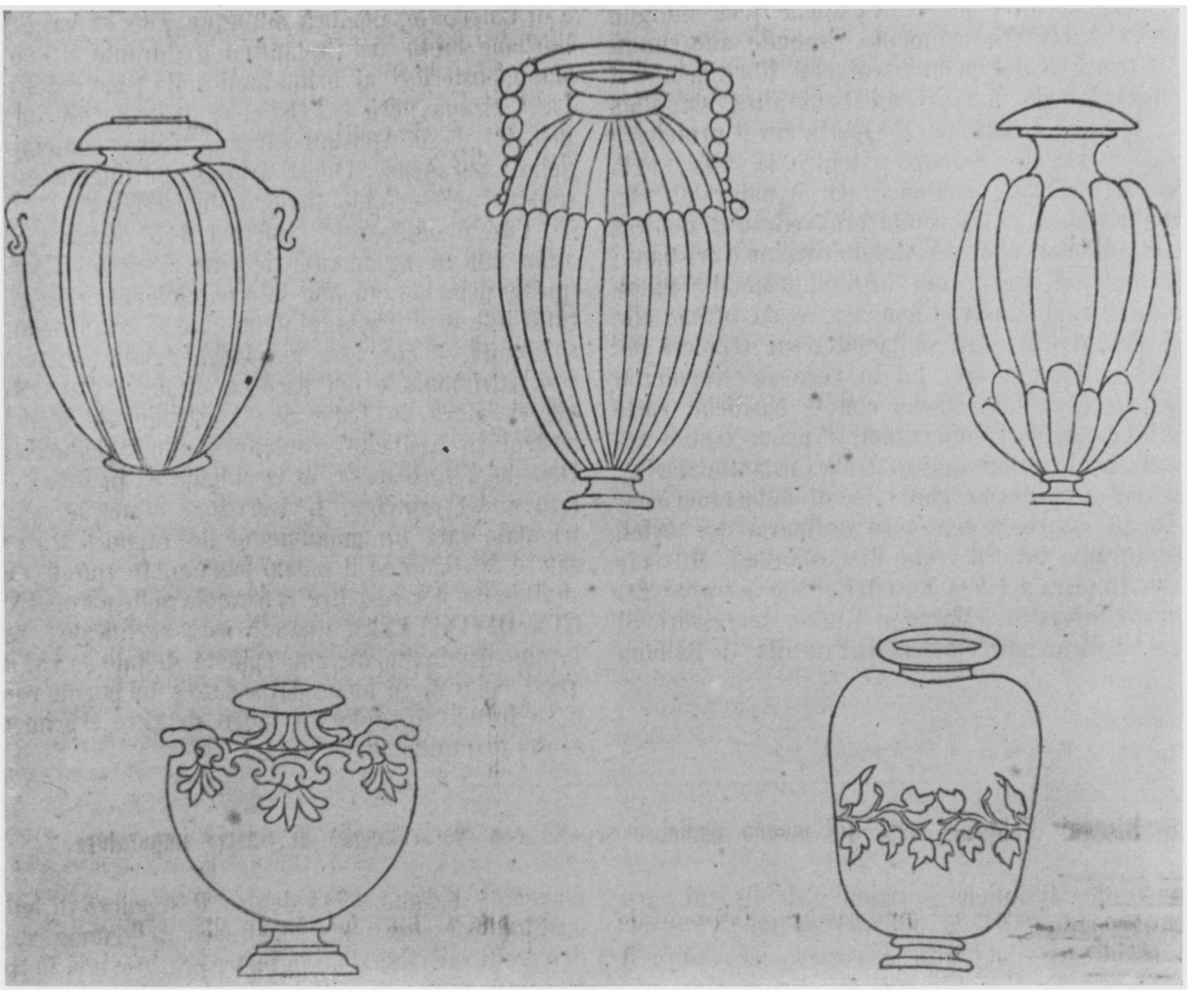


FIGURE 18

Drawing of the Orsini Agates from the Tomb of Empress Maria
(after de Rossi)

events, what can be found by analysis and comparison of the style, and by bringing into consideration early records of material now lost, or now misdated. The sum of evidence, it seems to me, entitles us to add the Rubens Vase to the known examples of the glyptic arts of the early Byzantine period. Like the Rothschild Cameo, it is an outstanding monument among the gem carvings of the late fourth and early fifth centuries—when the revival of an old art, just as a new one was forming, endowed such an object with a young energy and aesthetic, haunted by an ancient authority and tradition. It is this baffling combination of qualities that has caused the Rubens Vase to be assigned variously to the two greatest eras of gem carving, separated though they were by a millennium and a half.

Thus Rubens' "jewel", marvel of craftsmen, treasure of princes, delight of artists and antiquarians, booty of pirates and despoilers, at last can take its rightful place in the history of the glyptic arts.

APPENDIX I

Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* (London, 1904), pp. 162-63 and pls. CVI, CVII:

"88*: THE HAMILTON VASE. This splendid example of the glyptic art, as applied on the largest scale to decorative objects not intended for personal wear, was formerly in the Collection of the Dukes of Hamilton.

"It is one of the extremely few extant specimens of large carved agate vases which have come down to us whole and sound from antiquity, and its compeers are only to be seen in national museums or royal treasuries. The material is a warm, pale-brown, translucent sard or chalcedony, of a charming "honey" tint, with natural veinings of a darker hue, such as is often found as one of the layers of an oriental onyx cameo of the Greco-Roman period. In general shape the body of the vase is ovoid, the smaller end of the "egg" flattened out into a flanged base for stability, while the larger end is truncated to supply the opening at the top, and folded a little outwards at the lip, which is bound with a rim of gilt silver. On opposite sides it is caused to bulge outwards into prominences which have been formed into anses or handles in the shape of long-horned satyr-heads. Below each of these is a beautiful acanthus-leaf ornament springing from the base, and the rest of the exterior is covered unsymmetrically with vine-leaves and tendrils, terminating here and there in little bunches of immature grapes.

"The satyr-heads are in full relief, and have goats' horns, the curved parts of which are completely detached from the body of the vase; and all the rest of the ornament is in high and sharp relief also, and freely undercut, wherever the decorative scheme requires it. A goat-like expression is preserved in the general form, as well as the details of the satyr-faces, which have leering eyes and grinning mouths. Long, hair-fringed, pointed ears drop downwards from above the temples. Over the brows are shaggy locks, intertwined with a garland of ivy-leaves and berries. Long moustaches flow from each side of the nostrils; there are indications of beards partly hidden by the acanthus decoration, and the hairs of the bushy eyebrows are broadly indicated by short incised lines.

"The base is of rosette shape in outline and beneath, with two sets of six conventional petals alternately overlaid on the outer ones. Within, the body of the vase is hollowed out to the thinness of ordinary chinaware, except where the relief decoration adds thickness and the necessary strength. Except for a few cracks and unimportant chips the vase is substantially intact, and the original high polish remains. Its height is nearly 7 inches, and its widest transverse dimension the same; while the broadest measurement at right angles to this is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

"The degree of finish of the engraving is naturally not so high as in small cameos, but is admirably suited to the rich, bold, and charming decoration of the vase, and its relative size. It is possible that this rare and wonderful glyptic work may be properly styled Hellenistic. Though much larger, it bears resemblance to the fine vase in the Rothschild Bequest at the British Museum (figured in Mr. Cyril Davenport's "Cameos", 1902). Professor Furtwängler, to whom I have recently shown Mr. Cook's vase, which is new to him, regards it as an extraordinary and splendid antique work, to which, for want of comparable objects, he is unable to assign a precise date. (Plates CVI., CVII.).

"Lent by Wyndham F. Cook, Esq."

APPENDIX II

Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Collection of the late Wyndham Francis Cook by Cecil H.Smith and C. Amy Hutton, II (London, 1908), pp. 61 ff., pls. X, XI.

"271: Among the many choice objects in the Collection, the chief place may probably be assigned to the agate cup which has hitherto been known as the "Hamilton Vase", but which is probably worthy of greater distinction under the name of the "Rubens Vase".

"This splendid specimen of ancient cameo-carving has a modern history which dates back from the Beckford Collection. In the Sale Catalogue of Beckford's house (Lansdown Tower) at Bath in 1845, it may probably be identified with Lot 167, 'A very antique oval Cup with handle and foliage in relief—the whole sculptured from an entire mass of Chalcedony.' It was presumably at this sale that it passed into the possession of the Dukes of Hamilton, and in due course figured again in the Hamilton Palace Sale in 1882. The Hamilton Sale Catalogue merely describes it under No. 487 as a 'fine vase of Oriental agate,' with three lines of text. It was bought by S. Wertheimer for £1,764, and is said to have been subsequently in the Morrison Collection, but does not appear in the Catalogue of that Sale. It was acquired by the late Sir Francis Cook in 1898.

"Unfortunately none of these Sale Catalogues give any information as to the previous history of the cup. One would suppose that a vase in precious stone of this size and importance, and of undoubted antiquity, would have borne a reputation more lasting than the meagre commercial records would seem to show, at any rate at the turn of the 18th-19th centuries, when antiquities, and above all

things antique gems, were so much in vogue. We must go farther back to find a mention of any object which can be said to recall it.

"In Max Rooses' *Rubens; sa vie et ses oeuvres*, p.407, it is stated that the painter between 1626 and 1628 received from Daniel Fourmont the sum of 900 florins on account of certain agates which Rubens had sent to the East Indies. In the well known letter to Peiresc (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) dated 18th Dec., 1634, Rubens refers to one of these 'agates' as a vase which had a capacity equivalent to the Antwerp 'Pot', that is, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ litres; in a second letter to the same person, dated 16th Aug., 1635, he states that he had made a cast of it with some difficulty, on account of the high relief of the vine leaves surrounding it.* The two passages in question are worth recording here:

"LETTER FROM RUBENS TO PEIRESC, 18TH DEC., 1634.

"'Il Sr. Rockoxio vive, sta bene e baccia a V. S. di vero cuore le mani. Io ho il disegno ed ancora il molo di quel vaso d'Agate che V. S. ha visto (il quale comprai duo mille scudi d'oro) ma non del concavo. Egli non aveva pero maggior grossezza che di una caraffa ordinaria di vetro alquando grossiero et mi ricordo d'haverlo misurato et si teneva giustamente una misura che chiamamo nella nostra lingua con un vocabulo assai inetto Pot! Questa gioja essendo mandata alle Indie orientali sopra una caracca venne in mano d'ollandesi sed periit inter manus repientium ni fallor, perche avendo fatto tutte le diligenze possibile nella Compagnia Orientale à Amsterdam non ho mai potuto sapere novi alcuni.'

"LETTER FROM RUBENS TO PEIRESC, 16TH AUG., 1635.

"'Ma per il vaso d'agata, per essere de gypso solamente, e molte staccate le foglie della vite che lo circonda, fanno grandissima difficoltà a molarlo. Al peggio mandarò a V. S. il mio di gypso, il quale è pieno e non concavo, et la misura della sua capacità a parte.' (Published in 'Lettres inédites de Pierre Paul Rubens,' publiées par Emile Gachet, Bruxelles, 1840).

"From these letters then, it would appear that Rubens had possessed an agate vase about the size of an ordinary glass 'caraffa' and holding about $1\frac{1}{2}$ litres (rather more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ pints): further, that it was carved all round with vine leaves in high relief. I have not been able definitely to measure the content of Mr. Cook's cup, but it must be very much what is stated in Rubens' letters. The only other antique vase which has come down to us at all answering to the description is the 'Waddington' vase, which is No. 68 (Plate XVII.) of the Waddesdon Bequest in the British Museum: this vase is also carved with vine leaves, and is indeed almost a replica, but on a much smaller scale; it holds nothing like the requisite amount, and for this reason must be ruled out of court.

"It is of course possible that there may have been yet a third antique vase of similar character; but this is hardly probable, and, until another turns up, I think we are justified in regarding the Cook vase as the one formerly owned by Rubens.

"The Caracca which was bearing it to the East Indies was captured by the Dutch: unfortunately we do not know whether this capture took place in the Eastern seas or nearer home: and we are left to conjecture what its history was between that date and the time of its acquisition by Beckford: if it spent the interval in Holland, it may possibly yet be found figuring in one of the countless paintings of Dutch still life; if on the other hand it remained in the Dutch Indies, this would account for the entire absence of any information regarding it during this period.

"The cup was exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1903 and was published in Mrs. Strong's Catalogue of that Exhibition, p.162, No. 88*, Pll. CVI-CVII., with a description by Mr. C. Newton-Robinson, of which a portion is reproduced in the present account.

"The form is somewhat indeterminate, as is the case with most of the known antique vases in precious stone: as in the well-known vases of Brunswick and Berlin, the intention here also seems to be to suggest something between a flask and an amphora; but in all such cases, when it was important to lose as little as possible of the precious material, the form was doubtless conditioned largely by the shape of the block before working. It may however be remarked that the general ovoid form and the absence of handles—for the moulded heads, though they suggest handles, are useless as such—are characteristic of Roman rather than Greek pottery, and suggest a period not earlier than the second century A.D. There is nothing in the character of the decoration which need militate against this view; on the contrary, the peculiar goat-like type of grinning Pan appears to belong especially to this period.

"The material is a warm pale-brown, translucent chalcedony of a charming 'honey' tint, with natural veinings of a darker hue, such as is often found as one of the layers

"* The possible bearing of these letters on the cup was first pointed out to Mr. Wyndham Cook by Mr. Charles Ricketts; and I owe a further debt of thanks to Mr. Rooses for his courtesy in referring me to the actual passage."

of an oriental onyx cameo of the Graeco-Roman period. In general shape the body is ovoid, the smaller end of the egg flattened out into a flanged base for stability, while the larger end is truncated to supply the opening at the top, and folded a little outwards at the lip, which is bound with a rim of gilt silver. On opposite sides it bulges outward into prominences which are carved in the form of horned heads of Pan. The rest of the exterior is covered unsymmetrically with vine leaves and tendrils, among which are here and there bunches of grapes, indicated conventionally in a form resembling fir cones.

"The heads of Pan stand out boldly, with the horns partially detached from the body of the vase; long hair-fringed pointed ears drop downwards from above the temples. Over the brows are shaggy locks, intertwined with a garland of ivy-leaves and berries. Long moustaches flow from each side of the nostrils; there are indications of beard, partly hidden by the acanthus decoration, and the hairs of the bushy eyebrows are broadly indicated by short incised lines.

"The base is of rosette shape in outline, and, on the lower surface, is carved with two sets of six conventional petals alternately overlaid on the outer ones. Within, the body of the vase is hollowed out to the thinness of ordinary chinaware, except where the relief decoration adds thickness and the necessary strength. Except for a few cracks and unimportant chips it is substantially intact, and the original high polish remains.

"H. nearly 18 cent.; greatest width, the same; greatest depth, 11.3 cent.

C.H.S."

APPENDIX III

Catalogue of an Important Collection of Greek, Roman and Etruscan Antiquities and antique and Renaissance gems, the property of Humphrey W. Cook, Esq., removed from 8 Cadogan Square, S. W. Being a portion of the celebrated collection formed by the late Sir Francis Cook, Bart. (London, Christie, Manson & Woods, July 14, ff., 1925); plate.

"90. The Rubens Vase— $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. high. Graeco-Roman. It is of brown agate, of oval shape slightly tapering towards the base, carved on both sides in high relief with vine tendrils and branches, and with handles at the sides carved as horned satyrs' heads supported by acanthus foliage, the foot carved beneath with an expanded flower.

"The vase is traditionally said to have belonged to Rubens, and in Max Rooses' "Rubens", page 407, it is stated that the painter between 1626 and 1628 received from Daniel Fourment, the sum of nine hundred florins on account of certain agates which Rubens had sent to the East Indies. In the letter to Peiresc (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), dated 18 December, 1634, Rubens refers to one of those agates as a vase, and in a second letter to the same person dated 16 August, 1635, he states that he had made a cast of it with some difficulty on account of the high relief of the vine leaves surrounding it.

"The vase was in the Sale Catalogue of Beckford's House, Lansdown Tower, Bath in 1845, Lot 167.

"It was sold in the Hamilton Palace Sale, 1882, Lot 487, and purchased by Mr. S. Wertheimer.

"It was subsequently in the Alfred Morrison Collection and sold June 12, 1899, when it was acquired by the late Sir Francis Cook.

"Exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1903, Cat. No. 88*, pp.162 and 163."

APPENDIX IV

Art Collection of Mrs. Henry Walters, II (Sale Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, April 30—May 3, 1941), p.424:

"1316, CARVED AGATE VASE, KNOWN AS THE 'RUBENS VASE'. Graeco-Roman Period.

"Vase of oval section in translucent light brown agate, carved on both sides in high relief with interlacing foliations and vines, the sides with horned and bearded satyr masks supported on acanthus leaves; beneath the foot, an open rosette. The lip is rimmed with gold. Height $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

"*Note:* The vase is traditionally said to have belonged to Rubens, and in Max Rooses, *Rubens*, p.407, it is stated that the painter between 1626 and 1628 received from Daniel Fourmont, the sum of nine hundred florins on account of certain agates which Rubens had sent to the East Indies. In the letter to Peiresc (now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) dated December 18, 1634, Rubens refers to one of these agates as a vase, and in a second letter to the same person, dated August 16, 1635, he states that he had made a cast of it with some difficulty, on account of the high relief of the vine leaves surrounding it.

"From the Beckford House Collection, Lansdowne Towers, Bath, 1845.

"From the Hamilton Palace Collection, 1882.

"Collection of S. Wertheimer, Esq., London.

"Collection of Alfred Morrison, Esq., London, 1899.

"Collection of Sir Francis Cook, Bart., London, 1925.

"Exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1903."

APPENDIX V

Correspondance de Rubens, ed. Max Rooses et Ch. Ruelens, III (Antwerp, 1900), CCLXXVI, pp.1 ff.:

"NOTE DE PEIRESC. 1622-1623.

"Monsr. Rubens dict avoir veu dans Rome un excellent sculpteur et depuis à Anvers un Alleman qui sçavoient mouller des ouvrages de relief encores qu'ils ne fussent de despouille, d'une façon du tout excellente faisantz les creux non de plastre, ne d'argille, ne de souffre, ne d' aulcune aultre des matieres accoustumées, ains de colle forte, de celle qui se faict avec des rogneures de cuir dont se servent les peintres qui peignent a destrampe, laquelle ils font exprez pour cet effect, affin qu'elle soit plus blanche que si elle estoit gardée et vieille faicte.

"Il a faict mouller de la sorte le Vase d'Agathe antique qui estoit a la foire St. Germain l'an 1619, tout parsemé de Pampres de vigne ayant des testes de satyre pour ances avec des grandes cornes qui n'estoient nullement en despouille. Et a veu mouller des petits poissons ammoncelés et mis les uns sur les aultres témé rairement et sans ordre, lesquels demeuroient si netz à la moulleure que c'estoit une merveille, sans qu'il fust nécessaire de les brusler, comme quand on moulle les lézards en argille ou craye, car on les tire propremt de dedans le creux de colle après qu'elle est caillée.

"Ilz font pour cet effect un lict d'argille sur lequel ilz logent bien perpendiculairement et sur un champ bien a niveau pour ne donner pante de part ne d'aultre, le vase bien mouillé ou aultre chose qu'on veut mouller, en sorte que le plus gros demeure en hault, après touteffois y avoir mis deux ou trois filletz ageancez contre le vase de haut en bas, pour s'en servir aprez à diviser et fendre le creux de colle. Et y font comme un estuy ou enveloppe d'argile tout à l'entour du vase, laissant du vuide entre le vase et l'estuy d'argille, aultant comme il en fault pour donner compétente espoisseur au corps qu'on veult faire de colle pour servir de creux dudict vase, environ un doigt d'espaisseur.

"Cela faict et le colle bien cuitte et bien nette, on la jette toute chaude dans ledict vuide, qui est entre l'estuy et le vase, jusques à ce que tout soit remply jusques en hault, et lors on le laisse raffroidir et cailler ou congeler à son ayse durant un jour, aprez lequel on faict avec lesdicts fillets un tail ou fente du haut en bas, tant à l'estuy d'argille qu'à la colle à l'endroict de quelque ance, ou de ce qui peut estre de plus difficille despouille et ouvre on comme une grenade conjoinctement l'estuy d'argille et le creux de colle qui y pose dessus, lequel est toujours mollastre et obéit facilement en aydant un peu avec les doigtz pour le desgager des choses qui sont hors de despouille, plustost on faict diverses fentes en divers lieux pour bien despouiller tout et aprez qu'on a osté le vase ou aultre chose moullée, on rejoinct proprement le creux de colle et l'estuy d'argille tous ensemble qui reprennent facilement leur place et puis on l'entoure de filletz et on y jette du plastre bien liquide afin qu'il puisse pénétrer par tout et aller chercher tous les creux et destours du moulle (que l'on meut pour cest effect). Et quand le plastre est bien prins on ne faict que rompre l'estuy d'argille et presenter la colle devant le feu où elle se fond, et le relief de plastre demeure net imbu néantmoins d'un peu de colle qui ne nuist nullement à sa blancheur ne à sa bonté, ains sert à luy donner du lustre avec le temps et à le rendre plus fort et de plus de durée.

"Le Canthare d'Agathe de St. Dénys se pourroit mouller de la sorte au jugement dudict Sr. Rubens. (Carpentras, Bibliothèque de Musée Inguimbert. Feuillets détachés du volume LIII des MSS de Peiresc)."

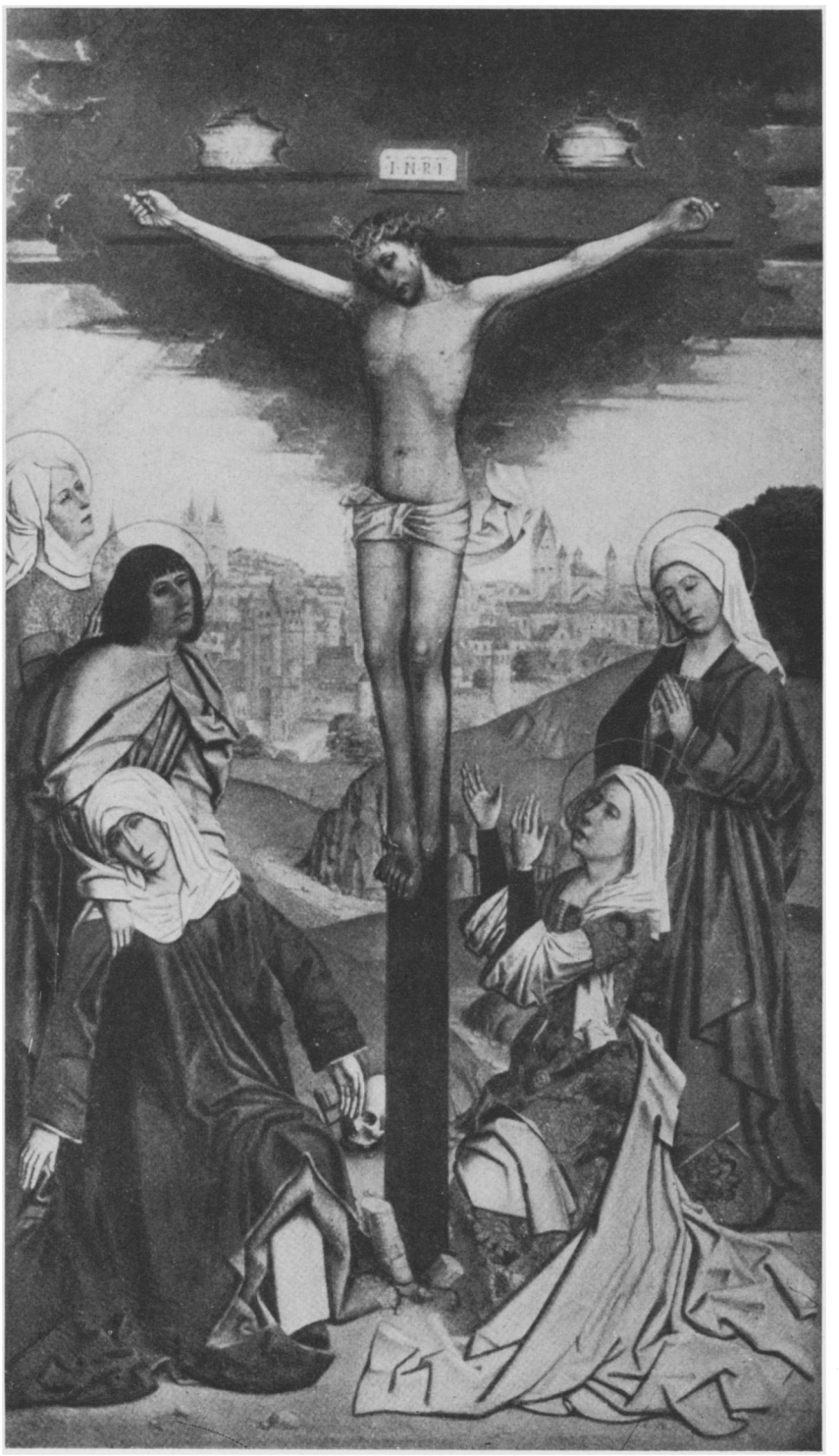


FIGURE 1 BRUSSELS, MUSÉE ROYALE DES BEAUX ARTS

MASTER OF THE JOSEPH LEGEND

Crucifixion (Afflighem Altarpiece)

TWO PANELS BY THE MASTER OF THE JOSEPH LEGEND

BY EDWARD S. KING
Walters Art Gallery

AMONG THE many artists of the later fifteenth century who received their chief impetus from the example of Roger van der Weyden is an anonymous painter to whom Friedländer has given a descriptive title after six scenes on roundels from the story of Joseph (fig. 2). Four of the panels are in the Berlin Museum, the other two are listed as in a private collection at Worms. The author of these scenes is a modest but highly representative artistic personality, one of a number of nameless painters centered in Brussels who, in their several ways, continued Roger's principles in the city of which he himself had been the official painter. Friedländer formerly associated some five other productions with the Master of the Joseph Legend, but his authorship can be surely assumed for only one of them. This is the polyptych, now in the Brussels Museum, from the Abbey of Affligem, after which this painter is sometimes named (figs. 1, 3).[1] Its style appears altogether homogeneous with that of the Joseph pictures. With their quiet narrative aplomb and nicely descriptive settings, the two series of paintings seem like a kind of popular crystallization and revival of the general manner evoked by the names of Roger, Dirk Bouts, and Memling.

The Afflighem altarpiece comprised, on the inside, as reconstructed by Hulin de Loo, six scenes from the Sorrows of Mary, and, on the outside, four scenes from her Joys. A seventh subject of the former, the "Deposition," has disappeared. The provenance of the work is given by the inscription on the panel depicting the "Presentation in the Temple": TE BRVESELE. That the artist did not spend all his professional time at Brussels, however, seems amply indicated by the complete and literal way in which he has represented the church of the Holy Apostles at Cologne in the background of the "Crucifixion" (fig. 1). The rendering appears too exact, indeed, to have been taken from a woodcut or print. Other buildings of the walled town, including another church with three towers, are shown with the same fidelity. The latter church and what may

[1] M. J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei,* IV (Leiden, 1934), pp. 115-17, 143, nos. 79-83, pls. 60-62. This work is hereafter referred to by the author's name only. *Idem,* in *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler* (Munich, 1923), I, pp. 313 ff.

Die Gemäldegalerie des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums (Berlin, 1911), II, pp. 131-3, nos. 539 A-D. The subject of 539 D, Joseph and Asenath, was identified by A. E. Popham, in the *Amtliche Berichte der Berliner Museen,* LII (1931), pp. 73-6, 122. The several drawings connected with the paintings are also discussed; see note 4 below. The Berlin catalogue mentions other paintings by the same hand in the Palazzo Reale, Genoa, but these have not been available for this article.

For the other anonymous masters working at Brussels in the period 1470-1500 under Roger's influence, see Friedländer, IV, pp. 99 ff.

For Roger's activity at Brussels, see Friedländer, II, p. 13; and J. Destrée, *Roger de la Pasture* (Paris and Brussels, 1930), I, ch. VII, and pp. 81-2, 85.

FIGURE 2 BERLIN, KAISER-FRIEDRICH-MUS.
JOSEPH MASTER
Joseph Cast in the Well

be a town hall with its belfry are also seen in the distance of the "Deposition" and the "Departure from the Tomb" (fig. 3). But aside from the church of the Holy Apostles, it is most unlikely that any of the buildings belong to Cologne, although these views have been taken as notable renderings of that city. Rather, the various unidentified structures appear to have been derived from several sources and put together as an urban composite to serve as a medieval substitute for Jerusalem.

Iconographically the scenes of the Afflighem panels are, with one exception, entirely customary, though they give no evidence of plagiarizing from the arrangements of Roger or other precedents. In the "Departure from the Tomb," however, where the Virgin and the three Marys, St. John, Joseph of Arimathea, and Nicodemus begin their walk back to the city, the Master of the Joseph Legend enjoys the distinction of having elaborated the iconography of the Passion with a rare, and perhaps a unique, theme.[2]

The case for the other works making up the above mentioned group may be dealt with briefly. The figures of Philip the Handsome, King of Spain, and his wife, Joanna the Mad of Aragon, on the wings of the "Last Judgment" altarpiece from the Town Hall of Zierikzee in Zeeland, now in the Brussels Museum, are included by Friedländer with the qualification: "in the manner of."[3] From reproductions it can be said that the trees (too often neglected features in estimates of style) look to be veritable species in contrast with the Joseph Master's arboreal conventions; that the hands are not so bony and blunt; and that the style has a certain elegance lacking in the latter's, whose manner is most consistent in all particulars. The date of the royal portraits has been put at about 1500, since the couple were married in 1496 and Philip died in 1506. But

[2] The rearrangement of the Afflighem polyptych by Hulin de Loo is given by Fierens-Gevaert, in *Catalogue de la peinture ancienne, Musée Royal des Beaux-arts de Belgique* (Brussels, 1922), pp. 37, 141-2, no. 552 A-D. See also, *idem, La peinture au Musée Ancien de Bruxelles* (Brussels, 1923), p. 7, pl. 7. It is here noted that the work has been successively attributed to Roger, to his son, Pieter, and to his grandson, Goossen.

The scenes are, aside from the lost "Descent from the Cross" (for whose disappearance no explanation is given), inside: "Presentation in the Temple"; "Jesus among the Doctors," with the "Flight into Egypt" in the background; "Christ Carrying the Cross," with a donor in Benedictine garb; "Crucifixion" (center panel); "Entombment"; "Leaving the Tomb"; outside: "Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple," and the "Annunciation"; "Nativity," and "Adoration of the Magi." The Brussels Museum *Catalogue, loc. cit.*, uses the title "Circumcision" for what is really the "Presentation in the Temple," or "Candlemas," as indicated by the officiant carrying a lighted taper. See K. Künstle, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst* (Freiburg i.B., 1928), II, p. 367. For the "Joys and Sorrows of the Virgin", see E. Mâle, *L' art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France* (Paris, 1931), pp. 122 ff.; also Memling's "Seven Joys of the Virgin," in the Munich Pinakothek [Friedländer, VI no. 33; illustrated in *Memling, Klassiker der Kunst* (Berlin and Leipzig, n.d.), pls. 32-33].

For the St. Aposteln at Cologne, see W. Pinder, *Deutsche Dome des Mittelalters* (Königstein and Leipzig, 1927), p. 46. The other buildings have no bearing on any in Cologne that I know of. *Cf.* E. Renard, *Köln* (Leipzig, 1907).

[3] Friedländer, IV, p. 143, no. 82. On the reverse of the portraits are figures of "Sts. Martin and Lievin," of which I have not been able to obtain reproductions. In regard to these figures, see Sir M. Conway, *The Van Eycks and their Followers* (London, 1921), p. 268, n. 1.

