

THE JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY



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WALTERS ART GALLERY

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THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

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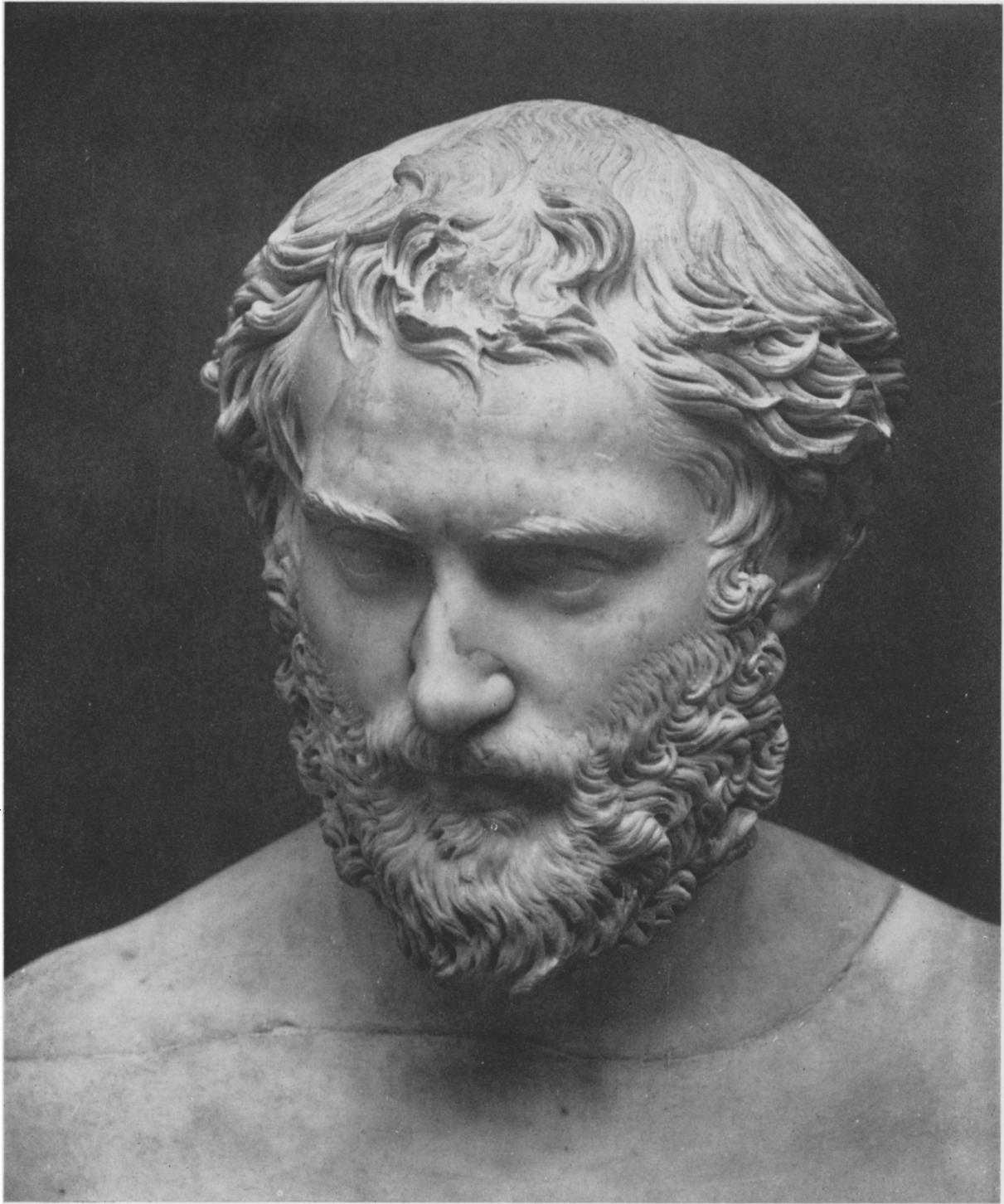


FIGURE 1

COPENHAGEN, NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK

Portrait of a Bearded Man

A NOTE ON THE LICINIAN TOMB

BY VAGN HÄGER POULSEN

The Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen

NOTE: The two-chambered tomb of the Calpurnii Pisones near the Porta Pia in Rome, discovered in 1885, yielded some impressive works of art, among them the seven large marble sarcophagi which are so conspicuous in the Court of the Walters Art Gallery. The sarcophagi were the subject of the special monograph published by the Trustees and by the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University in 1942, which is cited in the ensuing article.

The sarcophagi date from the second century A.D. and later, when the practice of inhumation was fairly common, but inscriptions found in the tomb prove that it had been the burying place of the family even from a much earlier date—from the very beginning of the Christian era. Of epochal importance in this connection is the fact that a famous group of Roman marble portrait heads owned by the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek can be traced by business documents in that museum's possession to the tomb of the Calpurnii Pisones. The assumption is that some of the portraits from the tomb depict persons actually buried there. Dr. Poulsen here for the first time draws attention to the importance and interest of the two groups. The portraits illustrated are those which date from the general period of our sarcophagi.

D. K. H.

THE SEVEN DIONYSIAC sarcophagi in Baltimore and their two companion pieces in Rome, all of which have been published by Karl Lehmann-Hartleben and Erling C. Olsen¹, are known to have been excavated in the Via Salaria in Rome, together with a set of funerary altars bearing names of members of the closely interconnected Licinian and Calpurnian families.² In addition, a number of excellent portrait heads were found in the same place. This is proved by letters written to Carl Jacobsen, the founder of the Ny

Carlsberg Glyptothek, by his adviser in Rome, Wolfgang Helbig.

In 1887, at Helbig's suggestion, Jacobsen acquired in Paris from Count Tyszkiewicz a collection of eighteen Roman portraits. The provenance of fifteen of them from the Licinian tomb was attested by Helbig in two letters published by Frederik Poulsen.³ A sixteenth head from that place was added in 1891 through a purchase made in Rome. As early as 1887, the nine Dionysiac sarcophagi were offered to Jacobsen by their owner, Maraini. Jacobsen was anxious to acquire them, but this time Helbig was reluctant and it came to nothing, albeit negotiations went on for years. The sarcophagi belonging to Maraini passed to Baltimore, with the exception of the two which entered the National Museum in Rome. In 1892, however, Carl Jacobsen bought of the Roman dealer, Martinetti, a sarcophagus which, it was claimed, came from the Licinian tomb—a small consolation for the wonderful series that had es-

¹ Karl Lehmann-Hartleben and Erling C. Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore* (Published jointly by the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University and the Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery. Baltimore, 1942).

² Walter Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 36 ff.; Roberto Paribeni, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano* (Rome, 1932), p. 53, no. 11; cf. Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft*, XIII (1927), cols. 344 f.

³ *Célèbres visages inconnus* in *Revue archéologique*. 5ième Série, Tome XXXVI (1932), pt. 2, pp. 54 ff. The "M. Mancini" referred to in the transcription of the second letter is none other than Maraini, formerly owner of the Baltimore sarcophagi.



FIGURE 2

NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK

Sarcophagus for a Child

caped him. (fig. 2). It is decorated with the favorite representation of Erotes driving in a chariot-race, and its size indicates it was for a child.⁴

The sixteen portraits from the Licinian tomb may be divided into three groups according to their style: the first consisting of one specimen only, the head of Pompey (no. 1), the second comprising twelve portraits of Julio-Claudian date (nos. 2-13) and the third consisting of three items from the end of the second century A.D. (nos. 14-16).

THE PORTRAITS

1. *Pompey*.⁵ The identity was established by Helbig.⁶ The head gives the statesman's features at the height of his career, i.e., about 60 B.C. It is, however, not an original of that time, but a copy made for the Licinian tomb. Frederik Poulsen dates the head to the time of Hadrian,⁷ but this is not necessitated by the style and is definitely contradicted by the circumstances. The erection of Pompey's portrait among the family images must belong to the time of the ambitious Marcus Licinius Crassus Frugi, consul in 27 A.D., who most surprisingly gave to one of his sons the name of Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus, in order to emphasize the young man's descent through his mother from the *triumvir*. This late bearer of the famous name married a daughter of the emperor Claudius, but subsequently both he and his father were executed; their funerary al-

tars are among those found in the excavation. So the head of Pompey is most likely a Claudian copy, and, as a matter of fact, nothing in its technique speaks against such a date.

2. *Livia*.⁸ This was determined by Helbig as a portrait of Livia towards the end of her life, i.e., from the twenties of the first century A.D.⁹ The inclusion of this portrait in the Licinian tomb is explained through the affinities of the family to the imperial house.

3. *Agrippina Minor*.¹⁰ Although no exact replicas have been shown to exist, this head almost certainly is a portrait of Agrippina Minor, as already proposed by Helbig. The reasons for including the second great lady of the Claudian house among the family portraits of the tomb are

⁴ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 785. The Glyptotek numbers cited throughout refer to Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, *Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstvaerker* (Copenhagen, 1907), Carl Jacobsen, *Fortegnelse* (1907) and Frederik Poulsen, *Katalog over Antike Skulpturer* (Copenhagen, 1940), an English edition of which is being prepared.

⁵ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 597. Paul Arndt and H. Brunn (edited by F. Bruckmann), *Griechische und römische Porträts* (Munich, 1891, ff.), pls. 523-524.

⁶ *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, I (1886), pp. 37 ff. This publication is cited hereafter as *Römische Mitteilungen*.

⁷ *Les portraits de Pompeius Magnus* in *Revue archéologique*, 6ième Série, Tome VII, pt. 1 (1936), pp. 35 ff.

⁸ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 614; Arndt-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pls. 6 - 7.

⁹ *Römische Mitteilungen*, II (1887), pp. 3 ff.

¹⁰ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 635; Arndt-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 716.

clear enough.

4. *Agrippina Minor*.¹¹ The correct name of this wonderful portrait was proposed by Mau.¹² The features are those of a member of the Claudian family, which excludes the elder Agrippina. It is a unique picture of Nero's mother toward the end of her life—if not a posthumous portrait. Closely related is a head formerly in the Wood-yatt collection.¹³

5. *Lucius Calpurnius Piso pontifex* (?)¹⁴ Helbig called this portrait of an old gentleman Agrippa. A replica in the Louvre had the name of Galba attached to it, but both identifications are obviously mistaken. Recently an attempt has been made to show that the same man, in younger years, is portrayed next to Augustus and Tiberius in the Ara Pacis frieze and that his name is Lucius Calpurnius Piso pontifex, the brother-in-law of Julius Caesar and consul in 15 B.C. He died in 32 A.D. at the ripe age of eighty.¹⁵ One of his sons was probably the above-mentioned Marcus Licinius Crassus, consul in 27 A.D., whose funerary altar—together with those of his sons—was found with the portraits. His father, Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, is supposed to have been the first owner of the famous "Villa dei Papiri" at Herculaneum.¹⁶ And it may be noted that besides the famous Greek portraits found in the villa, there is also

one of an elderly Roman gentleman who displays a remarkable physiognomical likeness to our "Lucius Piso".¹⁷

6. *Licina* (?)¹⁸ This old lady is perhaps the wife of our "Lucius Piso"—supposing that she has kept the coiffure of her youth throughout her life, which is what might be expected of a person with her look; for if the portrait were dated to the time when this particular style of hair was latest fashion, i.e. about 40/30 B.C.,

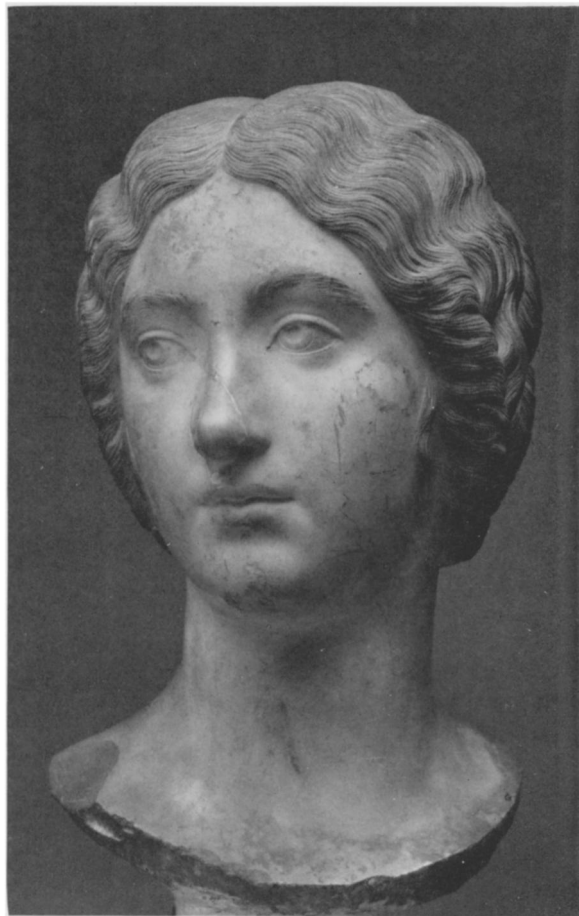


FIGURE 3

NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK

Portrait of a Lady

¹¹ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 630; Arndt-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pls. 711-712.

¹² *Römische Mitteilungen*, VII (1892), pp. 234 ff.

¹³ Cf. *Acta Archaeologica*, XVII (1946), pp. 41 ff.

¹⁴ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 655; Arndt-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pls. 8 - 9.

¹⁵ *Acta Archaeologica*, XVII (1946), pp. 6 ff.

¹⁶ Herbert Block, *L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus in Samothrace and Herculaneum* in *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLIV (1940), pp. 490 ff.

¹⁷ D. Comparetti and G. de Petra, *La villa ercolanese dei Pisoni* (Turin, 1883), pl. 11, 4; Kurt Kluge and Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Grossbronzen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1927), vol. II, p. 24, fig. 1.

¹⁸ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 602; Arndt-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pls. 61 - 62.

she would be too old for Piso. The name of his consort is not known to us, but there is some reason to believe she was a Licinia.

7-8. *The Sisters*.¹⁹ These very finely carved portraits of two attractive young girls evidently represent sisters. As already observed by Helbig, they seem related to the old lady, no. 6, and to the young man, no. 9.