Felipe el Hermoso is represented in royal regalia and as he was recognized as King of Spain only in 1504, following the death of Joanna's mother, Isabella, the date of the portraits would presumably fall between that year and the year of his death. The somewhat more advanced style of these likenesses helps to place the Afflighem and Joseph scenes during the preceding decade, as they have been likewise on the basis of their costumes, which, indeed, do indicate the 1490's.[4] That the portraits may be the work of Philip's court painter, Jacob van Lathem, remains but an hypothesis, since van Lathem is known only from literary sources.[5] The series of small and rather vacuous bust-portraits of Philip the Handsome which Friedländer had previously listed in connection with van Lathem and the Joseph Master, he has subse-

FIGURE 3 BRUSSELS, MUSÉE ROYALE

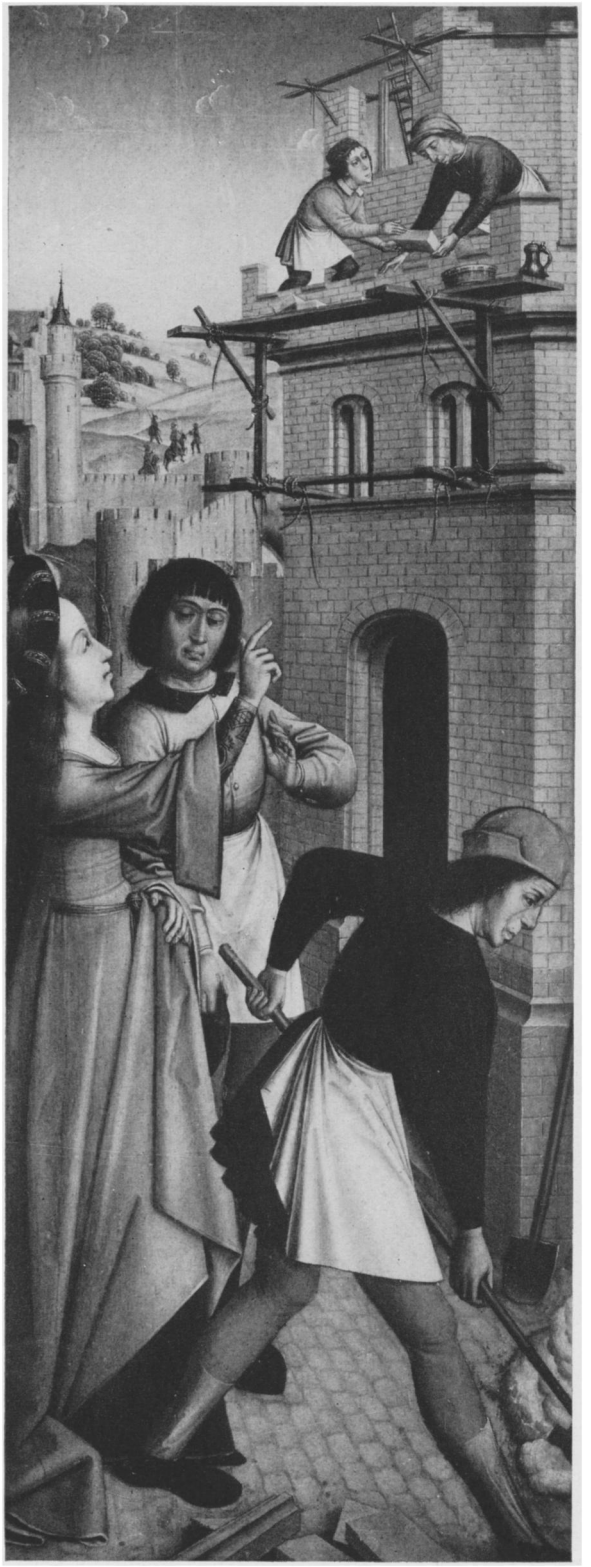
JOSEPH MASTER

Departure from the Tomb

[4] The emblazonments on Philip's tunic are made up of the elements of Leon, Castile, Flanders and Burgundy.

For the dating, *ca.* 1490-1500, see Friedländer in *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler* (Munich, 1923), I, p. 315. The four Berlin roundels are reproduced by M. von Boehn, *Modes and Manners* (trans. by J. Joshua, London, 1932), I, pp. 279-82, and dated, without discussion, *ca.* 1500. A. E. Popham, *op. cit.*, p. 75, believes, however, that the roundel drawing showing Joseph interpreting the dreams of the Chief Butler and Baker (*Genesis*, ch. 40; Musée Bonnat, Bayonne), apparently a study for a panel to go with the Berlin-Worms series, is to be dated about 1470-80 by the type of long slashed sleeves, which the author says were the mode at the time of Charles the Bold and out of fashion at the time of Philip the Handsome. But if such sleeves were popular in the '70's (see von Boehn, *op. cit.*, I, p. 189), they were also in style in the '80's [see A. M. Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut* (London, 1935), II, figs. 332-3, 328], and at the beginning of the 16th century, as in the Grimani Breviary (von Boehn, *op. cit.*, I, opp. p. 220). It may be noted that the man's haircut with bangs seen in the Afflighem "Entombment," "Crucifixion," and "Departure from the Tomb," and in fig. 4 above, is the mode in a number of portraits by Roger and Memling. The hat worn by the mason in the foreground of fig. 4, above, occurs in the '80's and '90's and around 1500 (see Hind, *op. cit.*, II, figs. 345, 348-9, 358, 409). The hats curled in front and at the sides worn by Dioscorus and his followers in fig. 5, above, are rather like the hunter's hat in the *Cologne Bible*, about 1478-79 (Hind, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 168). St. Barbara's dress resembles that of the female saint by the Master of the St. Bartholomew Altarpiece, school of Cologne, *ca.* 1490 (von Boehn, *op. cit.*, I, p. 246). While these notes on costume are not conclusive for dating, the evidence therefrom together with the consideration of style suggest that the Joseph Master's known works date in the 1490's rather than earlier.

[5] For van Lathem (Laethem, Lathim), see Friedländer, IV, p. 117; F. Winkler in Thieme and Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon*, XXII (1928), p. 418.



quently and more plausibly assigned to the workshop of the Master of the Magdalen Legend, whose real name the same critic believes to be Pieter van Coninxloo, who is known to have executed certain commissions for Philip.[6]

A fifth work was ascribed to the Joseph Master's production by Roosval in his account of carved retables executed in the Netherlands and exported to Sweden: the ten paintings on the wings of the retable of 1490 in Strängnas Cathedral, likewise made at Brussels as its inscription testifies. The attribution is untenable, however, since it rests upon the likeness of the Strängnas paintings to the Zierikzee

[6] On this question, see Friedländer, IV, pp. 106-7, 144; VIII, pp. 146-7; XII, pp. 15-24, 165, nos. 30-32; XIV, p. 95, no. 83; p. 127. Note also, F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Los pinturas de Cámera de los Reyes de España,* in *Boletin de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones,* XXII (Madrid, 1914), p. 136, for an uncatalogued portrait of Philip in the Prado, attributed to van Lathem and surely not by the Joseph Master. See also in this connection the portraits of Philip the Handsome and his sister Margaret in the London National Gallery, no. 2613, *Catalogue* (1929), p. 46; *Illustrations, Continental Schools,* 1937, p. 41, as Burgundian school.

[7] J. Roosval, *Les peintures des retables néerlandais en Suède,* extract from the *Revue belge d' archéologie et d' histoire de l'art,* IV (Brussels, 1934), p. 318, pl. 4. The same author made this attribution earlier in his *Schnitzaltäre in schwedischen Kirchen* (Strassburg, 1903), a work which has not been available. Friedländer, IV, p. 117, notes that the Zierikzee "Last Judgment" is poorly preserved. Conway, *op. cit.,* p. 267, remarks that the central panel and the wings are by different hands. The altarpiece is no. 557 in the Brussels Museum; see Fierens-Gevaert, *Catalogue,* etc. (1922), p. 143.

[8] Friedländer, IV, p. 143, no. 81; XIV, p. 95.

[9] Walters collection, catalogue nos. 777-778. Each, H. 38 13/16 in. x W. 15 7/8 in. Formerly in the Massarenti collection, Rome, which was acquired by Mr. Henry Walters in 1902. See E. van Esbroeck, *Catalogue du musée de peinture, sculpture et archéologie au Palais Accoramboni* (Rome, 1897), nos. 573-574, as Hugo van der Goes. The paintings are in an excellent state of preservation.

[10] For Meister Francke's altarpiece of *ca.* 1415, see Bella Martens, *Meister Francke* (Hamburg, 1929); and G. J. Hoogewerff, *De noord-nederlandsche Schilderkunst* (The Hague, 1936), I, pp. 154 ff. For iconography, see *inter alia:* the Master of the St. Barbara Legend (Friedländer, IV, pp. 109-10, pl. 51; Hoogewerff, *op. cit.,* I, pp. 480 ff.); Jerg Ratgeb [W. R. Deusch, *Deutsche Malerei des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), pl. 30]; and generally, Künstle, *op. cit.,* II, p. 112. For the life of the saint, see *Les petits Bollandistes, vie des saints,* XIV (Bar-le-Duc, 1873), pp. 49 ff. (Dec. 4th). For Caxton, see *The Golden Legend in Facsimilie by W. Morris* (Hammersmith, at the Kelmscott Press, 1892), 3 vols., III, p. 1052. The first edition dates after Nov. 20, 1483.

"Last Judgment," a painting of quite a different style from the portraits on its wings, and from the paintings on the roundels and the Afflighem panels.[7] Finally, the altarpiece in Kinnaird Castle, Scotland, which is unknown to me, Friedländer has latterly withdrawn from his list in favor of an "immediate follower of Roger".[8]

To the scenes of Joseph's career and the Afflighem polyptych must now be added two recently cleaned altarpiece panels by the Joseph Master in the Walters Art Gallery.[9] One shows the young Christian mystic, Barbara, directing the masons to construct a third window in her tower of seclusion, that the light from three windows might signalize the Trinity (fig. 4). The other illustrates her martyrdom by decapitation at the hands of Dioscorus, her pagan father, whose implacable ire had been aroused by her symbolic act. For the parricide Dioscorus was consumed by a "fyre fro heuen", in Caxton's language, "in such wyse that there coude not be founde ony asshes of alle hys body," and his soul sent to damnation, as seen in the removal of his still struggling effigy by two demons that recall those of Schongauer (fig. 5). These two panels were very possibly once parts of an altarpiece devoted entirely to the legend of St. Barbara, of which Meister Francke's eight episodes in the Helsingfors National Museum are perhaps the best known among Northern examples.[10]

The characteristics of the Joseph Master's manner all obtain in the Walters paintings. Among the features specific to him are, as Friedländer has pointed out: the heavy accents and outlining of the noses and eyes, the latter

FIGURES 4, 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY

JOSEPH MASTER

St. Barbara Directing the Masons
Martyrdom of St. Barbara

markedly close together in a number of instances; the small pockets of shadow at the corners of the mouths; and the tapering white beards turning dark at the ends among the old men types.[11] Practically the same set of actors recurs in the three sets of paintings, and they find more than an adumbration in Roger's figures. This is particularly plain in the case of Mary, who, like the St. Barbara, ingenuously caricatures Roger's more realistic type of the Virgin, and in the case of the frequently reappearing old man with silvery beard, as for Joseph of Arimathea, who is apparently a reflection of Roger's version of the same character. The same debt is owed Roger by the Joseph Master for his type of Christ.[12]

In composing a picture by means of several clearly defined parallel planes in depth, in accord with the principle generic to much of fifteenth-century practice, the Joseph Master largely reflects the peculiar simplicity of Roger's original statement. In some scenes the devices employed recall more the arrangements exemplified by Dirk Bouts, in placing figure groups in elliptical patterns or along a diagonal in depth.[13] For the most part, however, the appreciably flat figures stand along a line virtually parallel with the picture plane, without any attempt to unify them in a realistic sense with their spatial settings. The effect produced inevitably brings to mind Roger's relief-like dispositions. The groups are suggestive of compositions carved in wood, static, and discretely severed in the van der Weyden manner from the 'painted' panoramas behind them, which give somewhat the impression of backdrops or movable screens. As noted above, this painter is well grounded in rendering architecture, and the sense of solidity and logic he shows herein is closely akin to Roger's own. If his chateaux and chapel-views follow the conventions of Northern painting of the period generally, in serving as limiting and containing structures more or less unscaled to the actors, they particularly resemble Roger's sturdy walls and buildings.[14] The topographical features, on the other hand, have little specific resemblance to Roger's terrain; rather, they are typical of certain conventions widely used in the period. Thus, the softly rounded hills retreating fold-like in the distance and inclining to form a river valley or depression along the central axis in depth, which Friedländer notes as characteristic of Roger's views, also describe a 'classic' centralizing arrangement common to and usually more emphasized in the contemporary painting of central and northern Italy. The half-hills made by horizontal faults of rock carrying ample top-soil covering, with several plume-shaped trees of sparse foliage silhouetted against a clear sky, some sprouting forth at precarious angles, are designed by the Joseph Master in a way that is tantamount to a signature. But considered as landscape motifs, deriving from the 'international school' tradition, these prominences differ only in the local feeling for form and in details from many Italian examples.[15] At the same time, this roll-

11 Friedländer in *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler* (Munich, 1923), I, p. 314.

12 For comparison with Roger's types, see particularly: the Virgin, in Friedländer, II, pl. VIII; Joseph of Arimathea, *idem*, II, pl. XIX; Christ, *idem, passim*.

13 Compare the composition of Bouts' Munich "Adoration" (Friedländer, III, pl. XXXIII) with the Afflighem "Nativity" and "Adoration" (Friedländer, IV, pl. LXII), etc.

14 See the discussion of Roger's style in Friedländer, II, pp. 44-54.

15 Regarding the inward inclination of Roger's landscape forms, see Friedländer, II, p. 51; and pls. 21 and 88 in J. Destrée, *op. cit.*, II. For Italian examples, see, *e.g.*, van Marle, *Italian Schools of Painting*, XI, fig. 359 (C. Rosselli); XIII, fig. 197 (L. di Credi); XIV, figs. 103, 226 (Perugino), and 323. For the fault-formed hills, see, *e.g.*, van Marle, XII, fig. 130 (Botticelli school piece); XIII, fig. 198 (L. di Credi), and Berlin catalogue, *op. cit.*, I, p. 61, no. 100; also *ibid.*, p. 84, no. I. 133 (Foppa), and p. 100, nos. 115, 113 (Costa and Panetti)., For international school precedents, see, *e.g.*, Martens, *op. cit.*, I, figs. 15, 17, 101, the last showing a nearly symmetrical disposition of the hills.

ing country with its bright coloring is notably similar to some of Memling's serene perspectives.[16]

The colors of the St. Barbara panels, which were quite thoroughly obscured before cleaning, are bright to a degree. The palette corresponds to that of the still 'medievally-minded' Northerners in that forms are isolated by the particularizing use of colors, with no attempt to relate objects more realistically by modifications of color under the play of light, as in the Eyckian approach which was furthered by Bouts.[17] The terms that describe the character of Roger's colors apply here precisely enough: "flat, open, positive, glass-bright," though not glass-hard. The reds are predominantly of a cool variety, that is, red lakes, with certain parts of the costume in clear vermilion. The radiant and intense sky-blue of a greenish tinge is reflected in the cold and greener tone of the distant landscapes. In changing to white at the horizon it gives that effect of matutinal brightness familiar in the skies of Netherland primitives, and which in a painting seems almost preternatural. The flesh tones are likewise of Roger's sort, though the dry and leathery effect of the men and the ivory one of the women, with both slightly rouged, are qualities common to the period in Northern paintings. In the two Walters examples the convention of making men of darker complexion than women is exaggerated.[18]

Among all those who followed in the wake of Roger van der Weyden, it is doubtful if anyone, excepting the overt instance of a copyist, adhered more closely to his principles than the Master of the Joseph Legend. His unlabored methods of representation, in which there is but a prosaic and little-dramatized reflection of the distinction and subtlety of Roger's proper quality, follow the latter's scheme in a near-literal fashion. The simple seriousness of his content, while on a lower level of experience, has the same aim as Roger's deep religious sentiment (*cf.* figs. 1 and 3). The individuality, one might paradoxically say the novelty, of this painter lies precisely in the complete unpretentiousness and extreme conventionality with which he continues Roger's doctrine. As a result, his figures have a certain conforming woodenness and his compositions a standardized and routine quality comparable to that of the woodblock illustrations of the era, wherein manner, simplified still further by medium, becomes a reduction to bare essentials, approaching the conciseness and immediate intelligibility of a symbol. It is between two such extremes as the almost pictographic simplicity of a woodcut and Roger's rich expression of an unquestioning faith that the Joseph Master's achievement may be bracketed. His modest compositions, appealing in their coherence, are singularly clear examples of that old fixity of outlook and unmixed piety which virtually disappear from Northern painting with the arrival of the new century.

---

[16] *Viz.* the wings in the Morgan Library, New York; Friedländer, VI, no. 4 B, pl. VI.

[17] For Bouts' treatment of color, see Friedländer, III, pp. 51 ff., and J. Gramm, *Die ideale Landschaft* (Freiburg i.B., 1912), p. 124. Gramm (p. 118) uses the term *mittelalterlich-idealistisches Prinzip* for the more conceptual approach of clearly demarking and giving nearly equal definition to all pictorial elements (Roger), as opposed to the tendency of a more perceptual attitude to establish optical relationships (Bouts). For Jan van Eyck's handling of color, see Friedländer, I, pp. 136 ff.

[18] Regarding Roger's color scheme, see Friedländer, II, p. 51.

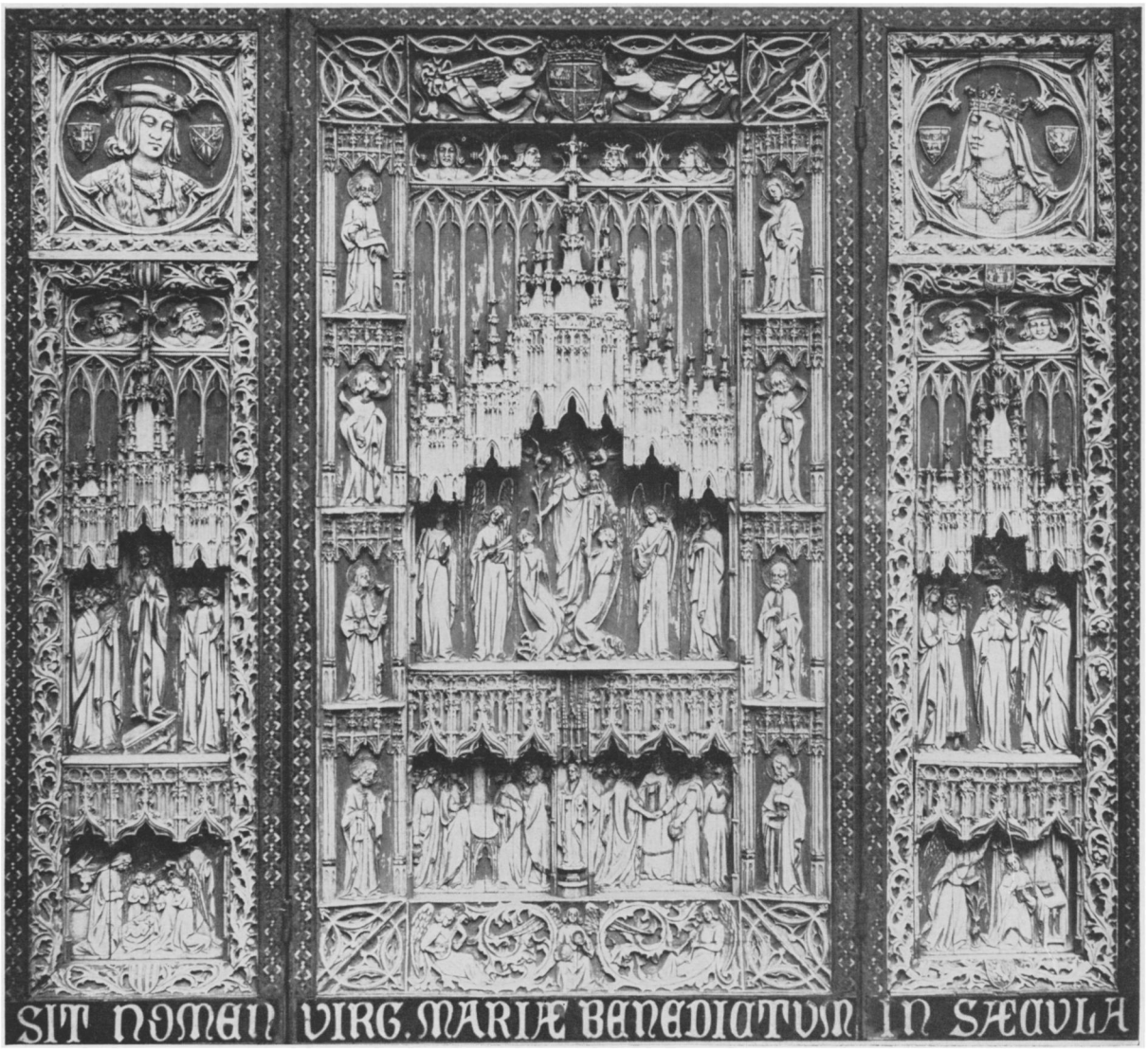


FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

TRIPTYCH OF THE VIRGIN

Pseudo-Gothic Ivory Triptych

PSEUDO-GOTHIC SPANISH IVORY TRIPTYCHS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY ADOLPH GOLDSCHMIDT†

Emeritus Professor of the History of Art, University of Berlin

AMONG THE enormous number of art objects which Henry Walters collected during his lifetime and deposited in the museum that he bequeathed to the City of Baltimore there is, as one might well expect, a great variety in quality and importance, ranging from preëminent masterpieces to works of little value. His intention was to create a collection for general study and enjoyment, which should present the sculpture, painting and minor arts of all the great epochs. As a business man of educated taste, and not a scholar in the history of art, he chose objects which he liked, and it is not at all astonishing that now and then he included an item of fine appearance, but of doubtful authenticity.

Mr. Walters was perfectly conscious of this situation and asserted that he felt no uneasiness about it, since, in due time, critical study and examination would evaluate the material and weed out things unsuitable for a museum. Indeed, in the case of three carved ivory triptychs that had aroused my interest for reasons which will appear, Mr. Walters himself was already aware that they were not medieval in workmanship. In February, 1931, he wrote to me as follows: "I do not consider these three triptychs are copies, but are compositions made by someone about 1850-60 in the style of the fifteenth century and I am led to think they come from Spain." As early as July, 1928, he wrote in referring to the triptych with the Glorification of the Virgin: "in 1895 purchased for me by a friend long since dead, it has seemed to me a beautiful object built to represent work of the late Gothic period—whilst I believe it is not an actual copy, I suspect it was executed in the middle of the nineteenth century." Mr. Walters was perfectly correct in these judgments, except that he dated them, I believe, a little too early; there is no record of their appearance before the nineties of the last century.

The three triptychs in question interested me because they seemed to form part of a group of ivory carvings which had come to my attention. It is difficult to select a suitable title for each of the three, since their iconography is not consistent.

The most easily distinguished of the Walters triptychs is that with the inscription: "*Sit nomen virginis Mariae benedictum in saecula.*" We may

† Adolph Goldschmidt died in Basle, in his eighty-first year, while this article was in press. One of the pioneer students of the Middle Ages, he held a special place in the affections of a great number of American scholars, several generations of whom came under his guidance either in his native land or in American universities.—ED.

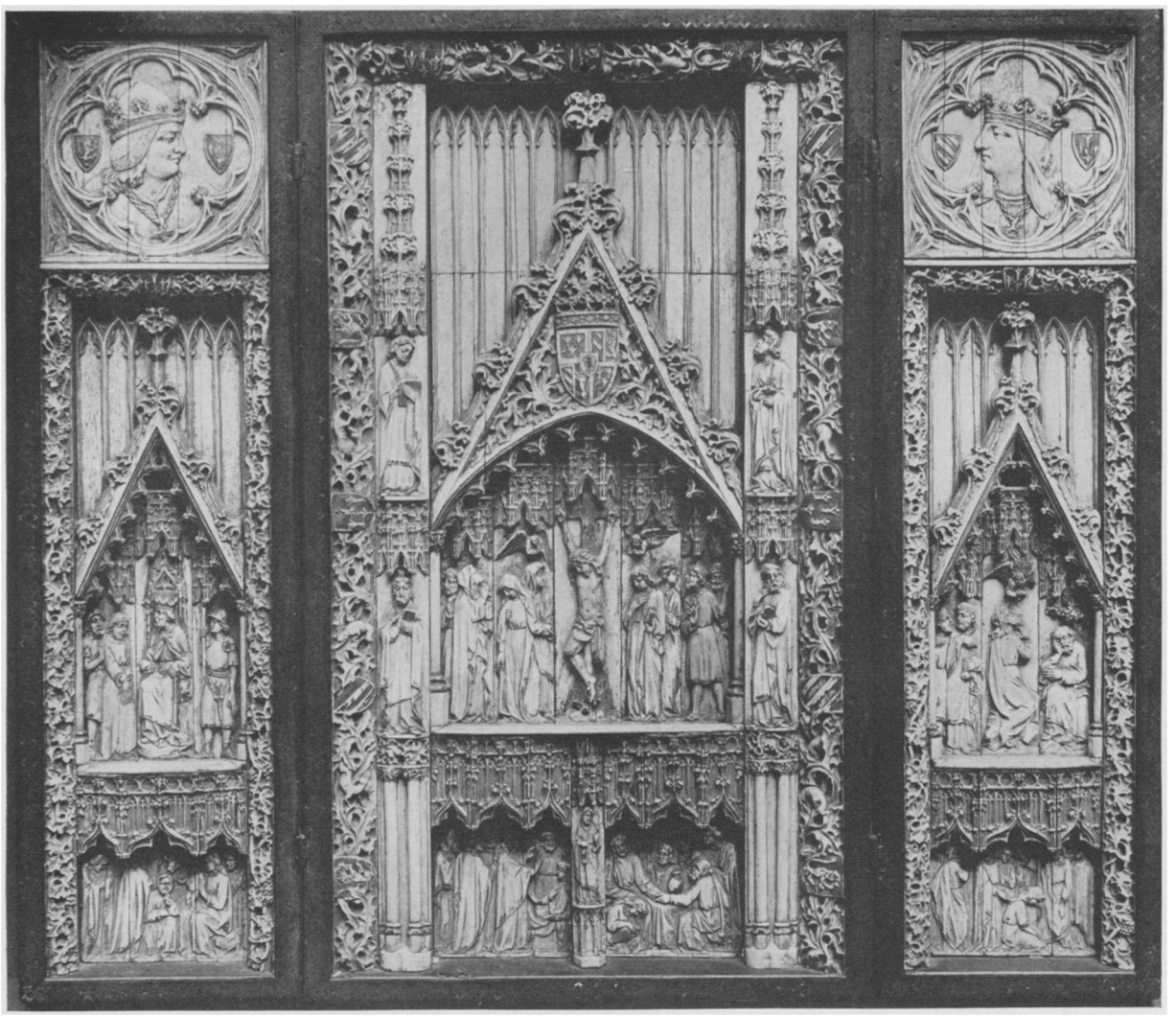


FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Passion Triptych
Pseudo-Gothic Ivory

call it the Triptych of the Virgin (fig. 1). The central scene represents the Virgin, with the Child on her arm and a lily in her right hand, soaring upward surrounded by music-making angels. The iconography of this representation is not Gothic, but belongs to a later century. Below we see the Presentation in the Temple and the Marriage of the Virgin, separated by a statuette of St. Peter under a canopy. In the margin appear eight apostles, with St. Paul, and, again, St. Peter at the bottom. The left wing shows the Assumption and the right what may be intended for Christ Taking Leave of His Mother, neither in accordance with Gothic iconography. Below these two scenes appear the Nativity and the Annunciation. The other details—angels, coats-of-arms, busts of various persons—are only space-fillers.

The next ivory may be called the Passion Triptych (fig. 2). The central carving repre-

FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Apostle Triptych
Pseudo-Gothic Ivory

sents Christ on the Cross, surrounded by His Mother, St. John, and other figures. At the sides are four men with books, perhaps representing the Evangelists. The principal scenes of the wings are, at the left, Christ before Herod, and, at the right, Christ in Gethsemane approached by Judas with his money-bag, who points out the Lord to a companion while St. Peter sleeps at the right. Across the bottom of the triptych runs a row of scenes that is rather enigmatical. At the left appears to be the Holy Family with Visitors, then follows Christ with his Disciples, speaking to a seated woman, then Magdalen anointing the feet of Christ, and at the right, perhaps, Christ with the Woman taken in Adultery—all of which scenes have nothing to do with the Passion.

The third triptych (fig. 3) shows in the central panel two groups of Apostles. The lower group surrounds a basket filled with bread (?),

which would suggest the Feeding of the Five Thousand. The upper scene might be the Resurrection, if the beardless central figure did not contradict this sculptor's usual representation of Christ. The figure at the very top apparently is meant to be God the Father. In the wings appear the Presentation in the Temple and the Annunciation, and the row of four scenes below appear to represent the death of a martyr, his raising by angels, and then two doubtful subjects of which the last seems to be Joshua and Caleb bearing the grapes.

All the scenes of these three triptychs demonstrate that there is no concentrated programme of representation and no true Gothic iconography, but that the sculptor tried to invent and compose his scenes out of his own imagination. Also it is evident that the technique is strongly influenced by the long narrow shape of the ivory strips, which caused the artist to prefer single, slender figures, or narrow groups of two, and to avoid scenes which required carrying the carving across from one plaque to the next.

In addition to the triptychs of the Walters Art Gallery, I have come upon four other pieces by the same artist: a large triptych which in 1931 was in the hands of a New York art dealer (fig. 4), a relief in a private collection at Princeton (fig. 5), and two other triptychs of which I have seen only the reproductions.* One of these (fig. 9) was in the Lepke sale in Berlin,[1] and the other was offered to several museums in Portugal in 1915, and finally was sold to an English collector for a high price. The New York dealer's carving has a considerable series of Passion scenes, the one offered in Portugal shows only the Crucifixion and two other scenes, the Lepke triptych includes in the center the Adoration of the Kings, Pentecost, and, at the top, Christ between St. John and the Virgin, a group originally used in connection with the Last Judgment. The relief in Princeton seems to represent Christ breaking bread amidst the Apostles, and is probably also from a triptych. However, it is of no importance to cite all the scenes, as their iconography shows the same freedom as in the Walters pieces, sometimes mixed with misunderstood details from medieval works, and in any case of no historical value.

All these works are arranged like triptychs, with wings joined to the central part by hinges. They are larger than the usual medieval ivory triptychs, and are made of thin plaques of the ivory, with sometimes some of bone, which are fixed on a wooden board as a backing. Wherever the scene requires the carving to extend from one plaque to the next the joint is so exact and closely fitted that it is probable the ivory pieces were attached to a common back before being carved. The figures themselves are carved in relief upon a perfectly smooth background plane, which is colored a dark blue, so that the white scenes stand out very clear against it. In several of the works the blue coloring has fallen off more or less, as well as sections of the few other colors and gilding used for the coats-of-arms, borders of garments, and other details. Each of the three sections of the triptychs is always surrounded by a wooden frame, usually decorated in marquetry of inlaid ivory and colored woods. This Arabic decoration was much used in Spain and in northern Italy, especially Venice, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The triptychs made by the Embriachi family of Italy apparently were the model for our sculptor. These also were composed of narrow strips of ivory or bone and

* Mr. Marvin Chauncey Ross adds to this list the following additional examples which he has come upon: one lent anonymously to the *Exhibition of European Art, 1450-1500,* Brooklyn Museum, 1936, Catalogue, pl. 179 (one of those listed by Dr. Goldschmidt is also illustrated on plate 178); two others formerly in the storeroom of the Brooklyn Museum; another triptych in the chapel of the Graphic Sketch Club of Philadelphia.—Ed.

[1] April 29-30, 1897; no. 324.

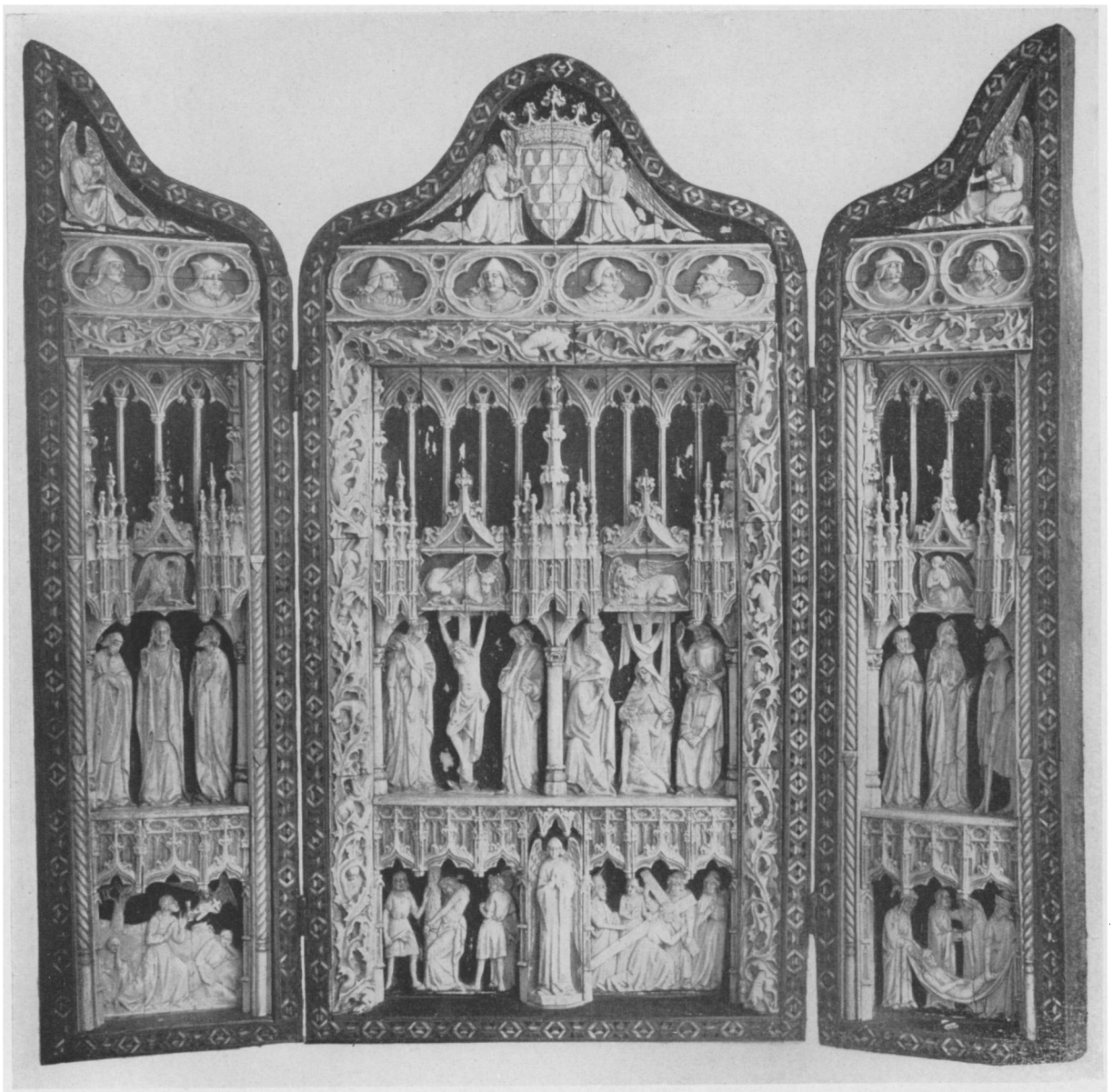


FIGURE 4 NEW YORK ART MARKET

Pseudo-Gothic Ivory Triptych

tend to limit the figures and scenes by the shape of the strips. There is a difference, however, in that the Embriachi ivories generally are carved on a rounded section, while ours have a flat plane for the background.

In addition to Italian influences, we also find Spanish ones. These are most obvious in the exceedingly complicated plan of each triptych, the emphasis on the architectural character of the canopies and their richness, and the varying sizes and shapes of the compartments. All these characteristics are peculiar to Spanish altar-pieces and rood-screens and distinguish them from Italian ones. Another significant in-

FIGURE 5 AMERICAN PRIVATE COLLECTOR

Pseudo-Gothic Ivory Relief

dication consists of the armorials and the portrait heads—which are specifically Spanish and refer to King Ferdinand, Queen Isabella, and King Philip II.

All these details make us suspect a Spanish author. Moreover, in addition to Spanish Gothic details, we can detect the influence of the Spanish mannerists of the early Baroque period, such as Luis de Morales and El Greco. The Princeton relief, for instance, reveals this in the affected gestures and facial expressions, and in the handling of the sculpture so as to play light across the heads, garments and ornaments. All this reminds us of a certain retrospective taste at the end of the nineteenth century.

Despite these various sources and influences, the style of all the pieces is very consistent in itself. It seems, therefore, to reveal a personality whose talent is strongly stimulated by old works of art and who tries to express his own artistic ideas in a similar direction, rather than attempting to falsify by slavishly imitating earlier objects. The contribution of the artist is seen in the proportions of the figures and the long hands with straight, thin fingers, the strong and often affected emotion displayed in face and gesture, all of which differs greatly from the conventions of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. We have already seen that the iconography of the Biblical scenes does not follow that customary in Gothic or later times, but includes many inventions of the carver. Particularly characteristic is the great emphasis on ornament, giving much space and prominence to architectural forms, vigorous foliate motives, tracery, angels, armorials, nameless portrait-heads, etc.

The complete uniformity of style in all the works cited leaves no room for doubt that they are creations of a single artist, whether one examines the general lay-out, the figures, the architecture, or the particularly personal version of sharp-toothed acanthus rinceau. The general shape of the triptychs varies from a simple rectangle (figs. 1, 2, 9), to more complex silhouettes involving a Gothic pointed arch at the top (fig. 3) or an undulating outline (fig. 4) resembling that of wooden altar-pieces of about 1500.

Who is this artist, and when and where did he live? Among Spanish ivories are several groups of items that, despite considerable style and beauty, have long been considered fakes by experts. Three of these groups have been discussed in scholarly literature. The first is characterized by a Mozarabic style, the second Romanesque, and the third Gothic of a kind seen in the Baltimore pieces.

The first group of forgeries—the Mozarabic pieces—has been dealt with by the Spanish archaeologist, M. Gomez-Moreno, in a detailed article with many reproductions.[2] He compares genuine Mozarabic ivory boxes, caskets, and other objects with those which he asserts are falsifications, and he establishes as the author of the latter a sculptor named Francisco Pallas y Puig, who was born in Cuart de Poblet in 1859 and died in Valencia in 1926. He studied drawing and modelling at the academy of San Carlos, "then was active in various places in Spain, working at first in wood, then on the staves of fans, and finally on ivories in all styles. He showed especially high ability which he adapted, as a sort of specialty, to the manufacture of imitations of Arabic ivories, the demand for which, from New York and Frankfurt particularly, he could hardly keep up with. The dishonesty of those whom he enriched by his art led to his remaining without a gold medal for which he competed in a National Exhibition." This latter statement perhaps refers to

[2] M. Gomez-Moreno, *Los marfiles cordobeses y sus derivaciones* in *Archivio Español de Art y Arqueologia,* IX (1927), 233.

FIGURE 6

Saints Peter and Paul
Pseudo-Romanesque Ivory

the conspirators declaring that Pallas had submitted an antique object, or a copy of one. Gomez-Moreno gives him a good character. "To his honor I say that he acted like a frank artist, selling his works for modest prices based on the labor and expenses. Later, dealers and others greedy for gain obscured the origin of the objects, usually at the expense of the buyer whom they deceived." Even now disputes rage as to the authenticity of some of these works.

The second group, comprising ivories of Romanesque type, figured in the Paris art market around 1907. The style of these pieces resembles twelfth-century sculpture of southern France, especially around Toulouse, and the north Spanish monuments such as Santiago di Compostella and those of Leon.[3] The carvings were ivory plaques like those known to have been on medieval book-covers, but they were of a very individual style, entirely artistic and not without beauty. It was striking that several of these reliefs were worked, not from a flat plaque like all such Romanesque ivories, but on a curved surface corresponding to the shape of the tusk. The origin of several of the pieces that appeared in Paris in 1907 was traced back from dealer to dealer until the trail led finally to the atelier of Francisco Pallas in Valencia. Mr. Marcel Bing of Paris, who discovered this fact, stated that Francisco also made Hispano-Moresque ivories.

Of these Romanesque ivories I know three pieces. One shows St. Peter holding the keys accompanied by another saint with a book, but not St. Paul in type, and at the top there is an ornament of tendrils, and a meander (fig. 6). Another plaque shows Christ in Glory, surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists, and at the bottom a frieze of little sirens (fig. 7). Both of these ivories are curved in shape. A third, that is flat, shows the same representation just described, except that the two upper symbols are reversed and below is an assembly of the Apostles (fig. 8). Probably the whole is thought of as an Ascension. In 1911 an amateur of Madrid brought to Paris yet another plaque with Christ and the Evangelist symbols and the ornament of sirens, but I have not seen this.

---

[3] A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston, 1923), pl. 322, 692, 811-40, etc. Ernst H. Bushbeck, *Der Portico de la Gloria von Santiago di Compostella* (Vienna, 1919).

[4] Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen* (Berlin, 1926), IV, no. 101, pl. XXXV.

It is possible that also to this group may be added the St. Jangulfus which I published in my corpus of ivories, although expressing doubts of its authenticity.[4] No two of these pieces are exactly alike, nor are they copies of any known genuine piece, but they all are in precisely the same style, particularly characteristic being the drapery with parallel, curving folds, the twisted symbols of the Evangelists resembling Spanish examples of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the tendency to symmetry and a certain elegance.

The third group is the Gothic one to which the Baltimore triptychs belong. No certain statements have yet been made as to their authorship. Gomez-Moreno said that Pallas worked "on ivories in all styles," but he does not specifically mention Gothic triptychs. The French dealer Bing, in tracing the Romanesque ivories, was led to this same Pallas in Valencia. As for the triptychs themselves, we have nothing better than the remark of the curator at the Lisbon museum, when he rejected the example offered to him in 1915, which he said was "*fabriqué en Espagne en 1910 peutêtre à Valence par un contrefacteur nommé Barral.*" This remark sounds as if it depends only on hearsay, and thus the name *Barral* might be a mistake for

FIGURE 7

Christ in Glory
Pseudo-Romanesque Ivory

FIGURE 8

Christ in Glory
Pseudo-Romanesque Ivory

Pallas, due to misunderstanding or forgetfulness. The general form, having two *a's* and an *l* make it seem not improbable. But even so, this statement has no real authority nor value from personal investigation. There is nothing to do but try to judge of the identity of the author by analyzing the style itself.

That is a difficult task, as the three groups are so very different in type. The Hispano-Moresque pieces in particular by their very nature offer scarcely anything that can be used for comparison. There may be a clue in that the round boxes taught the sculptor to work directly on the tusk, which may be reflected in the curved surface of the Romanesque style ivories. However, we only know that Gomez-Moreno said that the man worked in all styles, and whatever confidence this may give us in ascribing the various groups to one man is strengthened by Bing's investigations on Romanesque pieces which led him to the same Valencia sculptor "who made the Hispano-Moresque objects."

To relate the Hispano-Moresque and Romanesque ivories is far more difficult than to compare the Romanesque plaques and the Gothic triptychs. There are several points in common between these two groups. In the first place, the length and slenderness of the figures characterize both, as well as the long thin necks with heads twisted to create symmetry (*cf.* the Princeton plaque and that with the two Romanesque saints). One may cite also the long hands with the even movement of the fingers (*cf.* the blessing hand of Christ in Princeton with that on the plaque with the siren ornament), the thin, extended fingers and the most un-medieval soft, rounded movement of the wrists (*cf.* Christ and the Apostles on the Romanesque plaque with those on the triptychs). Especially noteworthy are the long, flat feet, devoid of any elevation in the instep, as may be seen on the Romanesque plaques of the two saints and the Glorification with the siren ornament. In the Gothic triptychs one will not find many uncovered feet, but what few examples occur seem to be the same, as for instance, in the case of the Christ crucified on the rectangular triptych (fig. 2) or the men in the Flagellation and the Healing of the Lame in figure 4.

In both groups of ivories the carver follows the corresponding style of Romanesque or Gothic drapery, but in both types he seems to prefer long, falling folds without much variation. In the Romanesque plaques this uniformity is manifest in the exaggerated number of parallel curves. In the triptychs the motives of broader Gothic folds are likewise constantly repeated, in the case both of men and of women, while the pleasure of eccentric movement occurs only in the scrolls held by the apostles on the Triptych of the Virgin—a note corresponding to the agitation of the lower folds of the garments of the two Romanesque saints.

There are other less notable peculiarities in the carving. The surfaces are not smooth and even in rendering as in medieval sculpture, but slightly irregular, rising and falling, giving all the objects a more lively effect of light. This may be illustrated by the planes of the garments, of the ornamental leaves in the Gothic frames, the meander on the plaque of the two saints, the main surfaces of the lion and bull in the two Romanesque Glorifications.

In consideration of all these "symptoms," there is no conclusive argument against attributing the Gothic ivories to the sculptor known to have produced the other two groups. Neither can we contradict it on artistic or psychological grounds, for his work manifests the freedom of an artist, who even when he imitates other styles, preserves the capacity for independent variations. In none of the three groups do we meet with a single piece that is an actual copy of a

known genuine object, or that is combined from parts of various models, as is generally the case among forgeries. This statement is not affected by Gomez-Moreno's discovery of two designs that Pallas y Puig prepared for his work, using a few small motives similar to those on an important box from Zamora, now in the Archaeological Museum in Madrid. These, however, are not at all exact copies, but merely imitate the character of the leaves and animals, developing them into fresh and credible combinations. Such designs must be assumed as studies of style and preparations for the actual work of carving. Perhaps there is a different significance to the fact that on several pieces he tried to copy the Kufic inscription of the Zamora box, which would appear to date the objects in the tenth century; but doubtless neither he nor his buyers could read this inscription and thought it a necessary ornament proper to his creations.

If this Francisco Pallas y Puig of Valencia is the author of all three groups of ivories, the question will arise as to whether he was quite such an innocent tool of the dealers as Gomez-Moreno represents. At the beginning he probably was. He would have enjoyed his own skill in penetrating the different styles and rendering them with a certain creative feeling. Later on it must have been great fun to see that he could even deceive connoisseurs, or people who believed they were, for this is an understandable motive that has been met with in other cases. According to notes by Gomez-Moreno in connection with the Arabic pieces, Pallas several times said that he himself had fabricated specific objects. So he has saved his soul by confession.

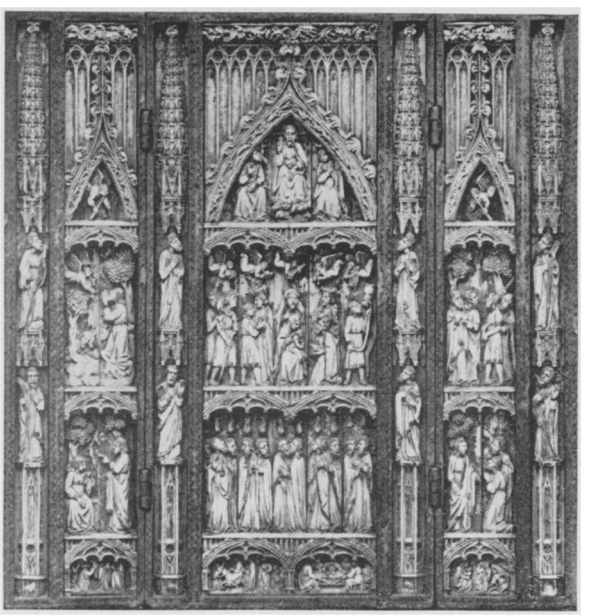


FIGURE 9 FORMERLY LEPKE COLLECTION

Pseudo-Gothic Ivory Triptych

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

NIKANDER

Head of Berenice II
(Impression of Intaglio, enlarged)

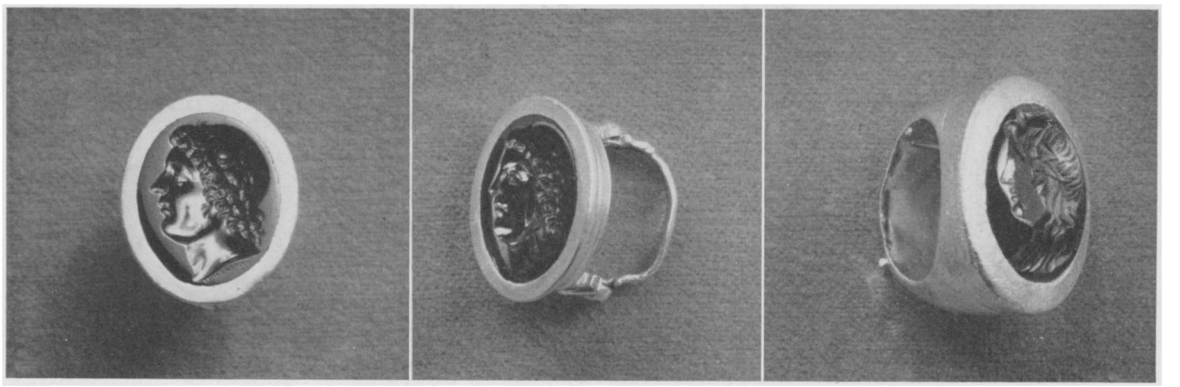


FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Left and Center: Gold Ring with Intaglio Head of Asander by Apollonios
Right: Gold Ring with Intaglio Head of Young Dionysos

SOME HELLENISTIC CARVED GEMS

BY DOROTHY KENT HILL
The Walters Art Gallery

PERHAPS THE greatest artistic achievement of the Greeks was the first successful representation of space. Their statues, as distinct from those of the Egyptians, Mesopotamians and all other early peoples, were organic, conceived as a whole, solid as in life, and, viewed from any angle, resembled the body. In their drawings relative distances were represented according to a system of perspective and figures were foreshortened. In their relief sculpture a subtle use of overlapping planes and the application of perspective gave depth to the picture as well as bulk to the figures.

This achievement was the work of centuries and was not completed until the Hellenistic age. In all fields—sculpture, painting, and the minor arts—the third dimension was then shown most perfectly. All through the previous centuries artists had been toiling toward this accomplishment. Judged from the historical standpoint, Hellenistic art is the high point. If we of today prefer the earlier Greek art, it is because the control of the third dimension is too easy for us with our thousands of years of knowledge. We feel in early work a striving toward realism, a striving toward something unknown, which is pleasing to the sophisticated taste of those who know what the unknown will be. Although we praise the restraint of early Greek art, what we really admire most is the pressure of mighty minds against restraints, toward full freedom. We naturally admire the design, the patternization, which characterize early work, a sort of compensation device of the artist for what he could not achieve toward his main purpose, but if we want to appreciate

FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY
APOLLONIOS
Head of Asander
(Impression of Intaglio, enlarged)

Greek art according to the artist's own standards we must recognize the great works of the Hellenistic age as the best.

In the field of gem cutting this is as true as in any other. The Hellenistic gem cutter beyond any in history excelled in his representation of the third dimension, having developed a technique which simply cannot be equalled. Some gems which have recently been acquired by the Walters Art Gallery will serve to illustrate the characteristics of the work of this age and to emphasize its high quality.

An engraver of intaglios must be meticulous, not only in his cutting, but in his thinking, too. As he cuts into hard stone, he must think how his work will look in reverse when the hollow which he makes in the stone appears as a raised area on the wax impression. The easy way to show a detail is to scratch a line. But will this detail look well as a raised ridge on the impression? The easy way to show the pupil of the eye is to bore a small hole. But then the dot in reverse will protrude, the pupil will pop out. Shall he risk it? Such questions he must decide before cutting each gem.

Of the newly acquired Walters gems, one of the easiest to analyze technically is a portrait gem signed by the artist Apollonios,[1] and believed to represent Asander, king of Bosporos during the first half of the first century B. C. (figs. 2, 3). It is a garnet intaglio, still in its original gold swivel ring (fig. 2, center), and very well preserved because it was placed in a grave while still almost new. As we watch the play of light over the stone, we are struck by two things: the beauty of the surface treatment and the very great depth of the carving. But although the cutting is very deep, the head is not in half round, and yet it is no mere profile drawing, hollowed out in more or less graceful curves. The artist has reproduced the ins and outs of the head, but always in reduced degree. This has caused him no trouble except in the area where nose, eye and forehead meet, but there the reduction of one dimension has necessitated a protruding area in front of the eye, out of proportion to the scale of the rest of the head (fig. 2, left).

We know the tools which the ancient gem engraver had at his disposal.[2] They are the same that are known today: the wheel, the blunt-pointed revolving drill, the tubular drill, and

[1] Walters Art Gallery no. 57.1698. Collection of Sir Arthur Evans, *An Illustrative Selection of Greek and Greco-Roman Gems Acquired . . . by Sir Arthur Evans* (Oxford, 1938), no. 65, pl. IV. Morrison Collection, *Sale Catalogue* (1898), no. 261, pl. II. A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen* (Leipzig, 1900), I, pl. LXIII, no. 36; II, pp. 285 f.; III, p. 163. Found at Kertch. Length of bezel containing stone: .028 m.

[2] J. H. Middleton, *The Engraved Gems of Classical Times with a Catalogue of the Gems in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 1891), pp. 103 ff.

the diamond point. The diamond point was used for free-hand incising, a sort of drawing in which the Greek artists developed extraordinary skill, while the other three tools were rotated by the string of a bow, as is the stick in a boy scout's fire-making apparatus, against a gem held fast in place. The rotating wheel could be used in two ways: either to cut a thin straight line with its edge, or to cut a groove by being drawn sidewise under pressure along the surface of the gem. The blunt drill always makes a circular depression, the tubular drill makes a circle or part of a circle. All these tools were used in the presence of emery paste, the cutting really being done by the paste, not by the tool itself. We must suppose a good deal of additional work done free-hand with a blunt tool and emery paste, for the revolving tools will not do everything. However, it is the successful and widespread use of the revolving tools that gives Hellenistic gems their perfection, their really machine-made perfection. As a final task the Hellenistic artist usually polished his work to absolute smoothness, whereas earlier artists were inclined to let their technique be apparent. The fine polish adds as much to Hellenistic gem carving as it does to marble sculpture of the period. As in the other art, it sometimes was used to the point of abuse, the delicate cutting being ruined by general obscuring.

Let us try to see how these tools were used to carve the portrait gem. The gem will not divulge the secret, but we may hazard some opinions. The hollowing of large areas probably was done by the wheel drawn sidewise. That is, the cheeks would be hollowed out by drawing the wheel lengthwise of the gem, and the neck too; while on the neck, greater and lesser pressure on the wheel caused the very slight irregularities, the ridges which delicately suggest the folds on the front of the neck. The

FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Head of Young Dionysos
(Impression of Intaglio, enlarged)

greater part of the hairy mass would also be cut out as grooves by the wheel dragged across the gem, the front part of the hair being in a deeper groove than the crown of the head. The little gouged lines of the lips and the lowest part of the nose were made either with a very small drill applied at several points or by a very small wheel dragged along the surface. The pupil of the eye was bored with a small drill. The straight lines of the eyelids would be made with the rotating edge of the wheel. The hair is a multitude of curved lines and one suspects these were made by a tubular drill which never left its complete mark, but was always tipped to give an incomplete circle. The finest lines, the side whiskers and the hairs of the eyebrows, were drawn free-hand with the diamond point. A few hairs at top and bottom were allowed to spread beyond the hollowed area

and were cut with the point on the background of the gem. The whole gem was subjected to a final working over and polishing. The artist, proud of his job, cut his name in reverse (Ἀπολλονίου 'of Apollonios') below the neck with the diamond point.

If we now look at the impression which the seal makes on soft material, and we can see this in an enlarged photograph as the artist could not (fig. 3), we forget about the technique and think only of the marvelous style. The contrast between the smooth face and the heavy, turbulent hair makes the gem a striking artistic success.[3] The face is live and full, and the chin and neck, large though they be, are truly beautiful of line. Subtle curves make the face handsome in spite of its fleshiness. The bare suggestion of folds in the neck causes the neck to seem alive, too. The delicate hairs of eyebrows and whiskers are just right in size, and the protruding cornea and pupil of the eye, while not logical, nevertheless are not repulsive. There is no apparent distortion between eye and nose. Apollonios was so thoroughly master of the third dimension that the spectator is absolutely unaware of the mental gyrations necessary to conceive of this head.

A still harder problem the Hellenistic glyptic artists set themselves when they chose to carve heads on stones with convex surfaces. Perhaps they relished the difficulty! We do not know why stones of this form came into fashion, but come they did, and remained for a long time.

An especially beautiful example is a woman's portrait on a hyacinthine sard, a red stone slightly lighter in shade than garnet (fig. 1).[4] This has been broken from its ring and the upper part of the head is lost. It is protected by a modern gold mounting, a broad border. The form of the stone works against the form of the figure at every point. Where the artist is to cut the deepest part of the head, the stone is the thickest; just where he wants to cut the nose, the surface slopes away so fast that he has to bend the nose around a corner to get it in the stone. The corner between eye and nose therefore becomes still more awkward than on the previous piece. He could easily have fitted the shoulder into the shape of the stone if he had turned the bust in true side view, but he insisted upon showing it in three-quarter view. Yet so well did he overcome all these difficulties that we are almost unconscious of them and think only of a plastic portrait which happens to have a curved background.

Technically and stylistically this gem is rather like the other. The cheeks are very smooth and without tool marks. Cheeks, neck, and shoulder may have been made by dragging the wheel vertically up and down the stone, the "mellon mould" hair by parallel horizontal movements of the same tool. The individual hairs were made either by the wheel or by free-hand incision. The chin, and probably the lips and the lower part of the nose, too, were worked with a drill. The eye has the drilled pupil as before, and the beads were made with a drill. The edges of the lips and the eyelids and brows were made with the edge of the wheel. Point work is the extension of the drapery on the back ground of the gem beyond the cutting for the bust. The artist signed the work (Νίκανδρος ἐπόει 'Nikandros made it') with the point on the convex background behind the neck, writing, of course, in reverse.

The impression of this gem is dramatically plastic. The rounded contours of the face with

[3] *Cf.* Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, III, p. 151.

[4] Walters Art Gallery, no. 42.1339. Evans Collection; *op. cit.*, no. 64, pl. IV; Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, I, pl. XXXII, no. 30; II, p. 159; III, p. 163. *Jahrbuch Arch. Inst.*, III (1888), pp. 210 f., pl. 8, no. 14. Story-Maskelyne, *The Marlborough Gems*, (London, 1870), p. xvi, p. 75, no. 447. Middleton, *op. cit.*, p. 74; Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Ancient Greek Art* (London, 1904), p. 173, no. L, 86. H. Brunn, *Geschichte d. gr. Künstler*, II (Braunschweig, 1857), p. 518. Also Deringh Collection. Length preserved: .02 m.

the shadowy suggestion of a double chin, the neck with its delicate folds, catching the light as does the human neck, the graceful exposed shoulder, are all full of life. The delicacy of the rendering of the beads, drapery and hairs is astonishing.

The history of the modern interpretation of this gem is illustrative of the pitfalls which the unwary sometimes dig for themselves. It is one of the best known of all ancient gems, having been in many old collections, including that of

FIGURE 5 PHILADELPHIA, BEMENT COLL.
Gold Coin of Berenice II
(After Descriptive Catalogue)

the Dukes of Marlborough. Sometime during the eighteenth century a gold piece was made to replace the lost upper portion, so that the gem could be used again as a seal. The front of the hair was restored in the gold as a towering pile of curls, a fashion with ladies of the Flavian period. Immediately, the lady looked Flavian, and the portrait was identified as Julia, daughter of the Roman emperor Titus. Then, for more than a century, it was belittled in the somewhat patronizing manner that many adopt toward anything which is Roman rather than Greek, and regarded as second in quality to a true portrait of Julia—a gem which had the merit of being bigger. It was left for Furtwängler, late in the nineteenth century, to recognize this gem for what it is, a Hellenistic Greek portrait of typical form and technique and fine quality. Furtwängler thought it was a portrait of the Ptolemaic queen Berenice I, or of Arsinoë II. Sir Arthur Evans, however, who bought the gem upon the dispersal of the Marlborough collection in 1894, removed the false top of the head so that the gem could be properly appreciated, and, although he first accepted the identification of Furtwängler, he later corrected the label in his own hand to Berenice II, wife of Ptolemy III, Greek king of Egypt from 246 to 221 B. C.

Comparison of the gem with the coins, such as figure 5, which Berenice issued while she acted as regent during her husband's absence on his Syrian campaign, leaves no doubt that this is indeed the correct identification. Our gem shows Berenice's profile.[5] The full chin, the straight nose with just a slight tilt near the tip, the full throat with the delicate creases, these are on the coin too. The details of the presentation also are alike, although the queen on the coin has drawn a veil over the back of her head, while the gem figure wears hers around her shoulders. The necklace, the spreading of the veil on the background, the hair arrangement, all are the same.

Berenice, be it said, was a very able woman and one of the few happily married of all the Ptolemaic line. It is recorded that she dedicated a lock of her hair as a votive offering for her husband's safe return from his campaign, an act of piety which formed the basis of a poem by Callimachus, and which is suggested again by the accident of the missing locks of this portrait gem!

A third large gem is not a portrait, but de-

[5] E. Pfuhl, *Jahrbuch Arch. Inst.*, XLV (1930), p. 41, divides the coins into two groups, one of Ptolemy's wife, the other of his sister. Ours is the wife.

picts the young Dionysos, god of wine, wearing a wreath of ivy leaves about his head (figs. 2 and 4).[6] This stone is a garnet, and has a convex top like the last. One may see how such a stone was worn during the third century B. C., for it is still in its original gold ring, a massive, undecorated affair which overwhelms one with the sheer weight of the hard, cold gold (fig. 2, at the right).

The head, in this case, is not as deeply cut as the last, but it is in the same style and technique. The face is again smooth and soft, the features cut with the same tools as before, except that the lips lack the hard edges. The eye is very large, and the pupil is again rendered plastically. The drapery is skillfully handled; it spreads out on the background as in the Berenice gem, but folds of the drapery are brought forward around the neck, thus establishing by illusion the planes of the neck. The artistic impression is achieved through contrast: contrast of the soft face with the turbulent ivy leaves and the berries on top of the head, and with the hair which on the crown is a plain mass, barely lined, while over the neck are sweeping, deep-cut furrows representing locks marked with individual hairs cut with the point.

But not only in executing large heads on ring-stones did the Hellenistic virtuoso display his skill. On another oval garnet, a very long one with convex surface, he carved one of the most difficult of all subjects, the human figure in front view (fig. 6).[7] The type came from contemporary sculpture, a statue of Aphrodite leaning with one arm on a pillar (as marble goddesses must be supported), holding her low-hung drapery on her hip with the other hand, and gazing straight forward, apparently unaware of her winged child Eros, peaking over her shoulder. The difficulties which made earlier artists shy away from such a presentation—the foreshortening needed to display the delicate curves of the body, and the still greater condensation necessary to handle the projection of the chin from the neck and the forward projection of the bent knee—this artist eagerly grasped. He knew what his tools could do. With a combination of drills and wheel he cut out all the soft areas of the chest and abdomen. For the lower part he first cut the bent leg to great depth, and then he cut the drapery on top of the nude leg, as the sculptor of statues could not do. The sculptor must imagine his drapery in advance and not make the mistake of cutting it off as he works toward the flesh; but the glyptic artist, working in reverse, can make the leg and then add the drapery, working out from it. The style of the drapery is that of statues of the period: creases tightly drawn across the front, and diagonal creases caused by the bent knee, all rendered in rather sketchy, straight lines. For the head, the artist has merely hollowed far into the stone to get depth for the chin, and then made the features as realistic as possible. The child is cut to a lesser depth than the goddess' head. The effect of the whole gem is anything but beautiful, but it is an interesting experiment in doing the hardest thing in the easiest way—chosing a most difficult subject to represent, and then doing it effectively by selecting the best tools and the most important lines, yet nowhere being meticulous.[8]

During the latter part of the Hellenistic age, a sophisticated taste turned in admiration toward the simple art of early times, as it has

[6] Walters Art Gallery no. 57.1699. Evans Collection; *op. cit.*, no. 76, pl. IV. Morrison Collection, *Sale Catalogue*, no. 255, pl. II; said to be from Tarsus. Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, III, p. 167, fig. 117. Length of bezel containing stone: .032 m.