9. *Portrait of a young man*.²⁰ For no apparent reason, Helbig considered this delicate youth a likeness of Marcus Junius Brutus, the murderer of Caesar. Stylistically our head is related to certain portraits of the young Augustus.²¹

10. *Portrait of a small boy*.²² This is a masterpiece among portraits depicting Roman citizens at a tender age, a well-known type. He clearly is a member of the "family", nos. 5-9.

11. *Marcus Licinius Crassus Frugi (?)*.²³ This is the portrait acquired from Rome in 1891, and very probably it is the one referred to in the first record of the sarcophagi as "una stupenda testa-ritratto in marmo greco. Esprime i lineamenti di un uomo nel pieno vigore degli anni, senza barba, e coi capelli tagliati alla foggia del primo secolo dell' impero. Sembra testa di statua".²⁴ According to Helbig, it is a likeness of Cassius. Frederik Poulsen is more justified in pronouncing the name of Marcus Licinius Crassus, the consul of 27 A.D., already mentioned, who was killed in 47 A.D. at the order of his old friend Claudius.²⁵

12. *Portrait of an old lady*.²⁶ The sculpture belongs to the early decades of the empire.

13. *Portrait of a middle-aged lady*.²⁷ There is here a superficial resemblance to certain portraits of Antonia Minor, e.g., Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek 607.²⁸

The three remaining portraits belong to the end of the second century A.D. and thus can be directly associated with the sarcophagi. According to Helbig, they were found "in the se-

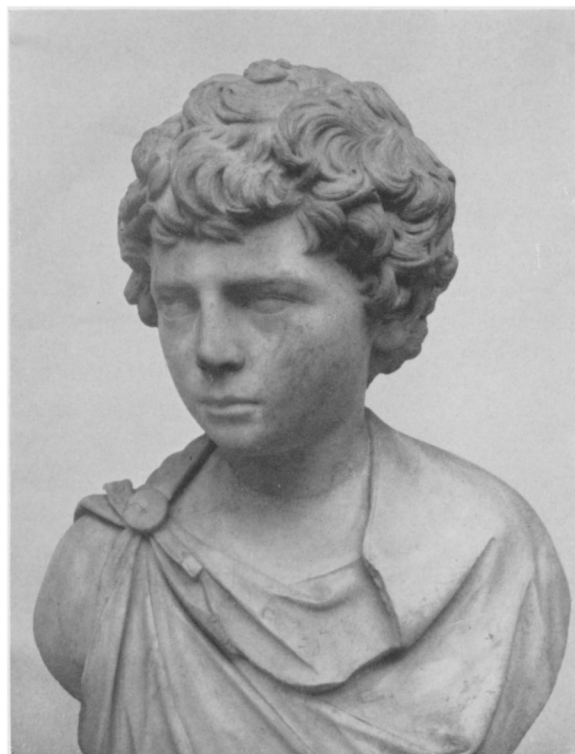


FIGURE 4 NY CARLSBERG GLYPTOTEK
Portrait of a Boy

cond chamber" of the tomb. But it is not certain that they represent members of the same family as the Julio-Claudian group.

¹⁹ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 603-604; Arndt-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pls. 63 - 66.

²⁰ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 601; Arndt-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pls. 67 - 68.

²¹ Cf. *Römische Mitteilungen*, LV (1940), p. 41, figs. 5 - 6.

²² Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 631; Arndt-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 70.

²³ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 599; Arndt-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pls. 849 - 850.

²⁴ *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* (1885), p. 75.

²⁵ *Revue archéologique*, 5ième Série, Tome XXXVI, pt. 2 (1932), pp. 60 ff.

²⁶ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 605; Arndt-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pls. 171 - 172.

²⁷ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 606.

²⁸ Cf. *Acta Archaeologica*, XVII (1946), p. 30.

14. *Portrait of a bearded man* (fig. 1).²⁹ This splendid portrait of a Roman nobleman is from

²⁹ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 695.

³⁰ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 717; Arndt-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pls. 567 - 568.

³¹ Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 705; Arndt-Bruckmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 760.

³² Cf. Max Wegner, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1939), pp. 36 ff., pl. 15.

the very end of the golden century of the Antonine emperors.

15. *Portrait of a lady* (fig. 3).³⁰ She is most likely the wife of no. 14.

16. *Portrait of a boy* (fig. 4).³¹ Stylistically, this head appears to be earlier than nos. 14-15, being closely related to the portraits of Marcus Aurelius as a young man.³²



FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Basalt Portrait Head

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG PRINCE OF THE FAMILY OF AUGUSTUS

BY JEAN CHARBONNEAUX

Musée du Louvre, Paris

THE FINE BASALT HEAD which forms the subject of this note (figs. 1, 4)¹ first came to my notice during a visit—altogether too brief—that I made to the Walters Art Gallery in November 1947.

That the sculpture is a portrait, hardly seems open to doubt. The small round chin well separated from the cheeks, the small mouth, the peculiar shape of the eyebrows and of the forehead, the arrangement of the hair, all combine to form a definitely individualized countenance, despite the idealization of the features and the youth of the model. Particularly characteristic is the group of locks of hair which curl toward the middle of the forehead, three from each side, converging so that the two innermost locks form the "Augustan fork." On either side of this central cluster, the locks are treated with much freedom, curling forward at the left and away at the right. The "fork", so clearly indicated,

points to the epoch of Augustus and, since the portrait is of a young person executed in a material that is relatively rare and noble,² one naturally thinks of one of the princes of the imperial family. Let us mention that the treatment of the hair in well-separated locks, disposed in a knowingly rhythmic disorder, belongs to the Hellenistic tradition that was still very active in the second half of the first century before Christ: we may cite, as close to our subject, the fine portrait of Agrippa in the Louvre.³ In portraits in more typically Roman style not only is the arrangement of the locks on the sides and top of the head more regular, but the surface of the hair is treated as a uniform mass, without the variations of relief that produce the strongly plastic effect which we see here. We note that the hair is much less thick on the top of the head than on the sides, as if the sculptor had not sufficient stone. On the other hand, the two indentations that frame the central cluster of locks are of excessive depth. In this there seems to be an awkwardness that must be explained by the hardness of the stone. The sharp drawing of the eyelids, the too abrupt planes of the neck, are other indications of the resistance offered by the stone to the sculptor's tool.

When I first saw this head in Baltimore, I

¹ No. 23.124. Black basalt. H. 12¼ in. Breaks: nose, hair on left, base of neck.

² On this subject, cf. Miss J. M. C. Toynbee in *The Studio* (April, 1946), pp. 105-106, in connection with a feminine portrait in basalt (Agrippina?).

³ For both profile views, see L. Curtius in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, XLVIII (1933), pls. 30, 31, illustrating an article on the portraits of Agrippa, pp. 192-243.

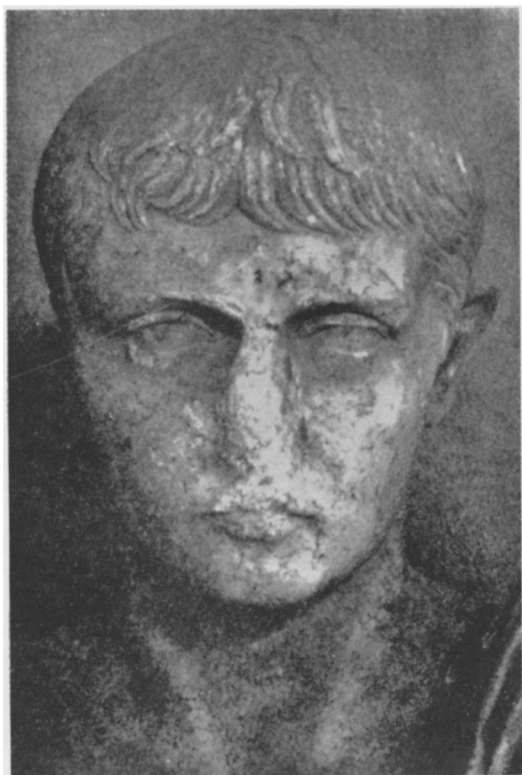


FIGURE 2

Portrait of Gaius Caesar
(after Johnson)

CORINTH

thought that I recognized Germanicus, because of the roundness of the face and a certain disorder in the hair. But the roundness is to be laid to the youth of the model, while the disorder of the locks, as we have seen, is due to the Hellenistic current in which this sculpture is located. As a matter of fact, this portrait does not seem to belong to the Claudian group. The Claudian type, which would include portraits of Drusus

⁴ L. Curtius, in his study on the youthful portraits of Tiberius in *Römische Mitteilungen*, L (1935), pp. 286-320, perhaps has not attached sufficient importance to these characteristics. On the other hand, he has exaggerated the value of the indications furnished by the arrangement of the locks of hair on the forehead in identifying personages of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

⁵ Despite the ingenious efforts of L. Curtius in *Römische Mitteilungen*, LIV (1939), pp. 131-144, the iconography of Marcellus remains enigmatic.

the Elder, Tiberius, Germanicus, Drusus the Younger, and Claudius, is characterized by the breadth of the cranium at the top of the forehead, resulting in a more or less triangular shape for the face, as well as by the retreating lower lip, making a peculiar crease at the commissures. Neither of these traits appears here.⁴ Therefore, an entirely different hypothesis must be conceived. Since we are forced by the style of the sculpture to roam no later than the end of the first century B.C., one can hardly avoid considering the two elder sons of Agrippa, Gaius and Lucius Caesar.⁵

It has recently been shown in studying known dedications that portraits of these two princes, who were the grandsons and heirs of Augustus,

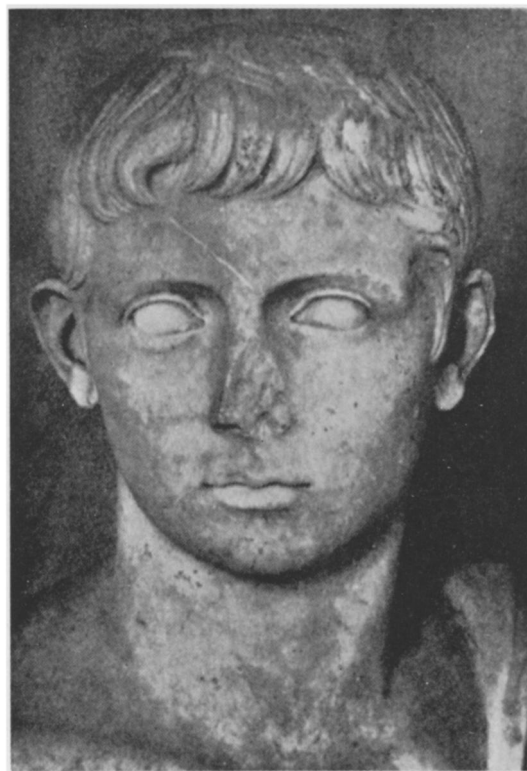


FIGURE 3

Portrait of Lucius Caesar
(after Johnson)

CORINTH

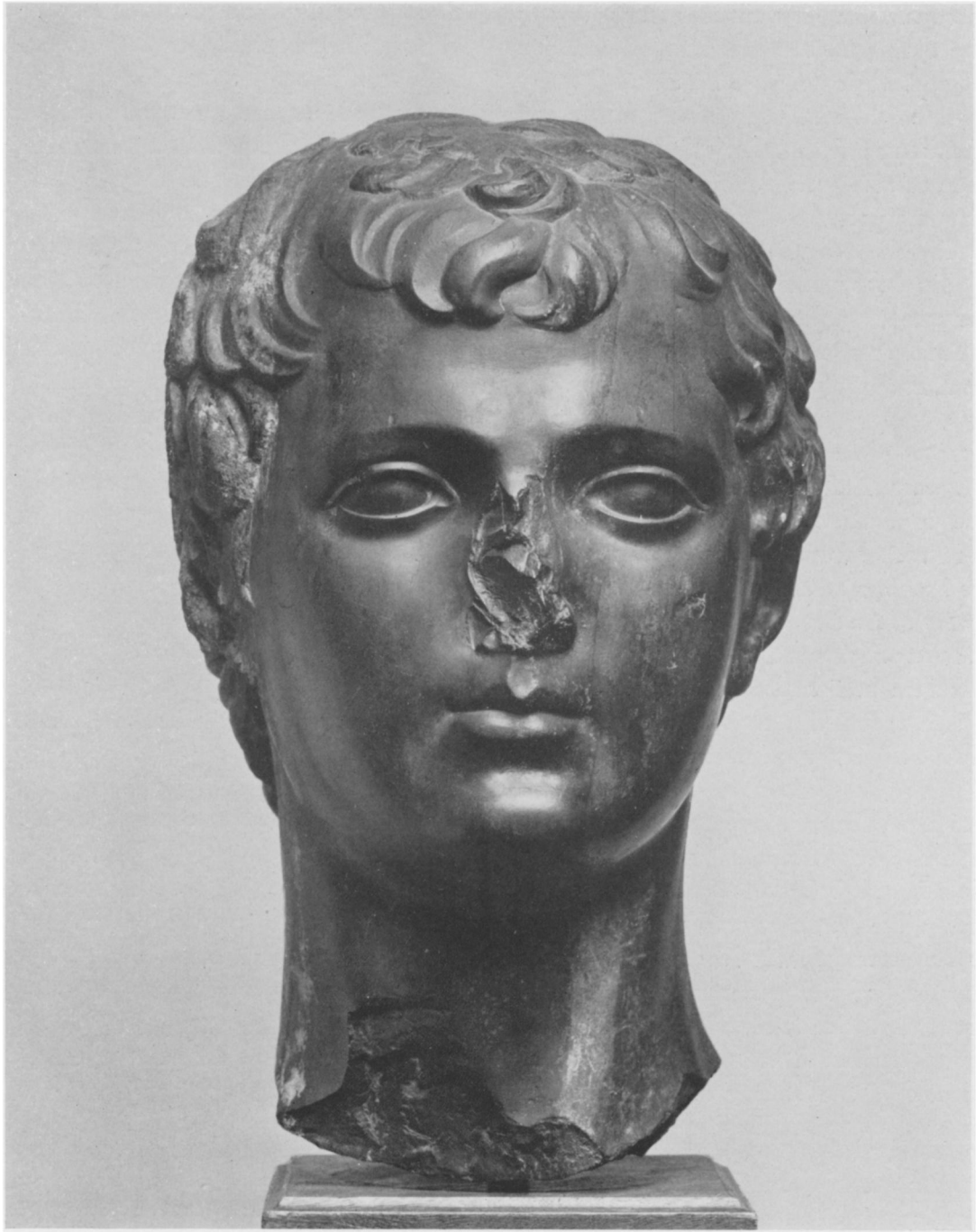


FIGURE 4

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Basalt Portrait Head

occurred in fairly large number throughout the empire during their lifetime, and even a little while after their death, and that these statues represented them at various ages during their brief existence, from infancy on.⁶ It is difficult to state precisely the age of the person whose features are preserved for us in the Baltimore head. There is something very young, almost infantile, in the roundness of the cheeks, the small, tender mouth, in the gaze and general expression. But the modulation of the forehead, with a slight furrow at the point where the nose commences, lessens this quality of extreme youth. One might place the age of the model at between ten and fifteen years, with a preference for the younger limit.

It is well known that the iconography of Gaius and Lucius Caesar took shape after the discovery of the two statues in Corinth (figs. 2, 3)⁷. The excavation at Thasos of a head of Lucius Caesar in a herōon dedicated to this prince⁸ proves that the identifications proposed by Dr. Franklin P. Johnson are correct. We can, then, take as a point of departure the two Corinth portraits. What distinguishes the two brothers from each other is not so much the arrangement of the hair on the forehead, as it is that in the portrait of Lucius the eyebrows are more rounded at the innermost part of the arch, the eyes are more open, and the jaw narrower and not as square as in the case of Gaius. Moreover, Lucius' gently drawn mouth lacks the sad, bitter expression of Gaius. The Baltimore head favorably resembles the type of Lucius—particularly in the shape of the eyebrows and of the chin. It is important to take into account at this point the fact that the age represented is not the same, and

that the technique and manner of idealization are different. The Corinth portrait, in fact, like that of Thasos, represents the prince as about eighteen years old—that is, the age he had attained at the time of his death. On the other hand, as has been generally noticed, the Corinth portrait particularly emphasizes a resemblance to Augustus. Here, in the Baltimore sculpture, the two furrows that isolate the cluster of curls at mid-forehead reproduce a characteristic detail of Agrippa's coiffure, and doubtless the modulation of the forehead has a similar relationship. Thus, there is some basis for supposing the head in Baltimore to represent one of Agrippa's sons, and the weight of evidence seems in favor of Lucius, depicted at the time of transition between childhood and adolescence.⁹

⁶ Christine Hanson and Franklin P. Johnson, *On Certain Portrait Inscriptions* in *American Journal of Archaeology*, L (1946), pp. 389-400.

⁷ E. H. Swift, *A Group of Imperial Portraits at Corinth*, III in *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXV (1921), pp. 337 f.; F. P. Johnson in *Corinth, Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), vol. IX, pp. 72 f., full-face and profile illustrations, p. 73.

⁸ *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, LXIII (1939), p. 320, fig. 33 (*Chronique*). This head is the subject of a memoir by François Chamoux, which is to be published shortly. The author will take up again the question of the portraits of the two princes. I feel under obligation not to divulge in advance the results of his research which he was so kind as to share with me.

⁹ The head of a young prince from the Royal Garden in Athens clearly corresponds to the head of statue no. 135 in Corinth, as Antoine Hekler has already noticed in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, L (1935), pp. 403 ff., figs. 5, 6 [cf. Frederick Poulsen, *Römische Privatporträts und Prinzenbildnisse* (Copenhagen, 1939), p. 39, figs. 51-53]—that is to say, it represents Lucius in accordance with the Augustan style, and undoubtedly as a little older than the age apparently represented in the Baltimore head.



FIGURES 1, 2

Greek Shepherd

WALTERS ART GALLERY

A GREEK SHEPHERD

BY DOROTHY KENT HILL

The Walters Art Gallery

STATUETTES of the kind which the Greeks used to make often have for us a charm which their greater and more monumental works of art lack. Perfection of detail, a better state of preser-

vation due to compactness and the inherent strength of the material, homely and lovable subject matter, even the very small size itself, are factors which may contribute to this charm. All these factors and more are present in a small bronze which has recently been acquired by the Walters Art Gallery (figs. 1, 2),¹ as a supplement to the remarkable collection of small bronzes gathered by Henry Walters. It is a work of art dating from the sixth century B.C.

¹ Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.2323. Purchased, 1948. First known in England, ultimate source unknown. To be published in Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, no. 284. Crystalline green patina generally, with a few dark red spots; other details of condition as indicated in the text.

and it represents a youth, nude as to his body, but wearing a flat hat on his head, carrying a ram securely tucked under his left arm. To judge from its size in relation to the man, the ram must be young, but it is old enough to have complete, curled horns. Its forelegs are folded against its chest and the hoofs were intended to project forward. The man's left hand is tightly clenched and there is some indication that it held some object now broken away—perhaps a shepherd's crook or staff. The right arm shoots forward just below shoulder height and the hand, now damaged, was held up with the palm facing forward, in a gesture which to us suggests the Fascist salute, but which really was the Greek gesture of prayer. The hair is obscured by corrosion, but careful study will reveal the artistic rendering by very fine lines on a broad sculptural mass. At the center of the front the hair is cut short into bangs, lying diagonally on the forehead and diverging from a short central part. Long hair falls in loops on the forehead at each side and disappears behind the ears into the long mass which lies on the shoulders and narrows to a blunted point about the height of the armpits. This mass is decorated with long, true, incised lines flowing vertically down the back of the head and converging toward the ends.

The statuette is now $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches tall, and when it was complete was slightly taller. We must admit that the condition is not perfect. The feet of the man and three of the animal's feet are missing, as well as part of the brim of the hat and most of the fingers of the right hand. Also, the right wrist has been broken and repaired, while corrosion over the centuries has caused the formation of a coating of bright green salts which at some points obscures the modeling. A slight chipping of the tip of the nose makes its profile look unnatural. Still, anyone who remembers the life-size marble statues

which have endured from the same period in Greek history in so mangled a state that often to the inexperienced eye the beauty has all but vanished, will pronounce the preservation of this tiny work of art extremely good by comparative standards.

The subject matter is best clarified by comparison with three bronze statuettes from the rugged mountain land of Arcadia in the center of the peninsula of southern Greece. Arcadia was shepherd country, and the religious needs of her inhabitants were those of all pastoral peoples. A common type of sculptural work from Arcadia is the god Hermes, messenger of the gods and also guardian of the flocks. He is usually depicted with wings on his shoes and on his hat, carrying a sheep or lamb in token of his protection, and usually his maturity is indicated by a full beard. A fine example in the Athens National Museum is illustrated in figure 5.² A type which was a rival in popularity is exemplified by a bronze which was in the Museum in Berlin (fig. 3).³ There are no wings, and in this respect the statuette differs from that in Athens. Variant examples omit the clothing, or substitute a cloak for the dress, or omit the hat and the beard. These two types are generally

² Athens, National Museum, no. 12347. From Andritsaina, Arcadia. Perdrizet, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, XXVII (1903), pp. 301 ff., pl. VII (our fig. 5); de Ridder, *Revue des Études grecques*, XVIII (1905), p. 126; E. Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen* (Nuernberg, 1927), p. 31, no. 24 (attributed to school of Sikyon); Lamb, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XXVII (1925-1926), p. 135, no. 2 (middle of sixth century B.C.).

³ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, no. 10781. From sanctuary on Mt. Lykaion, Arcadia. Langlotz, *op. cit.*, p. 31, no. 25 (attributed to school of Sikyon); K. A. Neugebauer, *Archäologische Anzeiger* (1922), cols. 71 ff., no. 16; *idem*, *Führer durch das antiquarium. I. Bronzen* (Berlin, 1924), p. 33; *idem*, *Katalog der statuarischen Bronzen in Antiquarium*, I (Berlin and Leipzig, 1931), p. 68, no. 166, pl. 24 (our fig. 3); Lamb, *B.S.A.*, XXVII (1925-1926), p. 36, no. 3 and fig. (550-530 B.C.).



FIGURE 3
Arcadian Shepherd
(After Neugebauer)



FIGURE 4
Attic Hermes or Youth
(After Perdrizet)



FIGURE 5
Arcadian Hermes
(After Perdrizet)

considered to represent respectively Hermes and the shepherds who were his worshippers and suitors. The clothing of the shepherds is that which was actually worn in life: short loose dress, heavy bulky coat, high shoes, and a hat of one of two styles. Hermes is shown dressed just like the worshippers. It is not always certain which is intended, for the wings are the only sure mark of identification. Perhaps many figures that are called shepherds are really meant to be Hermes.

Identification becomes still more difficult when, as in the case of the Walters piece, the

feet are broken off. One cannot be sure that there were not winged shoes, and, therefore, that Hermes was not intended. The presumption is, however, that we have a simple shepherd, a youth who has not yet grown a beard, represented in the nude as was considered fitting in Greece and accepted there as hot weather costume.⁴ In fairness it should be admitted that the hat (called a *petasos*), was even more a favorite of the messenger god than the peaked kind.

The gesture of the right hand sheds some further light on the subject. The wrist has been broken and repaired, but the nature of the fracture leaves no doubt as to the original position. An Arcadian bronze belonging to the Berlin Museum and illustrated in figures 6 and 7

⁴ See Neugebauer, *Antike Bronzestatuetten* (Berlin, 1921), p. 42.



FIGURES 6, 7 BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN
Arcadian Man at Prayer
(After Neugebauer)

shows the gesture more plainly.⁵ This gesture of prayer occurs frequently in Greek art, but rarely as early as on the Berlin statuette, even more rarely at the still earlier date of our bronze. The gesture is the best indication on the subject of our statuette, for Hermes would hardly be shown in prayer, while it would be most natural for a young mortal shepherd to approach him in prayer carrying one of the flock, perhaps to secure its safety, perhaps to offer it to the god.

The subject matter has been clarified by these three Arcadian figures, but one difference must already have struck everyone who has compared the Walters acquisition with them: its sveltness in contrast to their extraordinary solidity. Short, stocky figures are characteristic of Arcadian art, so much so that a consideration of the proportions leads one to doubt the Arcadian origin of

our piece.⁶ Further, crude workmanship was usual in Arcadia even after artists in other Greek countries had developed great skill. Crude our figure certainly is not. Despite the corrosion, one can remark the delicate rendering of the features, as well as their correct size and relationship one to another and the fine hair rendering which we have already described. Such detailed workmanship is hardly to be expected from the rustic Arcadians. Finally, though pastoral life and pastoral dedications were characteristic of Arcadia, they were not limited to that particular part of Greece.

It is always safer to deny a piece membership in one school than to obtain for it membership in another. I am not convinced of the provenience of this statuette. Sikyon and Corinth in the northern Peloponnese are candidates and a still better one is no less a city than Athens. A school in Athens can be established more easily than in some of her sister cities, because of the great wealth of material preserved in the debris of the Persian destruction of 480 B.C. This material, ploughed under in the resurfacing of the Acropolis after the Persian war and brought to light again in modern times, includes both marbles and bronzes of the previous century, the century of the Walters statuette. Though there undoubtedly was sculpture imported to Athens, the bulk of the material is stylistically homogeneous and therefore almost certainly locally made.

⁵ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, no. 10780. From sanctuary on Mt. Lykaion, Arcadia. Langlotz, *op. cit.*, p. 55, no. 27, pl. 28 a (attributed to school of Argos); Neugebauer, *Führer*, p. 33, pl. 16; *idem*, *Antike Bronzestatuetten*, pp. 42 f., fig. 23; *idem*, *Katalog*, pp. 72 f., no. 172, pl. 26 (our figs. 6, 7); P. Jacobstahl, *Die melischen Reliefs* (Berlin, 1931), p. 186, fig. 58; W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (London, 1929), p. 93, note 1; Lamb, *B.S.A.*, XXVII (1925-1926), p. 138, no. 11 (shortly after 500 B.C.).

⁶ On the proportion and subject of Arcadian works, which she was the first to isolate, see Lamb, *B.S.A.*, XXVII (1925-1926), p. 133.

I choose as examples of the Attic style of head a marble horseman found in the Acropolis debris in Athens, dated in the neighborhood of 520 B.C.;⁷ a late sixth-century winged woman in the Walters Art Gallery, undoubtedly one of those bronzes which have been recognized by Neugebauer and others as belonging to vases or tripods or other utensils made in Athens (fig. 8);⁸ and one of a group of bronze youths or Hermes figures which are certainly Attic of the end of the century (fig. 4).⁹ (Most members of this group were found on the Athenian Acropolis, but one was first made known in modern times in distant Egypt and the one of my choice, by interesting coincidence, came to light in Arcadia along with the unimpeachably Arcadian Hermes of figure 5).

Comparison of the head with these three Attic heads suggests that our statuette also is Attic. As for the date, if the face alone were to

be considered, one would want to date it later than the marble and only slightly earlier than the two bronzes. However, the length of the hair at the back suggests a somewhat earlier date, for the Greek fashion in male hair arrangements gradually changed in favor of shorter cuts.

We can learn less from the body than from the head, for it seems never to have shown much anatomical detail and the preservation is too poor for details to be a basis for judgment. There was pretty consistent improvement in anatomical rendition on Greek marble statues and the better bronzes, and this detail can sometimes be a criterion of date.¹⁰ In our case this criterion cannot be applied. As for the proportions, the body is slight, and the waist is quite small, the legs are long and possibly if the feet were preserved they would be very long. The shoulders are narrow, and, because of the activ-

(Continued on page 85)

⁷ H. Schrader, *Archaische Marmor-Skulpturen im Akropolis-Museum zu Athen* (Oesterreiches Archäologisches Institut, Wien, 1909), p. 79, fig. 70; *idem*, *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* (Frankfurt, 1939), pp. 237 f., no. 317, pls. 143 and 144 (143 with horses); H. Payne and G. M. Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis* (London, 1936), p. 46, pls. 101 and 136, 1 (perhaps 520-510 B.C.); Casson, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLV (1925), pp. 175 ff., fig. 7 (530-510 B.C.); G. Dickins, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, I (1912), pp. 155 f., nos. 623, 1049.