[7] Walters Art Gallery no. 42.1228. Purchased 1942. Formerly in the private collection of Henry Walters. Probably second century B.C. Length: .025 m.

[8] On the studied carelessness of a whole class of Hellenistic gem cutting, see Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, III, p. 160.

done again in our own day. Artists sought "inspiration" in the works of archaic Greek artists. They failed, as all such efforts must fail, to capture the spirit of another age, although they sometimes repeated works of art almost line for line. This tendency was most pronounced in sculpture, but the gem cutter was not untouched by it. He, however, saw the archaistic movement through the eyes of the sculptor. He imitated early statues and contemporary imitations of them, not early gems. He made no effort to disguise the plastic skill of his own era, to decrease the depth of his carving to the very shallow scratching of early times, to restrict the movement of the figures to the stiff poses of archaic gem cuttings, or to modify the form of his stone to the old style. Rather, he presented in the contemporary, plastic, foreshortened technique on stones of fashionable shape the stiff sculptured figures of another day.

A typical example of this school is a gem with convex top showing the erect figure of Dionysos, holding in one hand his staff (*thyrsos*) tied with a ribbon, and in the other his favorite drinking cup, the *kantharos* (fig. 7).[9] He wears a long, thin, pleated garment with sleeves, and a heavy mantel slung low. His long hair is tied up in a knot and he wears a full beard, and, surprisingly, on his head is the basket usually worn by Zeus-Serapis. One foot rests firmly on a ground line, the other has raised heel. The feet in position for walking on the toes is a favorite mannerism of the period; but one foot in this position renders the god crippled. The sculptured effect of this rather complicated figure has been achieved by cutting a groove for the upper part of the body and one leg, and another groove still deeper for the upper part of the arm, and then adding the details and the hands and attributes with the point. The *thyrsos* was fashioned by means of a multitude of diagonal wheel cuts, so that, not only has it the roughness of a natural trunk, but it seems about to sprout like Tannhäuser's staff. It is

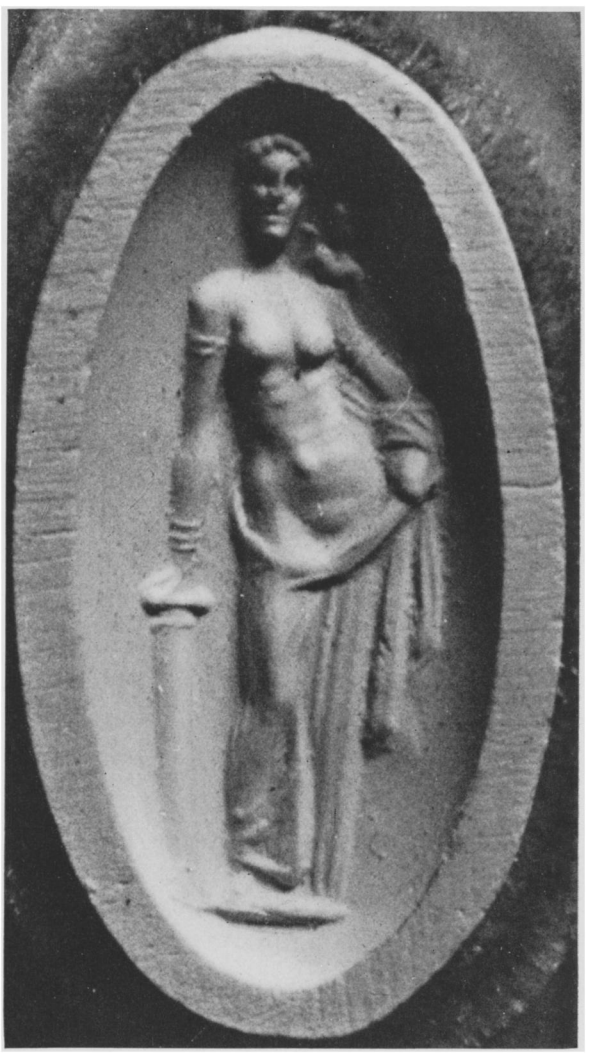


FIGURE 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Aphrodite and Eros
(Impression of Intaglio, enlarged)

[9] Walters Art Gallery no. 42.1216. Purchased 1942. Formerly in the private collection of Henry Walters. A light brown stone, difficult to identify. The back is concave. Probably first century B.C. Length: .021 m.

in the rendering of the drapery over the deep-cut leg that the artist shows his skill, the skill that is the antithesis of that of the archaic artist. The lines of the drapery on the sculpture of early times were almost entirely decorative. But here, drawn in perspective, as if seen from the side, they give a perfect curve to the figure, make it seem round and plastic. They could not and would not have been used by the archaic gem carver. By the Hellenistic gem carver's simulation there is achieved an accurate, foreshortened picture of a statue which itself is stiff and lifeless.[10] In such abstractions did the very "modern" Hellenistic mind delight.

FIGURE 7 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Dionysos
(Impression of Intaglio, enlarged)

The archaistic school also made heads, and a favorite type was the head of the bearded Dionysos, of which an example on garnet is shown in figure 8.[11] Beyond all other gods, this one was shown in sculpture as stiff and lifeless, sometimes really as a mask of himself, because he was, in addition to being god of wine, god of the masked drama. It is one of those mask-like sculptural representations that the glyptic artist here copies with great and easy realism. The neck and cheeks are not deep-cut, yet they are round and well modelled. The cutting of nose and lips with a small drill is as usual. Parallel incision with the edge of the revolving wheel produced the corkscrews of the beard and of the long locks at the back of the neck; these are not really spiral, as one is supposed to think, but merely diagonal lines set close together. The hair was made by making a groove with the wheel drawn sidewise across the head, curving up over the ear; then with the diamond point lines were cut to represent locks, following the outline of the groove, and other lines were cut with the point, diverging from the crown of the head. These are some of those extraordinarily fine lines in which the Hellenistic artist excelled. The drapery across the neck also is skillfully made. First it was cut out as a whole, then in this main cutting fine lines were cut with the point, so that in the impression the drapery stands up to a greater height than would be possible for a sculptor who did not work in reverse.[12] The result of all

[10] For the drapery compare a gem with the same subject, Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, I, pl. XXV, no. 23.

[11] Walters Art Gallery no. 42.934. Purchased 1942. Formerly in the private collection of Henry Walters. Second or first century B.C. Length: .017 m.

[12] *Cf.* the neck drapery of a famous Alexander portrait, Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, I, pl. XXXI, no. 17, and a gem formerly in the Evans Collection, *op. cit.*, no. 63, pl. IV; now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Ancient Gems from the Evans and Beatty Collections* (New York, 1942), no. 44.

this is a most effective head, made by the easiest and therefore cheapest method.

All these gems help to reveal the Hellenistic artist as a person of matchless skill and facility and great daring, trying things impossible before his day, making the most of tools at his disposal, a master of the third dimension, eventually losing himself in sophistry and copying because, like the military genius of his age, he could find no more worlds to conquer.

FIGURE 8 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Head of Dionysos
(Impression of Intaglio, enlarged)

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

PIERRE LEPAUTRE

Aeneas and Anchises Fleeing from Troy
(Terra Cotta Model)

PIERRE LEPAUTRE AND HIS AENEAS GROUP

BY GERTRUDE ROSENTHAL

Goucher College

BOZZETTI, THE intimate and first hand documents of the creative process of a sculptural work, are relatively rare in public collections. The Walters Gallery is one of the few museums in this country that has been able to assemble a stately number, especially of seventeenth and eighteenth-century *bozzetti*. Among them the terra cotta group "Aeneas and Anchises Fleeing from Troy" (signed and dated "Lepautre—97"), by the French sculptor Pierre Lepautre[1], is of special interest since it is a model for one of the few important sculptural commissions given by the French government at the end of the seventeenth century (fig. 1).

A comparison of this piece with other preliminary studies and with the final version of the group may reflect—to a certain degree—the tendencies of contemporaneous French sculpture, while an account of the history of this *bozzetto* may well illustrate the working conditions and methods of the French court artists during the regime of Louis XIV.

The Walters terra cotta is one of a number of models made by Pierre Lepautre for the main work of his artistic career, the marble group of "Aeneas and Anchises Fleeing from Troy", completed in 1716 and set up in the *Jardin des Tuileries* in 1719 (fig. 3). He was given the commission for the group by the King in 1696, while holding a fellowship at the *École de Rome*, the Roman branch of the *Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture*. Since this school was under state administration and operated on the same authoritarian principles by which the state was governed, free and personal artistic activities on the part of the students were not tolerated. Every work executed by the *pensionnaires* of the *École de Rome* was ordered and owned by the King. The young artists were not even permitted to pursue their own studies, nor had they any right to select their subject matter. The French government was not interested in the development of artistic individuality, but rather in the training of first rate craftsmen, capable of fulfilling the tasks that were assigned to them. Commencing with the period of Lebrun's absolute domination of the Fine Arts, invention was not valued as highly as the actual execution of the work. Thus

---

[1] Pierre Lepautre was born in Paris in 1660 and died there in 1744. He was the son of the well-known architect, Antoine Lepautre, and the nephew of the great engraver and *dessinateur*, Jean Lepautre. This Pierre has often been confused with his cousin, Pierre Lepautre, the son of Jean, *cf. e.g.* S. Lami, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs sous le règne de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1906), p. 322, and Thieme and Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon d. bildenden Künstler*, XXIII (Leipzig, 1929), p. 96. A brief biographical sketch of Lepautre by one of his contemporaries is to be found in the *ABECEDARIO* (begun in 1719) *de P. J. Mariette, publié par Ph. de Chennevières et A. de Montaiglon* (Paris, 1854-56), III, pp. 190-92. For Jean Lepautre's son Pierre, who died in 1716, *cf.* Fiske Kimball, *The Creation of the Rococo* (Philadelphia, 1943), pp. 62 ff.

it had become quite customary to furnish even highly esteemed artists with the designs for their commissions.[2] The artists were merely civil servants whose creations had to fit in with the general plan made for one purpose only: to testify to the power and splendor of the King and his government.

These requirements imposed upon the artist by the regime of Louis XIV were largely met by Pierre Lepautre. The son and nephew of two well known Academicians, he accepted without opposition the strict rules by which his life was regulated at the Roman School over a period of seventeen years. He had been sent to Rome in 1684 as *pensionnaire du Roi* after having won the Academy reward for sculpture the year before. He was twenty-four years old at that time. Nothing is known about his training in Paris or about any works executed by him previous to the sculpture which made him win the *premier prix de sculpture* in 1683. From that time on, his artistic activities are recorded; yet, about the man Lepautre no direct information can be gathered. Although he lived in an era that was fond of letter writing, he does not seem ever to have expressed his ideas or requests directly to his patron, the *Surintendant des Bâtiments*, who was the King's representative for the Fine Arts. Many letters written by artists of that period—full of flatteries, complaints and supplications—are preserved and show how these men tried to keep in contact with their employers. Lepautre, however, abided strictly by the rules of the *École de Rome*, letting the *Directeur* of the School handle his affairs with the French court. La Teulière,[3] a connoisseur and *amateur par excellence* who served as director for fourteen out of the seventeen years which Lepautre spent at the school, rejoiced in that task. Lepautre was his favorite student, the only one who seemed promising and at the same time was faithful to the ideals of French Classical art, which at that time was beginning to be overshadowed by the glamor and vitality of the Roman Baroque. La Teulière was expected *ex officio* to guard the pensioners from the temptations of "modern" Roman art; for the French court had sent them there to study exclusively the ancient sculptures and the paintings of Raphael, but under no circumstances to become influenced by the works of the Italian Baroque masters. .

In the sixteen nineties, however, when the French government was forced to reduce its financial support of the *École de Rome*, the interest of the students in contemporary Roman art began to increase. Lepautre was the only one among the *sculpteurs pensionnaires* during these years who combined talent with a conservative trend. His first commissions in Rome were copies after ancient statues[4] for the Royal Gardens at Versailles. The reports[5] sent to Paris by La Teulière were full of praise for Lepautre and his works. References to his talent became even more emphatic when Lepautre worked on a marble group that Théodon[6], a fellow student, had begun, but had left unfinished.

From that time on La Teulière made every attempt to prepare the way for his favorite whom he believed to be the forthcoming great

---

[2] Even masters like Girardon worked after Lebrun's ideas. Pierre Francastel, the biographer of Girardon, who sometimes belittles Lebrun's influence, admits that Girardon's "Bath of Apollo", the "Pyramid" fountain and the statue of "Winter" at Versailles, were sculptured after Lebrun's designs, *cf.* Pierre Francastel, *Girardon* (Paris, 1921), pp. 11, 14, and 19. Girardon, on the other hand, furnished designs for the best of the Versailles sculptors, such as Pierre Legros I, Magnier, Granier, Slodtz, and others.

[3] La Teulière was director of the Roman School from 1684 to 1699.

[4] "Fawn Carrying a Goat" (1685); "Meleager" (1687-88).

[5] *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie Royale à Rome, publié par A. de Montaiglon* (Paris, 1887), Archives Nationales. Lepautre is first mentioned in a letter of June 24, 1687, written by La Teulière to Louvois, then *Surintendant des Bâtiments, cf. Correspondance,* I, no. 267, p. 163.

[6] J. B. Théodon (1646-1719), marble group of "Arria and Paetus" (also called "Lucretia and Collatin"), Paris, Jardin des Tuileries. The group, commenced by Théodon in 1690, was completed by Lepautre during the years 1691 to 1695.

French sculptor. In his correspondence with Louvois and Villacerf, the *Surintendants*[7] during his directorship, La Teulière tried to keep his superiors interested in Lepautre by giving them very detailed reports on his artistic activities. If one makes allowance for the exaggerations resulting from personal preference, these letters prove a valuable source of information on Lepautre's main work, the Aeneas group. Moreover, they give a minute account of the working process of which the Walters terra cotta represents an important stage.

The history of the Aeneas group begins with an occurence characteristic of the position of the French court artist of that epoch. In 1695, after having spent eleven years at the *École de Rome*, Lepautre was anxious to start a work of his own. Encouraged by La Teulière he designed the model for a group "Heracles and Cacus",[8] which La Teulière ardently recommended to Villacerf. Lepautre, who was granted permission to return temporarily to Paris in order to settle his own affairs, was advised to take his model to Villacerf.[9] The *Surintendant* and Girardon, who at that time was *Premier Sculpteur du Roi*, both rejected it as not suitable for Versailles.[10] Instead, Lepautre was given a small wax model made by Girardon for a group of "Aeneas and Anchises Fleeing from Troy", and was ordered to execute this in marble. The refusal of the model after Lepautre's own invention was not considered a rebuff by either side.

On the contrary, Villacerf in his letter of April 16, 1696[11] informing La Teulière about his decision, refers to Lepautre very graciously; he emphasizes the sculptor's contentment with Girardon's design, a fact that La Teulière repeatedly confirms in his subsequent correspondence. Villacerf, who usually handled the affairs of the *École de Rome* in a rather detached way, seems to have been delighted with the prospect of the new sculpture and very anxious to see it completed as quickly as possible. He urged La Teulière to take the measurements for the group so that the marble could be procured without delay. La Teulière, however, answered that Lepautre had to make thorough studies for the sculpture before they could decide upon the size of the marble block. In the polite manner of the courtier and with all due respect for Girardon, he wanted to make it clear that Girardon's wax *bozzetto* could by no means figure as the final model for Lepautre's sculpture, that on the contrary the main part of the work—not merely its technical performance—was still to be done by Lepautre.

Unfortunately Girardon's model is lost; yet from Villacerf's and La Teulière's correspondence it can be assumed that it was no more than a rough sketch showing the general arrangement of the figures. Villacerf described it briefly as a three-figure piece, *Enée qui enlève son père avec un petit enfant qui est derrière*,[12] whereas La Teulière stressed the fact that the *palladium*[13] was only suggested and that Lepautre "*s'appliquera sur toutes choses à la correction et aux caractères des textes*", cautiously adding "*sans s'escarter en*

[7] The Marquis de Louvois served as *Surintendant des Bâtiments* from 1683 to 1691; Edouard Colbert, Marquis de Villacerf, held the same office from 1691 to 1699.

[8] La Teulière writes to Villacerf on January 4, 1695: "*Hercules et Cacus, renversé sous ses pieds*", *Correspondance*, I, no. 565, p. 408.

[9] Villacerf to La Teulière, February, 1696, *Correspondance*, II, no. 667, p. 200.

[10] Villacerf to La Teulière, April 16, 1696, *Correspondance*, II, no. 695, p. 223.

[11] *Correspondance*, II, no. 695, p. 223.

[12] See previous note.

[13] The *palladium* was the image of Pallas Athena, kept in the temple of Athena at Troy as a pledge of the city's safety. Ulysses and Diomedes were said to have stolen it and taken it to Greece, or, according to a version popular among Romans, Aeneas saved the statue when fleeing from Troy and brought it to Latium. It was identified with one of the holy objects in the shrine of Vesta at Rome. Vergil, however, followed another saga in which it is recorded that Aeneas and Anchises on their voyage from Troy brought the *penates* with them, not the *palladium; cf. Aeneid*, II, 717. Lepautre experimented with the representation of both versions. The *penates* appear on the Walters *bozzetto* (see below, p. 79), whereas in the other sketches and in the final group he depicted the *palladium*, as Girardon had done in his wax.

rien de l'intention de l'original".[14] This statement meant that difficult parts, such as the *palladium* had to be created, that the correctness of the design had to be improved upon and that the whole composition had to be modified to bring it into accordance with the text of Vergil's *Aeneid*. He promised only that Lepautre would follow the general idea, the *intention* of Girardon's wax.

It is beyond our knowledge whether the alterations which Lepautre actually made were on as large a scale as anticipated by La Teulière. We do know, however, that Lepautre carried out extensive preliminary studies before he began to work on the marble group. He started out with a model made of wax like that of Girardon. Since this material easily responds to corrections, it was an appropriate medium for Lepautre who was "*difficile à se contenter.*"[15] When one learns that he was occupied with this first sketch for more than three months, working all the time,[16] one realizes what a conscientious and industrious man he must have been.[17] Besides, he was not the type of an artist who wanted to take any chances or to leave anything to his inspiration.[18] Thus, after having completed his first minute *bozzetto*, he worked on its enlargement in terra cotta, making it the size in which the marble group was planned.[19] His idea was to produce a perfect and final model from which he could simply copy the marble group without further alterations.[20] The huge terra cotta must have undergone many changes. For La Teulière reported to Villacerf about many "*estudes utiles et solides*" which Lepautre made of the main parts of the group as improvements of the large model.[21] But all this was not enough. After he had already begun to work on the marble block, he carried out a third *bozzetto*, again in terra cotta. This piece evidently is the *bozzetto* now in the possession of the Walters Gallery, since its date, size, material and minute finish correspond to La Teulière's various descriptions of Lepautre's third model. It is first mentioned in his letter to Villacerf of November 19, 1697: " . . . *je suis persuadé, Monsieur, qu'il* (Lepautre) *ne trompera pas vostre attente et qu'il taschera de gagner la Pension que le Roy a la bonté de luy donner et que son ouvrage luy fera honneur. Il en avoit fait, il y a longtemps, un modelle de cire sur lequel il a fait celui de plastre de la grandeur qu'il doit estre en marbre. Il en achève encore un troisième de terre pendant qu'on dégrossit le marbre; il l'a fait d'une grandeur assez raisonable pour pouvoir mieux voir le tout ensemble et finir chaque partie avec plus de soin, ce qui lui réussit admirablement . . . .*"[22] On December 31, 1697, La Teulière again referred to the new model, this time going into a more detailed description: " . . . *pour travailler plus seurement, il a fait encore un troisième modelle de terre arrestant les parties et les finissant toutes après le naturel. Ce modelle est des mieux estudiés que j'ai veu, et certainement, il*

[14] La Teulière to Villacerf, July 3, 1696, *Correspondance,* II, no. 718, pp. 242-43.

[15] La Teulière to Villacerf, March 5, 1697, *Correspondance,* II, no. 784, p. 295; *cf.* also the letter of August 29, 1698, *Correspondance,* II, no. 926, p. 414.

[16] "*Le Sr. Lepautre est toujours après son modelle de cire*"; La Teulière to Villacerf, August 21, 1696, *Correspondance,* II, no. 732, p. 258.

[17] "*C'étoit un fort galant homme et qui étoit fort laborieux*", Mariette, *op. cit.,* p. 191.

[18] " . . . comme Lepautre n'ayme point à perdre de temps, il faira toute la diligence possible pour le (*sc.* le grand modèle) conduire bien tost à sa fin et le mettre en estat de pouvoir travailler le marbre avec toute sorte d'assurance;" La Teulière to Villacerf, November 6, 1696, *Correspondance,* II, no. 754, p. 273.

[19] La Teulière to Villacerf, September 4, November 6, November 18, 1696, *Correspondance,* II, nos. 736, 754 and 757, pp. 261, 273 and 275.

[20] " . . . *il* (*sc.* Lepautre) *veut arrester et travailler ce modelle de manière qu'il puisse le coppier sur le marbre sans rien changer* . . . "; La Teulière to Villacerf, March 5, 1697, *Correspondance,* II, no. 784, p. 295.

[21] La Teulière to Villacerf, November 19, 1697, *Correspondance,* II, no. 854, p. 354; *cf.* also *ibid.,* no. 795, p. 304, La Teulière to Villacerf, April 16, 1697: "Le Sr. Lepautre ne manquera pas de faire, suivant vos ordres, les estudes particulières de son groupe pour les parties principales, comme il a fait pour l'autre que l'on trouve si bien que des personnes des plus habiles qui soient à Rome m'ont prié plus d'une fois d'en faire mouler quelqu'une."

[22] *Correspondance,* II, no. 854, p. 354.

n'est pas ordinaire . . . ."[23] So much for La Teulière's enthusiastic reports. Lepautre himself seems to have been satisfied with the solution represented by this sculpture, because he abandoned the large terra cotta and accepted, at least temporarily, the one now owned by the Walters Gallery as the final model for the marble sculpture.[24]

Eight months later, Villacerf requested a drawing of the group.[25] For this occasion Lepautre made two informative drawings—showing a front and a rear view of the group.[26] Villacerf and Girardon, whose opinion is quoted by the *Surintendant*, commented very favorably on the project.[27] No corrections were proposed, rather did Villacerf encourage the artist to finish quickly the work so successfully begun. Then everything seemed settled and the completion only a question of a relatively short time.

Yet, a few months later certain events took place which indirectly affected Lepautre's work on the marble group, delaying its completion by eighteen years. In January, 1699, Villacerf resigned and Hardouin-Mansart, the *Premier Architecte du Roi*, was appointed *Surintendant des Bâtiments*. This reshuffling of the administration brought about many other changes. One of them was the replacement of La Teulière by the painter Houasse, who became *Directeur de l'École de Rome*.

Villacerf had taken a special interest in the Aeneas group, for which he felt somewhat responsible, and La Teulière had practically lived for the day when his favorite's master piece would be completed and would bring fame to the sculptor—and to La Teulière himself. He had always emphasized the importance of that commission and had generously given his time, advice and encouragement to the often despondent artist. Through the retirement of Villacerf and La Teulière the situation changed fundamentally: the positions of the amateurs were now held by professionals. To the architect and to the painter, the development of a sculpture did not mean so much. Lepautre, without La Teulière's constant support, longed to go home. After having spent fifteen years as pensioner, he suddenly seemed to have but one wish, to return to France. One month after La Teulière had left, the new director—certainly on Lepautre's own suggestion—mentioned the sculptor's readiness to return to his country, as soon as his group was finished.[28] A few weeks later, the year which the completion of the group would take seemed to Lepautre an endless time to be spent in Rome. Thus—through Houasse's mediation—he begged to have the marble sent to Paris and to be allowed to carry out the remaining work under the supervision of the *Surintendant*.[29]

The excuses and explanations given for his petition are not very convincing; they only show Lepautre's desire to leave for Paris. In January, 1700 his application was accepted. The unfin-

[23] *Correspondance,* II, no. 866, p. 362.

[24] La Teulière to Villacerf, Dec. 31, 1697 and May 27, 1698, *Correspondance,* II, no. 866, p. 362 and no. 908, p. 398.

[25] "*Envoyez moy le dessein du groupe de Lepautre . . .* "; Villacerf to La Teulière, July 21, 1698, *Correspondance,* II, no. 919, p. 408.

[26] "Je vous envoye les desseins du groupe du Sr. Lepautre. . . . L'on n'a fait que deux veues . . . , le devant et le derrière, croyant qu'elles suffisoient, quoiqu'elles soient heureuse de tous costés, par le soing qu'on a apporté le les mesnager. Vous verrés, Monsieur, qu'on ne les a pas mises dans l'estat où elles sont sans avoir bien méditté sur un esquisse informe. Sy l'on y trouve quelque chose à redire, je vous supplie, Monsieur, d'avoir la bonté de nous en faire avertir . . .;" La Teulière to Villacerf, August 26, 1698, *Correspondance,* II, no. 925, p. 413.

[27] "*M. Girardon est fort content du groupe de Lepautre*"; Villacerf to La Teulière, September 29, 1698, *Correspondance,* II, no. 935, p. 421.

[28] Houasse to Hardouin-Mansart, September 1, 1699, *Correspondance,* III, no. 1000, p. 14.

[29] "Le Sr. Lepautre aura achevé son groupe dans douze ou treize mois, ou environ. Il souhaitteroit que vous voulussiez luy accorder de le finir en France, sur le lieu auquel vous le destinerez, attendu qu'il est très serré dans l'attelier où il est, et qu'une plus grande distance luy sera favorable, joint aux bons avis qu'il espère de votre part. Si vous luy accordez la grâce, qu'il vous demande, tous les ouvrages pourront estre embarquez au printemps prochain . . ."; Houasse to Hardouin-Mansart, December 15, 1699, *Correspondance,* III, no. 1018, p. 26; *cf.* also no. 1076, p. 70.

FIGURE 2 FORMERLY BIRON COLL.

PIERRE LEPAUTRE

Flight of Aeneas and Anchises
(Terra Cotta Model)

ished Aeneas group was packed up together with the works of other students and with a number of art purchases; but the boat designated to take the artist himself and the art objects to France did not anchor at the Roman port. Lepautre lost a whole year waiting, during which period he was unable to work on his group because it had been stored. At last, in February, 1701, Lepautre received permission to depart and to leave his group in Rome until an opportunity should be found to ship it to Paris. Due to the War of the Spanish Succession, such a chance did not come up until fourteen years later. When the peace of Utrecht was signed another *Surintendant des Bâtiments* and another *Directeur de l'École de Rome* took up the old subject. In August, 1715 the sculptures of the Roman School arrived at Marly, among them listed as number A: "*Énée portant son père Anchises, par un Pensionnaire.*"[30]

No details are known about the further intermediary stages of Lepautre's work on the group. He finished this project of his youth in 1716, one year after the death of Louis XIV for whom it had been destined.[31]

Besides the final marble group in the *Jardin des Tuileries* (fig. 3), there are three sketches preserved showing different phases of the work:

1. A fairly small terra cotta *bozzetto* (37.5 cm) which belonged to the Marquis de Biron and figured as no. 106 at the sale of his collection in 1914 (fig. 2). Although the subsequent whereabouts of this model are not known, the sale catalogue furnishes some information about the piece.[32]

2. A terra cotta model in the possession of the Walters Art Gallery (Fig. 1. No. 27.353. 19⅜ in.; 49.2 cm; signed: "Lepautre 97").

3. A pen and ink drawing at the Musée de

[30] *Correspondance*, IV, no. 1912, p. 418.

[31] "Le Pautre, Pierre (1660-1744), Enée portant son père Anchise et tenant son fils Ascagne par la main (marbre). H. 2.64. Signé: 'Le Pautre fecit 1716.' Projet dessiné par Girardon. Provient de Marly. Placé en 1719." *Cf. Catalogue des sculptures des jardins du Louvre, du Carrousel et des Tuileries* (Musée National du Louvre), 1931, p. 39, no. 49.

[32] *Catalogue de la Collection du Marquis de Biron* (Paris, June 9-11, 1914), no. 106.

la Peinture et de la Sculpture in Angers (fig.4).[33]

The terra cotta from the Biron collection, a rough sketch, cannot be dated or identified with certainty. As far as can be gathered from the records, it seems to be one of the studies for the main parts of the group which Lepautre made in addition to his wax model and to the huge terra cotta *bozzetto*.[34] Just how much and in which particular features this study resembled the sculptor's first conception or differed from it, is mere guesswork, but it certainly represents an early stage in the development of the Aeneas group, in any case the earliest of the three extant sketches.

The three figures are arranged around a support which suggests a broken pilaster, symbolizing Troy after its destruction. Aeneas, leaning slightly against the pilaster, carries his father over his right shoulder, clasping his arms around him. His head and back are bent, his knees flexed under the weight of his burden. The little Ascanias—on the other side of the pillar—emerges from behind. From the sculptural point of view, a close contact between him and the other two figures is accomplished; yet, the expression of his stern little face makes him appear somewhat isolated.

The sculpture—as La Teulière said of the large terra cotta—shows a "beautiful curve"[35] and by the arrangement of its three figures incites the onlooker to follow its turn. This is a compositional form which had been developed by Giovanni da Bologna about a century before,

FIGURE 3 PARIS, TUILERIES

PIERRE LEPAUTRE

Flight of Aeneas and Anchises
(Marble Statue)

and which in French Classical sculpture was frequently employed for pieces combining three figures—in many cases with little success.[36] Lepautre has used it to advantage, since the torsion of the group does not affect the block-like quality of the sculpture. The group is charged with action that is all caught in this slightly twisted block and translated into the function of weight and effort. This functional trait of the group and

[32] "Le Musée d'Angers possède de l'artiste un dessin original à la plume d'après son groupe d'Enée et Anchise; ce dessin, qui a figuré à la vente du Baron Denon, a été donné au Musée par David d'Angers" (a well-known sculptor, 1788-1856); Lami, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

[34] *Cf.* note 21.

[35] La Teulière to Villacerf, December 18, 1696, *Correspondance*, II, no. 765, p. 280.

[36] *Cf.* the "Rape of Cybele" by Regnaudin and the "Rape of Oreithyia" by Marsy and Flamen. Both these groups were carried out about eight years before the Biron model; they are in the Tuileries.

the compactness of the figures suggest the influence of Michelangelesque sculpture and distinguish this *bozzetto* from the other known phases of the same work.

The simplest explanation of the basic difference between the Biron piece and the other two sketches would be the assumption that with this model Lepautre remained completely dependent upon Girardon's design. However, there is not one item in Girardon's *oeuvre* to support such an hypothesis. Girardon's works lack the strong plastic and functional characteristics so outstanding in Lepautre's little *bozzetto*, and are much more closely related to the other stages of the Aeneas group. Thus, the Biron model may be considered an entirely individual attempt of Lepautre's, based perhaps on Michelangelesque works, which were not at all a common source of inspiration for French sculptors of that period.

Such a divergence from the *Zeitgeist* is not reflected in the Walters *bozzetto*. An interval of one year at most lies between the execution of the two models, yet only a few features of the earlier work are retained: the Walters group, like the Biron piece, shows the strong coherence and plasticity of the figures. It also preserves the silhouette effect that results from a closed contour—a characteristic not only of Renaissance sculpture, but one of the requirements of the French Classical style.

The composition as a whole, however, has undergone an amazing change, so that symptoms of another style, the Baroque, have become evident. The instant selected for representation almost seems to be a different one: the subject of the Walters sculpture is Aeneas in the act of fleeing. Instead of the relation of weight and strength on which the Biron piece was based, movement is the important factor determining the conception of the Walters terra cotta. The composition scheme follows Baroque principles. It is built on the diagonal and arranged in three receding planes. Since the figures are not separated by the different planes, but overlap each other, a variety of movements and strong contrasts of light and shade are effected. Aeneas, whose figure dominates the group, is shown walking forward rapidly. Again his head, back and knees are bent; this time, however, his attitude is not caused by the burden which he lifts without effort, but by his swift and energetic motion. The torsion of the Aeneas statue is continued and balanced by the figure of Anchises. To accomplish this effect, the carrying motif of the Biron model had to be modified. It is not an almost lifeless mass that hangs over Aeneas' right shoulder; here, Anchises' body, resting within Aeneas' left arm and against his left shoulder, is swung in a strong curve from left to right across the whole front of the Aeneas figure.

The pose of Aeneas leaning against the broken pillar—a feature that is incompatible with the representation of flight—is omitted. Instead, parts of the drapery and Aeneas' shield serve to support the sculpture—a technical device, but also used for compositional purposes. The filled space between the legs enforces the density and unity of the sculptural structure and, above all, accentuates the width of Aeneas' step which takes up the entire depth of the base. The shape of the base itself, a semi-circle, instead of the round Renaissance base of the Biron model, increases the illusion of movement and depth. The figures seem to arrive from a far distance and to hurry toward the onlooker. The transitional movement expressed is such that the toes of Aeneas' right foot do not rest on the ground, but extend beyond the base into the surrounding space.

In harmony with the movement of the figures of Aeneas and Anchises, the little Ascanias is likewise shown in the momentary pose of walking. His figure is tightly inserted in the composition of the group and drawn closer by the attitude and expression of Aeneas who looks down at him.

Just as the structure of the sculpture contains Baroque traits, in the same way does the representation of the emotional relation between the figures manifest the influence of that style. While in French Classical art the various figures of a group are treated as isolated units, in this version, an emotional contact between the figures is attempted: Anchises tenderly protects the *penates* by look and gesture. He nestles in Aeneas' arms, embracing him gently, while Aeneas appears to console his crying little son. This spiritual correlation between the figures is the more surprising, inasmuch as the types of Aeneas and Anchises and their expressions are not borrowed from Baroque examples. They are modifications of types from ancient sculpture—in accordance with the demands of the French Academicians for noble and harmonious expression. The requirement of dignity is fulfilled in the representation of the child, too, whose formal and sentimental pose contrasts with the graceful and natural vitality of Baroque *putti*. Dependence on Academic ideals is proved furthermore by the care with which the anatomy of the figures is worked out. The bones and muscles are reproduced with all the correctness demanded by the canon of French Classical sculpture. No detail of the anatomical structure is omitted, a method which strongly contrasts with the Italian Baroque manner where the process of elimination for the sake of an impressionistic and illusionistic effect is widely applied.

The heterogeneous treatment of the drapery makes the different trends of this sculpture evident *in nuce:* the cloak in which Aeneas and Anchises are wrapped shows the sweeping folds of Berninesque sculpture, whereas the garment of Ascanias is arranged in the heavy but orderly folds of the Louis XIV style. The compilation of such different style elements may be explained by the specific circumstances under which this *bozzetto* was carried out. Lepautre, equipped with the formula of French Classical art and intending to be faithful to it, received his first commission for a work of his own in Rome. In the attempt to find the best possible solution for his group he could not remain insensible to the artistic currents of Rome, but did absorb and employ certain features of the Baroque style to which he was exposed. This was the more likely since the power of the Academic system began to decline and Théodon and Legros,[37] his fellow students, had fallen completely under the spell of Italian Baroque sculpture. On the other hand, Lepautre was not apt to free himself entirely from the ties of French Classicism, for his artistic disposition was fundamentally conservative. That he succeeded in fusing both trends—the Classical and the Baroque—into a certain unity, as he did in the Walters group, speaks for his talent as an artist and for his exceptional skill as a craftsman.

The pen and ink version of the Aeneas group in the possession of the Museum of Angers represents a transition between the Walters model and the final version, the marble group. To the terra cotta the drawing is still related in its Baroque *ambiente* and in a number of details, but

[37] J. B. Théodon and Pierre Legros II left the Roman School in 1690 and 1695, respectively, and received important commissions in Rome. Legros became one of the leading sculptors in Italy during that period. *Cf.* F. Ingersoll Smouse, *Pierre Legros II et les sculpteurs français à Rome vers la fin du XVII^e siècle* in *Gazette des Beaux Arts,* X (1913), 2, pp. 203-217.

it also contains new features, some of which are repeated in the marble sculpture. Thus the Angers sketch must be assigned to a period between the Walters model and the completion of the group, an ascription that corresponds with the date of the two informative drawings made for Villacerf about eight months after the execution of the Walters *bozzetto*. Since the Angers drawing is a very careful and detailed piece of work, it is most likely that it was designed for the information of a layman rather than for the personal use of the artist himself. The supposition does not seem far fetched, therefore, that this drawing represents one of the studies sent to Paris in August, 1698.[38]

Like the Walters *bozzetto* the drawing, too, shows heavy volume in individual figures and strong movement, which here is even intensified; but the density of the group as a whole still noticeable in the Walters terra cotta, and the block-like structure of the Biron model are replaced by qualities that give the group a relief-like character.

Of course, the translation of the sculpture into a two-dimensional medium may be partly responsible for this change, but apart from this technical reason, the transformation from the closed form to a spread-out representation is caused by important alterations in the composition: the position of Aeneas' legs has been reversed; consequently the torsion of the body is diminished and the figure is set in a more frontal view. For the motif of carrying the artist has found another solution again. This time, Anchises rides on Aeneas' hip with his left lower leg bent in a sharp angle. The figure of the little boy—radically changed in attitude and position—counterbalances the movement of Anchises by stretching his right leg in the opposite direction. Both motions are expressed in lines that accentuate the horizontal at the expense of depth. The lack of depth can be further recognized in the general composition of the figures, which are arranged more or less on the same level instead of on receding planes. Depth is replaced by decorative patterns formed at the left by the drapery which accompanies the rhythm of the Ascanias figure, and at the right by the zig zag movement resulting from the lines of Anchises' left arm and leg and Aeneas' right arm.

The emotional interrelation between the figures is reduced: Aeneas' eyes are not fixed on his boy, but on the path, whereas Anchises simply holds fast to Aeneas and carries the image—here it is the *palladium* instead of the *penates*[39]—in a rather detached manner. Ascanias looks into the distant space which thus becomes part of the composition. This gesture of the child weakens the coherence of the sculptural form, but on the other hand, makes obvious a new style element that appears in this version. Due to the expression of the boy who seems to seek something that is beyond the group itself[40] the subject matter is not limited to the actual representation. A parallel to this indefiniteness of expression is the opening of the compositional structure: the silhouette of the group is broken. The contours are no longer closed, rather do the draperies seem to penetrate the air; Aeneas storms forward with a huge space-seizing step and the limbs of the Anchises and Ascanias figures extend into the surrounding space which has become an intrinsic part of the composition.

The final work, the marble group, contains reminiscences of all three sketches and a few of the motifs used in the drawing. Unfortunately it does not succeed in resuming the qualities and possibilities developed in the studies. On the contrary, not only has the functional intensity

38 *Cf.* note 26.

39 *Cf.* note 13.

40 Ascanias' gesture suggests that he is seeking his mother, Crëusa; *cf.* Vergil, *Aeneid,* II, 735-45,

of the Biron model vanished, but the vigorous movement of the other versions has also deteriorated into a feeble and artificial pose.

The composition of the marble group, like that of the Biron model, is influenced by Giovanni da Bologna's "Rape of the Sabine". But since Lepautre tried to combine this form of composition with a relief effect and a restless outline—three contrasting aims which cannot be harmonized—none of these attempts could be accomplished successfully. The balanced spiral movement of the Giovanni da Bologna sculpture stimulates the onlooker to walk around the group for a full appreciation of the three figures which are organized so as to be effective from all points of view. The marble Aeneas group depends on the same scheme of three figures arranged in the round, but there is no one view which enables the spectator to obtain a satisfactory conception of the sculpture. From the observer who stands in front of the group the figure of the boy is hidden except for his hand which appears in the background. Every other view offers a conglomeration of forms, both incoherent and meaningless. The animated draperies of the earlier version have been replaced by a lion's skin which Aeneas wears in accordance with the text of the *Aeneid*.[41]

The problem of how to present the act of carrying had occupied the mind of the artist during all the preceding stages. The solution that he has given in the final version is the least convincing one: Aeneas' attitude of lifting Anchises violates the rules of physical reality, and even those of artistic liberty; the unnatural position of Anchises produces the impression that he is slipping out of the arms that cannot hold him.

The direction of the group—reversed as compared with the first two sketches—is the same as indicated in the drawing. The wide step of the Aeneas figure is likewise repeated, yet its effectiveness is paralyzed by the device of the broken pillar, a remainder of the Biron model.

Type and costume of the Aeneas figure show the effect of studies made in Roman archaeology, whereas Anchises' features and expression imi-

(*Continued on page* 116)

FIGURE 4 ANGERS, MUSEUM

PIERRE LEPAUTRE

Sketch of Aeneas Group

[41] *Cf.* Vergil, *Aeneid*, II, 721-23: "*Haec fatus, latos umeros subiectaque colla/ veste super fulvique insternor pelle leonis/ succedoque oneri . . .* ". In other respects this representation of the Aeneas group is treated with less faithfulness to the text of the *Aeneid* than is true of the earlier versions. Millin, a writer of the late eighteenth century, who praises the group for its '*bel ensemble*' criticizes Lepautre's deviations from the text. "L'artiste s'est éloigné de la description de Virgile et des monuments antiques, en plaçant Anchise non sur les épaules, mais entre les bras d'Enée. . . . L'artiste, en plaçant Anchise entre les bras d'Enée et non sur ses épaules, a été obligé de s'éloigner encore de l'Aenéide, en faisant tenir le petit Iule par Anchise et non par Enée; ce qui est moins naturel et donne à cette partie du groupe une position forcée." *Cf.* A. L. Millin, *Description des statues des Tuileries* (Paris, 1798), p. 70.

PIERRE LEPAUTRE AND HIS AENEAS GROUP

(Continued from page 81)

tate the standardized faces of Italian Baroque saints. The various style elements, so successfully combined in the sketches, in the final group appear unrelated one to another. As a consequence, the sculpture lacks harmony, the main postulate of French Classical art, as well as movement, the outstanding phenomenon of the Italian Baroque. Still, it is not so much the lower artistic standard of the marble version that constitutes the puzzling problem, but rather its essential difference from the earlier models. The question arises as to how far the work on the marble had progressed when Lepautre left Rome, and what changes were due to its continuation in Paris fifteen years later. No exact information concerning this issue can be gathered; yet it is not beyond credence to assume that the greater part of the work was done in Paris between 1715 and 1716. Lepautre's obligation to work on a sculpture which had been planned in a rather distant past may explain the absence of directness in the whole conception. Furthermore the influence of the still prevailing Academic atmosphere of Versailles, where Lepautre was employed, may have weakened the Baroque tendencies of his art. Separated from the irresistable inspiration of the Roman Baroque monuments, he was capable of applying but a few of their features which had faded already into dim memories.

The reception that the sculpture of the Tuileries found among Lepautre's contemporaries and among most of the critics of the later eighteenth century widely differs from our evaluation. In the guides and travelling books on Paris[42] written during that century the marble group is described extensively and highly praised. To the modern observer, however, an analysis of the different stages of the Aeneas group makes it seem regrettable that the sculptor for the final execution of this work chose the composition represented by the marble group rather than one of the three sketches.

---

[42] Germain Brice, *Description de la ville de Paris,* I (1752), p. 147; D'Argenville, *Voyage pittoresque de Paris* (1752), pp. 51, 97; Piganiol de la Force, *Description de la ville de Paris,* II (1765), pp. 338, 369; Thiéry, *Guide des amateurs et des étrangers à Paris,* I (1787), p. 549; Millin, *op. cit.,* pp. 67-72.

EXHIBITIONS - 1943

February 28-April 25: "Decorative Arts of China." A comprehensive view of Chinese artistic methods and preoccupations, illustrated by porcelains, jades and other stones, bronzes, enamels, ivories, lacquers, woodcarvings, coral, and paintings.

April 19-May 3: "Children's Creative Art Contest." Original works by school children inspired by studies at the Walters Gallery.

May 5-September 30: "The Art of War." The first comprehensive showing of the Walters collection of Arms and Armor, ranging from the Bronze Age to the nineteenth century, with documentation from manuscript illuminations and tomb-brasses.

July-December: "In the News." A changing exhibition featuring art objects and photographs of regions brought into prominence by war events.

October 10-December 5: "Needlework of the Near East." A colorful and traditional folk-art illustrated by examples from North Africa, Greece, Turkey, the eastern Mediterranean islands and Asia Minor.

December 17-current: "Landscape Painting and the Point of View." The evolution of the artist's attitude toward landscape as a subject, from the Gothic period to the early twentieth century, supplemented by manuscript illuminations recording the development previous to easel-painting.

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

BICCI DI LORENZO
Annunciation

THE MUSIC OF THE UNIVERSE

NOTES ON A PAINTING BY BICCI DI LORENZO

BY CHARLES DE TOLNAY

Institute for Advanced Study

THE ANNUNCIATION by Bicci di Lorenzo in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 1)[1] is a charming product of the lyric style of the early fifteenth century in Florence, a style of which Lorenzo Monaco, Gentile da Fabriano, and Fra Angelico are the oustanding masters.

In the tender gestures of the figures, in the curving folds of the angel's robe, in the calligraphic play of the border of the Virgin's mantle, the work of Bicci follows closely the Gothic ideals of Lorenzo Monaco, while, on the other hand, in the style of the Virgin's dress, in the rounded faces, and in the gay and fresh colors, this painting reveals the taste of such early Renaissance masters as Domenico Veneziano. The same vacillation between retrospective and prospective elements may be observed in the treatment of the setting: the open porch in which the Virgin sits corresponds to the old Florentine and Sienese tradition,[2] but now a view into a bedroom is opened[3] and the angel enters through a door into a kind of atrium, above which is a gold sky. The ideal setting of the true Trecento tradition is dismissed in favor of a compromise with the new genre-like "realism" of the early fifteenth century. Here the artist naively mingles the old "transcendental" point of view of the Middle Ages, where the earthly world is seen from a distance in a kind of spiritual recollection, with the modern immanent point of view based on visual experience. Still more archaic are the three little predella panels in which Bicci closely follows celebrated compositions of the Florentine Trecento.[4]

In his youthful work, the "Annunciation" of 1414 at Porciano, Bicci was still under the influence of Taddeo Gaddi.[5] The Baltimore painting with its strong inspiration from Lorenzo

[1] Published for the first time, without the *supercoelum* however, by Mary Logan Berenson, *Opere inedite di Bicci di Lorenzo* in *Rassegna d'Arte* (1915), p. 210. She points out the affinity with Lorenzo Monaco. She publishes two of the three little panels of the predella, the "Presentation in the Temple," and the "Death of the Virgin." *Cf.* also Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting* (The Hague, 1927), IX, p. 32. Poggi, *Gentile da Fabriano e Bicci di Lorenzo* in *Rivista d'Arte,* V (1907), p. 88, pointed out for the first time the influence of Gentile da Fabriano upon Bicci's early works.

Some of the problems which could only be touched upon in this article, will be treated more fully in a work in preparation.

[2] *E.g.* the "Annunciations" by Duccio di Buoninsegna, London, National Gallery; Pietro Lorenzetti, Arezzo; Taddeo Gaddi, Florence, Academy; Bernardo Daddi, Paris, Louvre; Spinello Aretino, Arezzo, etc.

[3] This view into a bedroom is not an invention of Bicci di Lorenzo, since it occurs in other "Annunciations" of the early fifteenth century, as, for example, that in Sta. Maria Novella in Florence, *ca.* 1430; see reproduction in D. M. Robb, *The Iconography of the Annunciation* in *Art Bulletin,* XVIII (1936), pp. 480 ff. and fig. 9.

[4] The "Presentation in the Temple" in the predella reverts to the celebrated fresco by Taddeo Gaddi in the Cappella Baroncelli, in Sta. Croce, Florence. The "Death of the Virgin" is inspired by a composition of the school of Giotto, Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich Museum.

FIGURE 2 PALMYRA

Mosaic Ceiling
Music of the Spheres

Monaco shows the artist in the period of development when he executed the "Virgin with the Angels" of 1433, in the Museum of Parma. Here, however, the inspiration of Gentile da Fabriano is stronger than that of Lorenzo Monaco.[6]

In the spandrel between the two arches, in the upper part of the frame of the Walters painting[7] is a medallion enclosing a bust of David playing the harp, and above is a kind of canopy, the *supercoelum*, on which is painted a blue sky with gold stars.[8] It is this unpretentious detail that is of some interest in the interpretation of the painting. It bears witness to the fact that the artist had more in mind than a simple lyrical presentation of a Biblical scene.

David with his harp and the starry sky are evidently closely related features: David praises in the star-filled firmament the manifestation of the omnipotence of God (Ps. CXLVII, 4-5; CL, 1). In one of the Psalms (CXLVIII, 3), David asks the glowing stars, the sun and the moon to praise God with him; in another (XIX,1-5) he says: "The Heavens declare the glory of God . . . their line (melody) is gone out through all the earth." This melody was interpreted by the Middle Ages as the harmony of the spheres, and it seems probable, therefore, that the glorification of God by the cosmic melody was the fundamental idea that Bicci tried to express in combining the medallion with the star-spangled sky above. To speak in the terminology of Boethius and of the Middle Ages, the *musica humana* and *musica instrumentalis* of King David are completed by the *musica mundana* which emanates from the star-spangled sky, uniting to give a hymn of praise to God.

If one now examines the whole, that is the panel and the frame, the "Annunciation" is no longer an isolated event, but, integrated with the cosmic "frame", it appears as a part of the harmony of the universe. The melody flowing from above seems to determine the rhythm of the movements in the scene below.

[5] Van Marle, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 37, mentions the influence of Agnolo Gaddi upon the youthful works of Bicci. This assertion does not seem convincing.

[6] Van Marle, *op. cit.*, p. 32, dates the Baltimore panel in the last period, *ca.* 1450. This date does not seem convincing if the style of the painting is compared with other works of the master from this late period, as, for example, the "Virgin with Saints," Bandini Museum, Fiesole, and the "Marriage of S. Catherine," Perugia Gallery. In these paintings the Gothic calligraphic effects are already superseded by a more severe renaissance ideal, perhaps due to Bicci's association with Domenico Veneziano in 1441.

[7] The motif of a medallion in the spandrel between two arches goes back to the tradition of the Trecento, *e.g.*, Pietro Lorenzetti, "Annunciation," Arezzo. The medallion can also be found in another work by Bicci, the "Visitation" in the Duomo of Velletri.

[8] This upper part of a frame, shaped like a canopy, is called in contemporary documents a *supercoelum* or *superciel* or *revers*. It is preserved in very few paintings; *cf.* Charles Sterling, *Le couronnement de la Vierge par E. Quarton* (Paris, 1929), note 5; *idem* in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, XXII (1942), p. 13; L. Dimier, *Les primitifs français* (Paris, n.d.), p. 71. Another significant example of the *supercoelum* is to be found in "The Burning Bush" by Nicolas Froment in the Cathedral of Saint Sauveur in Aix-en-Provence, reproduced in H. Bouchot, *L'exposition des primitifs français* (Paris, 1909), pp. 189 ff.

Before sketching the development of the different features that Bicci di Lorenzo combined in his work to express the glorification of God by the *musica mundana*, it seems advisable to give a brief survey of the origins and the development of the doctrine of the musical harmony of the universe. It reverts to antiquity, where it was known in both the Orient and the Occident.[9] In the West it was expressed in its most perfect form by the Greeks, in the doctrine attributed to Pythagoras. Pythagoras and his pupils taught that the spheres of the planets gave out tones which varied according to the velocity of their movement. The ensemble of these tones forms the harmony of the spheres, a melody more perfect than all terrestrial music. When man sings, when he plays upon his musical instruments, he only makes an imperfect imitation of the universal symphony.[10] This doctrine was taken up by Plato (*Timaeus* 317; *Politeia*, X, 617 ff.), but refuted by Aristotle (*De caelo*, II, 290). Among the Latin thinkers it is found in Cicero (*Somnium Scipionis*, V,18).[11] Contemplating in his dream the eight spheres of the universe, the grandson of Scipio wondered: "What do I hear? What powerful yet sweet tones strike my ears?" "You hear", replied the African, "the harmony which, formed by unequal intervals, but separated according to determined relationships, is a result of the impulse and movement of the spheres. The high tones mingled with the low regularly produce the varied musical accord . . . The learned men who were able to imitate this harmony with the lyre or the voice, forged a passage to return to the celestial province . . . (but) these tones, completely filling man's ears, render them deaf."

This Pythagorean theory had an extraordinary influence upon Hellenistic writers like Philo (who reverts to Plato), Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Dionysius of Alexandria

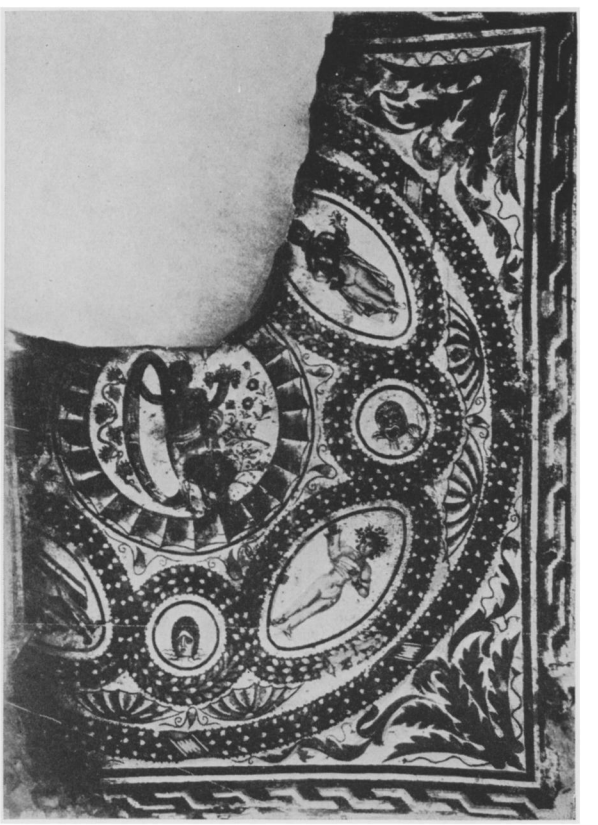


FIGURE 3 HIPPONE

Floor Mosaic
Bacchus, Zodiac and Seasons

[9] Concerning the doctrine of cosmic harmony in the Orient, see J. Combarieu, *La musique et la magie* (Paris, 1909), pp. 189 ff., and Lavignac et de Laurence, *Encyclopédie de la musique* (Paris, 1931), pp. 205ff.

[10] The Pythagorean doctrine has come down to us chiefly through Jamblichus, *Vit.Pyth.*, chap. 15, par. 65. According to the various authors, the system differs. Sometimes there are seven spheres (Nicomantius of Gerasa and Boethius); sometimes eight (Pythagoras, through Nicomantius), sometimes nine (Pliny, who includes the earth and the sphere of fixed stars as well).

The best account of the history of the doctrine is still that of F. Piper, *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst*, I, 2, pp. 245 ff. Supplementary material may be found in Th. Reinach, *La musique des spheres* in *Revue des études grecques*, XIII (1900), pp. 432 ff.; E. Frank, *Plato und die sog. Pythagoreer* (Halle, 1923); J. Carcopino, *La basilique pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure* (Paris, 1926); P. Boyancé, *Le culte des muses* (Paris, 1937).

[11] *Somnium Scipionis, chap.* V, 18, and *De natura deorum*, chap. III, 11; Macrobius, *Comm. Somn. Scip.*, II, 3; cf. P. Boyancé, *Études sur le songe de Scipion* (Bordeaux-Paris, 1936), pp. 27 ff.

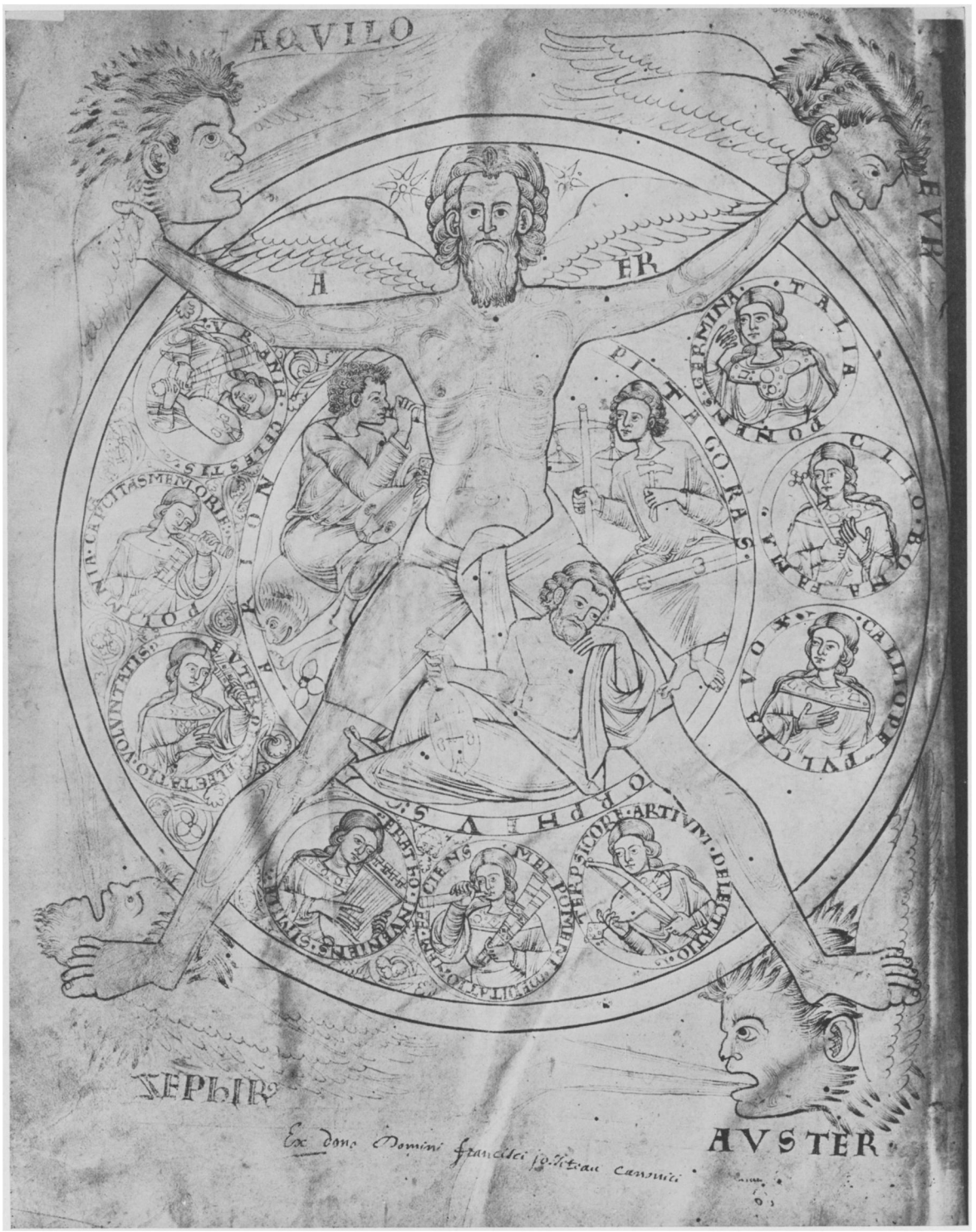


FIGURE 4 REIMS, BIBL. MUNICIPALE

Ms. 672: Harmony of the Spheres

(these three follow Philo). In the Roman Church the doctrine of the harmony of the world was formulated in the fourth century by Ambrose and Augustine. It was known among fifth and sixth-century writers like Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Boethius, and Cassiodorus. It appears in the seventh century in the writings of Isidore of Seville, from whom it was adapted in the twelfth century by Honorius of Autun. Sharply criticized by scholasticism in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Vincent of Beauvais), it received a new vigor in the fourteenth century with Dante, Boccaccio, and Bartholomew of England. During the Renaissance the doctrine became one of the preferred theories among the Platonic poets and philosophers around Lorenzo de' Medici. In the seventeenth century Kepler based his theory of the universe in the *Harmony of the World* (1619), upon this Pythagorean doctrine. It can be found in Shakespeare, and, after the rationalism of the eighteenth century, it returned in the early nineteenth in France with Balzac, Baudelaire, Favre d'Olivet, and in Germany with Goethe and Schopenhauer. Even today the idea does not seem to have vanished completely, since it may be found in Proust, Gide and Rilke.[12]

In the plastic arts, this theory is translated in many different ways. In ancient ceiling and floor mosaics, in capitals of medieval churches, in astronomical, cosmographical and musical manuscripts, in religious and profane paintings from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, representations of this doctrine can be found. Whenever one finds illustrations of the myths of Apollo, Orpheus, Hermes, Pan, representations of the muses, of the goddesses of planets, of the four elements or the four seasons, representations of astronomical spheres, portraits of Pythagoras inscribed in a circle (fig. 5), King David playing the harp, angels playing instruments or singing, the picture of a lyre (usually decorated with stars), or even secular musicians in *fêtes champêtres* or *jardins d'amour*, the beholder may expect to find illustrations of the doctrine of the harmony of the universe.

FIGURE 5 PARIS, BIBL. NATIONALE
Ms. lat. 7211, fol. 133vo: Pythagoras

In the classical period, the harmony of the universe was merely shown in a decorative scheme, with no relation to the astronomical structure of the world as imagined by Ptolemy. This scheme also served for other themes. For example the ceiling of the north cella at Pal-

[12] For the most part, we follow and supplement Piper, *op. cit.*, in this brief outline of the history of the Pythagorean doctrine. Balzac describes the harmony of the spheres at the end of his novel, *Seraphita*. Baudelaire makes allusion to it in his poem entitled *Harmonie du soir*, no. 47 of his *Fleurs du mal*. Proust refers to the genesis of the music in an admirable passage in his *La prisonnière* (*Sodome et Gomorrhe*), III (Paris, 1923), p. 32. André Gide in his *La porte étroite* (Paris, 1929), p. 132 mentions *"l'hymne confus de la nature"*. R. M. Rilke speaks of it in *Die Sonette an Orpheus, Ges. Werke,* III, p. 331.

FIGURE 6 MONTPELLIER, BIBL. UNIV.
Ms. 48, fol. 23 vo
The Year and Four Seasons

myra (fig. 2)[13] is decorated with the goddesses of the seven planets, each enclosed in a hexagon. They are grouped around a center rather than in their own spheres and are framed by the circle of the zodiac. In the four corners are the sirens described by Plato (*Politeia*), who, however, disposes one siren in each sphere. The disagreement between the doctrine and this representation may be explained by the fact that the artist's aim was primarily decorative.

Another ancient example is a mosaic found in Hippone (fig. 3)[14] where we find almost the same pattern: a large circle encloses a smaller circle with a figure of Bacchus holding the signs of the zodiac, and around them in four oval fields are represented the four seasons. Boethius, in the second chapter of his *De Musica* says that "We can recognize the harmony of the universe in the difference of the seasons: that which contracts in winter expands in spring, dries up in summer and matures in autumn. And so the seasons, in alternating, bring forth their fruits or help each other to create them." The ancient mosaic corresponds to this theory.[15]

These two examples show two aspects of cosmic harmony as conceived by antiquity: the music of the heavenly spheres is one of the manifestations of this harmony which is completed by the harmony of the elements and of the seasons on earth.

The ancient decorative scheme survived in the

[13] The mosaic on the ceiling of the north cella of Palmyra was interpreted by L. Curtius, *Musik der Sphären* in *Mitt. d. Deutsch. Arch. Instituts, Röm. Abt.* (1935), pp. 348 ff. Another representation of the same subject in a floor mosaic from Zaghnan in Tunis, Musée Alaoui, is mentioned by Curtius. The writer owes this bibliographical reference to Mr. William Burke.