⁸ Neugebauer, *Antike Bronzestatuetten*, p. 53, and fig. 3. A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes* (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 74) (Paris, 1896), pp. 320-327, nos. 805-814, figs. 311-320. On the difference between these Attic figures and those from non-Attic utensils see Neugebauer in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, XXXVIII-XXXIX (1923-1924), pp. 426 f. and *Antike Bronzestatuetten*, *loc. cit.*

⁹ Perdrizet, *B.C.H.*, XXVII (1903), pp. 300 ff., pl. ix (our fig. 4); *Bronzes grecs d'Égypte de la Collection Fouquet* (Paris, 1911), pp. 25 f., no. 37, pl. XV; Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, p. 100; (Perdrizet includes more of the Acropolis pieces in the group than does Miss Lamb, who also omits our fig. 4); de Ridder, *Bronzes sur l'Acropole*, p. 267, nos. 736 ff., pls. I, II.

¹⁰ On anatomy and proportions as criteria of dating, see G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi* (New York, 1942), pp. 27 ff.



FIGURE 8 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Attic Bronze, Winged Woman

26 March 1864 — at Daumier's, drawing not finished.
13 April 1864 — met Daumier who told me that the drawing of the omnibus was finished.

28 April 1864 — at Daumier's and ordered 1st and 2nd class.

6 June 1864 — note from Daumier . . . at Daumier's.
Took and paid for (200 fr.) 2 drawings 1st and 2nd class R Road ———

The record of the purchases by Lucas for Walters during the month of March, 1864, do not exist at the Walters Art Gallery. However, those for June are preserved here and under the date of June 6, 1864, Lucas in his own handwriting records the purchase of the First and Second Class Carriage watercolors for William T. Walters. It was often the custom of Walters and Lucas to take home and study for a few days the paintings and watercolors they commissioned, frequently suggesting changes. Since the watercolor of the Omnibus finished in April, 1864, shows variations with the woodcut of January 30th of the same year, changes may have been suggested by the patrons in this instance.

It is of interest to Americans that at an early date Lucas and Walters knew and appreciated the watercolors of Daumier and even purchased such fine examples. With the growing attention given to the history of American collecting, these few notations from an old diary take on considerable significance.

SCULPTURE GROUPS AFTER ROGIER

(continued from page 43)

groups surely did not use this particular engraved design as his working model, for in certain details (e.g. the beard of Joseph) the sculpture follows the painting more closely than does the engraving; but if the remaining portions of our copy in sculpture are some day found, new

light might be shed on this very enigmatic problem in the history of painting.

The two sculptures, although of fine quality within their genre, are of but secondary importance in themselves. They nevertheless comprise a significant addition to an ever-increasing body of evidence that Rogier van der Weyden's direct influence on the sculpture of his time and for two generations afterwards was a singular phenomenon in northern European art.

A GREEK SHEPHERD

(continued from page 23)

ity of the arms, it is hard to say whether they may be called sloping. They do seem to be, and Miss Lamb picked sloping shoulders as an Attic characteristic, in especial contrast with the Arcadian style¹¹ (compare figures 3, 5-7). The narrow waist and long legs, if they mean anything, mean an early date, for they mirror a lack of understanding of the human body and a consequent lack of realism in its portrayal.

My suggestion about our bronze shepherd, then, is that it was made in Athens, and considering its generalized and therefore unlearned body and rather advanced head, I would suggest a compromise date in the neighborhood of 525 B.C.

¹¹ Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, p. 100.

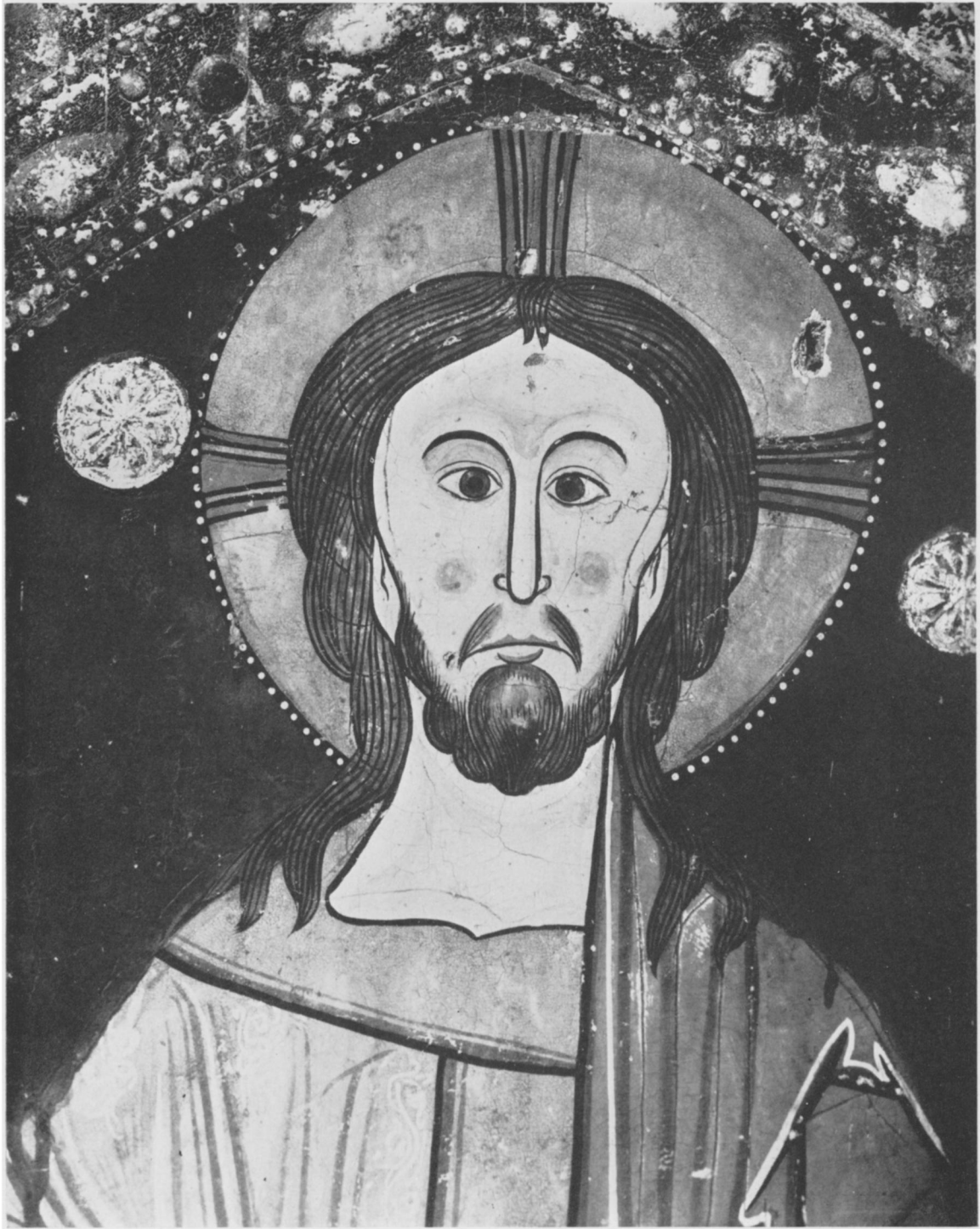


FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Saint Martin Altar Frontal
Christ in Majesty (detail)

THE SAINT MARTIN ALTAR FRONTAL IN THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

BY WALTER W. S. COOK

Institute of Fine Arts, New York University

IN THE LAND of knight-errantry, even the blessed saints seem at times to take on something of a chivalrous quality. Peculiarly sympathetic to this national trend was the story of Saint Martin, and one of the most interesting among the altar frontals of Spain is that which illustrates his legend with scenes from his life and death (fig. 2). In 1923, this was acquired by the late Henry Walters, probably from a London art dealer.¹

This panel contains the "Majestas Domini" in the central compartment, flanked by four

scenes from the life of Saint Martin: the "Sharing of the Mantle," "Dream of Saint Martin," "Ordination as Bishop," and "Death of Saint Martin."

Christ in Majesty (figs. 1, 3) is seated on an openwork throne surmounted by a bolster; His feet rest on the edge of the mandorla. In His left hand He holds a Book, the cover of which is inscribed IHE(SV)S D(OMI)N(V)S, and He raises the right in benediction. Represented with long hair and beard, He has a crossed nimbus, red on a yellow field, a yellow tunic with wide sleeves and, draped over His left shoulder, a red mantle, the edges of which are outlined with black and white. Surrounding the figure is a series of small medallions on a black ground: some are modeled in stucco with decorative designs, while others are stamped with a coin-die. The mandorla has a lozenge and roundel pattern bordered with beading. The background, now a solid black, has been entirely repainted.

The spandrels outside the mandorla contain the Evangelist symbols, each of which has a scroll naming his Evangelist. In the upper left, the angel of Saint Matthew with tunic and dark blue mantle, is holding a white book aloft in the left hand, while the right is raised in a

¹ Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.1188. Size: 41" x 62" (1.041 x 1.58 m.). Exhibited: London, Exhibition of Spanish Masters, Grafton Galleries, 1913-1914, no. 9. Formerly in the collection of Roger Fry, London. In reply to an enquiry, Mr. Fry informed me that he purchased this antependium from a small art dealer in Paris a few years before the London exhibition of 1913, and that he had no knowledge of the provenance of the work, except that it came from Spain. Condition: The lower part of the altar frontal has been damaged, and the scene in the right compartment is hardly visible. The bottom frame is missing, and its bevel has been seriously injured. Many of the letters of the inscription have been lost, particularly on the right side. Some of the colors are well preserved, especially on the figure of Christ in the central compartment. The ground behind this figure has been entirely repainted in black, and there is now no trace of the original blue. The outlines of the composition were incised on the panel, but in many instances the artist did not follow this drawing. Bibliography: Maurice Brockwell, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Exhibition of Spanish Old Masters*, Grafton Galleries (London, 1913-1914), pl. 4, no. 9; *Exposició d'antigues pintures espanyoles a Londres in Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, V, pt. 2 (1913-1914), fig. 169, p. 883; Chandler R. Post, *Spanish Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), I, pp. 278-284, fig. 77. J. Gudiol, *Spanish Painting*, The Toledo Museum of Art, 1941, p. 10, fig. 8.

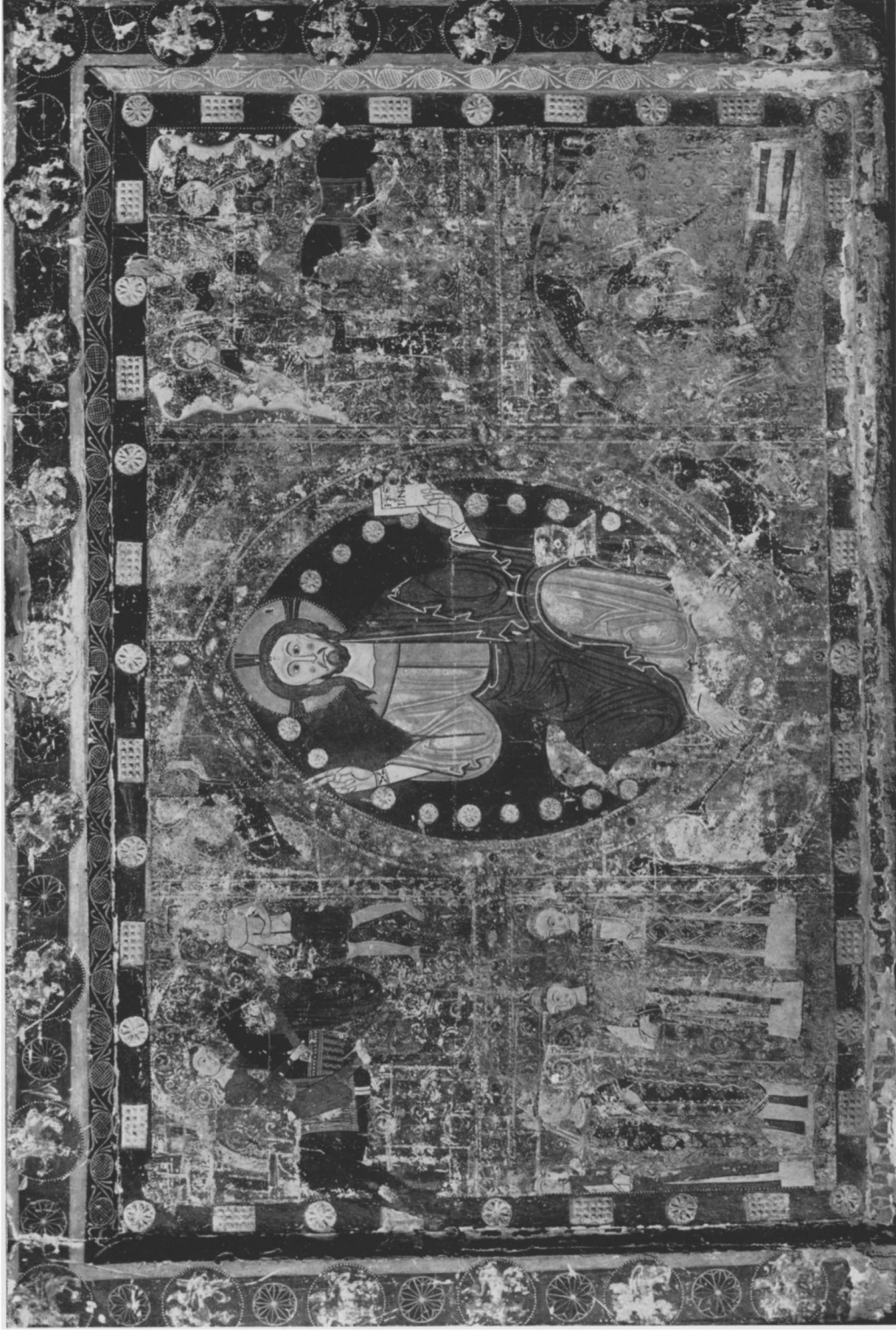


FIGURE 2

Saint Martin Altar Frontal

gesture of speech; in the upper right, is the eagle of Saint John (IOH). The red and blue lion of Saint Mark (MARC) is at the lower left, and at the right is the black ox of Saint Luke (LVCAS).

The "Sharing of the Mantle" is portrayed in the upper left compartment (fig. 4). The gate of the city of Amiens is symbolized by an irregular trefoil arch. A beardless Saint Martin in a dark green tunic bends forward and with a long sword divides his orange mantle. The beggar, scantily clad in a short blue garment falling to the knees, carries a long staff in one hand and holds the mantle with the other. The black horse, with small head and highly arched neck, has been restored on the back and haunches. The hind legs project upon the band, decorated with a die pattern, next the bevel of the frame.

The "Vision of Saint Martin" is placed in the upper right compartment (fig. 5). The saint, before his horse, kneels with hands outstretched and gazes into the heavens, beholding the enthroned Christ recounting to two angels the Charity of Saint Martin. ". . . He saw our Lord Jesu Christ in heaven clothed with that part that he had given to the poor man, and said to the angels that were about him: Martin, yet new in the faith, hath covered me with this vesture."² The Saviour, clad in tunic and mantle, is seated on a throne, with angels on each side swinging censers. Saint Martin wears a tight-fitting black tunic with long sleeves, red mantle, hose and sandals. Usually, when this scene is represented, the saint lies dreaming in bed, but here he has the vision as he kneels beside his steed.

² Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, (translated by William Caxton), ed. F. S. Ellis, *The Temple Classics* (London, 1900), VI, p. 143.

³ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 144.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 155.

The "Ordination of Saint Martin" is shown in the lower compartment at the left (fig. 6). "And then he . . . went to S. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers and he made him acolyte."³ The beardless Saint Hilary, clad as a bishop in a chasuble covered with rosettes, white mitre, blue pallium and crozier, raises his hand in an attitude of benediction while he performs the rites of ordination. Saint Martin, on the right, in deacon's dalmatic, holds an open book with both hands. Standing on either side holding open books are deacons in alb and dalmatic with differing ornamental patterns.

In the lower right compartment (fig. 7) occurs the "Death of Saint Martin," of ". . . whom the bishop said: It is my Lord, S. Martin, which is departed out of the world, and the angels bear him now into heaven."⁴ In bishop's vestments, the saint lies with hands crossed on his breast, while three angels appear from heaven to receive his soul. One of them holds a censer above the head of Saint Martin, and a small figure stretching his arms toward an angel may possibly symbolize the soul of the saint, so that this would represent his death and translation into heaven. The scene is framed by a semi-circular arch, above which loom the towers and battlements of Tours or Poitiers.

The composition is surrounded on all four sides by a red border ornamented with medallions and cartouches of stucco in low relief. The bevel of the frame is decorated with a white scroll pattern on a black ground. The upper surface contains large medallions enclosing lions *passant* in stucco against black, alternating with rosettes. On the lower edge of the frame there is an inscription in white letters, now partially obliterated, which reads: ANNO D(OMI)NI MCCL. The mandorla and horizontal bands dividing the registers are decorated with lozenges, roundels and pearl ornament in low relief. The backgrounds of the side compartments



FIGURE 3

Saint Martin Altar Frontal (detail)
Christ in Majesty

WALTERS ART GALLERY

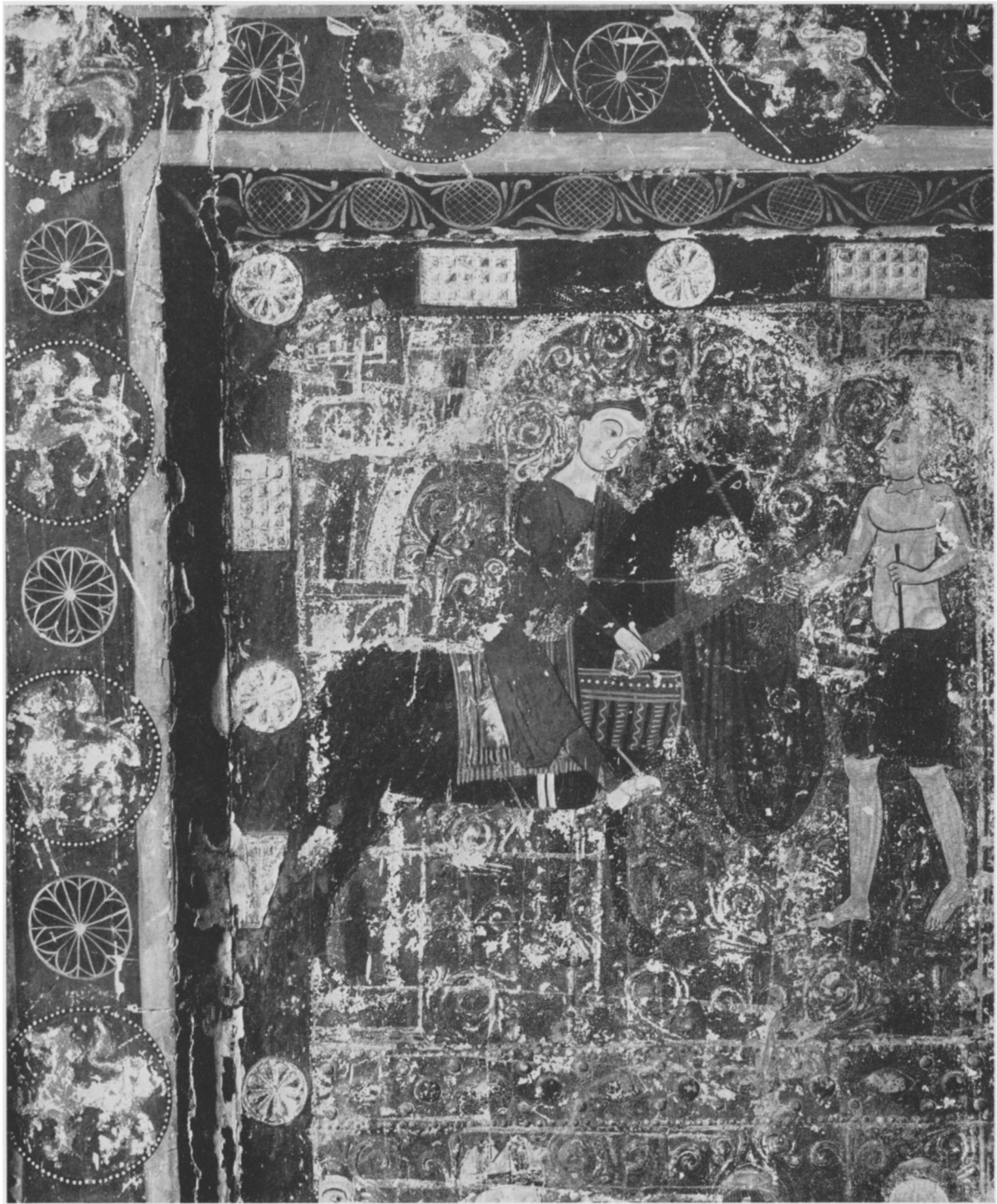


FIGURE 4

Saint Martin Altar Frontal (detail)
The Sharing of the Mantle

WALTERS ART GALLERY



FIGURE 5

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Saint Martin Altar Frontal (detail)
The Vision of Saint Martin



FIGURE 6

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Saint Martin Altar Frontal (detail)
The Ordination of St. Martin



FIGURE 7

Saint Martin Altar Frontal (detail)
The Death of Saint Martin

WALTERS ART GALLERY

· THE SAINT MARTIN ALTAR FRONTAL ·



FIGURE 8

Saint Martin Altar Frontal
(from Palau de Rialp)

BARCELONA, JUAN VIDAL COLL.

also are enlivened with a foliate and scroll pattern in stucco.

Iconographically this panel is interesting as one of the few instances in early Spanish painting in which the "Vision of Saint Martin" is shown as an independent scene, although it had appeared as early as the tenth century in the Sacramentary of Göttingen,⁵ and later in the Albani Psalter.⁶ Saint Martin was among the most favored and popular saints in Catalonia,

and many churches were dedicated to him.⁷ Scenes from his life occur on one of the earliest preserved antependia at Vich.⁸ As a simple standing figure, he shares his mantle with the beggar in the twelfth-century frontal from Hix, now in the Museo de Bellas Artes, Barcelona.⁹ He is also portrayed on a side panel from San Sadurn de Tavérnoles, now in the Muntadas collection in Barcelona.¹⁰ Episodes from the legend are represented in the Saint Martin

⁵ W. W. S. Cook in *The Art Bulletin*, V (1922-1923), p. 88, n. 3, fig. 2.

⁶ A. Goldschmidt, *Der Albanispsalter in Hildesheim* (Berlin, 1895), p. 144.

⁷ Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 88 ff., fig. 1.

⁹ Cook in *The Art Bulletin*, VI (1923-1924), p. 32, fig. 2.

¹⁰ *La colección Muntadas* (Barcelona, 1931), no. 305; Post, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 499.

¹¹ Cook in *The Art Bulletin*, X (1928), pp. 171-178, fig. 12.



FIGURE 9 BARCELONA, MUSEO DE BELLAS ARTES
Fragment of Italian Fresco

frontals from Chía¹¹ and from Palau de Rialp (fig. 8).¹²

Stylistically, this work falls into the Catalan group of Vich-Ripoll. The round heads are a feature of this school, and the same type of square jaw is seen in the Saint Saturninus frontal from Rotges, now at Vich.¹³ In the "Sharing of the Mantle," the profile of the beggar with the sharply pointed chin is especially characteristic. This peculiarity was marked in the Catalan manuscript style, as shown by the Bible of Roda of the eleventh century, and continued throughout the Romanesque period.

The head of the Pantocrator in the center might be compared to that of the altar frontal and side panels from Llusá, now at Vich.¹⁴ The Saviour's head is strikingly Italo-Byzantine in

style and resembles the head of the Majestas Domini on a fragment of an Italian fresco of the thirteenth century, formerly in the Plandiura collection and now in the Museo de Bellas Artes in Barcelona (fig. 9). The drapery of Christ, specifically His tunic, shows the same ornamental scroll pattern as that found in other similar works of the school of Vich-Ripoll, such as the Madonna frontal from Llusá and the Madonna frontal from Aviá.¹⁵

The stucco background is unusual for the school of Vich-Ripoll, but in the Saint Stephen frontal at Llanars (fig. 10)¹⁶ and also in the frontal at Angoustrine (Pyrénées Orientales) (fig. 11),¹⁷ the stucco ornament is utilized in a similar manner. In the Walters Saint Martin panel and in the frontals at Llanars and Angoustrine, the stucco is applied sparingly and does not form a solid ground as in the case of the frontals in the school of Ribagorza. The medallions and cartouches in low relief are a feature not found on any other example of the school of Vich-Ripoll. The fact that the antependium at Angoustrine contains the same scroll pattern on the bevel of the frame, and the somewhat similar use of the lion passant on its main surface, would indicate that this Saint Martin

¹² Acquired by Sr. Juñer Vidal of Barcelona in 1930. This is to be dated about 1300 and is a product of the school of Ribagorza. Post, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 243-247, fig. 60 (detail).

¹³ J. Gudiol y Cunill, *La pintura mig-aval catalana, Els primitius*, I (Barcelona, 1928), figs. 64-68.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, figs. 78-84.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 74.

¹⁶ Post, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 277-278, fig. 76; J. Gudiol y Cunill, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 133-137, fig. 56.

¹⁷ The town of Angoustrine (*Angostrina* in Catalan) is in Cerdagne Lacustre (Pyrénées Orientales), on the French side of the Pyrenees not far from Mont-Louis, picturesquely situated on the right bank of the river Angoustrine. It is 16 kilometers from Saillagouse (Sallagosa), 63 kilometers from Prades. The village rises on the side of a hill like an amphitheatre. The Romanesque church is earlier than the twelfth century: J. Puig y Cadafalch, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1909-1918), III, p. 123, fig. 117; Brutails, *L'art religiós en el Rosselló*, pp. 149, 155; Vidal, *Guide de Pyrénées-orientales*, 2nd ed., pp. 371-373. Pijoán mentions this altar frontal in *illustració Catalana*, IV (26 August 1906). A detailed description of it is given in an Appendix to this article.

· THE SAINT MARTIN ALTAR FRONTAL ·



FIGURE 10

LLANARS, PARISH CHURCH

Saint Stephen Altar Frontal

frontal in the Walters Art Gallery also came originally from the region of Cerdagne, on the French side of the Pyrenees.

The importance of the date on the lower frame cannot be over-estimated, for this is one of the few instances where a date can be definitely assigned to a Catalonian altar frontal. Although the last letter has been partially obliterated so that it might be read as either an "I" or "L," and the year construed as 1201 or 1250, nevertheless, as Professor Post has re-

marked,¹⁸ each letter of the Roman numeral is followed by a dot, and the dot after the "L" is farther from the "L" than the dots after the other letters, and I would agree that it is much more probable that an "L" rather than an "I" was inscribed here. When the antependium was exhibited in London at the Grafton Galleries, the inscription was read as 1250; the panel may have been in better condition then. Such a date would be in complete agreement with the style of the frontal and it may be stated with assurance that it is the work of the middle of the thirteenth century.

The fact that we have here an antependium dated in the year 1250 is important. The stucco frontal from Esterri de Cardós, now in the Museo de Bellas Artes in Barcelona, is dated 1225,¹⁹ and the companion panel from Gines-

¹⁸ Post, *op. cit.*, I, p. 280.

¹⁹ In my first study of this antependium [*Art Studies*, II (1924), p. 51], I placed it about the year 1200, or early in the following century. Subsequent investigation has proved that this work is actually dated. Mutilated letters of an inscription, now somewhat illegible, are visible on the bevel of the frame at the left. The bevel at the right is inscribed: AB INCARNA (CION)E XPI MCCXXV, proving that this antependium was executed in the year 1225.

tarre de Cardós, in the Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, was also unquestionably executed in the same year. The lost stucco frontal from San Cucufate del Vallés was probably made, as Gudiol y Cunill suggested,²⁰ for the altar in the church of San Cucufate del Vallés, which was consecrated to the Virgin on 9 January, 1274, by Arnaldo de Gurb, bishop of Barcelona, at the request of Pedro de Torrella, abbot of San Cucufate.²¹ These objects, together with the stucco reliquary chest of San Cándido, from the monastery of San Cucufate, and now in the Museo de Bellas Artes in Barcelona,²² show the late persistence of the Romanesque style in Catalonia.