[14] *Cf.* F. G. de Pachtere *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Hippone* in *École française de Rome, Mélanges* (1911), pp. 344 ff., pls. 24, 25. De Pachtere calls the mosaic a *"Mosaique de l'année"* and fails to see a connection with the harmony of the cosmos as expressed by Boethius.

[15] In the Middle Ages, we find the same idea of the harmony of the universe expressed by the four seasons or by the four elements, in a (now lost) mosaic in S. Remi at Reims, twelfth century [*cf.* Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIe siècle en France* (Paris, 1922), p. 318], or in a manuscript in Montpellier (Bibl. Univ., ms. 48, fol. 23 v.) of the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century (fig. 6). The personification of the "year" is here surrounded by four women symbolizing the four seasons. (This miniature was brought to my attention by Dr. Hanns Swarzenski, to whose courtesy I owe the illustration published herewith, as well as fig. 7). Another example may be found in a psalter of the early twelfth century in Metz (fig. 7) representing King David between Spring and Summer; in the corners are the four elements. This manuscript is mentioned by E. Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

There are other examples of the representation of this idea still not correctly interpreted, *e.g.* the four mythological paintings by Tintoretto in the Anticollegio of the Palazzo Ducale in Venice, which represent at the same time the four seasons; and, last but not least, the painting by Poussin called from the time of Bellori [*Le Vite de'Pittori*, etc. (Pisa, 1821), II, p. 192] *"Il Ballo della Vita Umana"*, now in the Wallace Collection in London, which is a representation of the cosmic harmony. The four maidens who dance in a circle have long been interpreted, following Bellori, as personifications of Poverty, Industry, Wealth and Luxury; see W. Friedländer, *Nicolas Poussin* (Munich, 1914), p. 80, and Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology* (New York, 1939), pp. 92 f. There is a drawing by Poussin for this composition published by W. Gibson in *Old Master Drawings* (June, 1929), pl. XII. However, the four maidens are also personifications of the four seasons, as may be determined by their different coiffures. Bellori, *loc. cit.*, himself said: *"ballo di quattro donne simili alle quattro stagioni."* They dance to the sounds of the lyre which is played by Time, personified by a winged old man. At the left a head of Janus signifies that the dance — that is, the cycle of seasons — is never ending. The infant playing with Time's hour-glass signifies the transience of life, while the second child who is blowing soap bubbles alludes to the vanity and ephemerity of earthly existence (*cf.* Bellori, *loc. cit.*). Only the musical harmony is eternal. This earthly harmony is completed by the harmony of the spheres: in the sky Apollo appears driving his chariot through the circle of the zodiac.

Middle Ages. One of the most outstanding examples is the representation of the harmony of the spheres on a sheet of parchment of the early thirteenth century at Reims (fig. 4).[16] There one sees two concentric circles, of which the smaller one, representing the earth, is occupied by three mythical figures who have grasped the secret of the *musica mundana*, and have exercised its power of enchantment. Below, is Orpheus in the attitude of a river god of antiquity, with a dreamy expression in his eyes, holding his lyre. Above at the left is Arion, inventor of the dithyrambe, who, according to the legend, charmed with his song the sailors who wanted to kill him. The drawing shows him sitting on the back of the dolphin who rescued him and carried him to Corinth. Finally, at the right sits

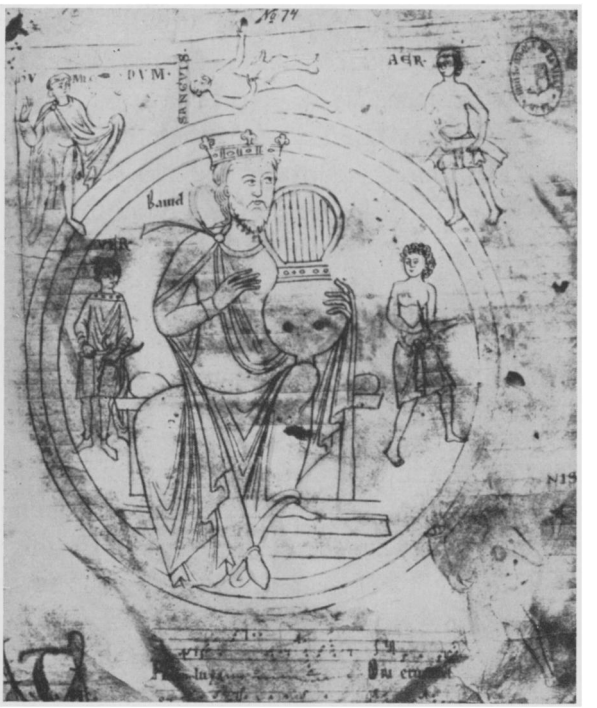


FIGURE 7 METZ, BIBL. MUNICIPALE

Ms. 74:
David, Elements, Spring and Summer

Pythagoras, the philosopher, creator of the theory of the harmony of the spheres, holding in his hand a scale—a probable allusion to the harmonious equilibrium of the world. Between this circle and the second, is found the "sky", filled with images of the nine muses, inscribed in little circles because they symbolize at the same time the nine planets.[17] Over the whole composition is an immense personification of Air, the element necessary to carry musical tones. At each of the extremities of this figure, appear personifications of the four winds, expressing the rotation of the universe from east to west. The whole signifies the harmony of the spheres, which emanates from the muse-planets and is imitated by the three prototypes of musical man. Even in this thirteenth-century sheet, a true representation of the spheres is lacking. In the Middle Ages this decorative pattern served for many other subjects.[18]

[16] Reims, Library, no. 672. *Cf.* Didron, *De la musique au moyen âge* in *Annales archéologiques,* I, p. 38; Piper, *op. cit.,* p. 243; v. Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane (allégories et symboles)*, II (The Hague, 1932), p. 277; Baltrusaitis, *Cosmographie chrétienne dans l'art du moyen âge* (Paris, 1939), p. 25. The drawing has not yet been interpreted as a representation of cosmic harmony. Probably it formed originally part of a series representing the four elements.

[17] The muses as interpreters of the harmony of the spheres, may be found in Plutarch, *Symposium,* IX, 14. Martianus Capelia, *De Nuptiis,* I, §§27, 28, assigns a muse to each planet. Macrobius, *op. cit.,* II, 3, also makes this connection; *cf.* H. J. Marrou, *Études sur les scènes de la vie intellectuelle figurant sur les monuments funéraires romains* (Grenoble, 1938), pp. 154 ff.; Carcopino, *op. cit.,* pp. 295 ff. and Boyancé, *Culte des muses,* passim. The idea persisted into the Renaissance, as may be seen in the *Giuoco dei Tarocchi* by Baldini, and in the woodcut by Gafurius, *Practica Musicae* (Milan, 1496); *cf.* Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften,* I (Leipzig, 1932), pp. 270 f.; 413 ff. and J. Seznec, *La survivance des dieux antiques* (London, 1940), pp. 123 ff.

[18] The same decorative pattern that is employed to express the harmony of the spheres in the parchment in Reims may be found in a manuscript of the twelfth century reproduced in Boeckler, *Regensburger und Prüfeninger Buchmalerei des 12. und 13. Jhs.* (Munich, 1924), pl. 39, where it is used to express paradise. It is used in the *Speculum virginum* [London, British Museum and Munich, National Library; *cf.* Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices* (London, 1939), pl. 42] again to represent the mystical paradise, and in the Bible of Floreffe (*ca.* 1155) to represent the Pentecost. The same scheme represents Philosophy surrounded by the *septem artes liberales* in the *Hortus Deliciarum* [ed. Straub and Keller (Strassburg, 1901), pl. 11 bis], or again it represents the Church and Synagogue (*ibid.,* pl. 23), or the goddesses of the planets in Vienna, codex 2583, of the late thirteenth century, fol. 51; *cf.* Saxl, *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie d. Wissenschaften* (1925-26), pl. 3. Other examples may be found in Baltrusaitis, *op. cit.,* pp. 25 ff.

The general idea of integrating a Biblical event with the harmony of the cosmos as seen in Bicci's "Annunciation" derives from a tradition which may be traced to the early Middle Ages. Especially adaptable for such treatment were events or scenes which took place in heaven (as, for example, the "Trinity," the "Coronation of the Virgin" or the "Virgin in Paradise"), but it was also applied sometimes to other Biblical events, as for example the "Annunciation", before the time of Bicci di Lorenzo.[19]

In the Middle Ages the harmony of the universe is expressed in these religious compositions chiefly by angels playing music. According to Gregory the Great the angelic concert is nothing but an imitation of the *musica coelestis*. Dante has expressed the same idea in *Purgatorio*, XXX,92, where he says that the song of the angels is nothing else but the echo of the eternal melody of the spheres.[20] It is therefore this eternal music that medieval man imagined when he found himself before an image of angelic musicians. It is for this reason that artists of the high Middle Ages often confined themselves to representing a group of angel-musicians, without actually showing the spheres.[21]

In the early fourteenth century, however, artists, in order to show more precisely that they are concerned with celestial harmony, begin to represent the spheres with angel-musicians. Ever since antiquity, in astronomical manuscripts the structure of the universe was represented in the form of concentric circles, in the center of which appeared the immobile earth, and around this moved at varying speeds the seven spheres of the planets, framed by the sphere of the fixed stars.[22] Above the planets and fixed stars, Christians added the "crystalline heaven" which was composed of nine shining orbs or spheres, the home of the nine angel-choirs. Above the last of these spheres, the *primum mobile*, is the *"ciel della divina pace"* (Dante, *Paradiso*,II,112), the *empyreum*, home of the Divinity. From each of these heavens music emanates (Dante, *Paradiso*, XXVIII,94 and 118; XXXII,97).

One of the early examples where angel-musicians and spheres are combined to express the harmony of the universe is a miniature in a manuscript of 1317 A.D., representing Dionysius the Areopagite composing his treatise on the Celestial Hierarchy (fig. 11).[23] At the bottom is the figure of the saint seated, writing his treatise, but looking upward where the nine choirs of angels, composed of three triads, are deployed along arcs which signify the spheres. Each triad

[19] One of the earliest examples of the cosmic integration of a Biblical scene may be found in the Munich Uta Codex from the School of Regensburg of the early eleventh century (1002-25). In the middle of the miniature is a Crucifixion surrounded by representations of the harmonies of medieval music. The sacrifice of Christ here becomes the symbol of the harmony of the universe. With the death of Christ all opposing elements are reconciled. The miniature was interpreted for the first time as a representation of the harmony of the universe by Georg Swarzenski, *Regensburger Buchmalerei* (Leipzig, 1901), pp. 95 ff., pl. 13. The representation of the music of the universe is here influenced by musical rather than astronomical manuscripts. Other early examples of the cosmic integration of Biblical scenes may be found in Baltrusaitis, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 ff.

[20] In Dante, *Divina Commedia*, the music of the angels is related to both heavens: planetary (*Purg.* XXX, 92, where angels supplant Plato's sirens) and crystalline (*Parad.* XXVIII, 94 and 118 ff.). Sometimes in the Middle Ages only the music of the planetary heaven, or again of the crystalline heaven, is represented. Occasionally the two heavens seem to be combined (*e.g.* Lorenzo Monaco), but it always expresses the music of the universe.

[21] A. von Bredt, *Die Madonna mit musizierenden Engeln* (Ravensburg, 1913), believes, on the contrary, that the musical angels in religious paintings were originally inspired by church processions and festivals, where music was played.

[22] The circular shape of the spheres seems to be derived from Pythagoras, from whom it was adopted by Plato (*Timaeus, Politeia*) and Ptolemy. According to Plato, universal music has a perfect, namely circular, movement to which the movement of the spheres and the soul of man correspond.

[23] *Vita S. Dionysi*, Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. fr. 2090-2092, published by H. Martin, *La légende de St. Denis* (Paris, 1908), pl. II. The miniature represents the nine choirs as described in *Hierarch. Coel.*, VI. However, Dionysius the Areopagite mentions the "noiseless movements of heaven", while in our manuscript angel-musicians appear in three choirs. Dante, *Paradiso*, XXVIII, 118, on the other hand, in describing the nine choirs according to Dionysius, has already inserted the three orders of angels playing musical instruments. In earlier representations of the nine choirs of angels of Dionysius the Areopagite, there are no angel-musicians; *cf. Liber Scivias*, Wiesbaden, Library, published by Dom. L. Baillet, *Mon. Piot*, XIX (1911), plate VI.

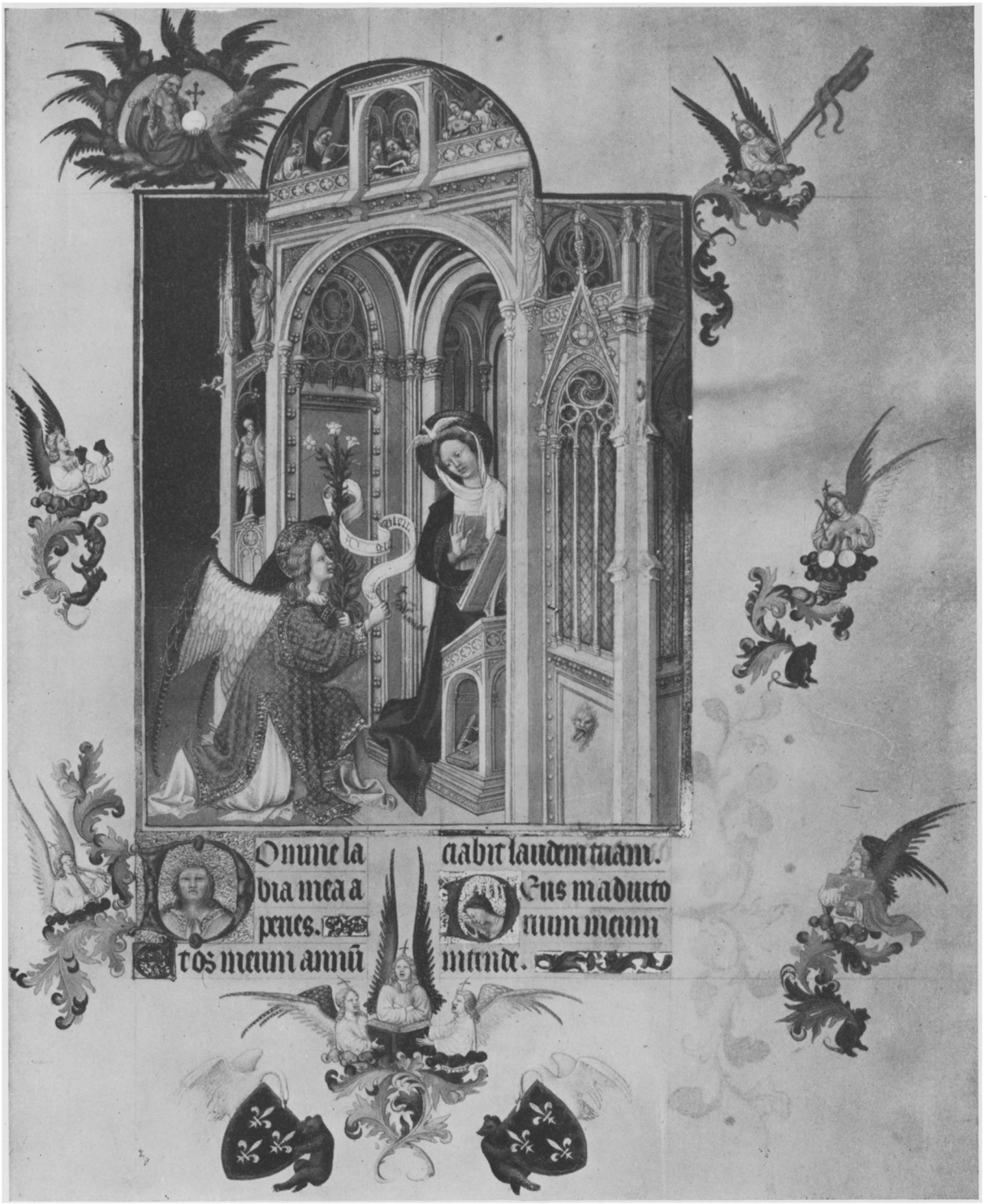


FIGURE 8 CHANTILLY, MUSÉE CONDÉ

LIMBOURG BROTHERS
Très Riches Heures: Annunciation

FIGURE 9 LENINGRAD LIBRARY

Ms. fr. F, I, fol. 1
Trinity with Astronomical and Crystalline Spheres

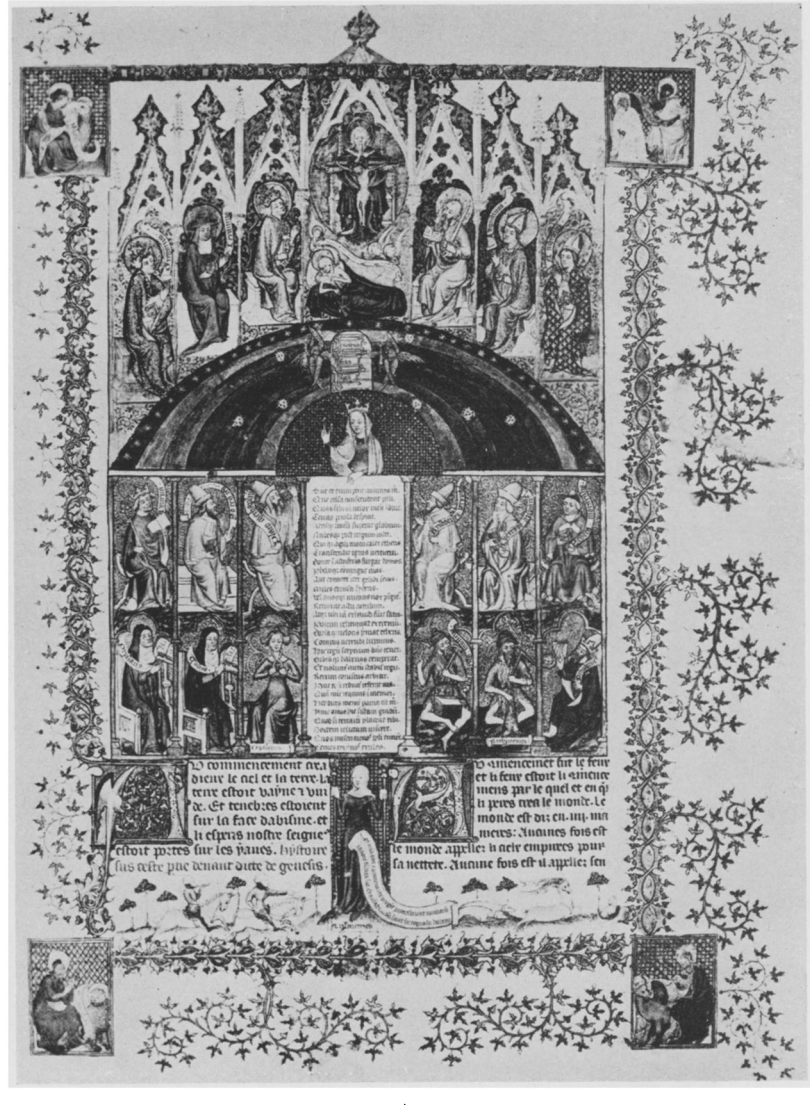


FIGURE 10 LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

Ms. Harl. 4381, fol. 3
Astronomical Spheres, Trinity, Saints and Philosophers

has a group of angels playing musical instruments. At the top of the whole system, in the *empyreum*, is the Trinity. Miniatures like this were the models for later representations of the cosmically integrated Trinity, as, for example, in the *Bible historiale* in Leningrad of the middle of the fourteenth century (fig. 9)[24], where the nine choirs of Dionysius the Areopagite are again below the Trinity, but greatly reduced in size. At the same time the astronomical heaven is represented underneath. An example of around 1400 A.D., is the *Bible historiale* in London (fig. 10)[25] where the astronomical spheres again appear in the form of arcs, but without the spheres of the crystalline heaven.

The tradition of the spheres in the form of arcs appears in large panels in the early fifteenth century, particularly in the circle of Florentine artists who directly influenced Bicci di Lorenzo, namely Lorenzo Monaco and Gentile da Fabriano. In the celebrated "Coronation of the Virgin" by Lorenzo Monaco in the Uffizi (fig. 12), one recognizes, below, the nine celestial spheres in the form of arcs spangled with gold stars. The harmony is translated by three angels, two

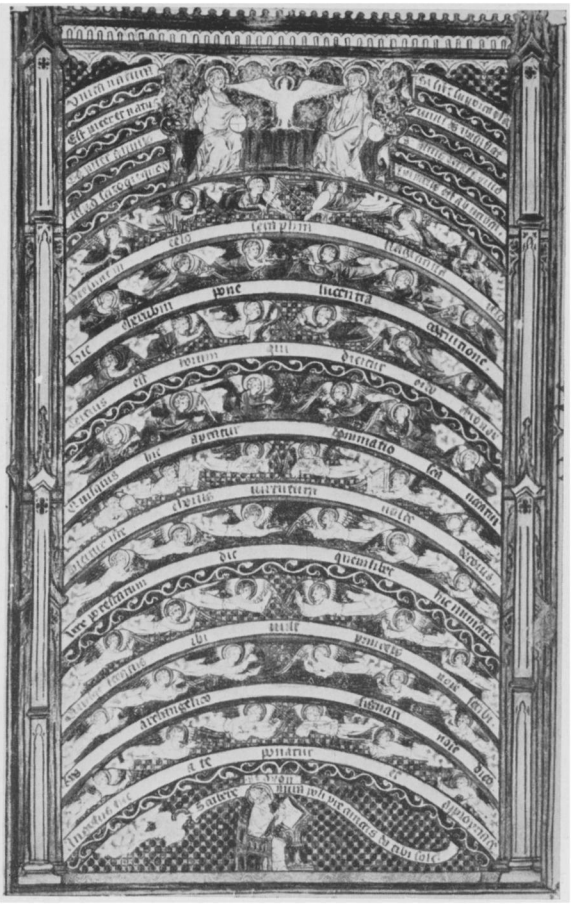


FIGURE 11 PARIS, BIBL. NATIONALE
Ms. fr. 2090-2092
Dionysius writing "Celestial Hierarchy"

of whom sing, while the third, only fragmentary, plays an organ.[25] Here astronomical spheres and crystalline heaven are fused. In the "Coronation of the Virgin" by Gentile da Fabriano in the Brera at Milan (fig. 14), the starry sky with sun and moon reappears, but now without division into spheres. On the upper edge of the universe, in the *primum mobile*, there are eight kneeling angels playing various musical instruments and interpreting the music which issues from the sky. These eight angels evidently correspond to the eight Gregorian musical tones (which were represented at the end of the eleventh century on the capitals at Cluny, and in the

[24] Ms. fr. F, I, fol. 1, *cf.* Comte A. de Laborde, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures conservés dans l'ancienne Bibliothèque Imperiale publique de Saint-Petersbourg, Première Partie* (Paris, 1936), p. 13, pl. VIII.

In this miniature the planetary system appears below, while above are the spheres of the crystalline heaven. Only in the latter are there angel-musicians, but this is sufficient to express the harmony of the universe, because the *primum mobile* determines the whole macrocosmos.

[25] Harley ms. 4381, fol. 3, published by E. G. Millar, *Souvenirs de l'exposition de manuscrits français à peintures organisée à la Grenville Library* (Paris, 1933), pl. 42. The manuscript was originally owned by Jean, duc de Berry. Here the artist has only represented the planetary spheres, omitting those of the crystalline heaven. There are no music-playing angels, but an allusion to the harmony of the cosmos is supplied by the personification of *Arithmetica*, below in the center, and by the portraits of Pythagoras and Plato.

[26] Here the astronomical spheres and those of the crystalline heaven are fused: in fact, Lorenzo Monaco paints stars in the spheres which do not occur in the crystalline heaven; but at the same time he represents three music-making angels corresponding to the three musical choirs of the crystalline heaven. The relationship of this painting to the idea of the harmony of the spheres has not yet been pointed out.

FIGURE 12 FLORENCE, UFFIZI

LORENZO MONACO
Coronation of the Virgin

thirteenth century in the eight musicians of the *Maison des musiciens* at Reims).[27]

From the time of the Renaissance the iconography of the representation of the heavenly spheres assumes a new form. A transition between the two-dimensional medieval and the spatial renaissance pattern is the funnel-shaped form which appears in the mid-fifteenth century (fig. 13).[28]

The next step in this iconographical development was the representation of the spheres in a horizontal position, foreshortened and seen *dal di sotto in sù*. In Botticelli's drawings illustrating Dante's *Divina Commedia* in Berlin[29] we find all three patterns of the representation of the spheres: the two-dimensional, ancient and medieval pattern, the funnel-shaped "transitional" pattern, and finally the new three-dimensional renais-

[27] Concerning the representation of the harmony of the spheres by the eight Gregorian musical tones in the capitals at Cluny, see E. Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 321; L. Schrade, *Die Darstellung der Töne an den Kapitellen der Abteikirche zu Cluny*, in *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift f. Lit. u. Geistesgeschichte*, VII, pp. 229 ff.; E. Reuter, *Les representations de la musique dans la sculpture romane en France* (Paris, 1938), *passim*.

[28] *E.g.*, Fra Filippo Lippi, "Coronation of the Virgin", in Spoleto, 1468; Neri di Bicci, "Coronation of the Virgin", Florence, Academy, and Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery (fig. 13); Simon Marmion, *Livre des sept ages du monde*, Brussels, Bibl. Royale; *cf.* Winkler, in *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, XXXIV (1913), p. 264.

[29] F. Lippmann, *Zeichnungen S. Botticelli's zu Dante's Göttlicher Komödie* (Berlin, 1921). Botticelli used concentric circles to represent the spheres in *Paradiso*, II, VI, VII, VIII; a funnel shape in *Paradiso*, XIII and circles in perspective in *Paradiso*, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXXII.

sance pattern. In Botticini's "Coronation of the Virgin" in the National Gallery, London (fig. 15) the earth appears in the form of a vast landscape, while above the artist the heavens open to give a vista of the celestial spheres in the form of a cupola composed of strata of clouds on which saints and angels appear. Only one figure interprets the music of the spheres: he is David. This same form of the spheres appears, for example, in Raphael's "*Disputa*", and finds its perhaps most perfect manifestation in Tintoretto's "Coronation of the Virgin" in the Palazzo Ducale in Venice, a study for which may be found in the Louvre (fig. 16). The somewhat rigid system of the Quattrocento and early Cinquecento is now relaxed and transformed into an astral system. It is the magnetic force of the bodies that now binds the composition together.

Since the early fourteenth century, there have been representations of the "Annunciation" cos-

FIGURE 13 WALTERS ART GALLERY

NERI DI BICCI

Coronation of the Virgin

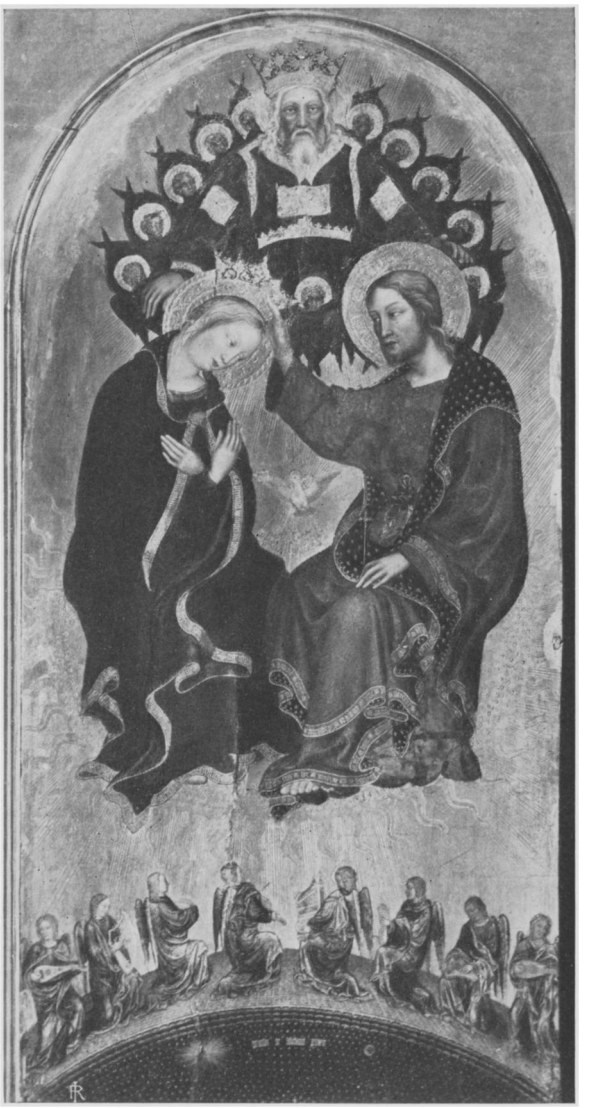


FIGURE 14 MILAN, BRERA

GENTILE DA FABRIANO

Coronation of the Virgin

mically integrated. In Jean Pucelle's miniature of the "Annunciation" in the *Heures de Jeanne d'Evreux*, (Rothschild Collection, Paris) and in the *Heures de Jeanne de Navarre* (in the same collection), in Jacquemart de Hesdin's *Petites heures du duc de Berry* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and in the "Annunciation" by the Limbourg brothers in the *Très riches heures du duc de Berry* (fig. 8),

FIGURE 15 LONDON, NATIONAL GALLERY

BOTTICINI
Coronation of the Virgin

little angels playing musical instruments appear on the roof of the building in which the "Annunciation" takes place. They evidently signify heavenly harmony.[30]

Bicci di Lorenzo, who was perhaps one of the first Italian artists to incorporate this idea in an "Annunciation", substituted David and the starry sky for the angels.

The idea of representing David as an interpreter of *musica mundana* goes back to early Christian art. In the classical period it was chiefly Orpheus who was considered the interpreter of cosmic music.[31] David with his harp was substituted in the early Middle Ages and in Byzantine art for the ancient Orpheus type.

The history of David, in fact, contained a point of resemblance to the myth of Orpheus: he, too, used the magic power of music—he charmed Saul, instead of the beasts. This explains why in the celebrated Greek Psalter, Ms. Grec 139, of the Bibliothèque Nationale[32]—a Byzantine copy made in the tenth century—one sees David as a young man, sitting and playing his harp in the attitude of the ancient Orpheus. It is probable that in the model of the fourth or fifth century the central figure of the composition was Orpheus.

[30] Reproductions of these "Annunciations" may be found in Robb, *op. cit.* in *Art Bulletin* (1936). He, however, fails to explain the music-making angels.

[31] Concerning Orpheus as the interpreter of cosmic music see Roscher, *Lexikon der Mythologie,* III, p. 1174; for Pan as the personification of cosmic music see Roscher, *op. cit.,* p. 1467; for Hermes in the same role see K. Kerényi, *Zum Urkind Mythologem* in *Paideuma* (1940), pp. 255 and 270; for Apollo see Seznec, *op. cit.,* pp. 123 ff.

[32] *Cf.* K. Weitzmann, *Der Pariser Psalter Cod. Par. Gr. 139* in *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft,* VI (1929), pp. 128 ff. and H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (London, 1938).

There are still other representations of David in which he appears as the interpreter of the music of the universe. Thus, in one of the miniatures of the Cosmas Indicopleustes (fol. 26), David is shown surrounded by the choirs which he created (fig. 18)[33]; but curiously enough, instead of his three choirs, there are six here. This may probably be explained by the fact that the miniaturist was representing at the same time the six tones which constitute the harmony of the universe.[34] Since these six choirs or tones have star-like forms, the artist may also have identified them with six planets. Therefore the whole miniature would be a representation of the harmony of the spheres.

Another example of the connection between David and cosmic music may be found in representations of David the musician surrounded by the signs of the zodiac (*e.g.* the mosaic of S. Bertin at S. Omer), or David among the seasons and elements (Metz Library, Ms.74: fig. 7), or surrounded like Orpheus by animals which he has charmed with his music (Peterborough Psalter, Brussels, fol.14r.).