On this antependium in the Walters Art Gallery, unfortunately, it is impossible now to decipher any of the letters following the date, for the lost inscription might have given the name of the artist. So far, the only preserved frontal from Catalonia signed by the artist is the Saint Martin panel from Chía, formerly in the Plandiura collection and now in the Museo de Bellas Artes in Barcelona, where the inscription reads: IOHANNES ME FECIT.²³ Another Catalan altar frontal with the name of the artist, a Magister Alexander, formerly existed in the church of Saint-Génis-des-Fontaines (Roussillon), but this was probably executed subsequently, during the late thirteenth or early

fourteenth century. The inscription reads: *Magister Alexander ista opera fecit.*²⁴

Moreover, if the latter part of the inscription on the Walters antependium had been preserved, this might have given some intimation of the name of the church to which the altar frontal originally belonged. However, as already stated above, the similar use of the stucco medallions in the background of the Walters panel to that of the Saint Stephen at Llanars and the ruined frontal at Angoustrine (Roussillon) would indicate fairly definitely that the Walters antependium originally came from the region of Upper Catalonia, in the Cerdagne.

APPENDIX:

THE ANTEPENDIUM AT ANGOUSTRINE

The antependium is in bad condition, and therefore has never been published. The technique of *colradura* had been employed extensively, but oxidation has removed all traces of the original paint, and only in parts is it possible to see the artist's drawing. The stucco design, pearl ornament in the central compartment, and a foliate pattern in the divisions at the sides, has lost all its gilding.

This panel contains the "Majestas Domini" in the central compartment, flanked by four scenes from the lives of St. Martin and the Virgin. The Pantocrator is enthroned within a narrow, pointed mandorla. Most of the color is missing, but the incised outline shows that He was depicted with a cruciform nimbus, tunic and mantle. He holds the Book on the left knee and raises His right hand in benediction. The background is decorated with an all-over pattern of pearl ornament, and the mandorla with medallions, both in low relief. The symbols of the Evangelists are shown outside the mandorla: in the upper left, the angel of St. Matthew; at the right, the eagle of St. John; the symbols of Mark and Luke from the lower spandrels are missing.

In the upper left compartment the scene of St. Martin sharing his mantle with the beggar was formerly portrayed, but the loss of color makes it difficult to distinguish in detail. St. Martin, on horseback, grasps the sword with which he divides the mantle. One end of

²⁰ *Museum*, II (Barcelona, 1912), pp. 459-560.

²¹ J. Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, XVII (Madrid, 1806-1852), pp. 220-221.

²² Cook in *Art Studies*, II (1924), fig. 14.

²³ *Idem* in *The Art Bulletin*, X (1928), pp. 171-178, fig. 12; Gudiol y Cunill, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 252-255, fig. 119; Post, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 271-272, fig. 73; Barcelona, Museo de Bellas Artes, *Frontales Románicos*, pp. 10-11, pl. 25.

²⁴ *Bulletin de la Société Agricole, Scientifique et Littéraire des Pyrénées Orientales*, XII (1860), p. 59. See also, Julia Bernat Alart, *Notes historiques sur la peinture et les peintres roussillonnais* in *Bull. de la Soc. Agricole, Scient. et Litt. des Pyrénées Orient.*, XIX (1872), p. 208; Jean Capeille, *Dictionnaire de biographies roussillonnaises*, p. 11. For a further discussion of the names of many Romanesque painters in Catalonia, see Gudiol y Cunill, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 58-84.

· THE SAINT MARTIN ALTAR FRONTAL ·

this is held by the beggar, clad only in a short kilt. The arrangement of this scene appears to be almost identical with the composition of the St. Martin altar frontal in the Walters Art Gallery (fig.4).

The upper compartment at the right contains the "Visitation" and the standing figure of an angel by the mandorla. Mary and Elizabeth are shown embracing with arms clasped about each other's shoulders and cheek placed to cheek. The holy women have each a nimbus, long tunic and a mantle drawn over the head. The angel appears to be represented with a nimbus and long robe, holding something in the raised right hand. The two lower compartments are so mutilated that it is impossible to distinguish the subjects.

The altar frontal is surrounded on all four sides by a wide frame, the bevel of which is decorated with a foliate scroll pattern on a dark ground. The upper surface of the frame is adorned with a series of concave discs containing a lion *passant* and enclosed by an interrupted rope pattern. Alternating with these is a geometrical motif resembling a Maltese cross, on a dark red ground, bordered by yellow stripes. The backgrounds of the lateral compartments are covered with a scroll design in relief, similar in character to those on the St. Stephen frontal at Llanars (fig.10) and the St. Martin panel in Baltimore (fig.2). The stucco is used in the same way, also, on an antependium from the Ribagorza region, now in the Bardolet collection at Barcelona.



FIGURE 11

Altar Frontal

ANGOUSTRINE, PARISH CHURCH

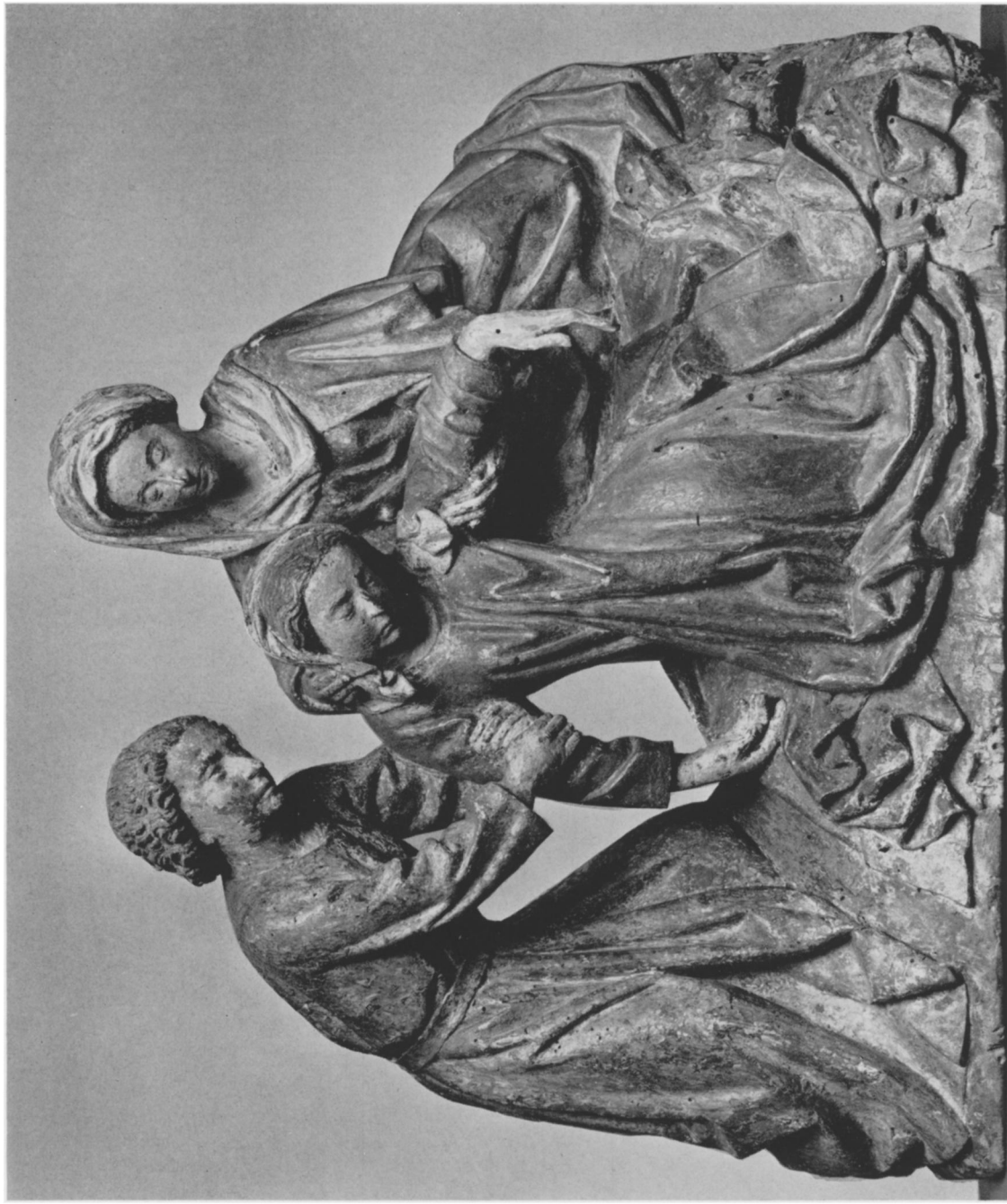


FIGURE 1

The Swooning Virgin

WALTERS ART GALLERY

TWO SCULPTURE GROUPS AFTER ROGIER'S "DESCENT FROM THE CROSS" IN THE ESCORIAL

BY ROBERT A. KOCH

Princeton University

THE TREMENDOUS INFLUENCE of Rogier van der Weyden, that "arch-creator of archetypes", upon the painting, sculpture and minor arts of the late Gothic period throughout northern Europe and Spain is very well known. Whether or not the artist himself was a sculptor before he became master painter, as Louis Maeterlinck¹ and others have contended but not conclusively proved, no one can dispute the preeminently sculptural quality of most of the paintings ascribed to him. Thus, in their production of elaborately figured wooden retables with small-scale carved scenes, the late medieval sculpture ateliers of Flanders were able to utilize readily the rich store of plastically conceived compositions bequeathed by Rogier. Many hundreds of

these wooden altarpieces, from small ones with a single scene to tremendous works presenting more than a score of separate episodes, were produced between about 1440 and 1540 for local clients and for export from the main centers of Brussels, Antwerp and Malines to churches and individual patrons all over northern continental Europe, Scandinavia and Spain. The retables were, literally, "manufactured" by highly organized guilds composed of specialist craftsmen who supervised the overall design, of sculptors or *imagiers* who carved the single groups, and of painters who furnished painted wings and polychromed the sculptures.² The works thus produced are frequently anonymous and vary greatly in quality in accordance with the talent of the craftsman and with the blueprint—the drawing or the engraving—available for copying.

Very many Rogier-inspired motifs have been noted in the altarpieces and in isolated fragments which have been preserved; but thus far there have been discovered very few groups which follow closely an entire composition indisputably ascribed to the painter.³

Two such pieces from a "Deposition", now in the collection of the Walters Art Gallery, may now be added to this select list.⁴ These are polychromed wood carvings, about thirteen

¹ *Rogier van der Weyden, Sculpteur* in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXVI (1901), pp. 265 ff. and pp. 399 ff.

² A brief account of the procedure of the workshop as typified by Antwerp may be found in Jean de Bosschère, *La Sculpture Anversoise au XVe et XVIe Siècles* (Brussels, 1909), pp. 38-39.

³ The closest parallel in the realm of the Rogieresque was discovered by Joseph Destrée in 1914: a carved oak "Descent" in the collection of the Duke of Arenberg, which follows closely a drawing in the Louvre. The drawing, and two paintings following the same composition, very possibly reflect a lost original by Rogier. See *À propos de l'influence de Rogier van der Weyden . . . sur la sculpture brabançonne* in *Annales de la Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, XXVIII (1914-19), figs. 2 and 4.

⁴ Fainting Virgin: no. 61.147. H.: 13 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (.331 m.); Deposed Christ: no. 61.148. H.: 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (.369 m.).

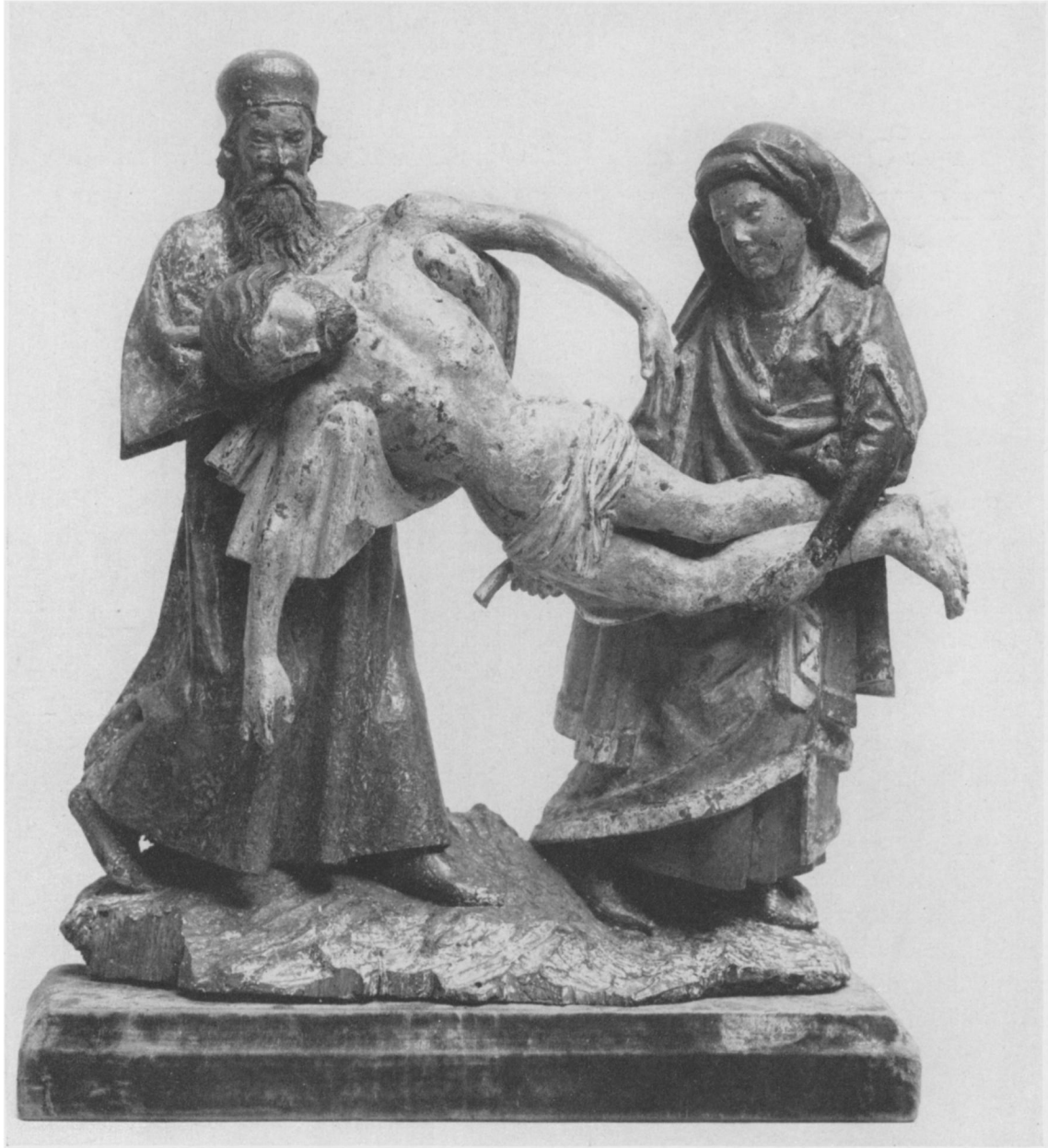


FIGURE 2

WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Dead Christ



FIGURE 3

MADRID, ESCORIAL

ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN

Descent from the Cross

inches high, each composed of three figures. The first depicts the swooning Virgin supported by John the Evangelist and Mary Cleophas, and the second represents the dead Christ borne by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus (figs. 1 and 2). The two groups have been derived from Rogier's most celebrated and most sculptural painting, the "Descent from the Cross"

in the Escorial (fig. 3).