Bicci di Lorenzo was, therefore, not an innovator if he intended to represent David as the interpreter of the music of the universe.

The starry sky was also known since the early Christian epoch as a symbol of the harmony of

[33] *Cf.* C. Stornaiuolo, *Le Miniature della topografia cristiana di Cosma Indicopleuste* (Milan, 1908), pl. 26. He, however, fails to explain why six rather than three choirs are given.

[34] In Cicero, *Somn. Scip.*, and in Plato, *Politeia* there are seven planets and consequently seven tones, but only six of them are significant musically. *"La terre étant immobile et muette, le premier interval, le premier ton, n'a qu'une signification purement spatiale"*; Boyancé, *Études sur le songe de Scipion*, p. 115.

FIGURE 16 PARIS, LOUVRE

TINTORETTO
Coronation of the Virgin
(Sketch for painting in Palazzo Ducale, Venice)

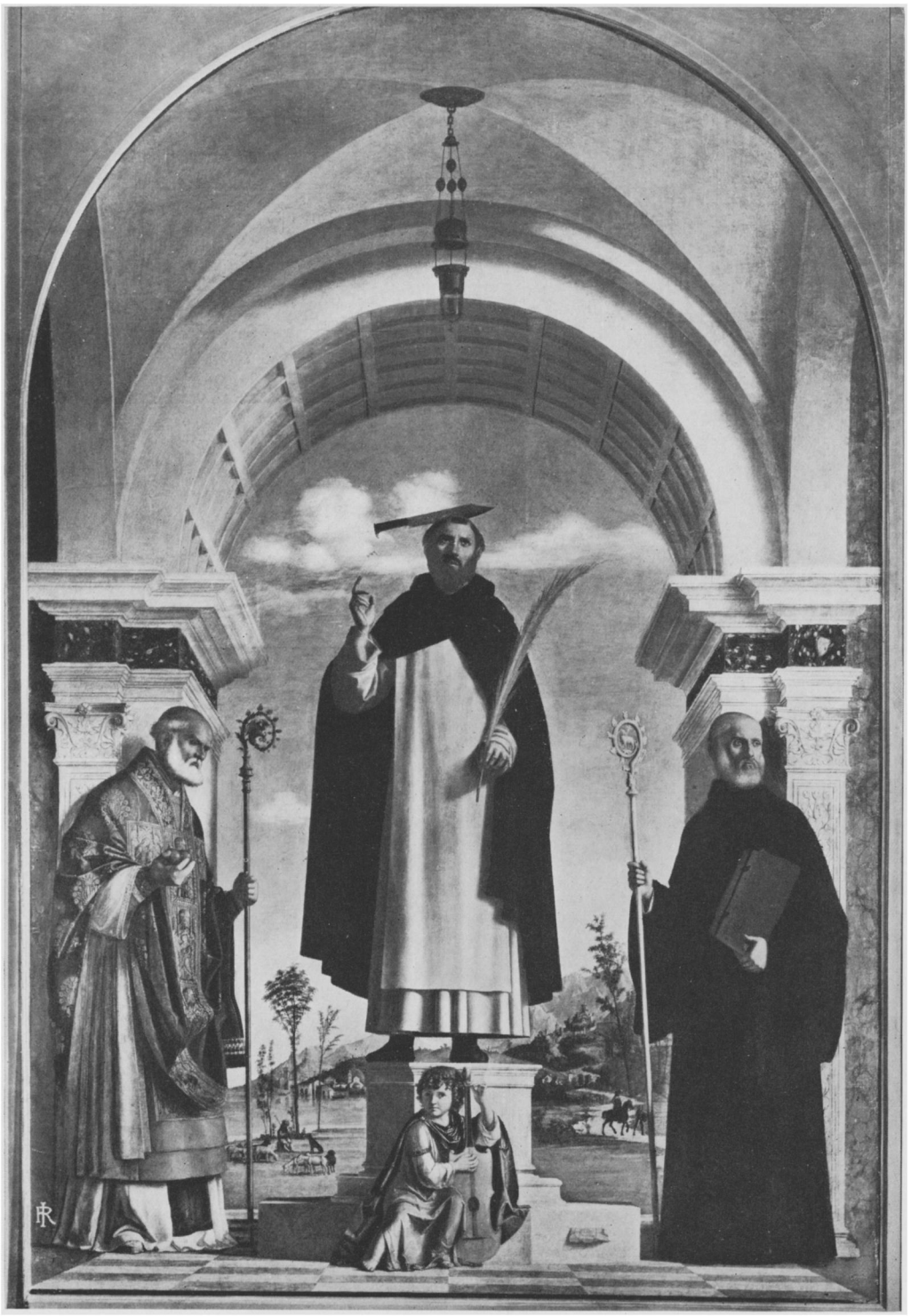


FIGURE 17 MILAN, BRERA

CIMA DA CONEGLIANO

Saints Peter Martyr, Augustine and Nicholas

the universe. In the mosaic ceilings of Galla Placidia in Ravenna, in the baptistry of Soter in Naples, in the basilica of Casaranello, all from the fifth century, in the apse of St. Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna, from the sixth century—in all these mosaics, in the middle of the starry sky appears either the monogram of Christ or the cross. The combination of these features with the starry sky expresses the harmony of the universe, since the sacrifice of Christ was considered its symbol.

The peculiar manner in which Bicci di Lorenzo combined David with the starry sky seems, however, to be his invention.

During the Renaissance, just as ideas became secularized, the music of the universe took on a new significance. In the antique and medieval conceptions, the music is created by the movement of the planetary spheres, while the immobile earth is mute.[35] The Renaissance instituted a new myth in which a melody now pours forth from the earth as well. Lorenzo de'Medici in his *Altercazione*, chapter II, says: "I thought that Orpheus returned to our world, so sweet was the music from the lyre which I seemed to hear him playing. I said, 'Perhaps the lyre which was

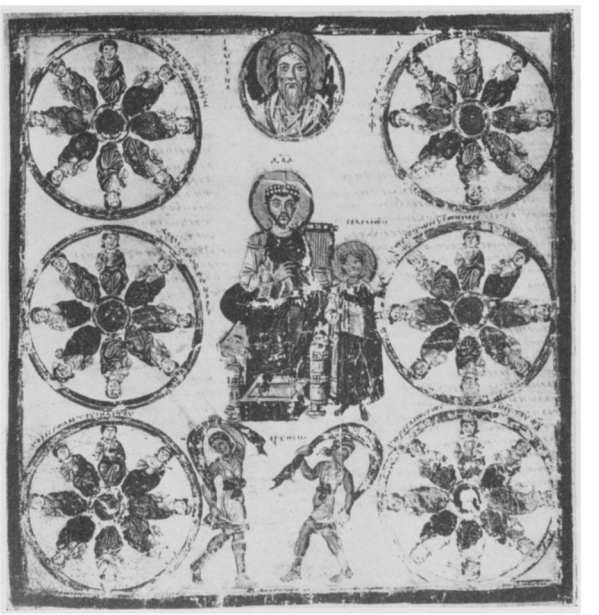


FIGURE 18 VATICAN LIBRARY

COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES

David and Musical Choirs

formerly among the constellations has fallen from heaven'." He evidently referred to the harmony which he seemed to hear while contemplating nature.[36] It is this music of the earth which was to become one of the chief themes of the great artists from the fifteenth century on. The mere illustration of the universal music was to be superseded by a truly artistic recreation of the musical content of the world.

The whole theme of the angels playing music takes on a new significance. They descend from heaven to earth. In the background of these paintings a landscape appears, where, behind olive green hills and blue mountains, the sky is illuminated by mellow reds and yellows of the setting sun. It is no longer the music of the spheres, but the music of the earth that the angels now interpret. This musical harmony seems to calm the feelings of the figures and unite them spiritually. In a panel by Cima da Conegliano (Milan, Brera; fig. 17) for example, the three saints Peter, Augustine and Nicholas,

[35] However, Boethius, *De Musica*, I, 2, expresses the harmony of the earth in an abstract manner, by the union of the four elements and the succession of the four seasons, for him a manifestation of the harmony of the world. We have already demonstrated the persistence of this idea up to the time of Poussin (note 15).

[36] Ed. Simioni, II, p. 41. When Sannazzaro in his *Arcadia* [ed. E. Carrara (Turin, 1936), p. 13] says *"Mentre il mio canto e 'l murmurar de l'onde s'accorderanno; e voi di passo in passo ite pascendo fiori, erbette e fronde . . . Io veggio un uom . . . par che sia Uranio, se 'l giudicio mio non falle. Egli è Uranio, il qual tanta armonia ha ne la lira, et un dir si leggiadro, che ben s'agguaglia a la sampogna mia"*, he, like Lorenzo de' Medici, was attempting to identify heavenly music with earthly.

The same idea is expressed by Bembo, *Asolani* [ed. F. Costèro (Milan, n.d.), p. 120], when he says that on hearing the voice of his beloved he thought he heard the harmony of the spheres.

On the other hand, the Renaissance knew the Pythagorean theory of cosmic harmony through Jamblichus, *De Mysteriis*, and through Proclus, *De Anima*, the translations of which, with commentary, were made by Marsilio Ficino, *Opera*, pp. 235 ff.

FIGURE 19 DRESDEN, GALLERY

TINTORETTO
Women Playing Music

each apparently isolated by his meditation, are none the less united intimately by the melody which in each one of them evokes the same mood. This melody is interpreted by a music-playing angel.

Since this music of the earth—which soothes violent emotions, and causes the individual soul to lose itself in the "soul of the world" ("*l'anima del mondo*")—is similar in effect to love, it was natural that the first profane musicians to appear in art should be lovers. They continued, moreover, to interpret earthly harmony, a harmony symbolized in the most perfect fashion by a sunset, where the contrast of forms was softened, where a dim light was substituted for the violent contrasts of light and shadow. It is this solemn hour that the great Venetian masters of the Renaissance, Giorgione and Titian, celebrated in their "*concert champêtre*" (fig. 20), prototype of the *jardins d'amour* and of the *fêtes champêtres* of the seventeenth century in Flanders (Rubens) and of the eighteenth century in France (Watteau, Lancret).[37]

If the High Renaissance delighted in representing the music of the earth, the period of the Counter-Reformation and the Baroque returned to heavenly music, but in a quite different manner from that of the Middle Ages: by representations inspired directly by the beauty of the macrocosmos. The artist now attempted to

[37] Within the limitations of this article we can only suggest briefly the possibilities of an interpretation of these paintings as representations of the music of the earth.

FIGURE 20 PARIS, LOUVRE

GIORGIONE AND TITIAN
Concert Champêtre

translate the harmony of the universe into a musical composition. Thus for example in the painting in Dresden, "Women Playing Music" by Tintoretto (fig. 19)—the greatest exponent of this trend—the six tones of cosmic music are represented by supple-bodied, nude women, deployed in a circle, with an interval between each one and the next. They seem to float in the air, upheld merely by the attraction that one exerts upon the other. Moreover, each figure seems to be animated by a rotating movement and if the composition is followed from right to left, the impression is created that each of these interchangeable figures would successively assume each position delineated on the painting and would subsequently describe in its movement the complete circle. Tintoretto seems to borrow the rules governing the movement of celestial bodies.

The musical harmony which emanates from the work is achieved by a symmetrical composition. The two halves of the painting correspond and at the same time contrast. On the other hand, an alternating relation binds diagonally

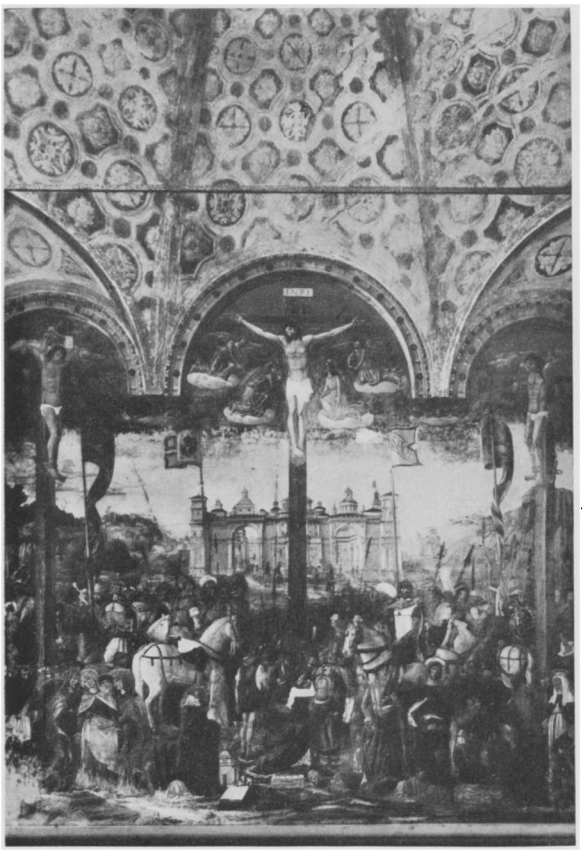


FIGURE 21 MILAN, STA. MARIA DELLE GRAZIE
DONATO DA MONTORFANO
Golgatha

the two nudes seen from the rear, the two nudes seen in a three-quarter position and the two clothed figures. The combination of these chords gives the melody of the ensemble.[38]

Up to this point, we have tried to demonstrate the continuity of the doctrine of the music of the universe in works of art in which the subject matter itself was in some way related to this idea. There are other works, whose subjects seem not at all derived from the Pythagorean concept, from which nevertheless a melody indisputably emanates. Independently of the events represented, independently of the meaning of the objects and figures, all the elements are linked and follow a mysterious musical rhythm. They lose their immediate meaning and are transfigured in order to become subordinated to the great harmony which pervades the whole work, a harmony which sometimes seems to reveal the fundamental law of existence itself.

The most significant example of the transition between the illustration of cosmic music and the artistic recreation of it is Leonardo's "Last Supper" (fig. 22).[39] To interpret this fresco it is not enough to concentrate on the actual scene. It is necessary to consider the vault which the master decorated above the fresco. He painted in the segments of the vault gold stars on a blue sky, creating a kind of *supercoelum* which is not unlike the canopy of Bicci di Lorenzo. This decoration of the vault is all the more surprising since at the opposite end of the refectory, where Donato da Montorfano painted his fresco of Golgotha in 1495 (two years before Leonardo), the vault above is decorated with a pattern of geometric ornament in imitation of

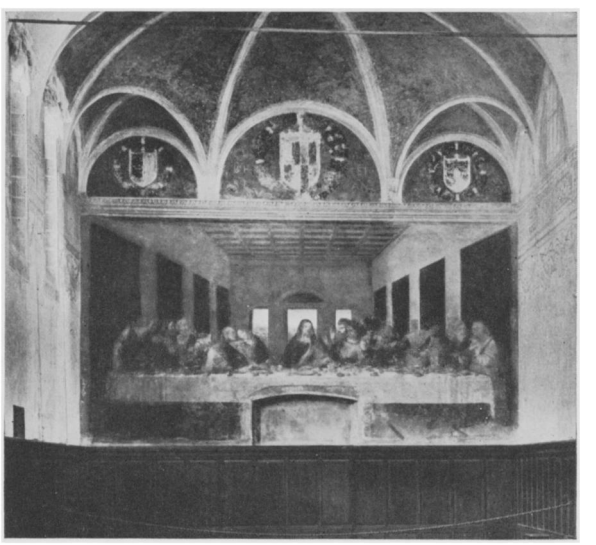


FIGURE 22 MILAN, STA. MARIA DELLE GRAZIE
Refectory
(Showing Leonardo's Last Supper)

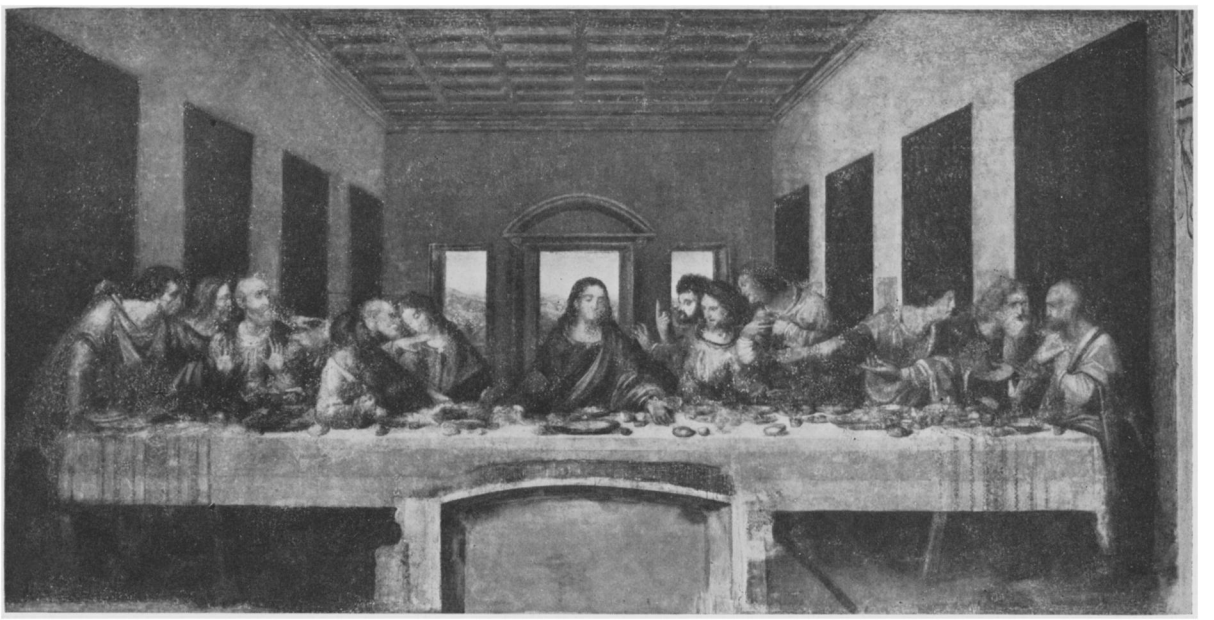


FIGURE 23 MILAN, STA. MARIA DELLE GRAZIE

LEONARDO DA VINCI
The Last Supper

ancient vaults (fig. 21). It would have been logical for Leonardo to paint his vault in a similar manner in order to retain harmony in the room. Since he did not adhere to this scheme, it must be supposed that he had a special idea in mind. It is probable that Leonardo intended to integrate cosmically his "Last Supper" in the above described tradition. He conceived his composition in a manner not unlike that of the medieval artist, painting a Biblical scene from a "transcendental" point of view. The spectator is permitted to see within a room, yet he himself remains without, and may see at the same time the sky above.

But this sky is silent: Leonardo has omitted David playing his harp and the angels who had formerly interpreted the music of the universe.[40] It is now from the scene below, that a soft melody seems to emanate—and yet there is no musician. The figure of Christ dominates the whole composition (fig. 23). He is in the center and all the lines of the perspective converge upon

[38] This analysis would serve as an example to suggest a more proper viewpoint in interpreting the "musical compositions" of Tintoretto. Up to now the relation of these works to the harmony of the spheres has not been noticed.

[39] Hitherto no analysis of the compositions of Leonardo as expressions of cosmic music has been made. However, it is known that he was a great musician; the instrument of his choice was the lyre [Richter, *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci* (London, 1883), I, pp. 69 ff.]. It is also known that he was familiar with the ancient theory of the circular movement of tones (Richter, *op. cit.*, II, p. 231). He expressed his theory of the correspondence between music and painting when he said: *"La musica è sorella della pittura . . . e compone armonia con le congiuntioni delle sue parti proportionali . . . "* (Richter, *op. cit.*, I, p. 76; *cf.* also *Trattato*, par. 29).

In 1490 Leonardo constructed for Lodovico il Moro and the Duchess Isabelle a tableau called "Paradise" from which emerged the seven planets, one after the other, represented by singers. It was a kind of *mise en scène* of the "music of the spheres"; *cf.* Warburg, *op. cit.*, p. 417, and G. Calvi, *Vita di Leonardo* (Brescia, 1936), pp. 71 f.

[40] The theory of the mute heavens seems to revert to the beginning of the Middle Ages. John Chrysostom (*Ad Antioch. Hom.*, IX, ch. 2) said: "Heaven is mute — but on looking at it, trumpet tones emanate which reach us through our eyes and not through our ears." *Cf.* also Dionysius the Areopagite who speaks of the "silent movement of the heavens."

Him. His head, framed by the central window in the background, is still further emphasized by the segmental tympanum above. An undulating movement flows from Him through the flanking Apostles only to return to Him—the figures become the vehicle for this movement and their gestures seem determined by its force. This rhythm corresponds to that animating the soft outline of the hilly landscape.

The chief means by which Leonardo incarnated the musical essence of the world is the rhythmic composition. It comes from a vision of the undulating movement with its alternation of *points forts* and *points faibles*, a movement which he molds by the arrangement of figures and spatial intervals, until the whole is animated by a vital pulsation. This rhythmical composition is balanced by a rigorously symmetrical scheme in which the groups both correspond and contrast. Modern theories of rhythm define it as an artistic means to represent the successive phases of a movement—but for great artists like Leonardo, rhythm seems to be a spiritual recreation of a fundamental law of nature.[41] It is then possible to say that Leonardo attempted to incorporate in this scene not only a moment in the life of Christ—the historical moment is only a pretext for expressing an eternal aspect of nature. It is sunset. Already shadows have begun to envelop the interior. From time immemorial man has considered this moment a sacred one. It was at this hour—when the Mediterranean sky was filled with a serene beauty—that the followers of Pythagoras gathered to celebrate their mysteries. This tradition survived in the Christian era with its vesper hour.[42]

Executed as a decoration for the refectory of the convent of Sta. Maria delle Grazie in Milan, where the monks gathered each evening at sundown for a moment of reflection before their meal, the glorification of this moment in this place seems to be appropriate. The iconographical theme of the "Last Supper" is admirably adapted to the expression of this aspect of the cosmos.

Leonardo was not the first nor the last to incarnate this rhythmic rule of nature in an artistic composition. Ever since the classical period, this musical experience has haunted almost all the great Western artists. It has reappeared periodically, often with long intervals between, in the works of Giotto, Masaccio, Leonardo, Michelangelo, Tintoretto, Rubens, Watteau. All these artists always revealed, beyond their immediate subject matter, the essence of existence, considered as a musical rhythm. The determination of man's actions by this rhythm, and the harmony of the whole are apparent in their works.

In the painting in Baltimore, Bicci di Lorenzo, in his modest way, also tried to echo this musical harmony of the Creation.

---

[41] The ancient theory of rhythm of Aristoxenus who says "rhythm is a law of nature", seems to be more accurate; *cf.* J. Combarieu, *Théorie du rhythme dans la composition moderne d'après la doctrine antique* (Paris, 1897).

This sort of rhythmic composition is opposed to that which is content with repeating identical elements without regard for the continuity of movement, a composition which might be called metrical. In the entire evolution of art these two principles succeed each other, the metrical appearing in archaic and archaistic periods; the rhythmic in classical and classicistic periods.

[42] Concerning the purifying significance of sunset among the adherents of the Pythagorean sect, see Jamblichus, who says that they chose to meet in the evening "to escape from daytime worry and annoyance and to restore the calm of their thoughts"; *cf.* Boyancé, *Muses*, p. 110.

SHORT NOTES AND ARTICLES

A CORINTHIAN AMPHORA IN THE GARRETT COLLECTION

BY DOROTHY KENT HILL
Walters Art Gallery

In the late seventh and early sixth centuries B.C. the future great city-states of Greece were governed by tyrants. Corinth, the city which dominated the isthmus connecting northern and southern Greece, was ruled by a very able dynasty, of which the two main figures were Cypselus, the founder, and Periander, his son. They developed metal and pottery industries. The enormous pottery plant outside the west wall of the city has been excavated recently.[1] Full advantage was taken of the location of the city, accessible from both east and west, in importing wares from the east and shipping Corinthian wares out to foreign parts, especially to colonies founded by the city in various areas, and to the people of Italy. So good were the wares and so efficient the marketing that they held the field for three generations, at the end of which time the city had grown rich enough to dedicate the great temple of Apollo, part of which still stands and thrills every tourist as the oldest temple now erect on the mainland of Greece.[2]

The multifold activities and foreign relations of Corinth are well illustrated by a large amphora lent by Mr. Robert Garrett to the Walters Art Gallery (figs. 1, 2, 3).[3] It is unmistakably of Corinthian workmanship, showing in its patterns the Oriental influence which

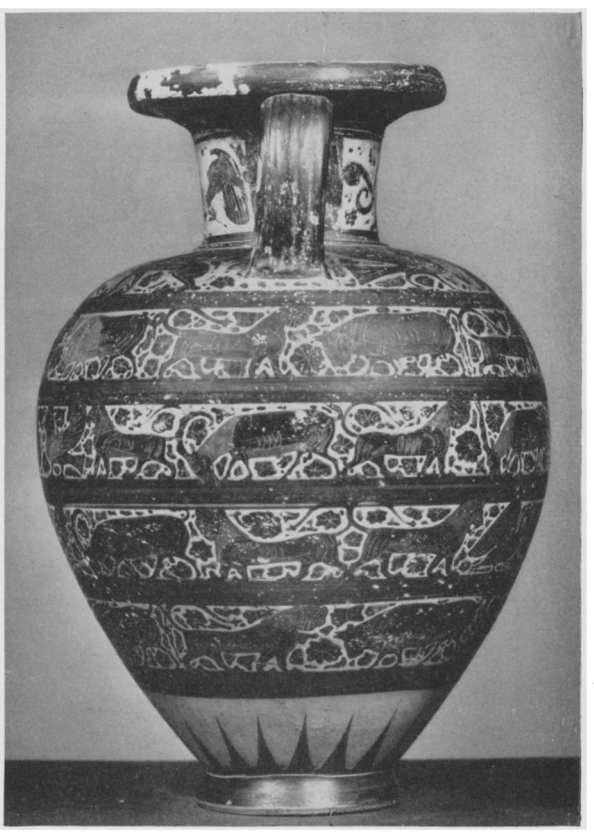


FIGURE 1 BALTIMORE, GARRETT COLL.
Corinthian Amphora

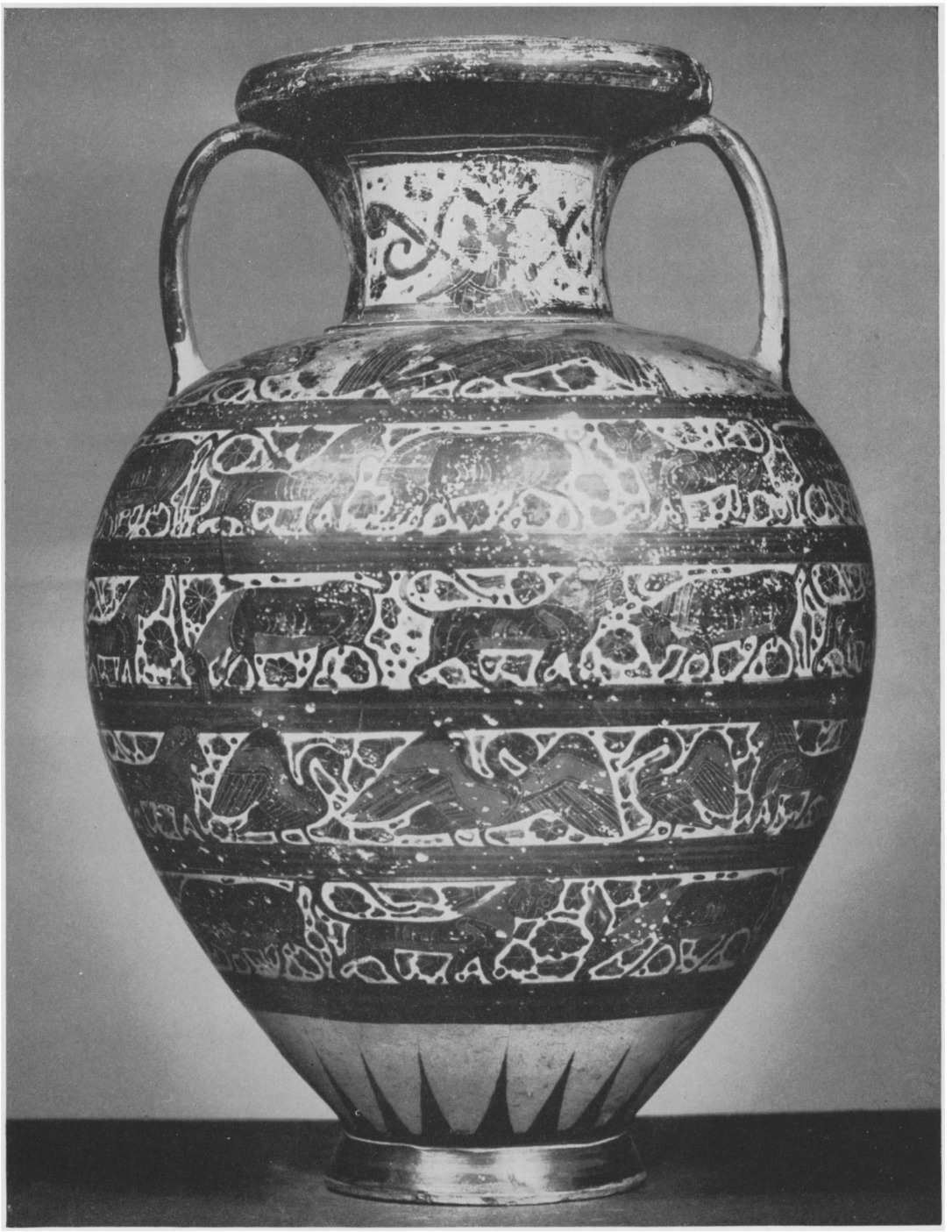


FIGURE 2 BALTIMORE, GARRETT COLL.

Corinthian Amphora

came to Corinth as a result of her contact with the east. It was found at La Tolfa in Etruria—not very far from Tarquinii, which readers of Livy's history will remember as the place to which Demaratus, father of Rome's King Tarquin, migrated from Corinth itself.[4] In addition to being an interesting historical document, the amphora is an impressive work of art, effective because of its great size—unusual in Corinthian pottery, presumably because metal vases supplied the need for large vessels.

The amphora is wheel-made of the pale yellow clay native to Corinth, decorated with black glaze over which a dark red was applied at important points. Details were outlined by incising through the glaze into the yellow clay beneath. The handles, base and mouth are glazed solid. Above the base is a broad band reserved in the clay and decorated only with black rays diverging from the base; and above this are four continuous bands of decoration, topped by a band divided by the handle attachments on the shoulder, and two panels separated by the handle attachments on the neck.

The patterns, with the exception of two floral ornaments, palmette-lotus combinations, one on the neck and one on the shoulder, are entirely composed of animals and rosettes. The forty-seven animals fall into eleven types, of which three types are fantastic. There is one male siren with bird's body and bearded human head, several sirens with bird's bodies and women's heads, and also two sphinxes, having women's heads on the winged bodies of lionesses. The others are real animals. The lion advances regally, head and tail held high and his jaws open, his head always seen in magnificent profile. His mane is decorated by a lattice pattern, Corinthian shorthand for overlapping locks. The animal most common in the decoration resembles the lion, except that the mane is painted plain red and generally not incised.