The particular motif of the fainting Virgin with John and Mary, as depicted in the Escorial picture, was resorted to many times by the *imagiers*,⁵ but in almost every case it was transferred to the "Crucifixion" scene and not used as part of a "Deposition".⁶ On the other hand, our second group would seem to be the only surviving

⁵ For illustrations of several examples and a comprehensive listing see Mina Voegelen, *Die Gruppenaltäre in Schwäbisch Hall* in *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, XIII (1923), pp. 133 ff.

⁶ Among the adaptations, the one most directly dependent on Rogier is a sculpture in the Duke of Arenberg collection (Destrée, *op. cit.*, fig. 7). The group is from a "Crucifixion", but the sculptor has also selected from the Escorial painting the figure of the mourning Magdalene.

instance in sculpture of a careful transcription of the central motif of the Escorial painting.⁷

If we are correct in believing that these two Walters groups do belong together, and it is probable on stylistic as well as iconographical grounds, then we must assume that a third group originally balanced the scene on the right. Undoubtedly this would have featured the mourning Magdalene as she appears in the painting,⁸ and it likely included two of the other three characters with which the painter rounded out his composition. A second register of sculptures (which would at least have included the empty cross) may have been placed behind the featured groups.

In the painting the figures are arranged not in spatial recession, but within a single plane, effecting the appearance of a highly polychromed bas-relief. The resulting "depth without perspective" is precisely the means employed by the carver of the retable groups. Both the personality and talent of the sculptor and the exigencies of the medium in which he worked dictated a number of changes in the adaptation. Both groups have been broadened, and the figures, have become shorter and rather doll-like. In the interest of simplification, St. John's outer garment is omitted, neither foot is visible, and he is made to lean forward in a half-kneeling position and to grasp actively the right arm of the Virgin (in marked contrast to the always light touch of Rogier's figures). The headdresses of the Virgin and of Mary Cleophas have been modified, and the latter figure now hovers close to the Virgin and supports her more insistently. The sculptor thought to improve for his own purposes upon the posture of the Virgin by allowing her head to incline to the right and by straightening her left arm; thus the stark intensity of the original has been replaced in the small carving with a quieter and more graceful elegance. The disposition of the folds of the

Virgin's garment has been carefully transcribed in all its complexity.

Very few changes were made in the second group of figures. Joseph's right leg is partially hidden by the Virgin group in the Escorial painting. If the sculptor had extracted the figure unchanged, the placement of the exposed lower limbs in the positions indicated by Rogier would appear quite awkward; so the sculptor has corrected Joseph's appearance by garbing him in a full-length, unadorned robe. Both Nicodemus and Christ have been transcribed as exactly as the new medium would permit, the only deliberate omission being the crown of thorns from the head of Christ.

Unfortunately, neither group bears the painted, incised or branded trademark which frequently was used on each separate piece of a retable to designate the workshop from which it emanated.⁹ But an analysis of the style of the sculpture would indicate that it was done in Brussels. Its softness, simplicity and close adherence to the precepts of Rogier van der Weyden would seem to place the work within the fifteen years between 1465 and 1480.¹⁰ No other existing retable or isolated piece known

⁷ An adaptation of the group, well-removed however from the painting, is the scene to the right in the high altar of the Church of St. Michael at Schwäbisch Hall (Voegelen, *op. cit.*, Abb. 13).

⁸ An instance of her appearance in sculpture in conjunction with the Escorial-type trio of the Virgin, but lacking the central group with the dead Christ, has been cited in note 6. This creation of Rogier was probably the most-copied single figure in his entire repertory.

⁹ The chief marks of the guild in Brussels are a small mallet and/or the word BRUESEL; those of Antwerp are an open hand and sometimes a castle. The use of such marks for control purposes was inaugurated in Brussels in 1455 and in 1471 at Antwerp. Bosschère, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-57, has a short discussion of the meaning and purpose of the marks as exemplified by Antwerp.

¹⁰ An analysis of the styles of Brussels and Antwerp is given by Eugen Luethgen in *Die Niederrheinische Plastik von der Gotik bis zur Renaissance (Studien zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte, vol. 200)* (Strassburg, 1917), pp. 318 ff.

to the author corresponds exactly with the treatment of these groups in such details as the beard of Joseph and the swept-back hair locks of John the Evangelist; but their special character may be ascribed to the great care taken to reproduce such features as nearly as possible as Rogier had painted them. A correspondence in general style with other Brussels work of the time may be noted in the retable of the Passion in the Brussels Museum (the de Villa Altar), which Destrée dates 1460-70,¹¹ in that of St. Leonard at Leau, dated 1478-79 by D. Roggen,¹² and in the one at Ambierle.¹³ All bear the imprint of Rogier's influence, but none reflects the master so directly as do the Walters groups.

It would be hard to believe that the sculptor was not familiar at first hand with the celebrated original painting, which was in the Chapel of Notre-Dame-hors-des-murs at Louvain from the time of its completion, possibly in the 1430's¹⁴ until Mary of Hungary sent it to Spain in the sixteenth century. The imagier might also have seen one or more of several fifteenth century copies of the painting.¹⁵

As a working model either a drawing or an



FIGURE 4 HAMBURG, KUNSTHALLE
MASTER OF THE BANDEROLES
Descent from the Cross
(after Renders)

engraving must have been used. Survivals of such graphic intermediaries which copy paintings of Rogier are exceedingly rare; but there does exist an engraving which follows the composition of the Escorial "Descent" and which seems even to have been created to serve as model for small sculpture groups: This is a "Descent from the Cross" by the so-called Banderole Master, a second-rate Dutch or German engraver who worked in the second half of the fifteenth century (fig. 4).¹⁶ Because of the inclusion of the Good and Bad Thieves in this crudely worked engraving, which otherwise exactly copies the Escorial composition, Émile Renders has used it as what he believes to be significant evidence in the Van der Weyden-Flémalle-Campin controversy.¹⁷ The sculptor of the two Walters

(Continued on page 85)

¹¹ *Tapisseries et Sculptures Bruxelloises* (Brussels, 1906), p. 58 and pl. XXXV.

¹² In Stan Leurs, *Geschiedenis van de Vlaamische Kunst*, I (Antwerp 1938), p. 275.

¹³ A cogent discussion of all three of these retables is presented by Joseph Destrée, *Études sur la sculpture brabançonne au moyen-âge* in *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, XIII (1899), pp. 273 ff.

¹⁴ Max J. Friedländer, *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, II (Berlin, 1924), p. 92, and XIV (Leyden, 1937), p. 84.

¹⁵ E.g. the Edelheer Altar in the Church of St. Peter at Louvain, supposedly dated 1443 [Jules Destrée, *Rogier de la Pasture van der Weyden* (Paris, 1930), I, p. 129, and II, pl. 64]. Other copies are listed in Friedländer, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 92-3 and in F. Winkler, *Der Meister von Flémalle und Rogier van der Weyden* (Strassburg, 1913), pp. 163-4.

¹⁶ Lehrs 20. See Max Lehrs, *Geschichte und Kritischer Katalog des Deutschen, Niederländischen und Französischen Kupferstiches im XV Jahrhundert*, IV (Vienna, 1921), pp. 48 ff.

¹⁷ *Solution du Problème van der Weyden-Flémalle-Campin* (Bruges, 1931), II, pp. 70-71.

26 March 1864 — at Daumier's, drawing not finished.
13 April 1864 — met Daumier who told me that the drawing of the omnibus was finished.

28 April 1864 — at Daumier's and ordered 1st and 2nd class.

6 June 1864 — note from Daumier . . . at Daumier's.
Took and paid for (200 fr.) 2 drawings 1st and 2nd class R Road ———

The record of the purchases by Lucas for Walters during the month of March, 1864, do not exist at the Walters Art Gallery. However, those for June are preserved here and under the date of June 6, 1864, Lucas in his own handwriting records the purchase of the First and Second Class Carriage watercolors for William T. Walters. It was often the custom of Walters and Lucas to take home and study for a few days the paintings and watercolors they commissioned, frequently suggesting changes. Since the watercolor of the Omnibus finished in April, 1864, shows variations with the woodcut of January 30th of the same year, changes may have been suggested by the patrons in this instance.

It is of interest to Americans that at an early date Lucas and Walters knew and appreciated the watercolors of Daumier and even purchased such fine examples. With the growing attention given to the history of American collecting, these few notations from an old diary take on considerable significance.

SCULPTURE GROUPS AFTER ROGIER

(continued from page 43)

groups surely did not use this particular engraved design as his working model, for in certain details (e.g. the beard of Joseph) the sculpture follows the painting more closely than does the engraving; but if the remaining portions of our copy in sculpture are some day found, new

light might be shed on this very enigmatic problem in the history of painting.

The two sculptures, although of fine quality within their genre, are of but secondary importance in themselves. They nevertheless comprise a significant addition to an ever-increasing body of evidence that Rogier van der Weyden's direct influence on the sculpture of his time and for two generations afterwards was a singular phenomenon in northern European art.

A GREEK SHEPHERD

(continued from page 23)

ity of the arms, it is hard to say whether they may be called sloping. They do seem to be, and Miss Lamb picked sloping shoulders as an Attic characteristic, in especial contrast with the Arcadian style¹¹ (compare figures 3, 5-7). The narrow waist and long legs, if they mean anything, mean an early date, for they mirror a lack of understanding of the human body and a consequent lack of realism in its portrayal.

My suggestion about our bronze shepherd, then, is that it was made in Athens, and considering its generalized and therefore unlearned body and rather advanced head, I would suggest a compromise date in the neighborhood of 525 B.C.

¹¹ Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, p. 100.



FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

JEAN BELLEGAMBE
The Annunciation

A BELLEGAMBE TRIPTYCH RECONSTRUCTED

BY CHARLES STERLING
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

and EDWARD S. KING
The Walters Art Gallery

AMONG THE GREAT MASS of unpublished and virtually unknown works of art that Henry Walters purchased in 1902 from Dom Marcello Massarenti in Rome, were two panels figuring the "Annunciation", painted in *grisaille* in simulation of statuary, labeled 'school of Memling' (fig. 1).¹ The style of these quite charming figures pointed specifically, however, to Jean Bellegambe (ca. 1470-ca. 1535), who, working in his native Douai, then in the country of Flanders, was strongly influenced by the neighboring art centers of Bruges and Antwerp.² Search among his

works disclosed that the Walters "Annunciation" patently formed the reverse of the wings of a triptych whose central panel was the enthroned "Madonna and Child" in the Brussels Museum (fig. 3),³ as evidenced by the close analogies of style, the corresponding contours of the panel-heads with similar Gothic tracery, and the nearly duplicate dimensions. The slight differences in size between the two works are readily explained on detailed examination.⁴

There can be no doubt of Bellegambe's authorship of the Brussels picture, as Henri Hymans

¹ For the Massarenti collection, see: E. van Esbroeck and others, *Catalogue de peinture, sculpture et archéologie au Palais Accoramboni* (Rome, 1897), *Ière partie*, p. 105, no. 592.

Walters Art Gallery, catalogue no. 37.288. Oak panels, each, H. 37¾" x W. 11¼". The panels had been planed down to approximately ¼ inch and cradled as one picture. The cradling has been removed and a seven-ply panel, attached by means of wax, substituted, the two wings being mounted as one picture in conformity with the original composition. A moulded strip has been placed vertically in the center to indicate that originally the two figures formed the wings of a triptych. Cleaning revealed many small scattered losses in the paint film, but none of a conspicuous character. The archangel's wing had been continued by a later hand onto the panel with the Virgin; this overpainting has been removed. Regarding the damages resulting to panel paintings from the practice of cradling, see D. Rosen,

in *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, IV (1941), pp. 23 ff., and *idem*, in *The Magazine of Art*, (1941), pp. 458 ff.

² Mgr. C. Dehaisnes, *La vie et l'oeuvre de Jean Bellegambe* (Lille, 1890). See p. 15 regarding the cultural influence of northern Flanders on French Flanders in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

³ *La Peinture au Musée Ancien de Bruxelles* (Brussels, 1908), p. 9, as no. 29, formerly ascribed to van Orley; *ibid.*, (1913), p. 16, as no. 47, pl. 20; *ibid.*, (1927), as no. 29, purchased from Slaes Frères, Brussels, in 1872. Dehaisnes, *op. cit.*, pp. 159 and 214, gives the Brussels Museum number as 47. M. J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei*, XII (Leyden, 1935), p. 178, no. 131, as Brussels Museum no. 29. The painting has been appreciably damaged, as may be seen in our figure 3. Its exact dimensions are H. 36¾" x W. 24½".

⁴ See note 9.



FIGURE 2
St. Catherine
(formerly Chiesa coll.)



FIGURE 3
BRUSSELS, MUSÉE ANCIEN
JEAN BELLEGAMBE
Madonna and Child



FIGURE 4
St. Barbara
(formerly Chiesa coll.)

· A BELLEGAMBE TRIPTYCH RECONSTRUCTED ·



FIGURE 5

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

JEAN BELLEGAMBE
Altarpiece

first noted in 1883,⁵ nor of the Walters grisailles when they are compared with his leading works at Douai, Lille, Arras, Berlin and in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Certain fre-

quently recurring peculiarities of Bellegambe's figures common to all these paintings make the case clear: the attenuation of the figures and limbs, the conspicuously elongated pelvic areas of the women, the disproportionately long forearms (or, conversely, what Dehaisnes calls "*la petitesse relative de l'humerus*"),⁶ the narrow, slit-like eyes of women and children, and the refined,

⁵ *Bulletin des commissions royales d'art et d'archéologie*, 22e année (Brussels, 1883), p. 214.