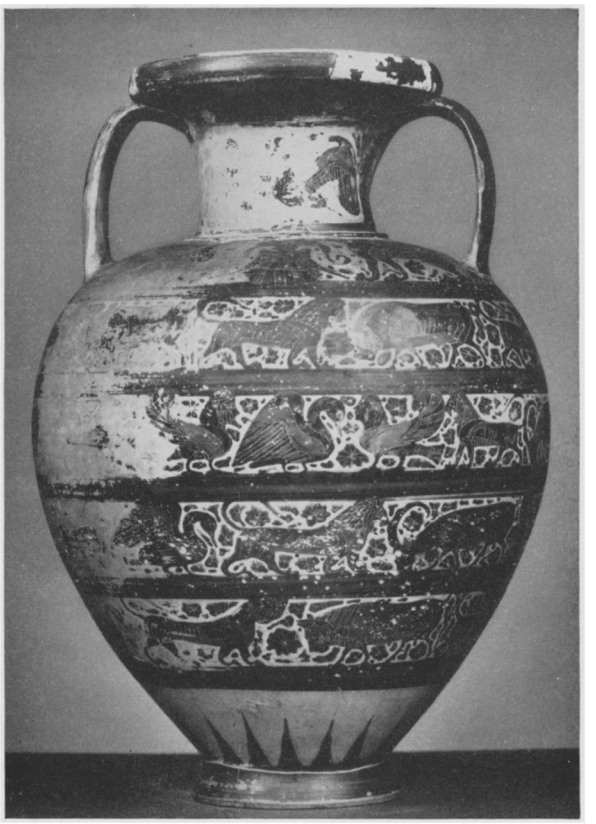


FIGURE 3 BALTIMORE, GARRETT COLL.
Corinthian Amphora

Sometimes the head is seen from the side, sometimes from the front, in which case it appears very broad and cat-like. It is difficult to say whether this represents a lioness or a panther.[5] The other creatures may be recognized as the boar, the bull, the goat, the doe, and the swan. This bird sometimes lifts its wings in profile, sometimes spreads them.

The two palmette-lotus ornaments both have the palmette above, the lotus flower below. One, on the shoulder, has the palmette composed of many alternating black and red fronds (fig. 4), the elongated pair on the ends extending down, as tendrils ending in spirals. The open lotus flower has a red center and many

alternating black and red petals, pointing down; the end petals are extended as long points. There is a band decorated with a "running dog" pattern at the base of the petals and another plain one crossing the petals. On the similar ornament decorating the neck on the opposite side of the vase, this band extends beyond the lotus and upward, crossing the extended fronds of the palmette and ending in spirals, not in lotus buds or flowers, as is frequently seen.

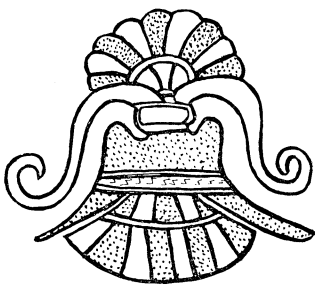


FIGURE 4
Palmette
(From Shoulder of Garrett Amphora)

The mixture of real and unreal animals and the inclusion of animals not native to Greece emphasizes the fact that the artist considered his beasts entirely in terms of decoration. They all are very long of body and very short of leg, as if they had been pressed between the bands that separate the rows. In many cases the heads, tails and feet disappear into the bands.

The spaces between the animals are filled by rosettes, large blobs of glaze separated into petals by incised cross lines. Such rosettes are common on Corinthian work. But here rosettes are used to an extreme, and are adapted to every space, even by compressing their size and distorting their shape. Some have become triangular in order to fit triangular spaces. Each tail curls over one good round rosette and one, two or three distorted ones. The space between approaching ornaments is everywhere the same, just about an eighth of an inch. The result is that the whole vase, though of light clay, gives the impression of being dark. Close packing of forms is characteristic of Oriental art. It is no accident that the vase looks like an Oriental rug, for the modern inhabitants of the Near East are in part the actual descendants, wholly the spiritual descendants of the ancient peoples, and still pattern things closely and richly, as their ancestors taught the Corinthians to do.

The style of the drawing places the vase in the first of the three periods of Corinthian vase-making as defined by Payne (between about 625 and 600 B.C.),[6] although it lacks the meticulousness which sometimes was displayed on the very earliest work, and is not too unlike some Middle Corinthian pieces. The composition is definitely indicative of this period and of an early date within the period. The great number of friezes derives from the so-called "Proto-Corinthian" fabric which preceded the Corinthian. The ornaments are of simple form, but this does not serve to date the vase more exactly than within the Early Corinthian period. The extreme of distorting and crowding rosettes occurs on few vases of the Early Corinthian period, most of these exhibiting signs of connection with wares which antedate the Corinthian.[7] Some have many friezes. One has geometric decoration which is a heritage through the Proto-Corinthian from the still earlier geometric pottery. On the basis of composition, then, the amphora belongs early in the "Early Corinthian" period.

Of the vases with the distorted rosettes, one is very like the Garrett vase. It is an amphora of similar shape in the British Museum. It is designed in the same way: rays at the bottom,

four unbroken bands, a band divided in two on the shoulder, and panels on the neck. One of the shoulders has a lotus chain.[8] The other bands and the panels are filled with animals—over forty of them. The types of animals are the same as on ours, except that the bearded siren is omitted and there are stags instead of does. Although no scheme of drawing is used consistently on a given animal throughout one vase, there are schemes and features which occur once or twice on both amphoras. The wavy line on the lion's mane, indicating the edge of his ruff, occurs on both vases; and although this line occurs elsewhere, it is so unusual that it might point to a common origin for them all. The schematic drawing of the lioness-panthers on the two amphoras does not seem distinctive (fig. 2). It consists merely of a continuous curve encircling the shoulder, a line bisecting the shoulder, and a series of nearly vertical lines on the hips. This is common drawing. Yet it contrasts sharply with the animals on another Corinthian vase that happens to be beside the British Museum amphora in Payne's illustration.[9] The same animal, but without a line the same! Therefore the similarity of the drawing on the two amphoras is significant.

On grounds of similarity of design and of drawing it seems right to consider the two amphoras as made by the same man in the potters' quarter west of Corinth and sold away, one, at least, immediately to foreign parts and both ultimately to come to rest very far from Greece. His hallmark is the distorted rosette, although it is not exclusive with him. Some day we may recover and recognize more of the work of this talented designer and painter.

[1] A. E. Newhall in *American Journal of Archaeology,* XXXV (1931), 1-30.

[2] On the date see S. Weinberg in *Hesperia,* VIII (1939), 191-199.

[3] Height 17 inches. Formerly in the Marquand Collection. Sale Catalogue (1902), no. 972. Complete, but with a repaired break across the neck and a crack nearly encircling the body. The glaze has flaked off from a broad band extending vertically up the body and from a few other points. At one point the black glaze turned red during the firing.

[4] Livy, I, 34, 2; I, 47, 3-6.

[5] Because of the difficulty of distinguishing these animals it has become conventional to call all with profile heads lions, all with frontal heads panthers. H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931), p. 70.

[6] *Ibid.,* pp. 43 ff.

[7] Berlin, *ibid.,* pl. 24, no. 5 (oinochoe with many friezes); New York, *ibid.,* pl. 24, no. 3 (oinochoe with long neck with geometric decorations); New York, *ibid.,* pl. 21, no. 5 (aryballos); British Museum, *ibid.,* pl. 23, no. 5 and p. 300, no. 770 (amphora with many friezes; mouth restored); Philadelphia, University Museum *ibid.,* p. 300, no. 775A; and Dohan, *Italic Tomb Groups* (Philadelphia, 1942), pl. LIV (Large amphora); Madrid, G. Leroux, *Vases grecs et italo-grecs du musée archéologique de Madrid* (Bordeaux, 1912), pl. II, fig. 21, and E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (Munich, 1923), fig. 67 (olpe).

[8] Payne, *op. cit.,* p. 154, fig. 62 A.

[9] *Ibid.,* pl. 23, no. 4.

A RECORD OF ORTHOPAEDIC DEVICES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY OTTO NEUSTATTER†

AMONG THE Italian paintings in the Walters Art Gallery there is a predella of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, representing "The Funeral and Canonization of St. Francis" (fig. 3.).[1] The artist has united the two events although two years intervened between them. Comparable artistic license permitted him to introduce into the simple cell in which the saint dwelt a crowd including nobility, several cardinals and bishops, and even the Pope, all in ceremonial garments.

The painter has introduced in the foreground four figures referring to the chief practical work for which the Saint was revered—his ceaseless aid to the poor, the sick, and the maimed. The cripples are depicted here with an objective in-

† Dr. Neustatter, who came to Baltimore in 1937 from the Museum of Hygiene, Dresden, died Dec. 23, 1943.

four unbroken bands, a band divided in two on the shoulder, and panels on the neck. One of the shoulders has a lotus chain.[8] The other bands and the panels are filled with animals—over forty of them. The types of animals are the same as on ours, except that the bearded siren is omitted and there are stags instead of does. Although no scheme of drawing is used consistently on a given animal throughout one vase, there are schemes and features which occur once or twice on both amphoras. The wavy line on the lion's mane, indicating the edge of his ruff, occurs on both vases; and although this line occurs elsewhere, it is so unusual that it might point to a common origin for them all. The schematic drawing of the lioness-panthers on the two amphoras does not seem distinctive (fig. 2). It consists merely of a continuous curve encircling the shoulder, a line bisecting the shoulder, and a series of nearly vertical lines on the hips. This is common drawing. Yet it contrasts sharply with the animals on another Corinthian vase that happens to be beside the British Museum amphora in Payne's illustration.[9] The same animal, but without a line the same! Therefore the similarity of the drawing on the two amphoras is significant.

On grounds of similarity of design and of drawing it seems right to consider the two amphoras as made by the same man in the potters' quarter west of Corinth and sold away, one, at least, immediately to foreign parts and both ultimately to come to rest very far from Greece. His hallmark is the distorted rosette, although it is not exclusive with him. Some day we may recover and recognize more of the work of this talented designer and painter.

[1] A. E. Newhall in *American Journal of Archaeology,* XXXV (1931), 1-30.

[2] On the date see S. Weinberg in *Hesperia,* VIII (1939), 191-199.

[3] Height 17 inches. Formerly in the Marquand Collection. Sale Catalogue (1902), no. 972. Complete, but with a repaired break across the neck and a crack nearly encircling the body. The glaze has flaked off from a broad band extending vertically up the body and from a few other points. At one point the black glaze turned red during the firing.

[4] Livy, I, 34, 2; I, 47, 3-6.

[5] Because of the difficulty of distinguishing these animals it has become conventional to call all with profile heads lions, all with frontal heads panthers. H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931), p. 70.

[6] *Ibid.,* pp. 43 ff.

[7] Berlin, *ibid.,* pl. 24, no. 5 (oinochoe with many friezes); New York, *ibid.,* pl. 24, no. 3 (oinochoe with long neck with geometric decorations); New York, *ibid.,* pl. 21, no. 5 (aryballos); British Museum, *ibid.,* pl. 23, no. 5 and p. 300, no. 770 (amphora with many friezes; mouth restored); Philadelphia, University Museum *ibid.,* p. 300, no. 775A; and Dohan, *Italic Tomb Groups* (Philadelphia, 1942), pl. LIV (Large amphora); Madrid, G. Leroux, *Vases grecs et italo-grecs du musée archéologique de Madrid* (Bordeaux, 1912), pl. II, fig. 21, and E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (Munich, 1923), fig. 67 (olpe).

[8] Payne, *op. cit.,* p. 154, fig. 62 A.

[9] *Ibid.,* pl. 23, no. 4.

A RECORD OF ORTHOPAEDIC DEVICES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY OTTO NEUSTATTER†

AMONG THE Italian paintings in the Walters Art Gallery there is a predella of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, representing "The Funeral and Canonization of St. Francis" (fig. 3.).[1] The artist has united the two events although two years intervened between them. Comparable artistic license permitted him to introduce into the simple cell in which the saint dwelt a crowd including nobility, several cardinals and bishops, and even the Pope, all in ceremonial garments.

The painter has introduced in the foreground four figures referring to the chief practical work for which the Saint was revered—his ceaseless aid to the poor, the sick, and the maimed. The cripples are depicted here with an objective in-

† Dr. Neustatter, who came to Baltimore in 1937 from the Museum of Hygiene, Dresden, died Dec. 23, 1943.

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

SCHOOL OF LORENZO I OF SANSEVERINO
Funeral and Canonization of St. Francis
(*Detail*)

terest in their condition and in their appliances that cannot fail to interest the medical historian. Although I have assembled and examined many orthopaedic records of this sort,[2] there occur in this painting several details that are new to me.

At the right a man crawls on all fours toward the bier (fig. 2). He is dressed in a purplish garment reaching to his thighs, and red hose. Black leather knee-caps protect his knees, and he leans on small hand-crutches. Apparently he proceeds by moving his hands forward and then pushing with his left leg, for the lower right limb appears useless and the foot drags along. It is debatable whether the cripple could have gone in this manner about the unclean streets of the time, or whether it was only indoors that he could propel himself.

Further to the left appears a kneeling figure dressed in green hose and fine shoes and a hip-length belted tunic, short enough to show his white breeches. Compared to the other cripples he is clad with some elegance. He is provided with a short crutch and black knee-caps, each

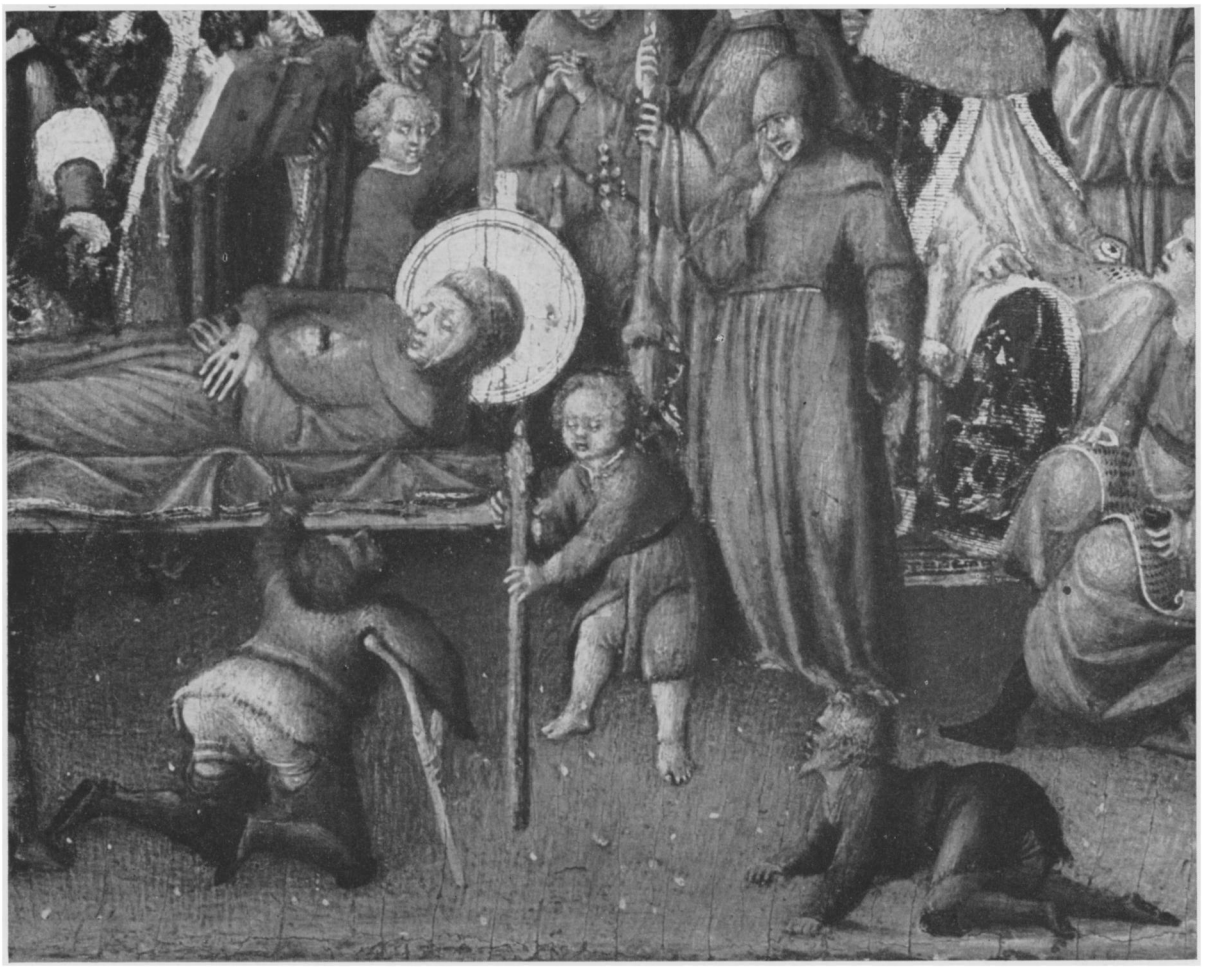


FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

SCHOOL OF LORENZO I OF SANSEVERINO
Funeral and Canonization of St. Francis
(*Detail*)

fitted with a protruding heel, somewhat like a tiny stilt. The single crutch indicates that he could use his knees separately, for otherwise he would have to swing along on a pair of supports. One may ask why he requires a crutch at all. There are pictures that show cripples suffering from the same malady—an acute contraction of the knee—yet able to walk erect upon knee-stilts, perhaps with the help of a cane. It appears, however, that this man cannot force his body upright. He is obliged to bend his head back unnaturally in order to look at the bier—so much so as to suggest that he may also suffer from *torticollis*.[3] But in any case, the hips must be contracted to such a degree that the body cannot stand erect on the knees, thus requiring the assistance of a crutch. His feet do not drag along the ground—in fact do not even touch it. The low heels of the knee-caps are surprising under the circumstances evidenced here and I have not previously come across examples of this type. Higher stilts would have elevated him above the mud of the streets.

Nearby (fig. 2) is a third figure seated on the

ground and raising his hands in adoration. The carriage of his head, the lack of direction in his gaze and the uncertain movement of his hands, all are eloquent of blindness. Moreover a stick leans against his knee and a dog is attached to his waist by a leash. The animal barks furiously at a boy placing a taper in the hand of the blind man. This same fellow suffers also from a swollen leg. The nature of the malady is concealed by a bandage, but the artist may have intended to show a victim of leg-ulcers, such as is represented in many an early picture.

At the extreme left, an unfortunate without legs may appear the most extraordinary representation in the painting. As a matter of fact, such cases occur fairly often in early paintings, especially when one considers that amputation of both legs must generally have resulted fatally in those days. This man, clad in a green garment, sits in a wooden basin, and holds hand-crutches. He would advance by reaching ahead, supporting his weight upon his hands, and so sliding his trunk forward, protected by the basin. This painting omits the details, but we know from other sources that the basin is fastened by straps around the waist. A present-day improvement on this device is a contraption fashioned of a board and small wheels, which sometimes is seen in the streets as a means of locomotion for legless cripples.

---

[1] No. 37.456. H.: 11 3/4; W.: 19 3/4 in. Acquired 1915. Publ. Bernhard Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1932), p. 29 (as Antonio da Fabriano); R. van Marle, *The Schools of Italian Painting* (The Hague, 1934), XV, p. 127, n. 5 (as school of Lorenzo I of Sanseverino); see also vol. VIII, pp. 244 ff.

[2] *Cf.* Otto Neustatter, *Zur Selbsthilfe der Amputierten* in *Berichte der deutschen orthopaedischen Gesellschaft, 15.Kongress* (Dresden, 1920); *cf.* also *idem* in *Zeitschrift f. orthopaedische Chirurgie,* XL (1921), no. 193; *Beiheft,* XL (1921), p. 423 and p. 535; *ibid.,* XLI (1921), no. 53.

[3] Among the clergy at the left of the scene, there is a monk who also bends his head back sharply, evidently in rapture. In the case of the cripple this movement of the head is differently rendered and appears anatomically conditioned, as the artist otherwise shows movements ably.

FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY

SCHOOL OF LORENZO I OF SANSEVERINO
Funeral and Canonization of St. Francis
(Detail)

HELOISE AND ABELARD BY W. H. CRAFT

BY MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS

Walters Art Gallery

Among the enamellers who achieved considerable renown in England during the eighteenth century was W. H. Craft. He did not, as a matter of fact, practice true enamelling, but the miniature-painting on enamel so popular at the time. The colors, not necessarily vitreous compounds, were painted on a white enamelled surface that had been fired on a metallic plate. After this, the colors were fixed to the enamelled surface by being partially fused.

William Craft[1] was the brother of Thomas Craft, who was employed at the Bow porcelain factory and with whom William is thought to have worked. It is there that he may have acquired his dexterity in painting. He first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1774, while living "At Mr. Turner's, St. Martin's Lane," and continued to exhibit until 1795, at which time his address was "205 Holborn".[2] Craft is noted especially for his portraits, of which fine examples are in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford,[3] but he also did a number of "fancy" subjects, the best known, perhaps, being his "Britannia Seated."[4]

Of interest is a small ovoid medallion in the Walters Art Gallery, representing Abelard in the garb of a monk surprising Heloise, who is dressed as a boy. This scene is painted on a gold plaque, surrounded by white dots. On the front is the inscription "W. H. Craft *fecit* 1783." The style is somewhat stiff and dry as in all the scenes executed by Craft, and in contrast to his somewhat livelier portraits. The subject is one that would appeal to the romantic interest in the Middle Ages just awakening in England in the second half of the eighteenth century, and which was still naive enough to dress the figures in contemporary costumes.

The medallion[5] was probably made for a watch or snuffbox. It is chiefly interesting in that it gives us another dated example of Craft's work and because the subject is romantic, rather than an allegorical one such as Craft generally preferred for his subject enamels.

---

[1] L. C(ust) in *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1889), XII, p. 438. George C. Williamson, *The History of Portrait Miniatures* (London, 1904), II.

[2] Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts* (London, 1905), II, p. 189.

[3] G. C. Williamson, *The Bentnick-Hawkins Collection of Enamels at the Ashmolean Museum* in *The Connoisseur*, LVI (1920), p. 36.

[4] For examples of his work, see *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Portrait Miniatures on Loan at the South Kensington Museum* (London, 1865), p. 76. Henri Clouzot, *Dictionnaire des miniaturistes sur émail* (Paris, 1924), p. 59. G. C. Williamson, *Signed Enamel Miniatures of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries* (London, n.d.), nos. 13, 21, 22, 23 and 32.

[5] No. 44.396. H.: .04; W.: .035. Acquired 1914.

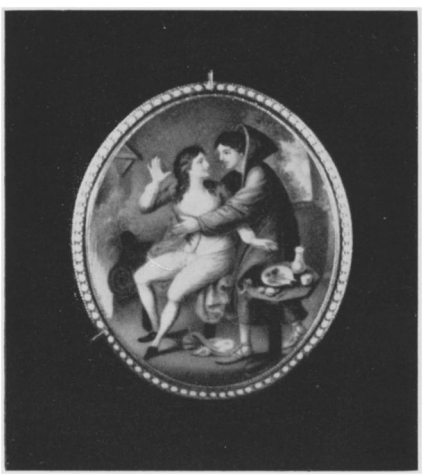


FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

W. H. CRAFT

Heloise and Abelard

ACCESSIONS

January 1, 1943, to December 31, 1943

PAINTING

Portrait of a Lady in a Landscape, oil on canvas. English School, late eighteenth century. From Mrs. Henry Walters' estate. Purchase.

SCULPTURE

Terra cotta model by Gilles Lambert Godecharle, "Eros". Belgian (Brussels), 1788. Formerly in Berwind Collection. Purchase.

Terra cotta model attributed to Guiseppe Mazza, "Temperance". Italian, late seventeenth century to early eighteenth century. Formerly in the Castiglione Collection, Vienna. Purchase.

Bronze statuette from Pompeii, Castor or Helios. Roman, first century A.D. From Mrs. Henry Walters' estate. Purchase.

Bronze statuette of a Satyr. Italic (Campania), fifth century B.C. From Mrs. Henry Walters' estate. Purchase.

Bronze statuette of a Warrior. Byzantine, early fourth century A.D. Purchase

CERAMICS

Burial urn with incised decoration. Villanovan, eighth century B.C. Purchase.

Cup and saucer of New Hall porcelain. English, ca. 1782-1810. Gift of Mrs. Thomas R. Boggs.

Shaving basin of Delft faience. Dutch, eighteenth century. Gift of Mrs. Thomas R. Boggs.

Covered cup and saucer of Moscow porcelain, by A. Popoff. Russian, early nineteenth century. Gift of Mr. Albert Samuel.

Cup and saucer of Paris (?) porcelain. French (?), ca. 1800. Made for Robert Patterson and sent to Betsy Patterson Bonaparte. Gift of Mr. Albert Samuel.

Dark blue Staffordshire platter with arms of Delaware, by T. Mayer of Stoke-on-Trent. English, early nineteenth century. Gift of Mr. Albert Samuel.

Green glazed earthenware pot. English, eighteenth century. Gift of Mr. Albert Samuel.

Four cups and saucers, and two plates. French, German and Italian factories, various dates. Gift of Mr. Albert Samuel.

Plate of Savona majolica, by the Folco family. Italian, about 1740-50. Gift of Mr. Albert Samuel.

Cane-handle of Meissen porcelain in the form of a shepherdess. German, about 1770. Gift of Mr. Albert Samuel.

Cabaret of Niderviller faience. French, ca. 1765 to 1775. Six pieces. Purchase.

JEWELRY, COINS, MEDALS, ETC.

Silver pendant. Byzantine, eleventh century. Formerly in the Henry Walters Collection. Gift of Mr. Douglas H. Gordon.

Medal depicting the Fall of Adam and Eve and the Crucifixion, silver gilt, by Hans Reinhart the Elder. German, sixteenth century. Formerly in the Henry Walters Collection. Gift of Mr. Douglas H. Gordon.

Cameo with two storks and a vase. Graeco-Roman type. Period uncertain. From the Sir Francis Cook Collection. Gift of Mrs. Saidie A. May.

Thirty-one bronze coins. Roman, ranging in date from Augustus to Constantine. Gift of Mr. Harold Landon.

Thirteen medals of gilded bronze. French, eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Gift of Mr. Douglas H. Gordon.

Pendant in enamelled gold, rock crystal and carved boxwood. French or Flemish, fifteenth century. Formerly in the Spitzer and Henry Walters Collections. Gift of Mrs. John Russell Pope.

Gold and pearl necklace, composed of a series of doves worked en repoussé. Coptic, fourth to sixth century A.D. Gift of Mr. Robert Garrett.

Gold pendant in shape of a horse. Greek, Hellenistic period. From Mrs. Henry Walters' estate. Purchase.

Gold earring with three pendant gold crosses and amethysts. Byzantine, sixth century. From Mrs. Henry Walters' estate. Purchase.

Pair of gold hoop-earrings with jewelled bull's head terminals. Greek, Hellenistic period. From Mrs. Henry Walters' estate. Purchase.

Gold hoop-earring with terminal in form of a lion's head. Greek, Hellenistic period. From Mrs. Henry Walters' estate. Purchase.

Inlaid gold earring with sphinx, and a fragment. Greek, fifth century B.C.? From Mrs. Henry Walters' estate. Purchase.

Plaque of carved rock-crystal in jewelled and enamelled frame. "Christ before Pilate", signed Ioannes F. (Giovanni dei Bernardi of Castelbolognese). Italian, mid-sixteenth century. From Mrs. Henry Walters' estate. Purchase.

Cameo with head of a bearded satyr, amethyst quartz, in repoussé silver-gilt mount. Italian, sixteenth century. From the Sir Francis Cook Collection. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nelson Gutman.

DECORATIVE ARTS

Five bone carvings. Coptic, fourth to seventh centuries. Purchase.

Two bone carvings and one ivory spoon. Coptic, fourth to sixth centuries. Gift of Capt. Marvin Chauncey Ross.

Glass and silver cruet. English or Irish, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, owned by Francis Scott Key and, later, James A. Gary. Gift of Mrs. Robert Coleman Taylor, in memory of her father, the Honorable James Albert Gary.

Clock with equestrian figure of Napoleon. Bronze and marble. French, nineteenth century. Gift of the surviving children of Mr. Gustave Shiff: Mrs. Lucie M. Franklin, Mrs. Emily O. Dunn, Mrs. Theresa A. Clairin and Mr. Theodore A. Shiff, through Mrs. Kennedy Cromwell, Jr.

Flounce of needlepoint lace. French, Alençon, late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Gift of Mrs. Isaac Hamburger, II.

Two bronze vessels inlaid in silver with Coptic inscriptions and Christian symbols. Coptic, fourth to sixth centuries. Gift of Mr. Robert Garrett.

Cassone of carved walnut. Florentine, sixteenth century. Gift of Mr. Robert Lehman (through the courtesy of French and Co.).

Cassone of carved walnut. Roman, sixteenth century. Gift of Mr. Robert Lehman (through the courtesy of French and Co.).

ARMS AND ARMOR

Collection of thirteen daggers, guns, powder flasks, etc. from North Africa, the Caucasus and the Malay Archipelago, eighteenth to nineteenth centuries. Gift of Mrs. Laurence Hall Fowler on behalf of the heirs of the late Mrs. Thomas Harrison Oliver.

RARE BOOKS

Pierre Louÿs, *Aphrodite.* Paris, 1896. Illus. by Calbert. Gift of the Enoch Pratt Free Library.

J. V. Millingen, *Peintures Antiques et Inédites de Vases Grecs Tirées de Diverses Collections.* Rome, Mariano de Romanis, 1813. Gift of Mr. Leo S. Koch.

Plautus, *Comoediae.* Amsterdam, Elzevir, 1652. Bound in blue straight-grain morocco by Roger Payne (English, eighteenth century). From the William Beckford, W. L. Andrews and Cortland F. Bishop Collections. Gift of Mr. Douglas H. Gordon.

John Rutter, *An Illustrated History and Description of Fonthill Abbey.* Shaftsbury, John Rutter, 1823. Gift of Mr. Joseph I. Cohen.

PIERRE LEPAUTRE AND HIS AENEAS GROUP

(Continued from page 81)

tate the standardized faces of Italian Baroque saints. The various style elements, so successfully combined in the sketches, in the final group appear unrelated one to another. As a consequence, the sculpture lacks harmony, the main postulate of French Classical art, as well as movement, the outstanding phenomenon of the Italian Baroque. Still, it is not so much the lower artistic standard of the marble version that constitutes the puzzling problem, but rather its essential difference from the earlier models. The question arises as to how far the work on the marble had progressed when Lepautre left Rome, and what changes were due to its continuation in Paris fifteen years later. No exact information concerning this issue can be gathered; yet it is not beyond credence to assume that the greater part of the work was done in Paris between 1715 and 1716. Lepautre's obligation to work on a sculpture which had been planned in a rather distant past may explain the absence of directness in the whole conception. Furthermore the influence of the still prevailing Academic atmosphere of Versailles, where Lepautre was employed, may have weakened the Baroque tendencies of his art. Separated from the irresistable inspiration of the Roman Baroque monuments, he was capable of applying but a few of their features which had faded already into dim memories.

The reception that the sculpture of the Tuileries found among Lepautre's contemporaries and among most of the critics of the later eighteenth century widely differs from our evaluation. In the guides and travelling books on Paris[42] written during that century the marble group is described extensively and highly praised. To the modern observer, however, an analysis of the different stages of the Aeneas group makes it seem regrettable that the sculptor for the final execution of this work chose the composition represented by the marble group rather than one of the three sketches.

---

[42] Germain Brice, *Description de la ville de Paris,* I (1752), p. 147; D'Argenville, *Voyage pittoresque de Paris* (1752), pp. 51, 97; Piganiol de la Force, *Description de la ville de Paris,* II (1765), pp. 338, 369; Thiéry, *Guide des amateurs et des étrangers à Paris,* I (1787), p. 549; Millin, *op. cit.,* pp. 67-72.

EXHIBITIONS - 1943

February 28-April 25: "Decorative Arts of China." A comprehensive view of Chinese artistic methods and preoccupations, illustrated by porcelains, jades and other stones, bronzes, enamels, ivories, lacquers, woodcarvings, coral, and paintings.

April 19-May 3: "Children's Creative Art Contest." Original works by school children inspired by studies at the Walters Gallery.

May 5-September 30: "The Art of War." The first comprehensive showing of the Walters collection of Arms and Armor, ranging from the Bronze Age to the nineteenth century, with documentation from manuscript illuminations and tomb-brasses.

July-December: "In the News." A changing exhibition featuring art objects and photographs of regions brought into prominence by war events.

October 10-December 5: "Needlework of the Near East." A colorful and traditional folk-art illustrated by examples from North Africa, Greece, Turkey, the eastern Mediterranean islands and Asia Minor.

December 17-current: "Landscape Painting and the Point of View." The evolution of the artist's attitude toward landscape as a subject, from the Gothic period to the early twentieth century, supplemented by manuscript illuminations recording the development previous to easel-painting.