⁶ Dehaisnes, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

gently gesturing hands, which sometimes appear broken at the wrists. The traceried arches and the *putti* holding golden chains of the Brussels picture are practically repeated in the Metropolitan's altarpiece from the Chapelle du Celler (fig. 5).⁷

Further search for works by Bellegambe that might form the missing inner sides of the erstwhile triptych's wings, resulted in the discovery of the two panels representing Saints Catherine and Barbara, with scenes of their martyrdoms in the backgrounds, which were formerly in the Achillito Chiesa collection (figs. 2, 4).⁸ The pointed silhouette of the panels has been modified, as was practically mandatory if they were to be used apart from the central panel. However, reference to figure 3 shows the perfect correspondence between these two compositions and the Brussels "Madonna". The latter's elaborate architectural canopy is completed in the Chiesa panels by the similar columns, the continuous curves of the side arches and the like-

wise continuous curves of the ornamental chains held by *putti*. Furthermore, the two saints address their attention to the central group, the gesture of Saint Catherine corresponding exactly with that of the Christ Child, who points toward the saint and the ring of her mystic marriage. The horizon lines of the mountainous backgrounds and other features of terrain are continued throughout the three scenes. A final affirmation of the continuity of the three panels occurs in the reiteration of the scene of the "Flight into Egypt": at the left of the Saint Barbara panel Mary appears seated on the donkey whose contiguous forepart, led by Saint Joseph, emerges at the right of the central panel.⁹

In the absence of a thorough analysis of Bellegambe's style, no very sure dating can be offered for the reconstructed triptych. Its relative simplicity and delicacy of manner place it earlier than the more robust modeling, the more vigorous color and the more dramatic gestures of his

⁷ *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXVII (1932), no. 11, pt. II, "The Friedsam Collection," pp. 6 ff.

⁸ *The Achillito Chiesa Collection*, Part I, (Sold, American Art Association, New York, November 27, 1925), no. 42, oak panels, each, H. 32½" x W. 11". The scene of Saint Catherine's martyrdom is not altogether clear in the reproduction; the body of the saint is seen upon the ground with an angel or angels (?) apparently approaching to carry off the remains to Mt. Sinai, according to the legend. Saint Barbara's beheading by her father Dioscorus is clearly visible. The present location of these panels is not known. The illustrations are after the Sale Catalogue.

⁹ At the left of the central panel is seen an allusion to the Good Shepherd in the figure of a man carrying a sheep.

The "Annunciation" is the tallest of the three elements of the triptych thus restored, and its height (exclusive of the modern mouldings) is probably that of the work as originally constructed: 37¾ inches. This is higher than the Chiesa panels by 5¼ inches, which no doubt represents the amount removed at the time they were severed from the "Annunciation" and their pointed tops of double concave curves cut off in favor of the present semicircular ones. The height of the Brussels "Madonna", 36¾ inches, is less than that of the "Annunciation" panel by 1¼ inches, and this difference may or may not have existed originally, for Bellegambe, according to the general practice, sometimes placed the ground line of his central panel slightly

higher than that of the wings (figs. 2-4), as is seen, e.g., in the triptych of the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 5). The width of the Brussels panel, 24¼ inches, is 1½ inches greater than that of the "Annunciation". At least ½ inch of the inner edge of the panel with the archangel has been removed, however, as will be remarked from the curtailed tracery motif at the apex of the pointed arch (fig. 1). The remaining difference of 1¼ inches was doubtless taken up by the original mouldings of enframement. The width given for the Chiesa panels, 11 inches each, makes them, taken together, 2¼ inches narrower than the "Madonna" panel and 1 inch narrower than the "Annunciation" (including the ½ inch noted to have been removed). One can but suppose, therefore, that the panels with the two saints were cut down laterally by 1 inch.

¹⁰ 1526: the altarpiece wings with the "Attestations to the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception", and the "Sacrifice of Joachim and Anna Giving Alms to the Poor", in the Douai Museum (no. 23); Dehaisnes, *op. cit.*, pp. 127 ff., plate following p. 132; Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 178, no. 124.

1529: "The Adoration of the Kings" in Arras Cathedral; Dehaisnes, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-151, plate following p. 148; Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 177, no. 115, uses the old dating of 1528.

About 1530, according to Dehaisnes, *op. cit.*, p. 156, with plate following: "Christ in the Hands of His Executioners", with "Saints Anthony and Roch", in Arras Cathedral. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 177, no. 116.

late works of 1526, 1529 and about 1530.¹⁰ It is to be noted that the Saint Catherine of the Chiesa panel is very similar in type and in the details of her costume to the same figure on the right wing of the polyptych that Bellegambe painted between 1516 and 1520, according to Dehaisnes, for the Abbey of Anchin, and that this elaborate work also contains the same sort of baluster-like columns and traceried arches as the little altarpiece whose scattered parts have

been here brought together.¹¹

This relatively modest work confirms rather than adds to our knowledge of Bellegambe, and testifies particularly to his talent for painting women and children with amiability, vivid spontaneity and a grace at once homely and aristocratic. This gift for seizing upon a fleeting expression without insisting upon movement, this genuine love of life and discreet lyricism betray Bellegambe's French sensibility and distinguish him from the Antwerp followers of Quentin Massys, who were so easily attracted by mannerist agitation. He is a true son of the Franco-Flemish country and of that mixed culture which produced a Pol de Limbourg and a Watteau. If the proportion of the Flemish and the French was different in each of them, their very originality was ensured by their double heritage.

¹¹ The Anchin polyptych is now in the Museum of Douai. Dehaisnes, *op. cit.*, p. 123, with plate following p. 70. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, p. 177, no. 114.

M. Genaille, in an unpublished thesis written for the École du Louvre, a résumé of which appeared in the *Bulletin des Musées de France* (1934), p. 162, dates the Brussels "Madonna" in the years 1520-1525.

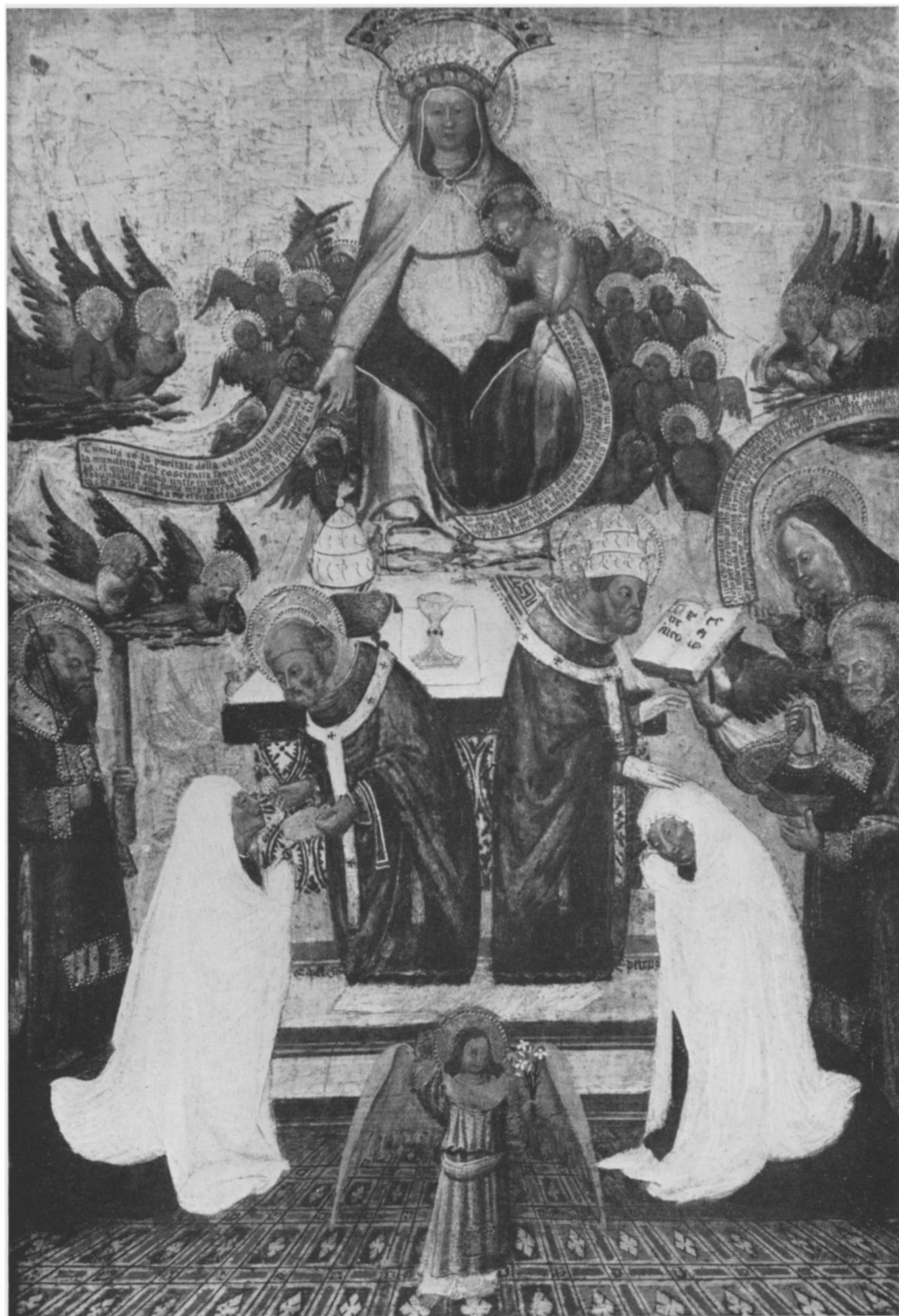


FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Communion of Santa Francesca Romana

THREE SCENES FROM THE LEGEND OF SANTA FRANCESCA ROMANA

BY GEORGE KAFTAL

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STUDENTS OF ITALIAN PAINTING have long been familiar with a small panel in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore representing a scene from the legend of Santa Francesca Romana, the founder of the Olivetan Oblates (fig. 1).¹ For the stylistic critic, this panel has from the first constituted something of an enigma. For the iconographer it provides evidence of the cult which the holiness of the saint's life, her miracles and her visions won for her after death—evidence which adds to that afforded by the fresco cycle in the Oratory of the house of the Olivetan Oblates in Rome, known as the Tor de' Specchi. Comparatively recently there appeared in London two further panels (figs. 4, 6)² from the same series as that in the Walters Art Gallery, and the publication of these scenes affords an opportunity to reconsider both the style and the iconography of the series of which they formed part.

In many ways Santa Francesca Romana was characteristically a woman of the early Renais-

sance. Her life is described according to the hagiographic tradition of the "valiant woman" of the Gospel. But the more individual traits of that life were determined by its setting in early fifteenth-century Rome. She was born in 1384, a member of the Roman nobility. Her husband, one of the Ponziani, belonged to an even more eminent circle. There is a close parallel between her life and ideals and those of Saint Catherine of Siena. She had been devoted to penance from childhood, had married unwillingly through obedience, and had found her perfection in activity. Mistress of a large household, she nevertheless tended the sick in four hospitals and was famous for her liberality to the poor. Like Saint Catherine, she constantly championed the papacy against the factions of her time. After her husband's death, she led the life of a religious with a few chosen companions, the *oblatae*, and, again like Saint Catherine, she became famous as a miracle-worker. She died March 9, 1440, and was canonized in 1608 by Pope Paul V.

The three panels depicting the legend of Santa Francesca Romana are in close conformity with the corresponding scenes among the frescoes of the saint's life in the Tor de' Specchi

¹ No. 742. H. 22"; W. 15 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Date and source of acquisition unknown. Bernard Berenson, *Pitture italiane del rinascimento* (Milan 1936), p. 393.

² Formerly Melchett collection; Sale Catalogue (Sotheby's, London, March 6, 1946), nos. 109 A, B, to Tomas Harris.



FIGURE 2 ROME, TOR DE' SPECCHI
ANTONIAZZO ROMANO
Communion of Santa Francesca Romana

(figs. 2, 3, 5).³ Furthermore, beneath the latter are inscriptions which furnish clues to understanding the subjects of the panels.

The first picture, that in Baltimore, (fig. 1) shows the communion of Santa Francesca Romana and her consecration as an Oblate, a scene described beneath the corresponding fresco (fig. 2), as follows: "How the glorious Virgin, Mother of God, received the blessed Francesca who had offered herself to her, and made her communicate and be consecrated in heaven at the hands of St. Peter apostle."⁴

³ Attilio Rossi in *Bulletino d'Arte* (1907), fasc. VIII, pp. 4-22 and *La nobil casa delle Oblate di Santa Francesca Romana in Tor de' specchi. Nel V centenario della fondazione*. (Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1933.)

⁴ "Como la gloriosa vergine madre de dio recipevo la beata Francesca per soa offerta et feccia comunicare et cosacrare in cielo per le mano de sancto Pietro apostolo."

⁵ Melchett sale, no. 109 B. 21" x 14 1/4".

⁶ "Como spesso fiate essendo la beata Francesca nella beatifica visione lo eterno dio apparendole nelle braccia della soa gloriosa vergine madre se degnava de venire nelle braccia de essa beata."

⁷ Melchett sale, no. 109 A. 21 3/4" x 14 3/4".

The second painting, which will be referred to throughout this article as the Harris-Dante panel (fig. 4)⁵ on account of inscriptions later to be discussed, shows the saint holding the Infant Christ in her arms, confronted by an angel holding a nosegay, while behind are her three patrons, Saint Paul, Saint Benedict, and Saint Mary Magdalen. Above is the Virgin surrounded by seraphim. The explanation beneath the corresponding fresco (fig. 3) is as follows: "How the blessed Francesca, being in a beatific vision as was so frequent with her, saw God eternal appear to her in the arms of the glorious Virgin His mother and how He deigned to come in to the arms of this blessed one" (i.e. of Francesca).⁶

The third, which will be referred to as the Harris panel (fig. 6),⁷ shows the Virgin covering the saint with her mantle, a group of Oblates surrounded by another cloak, and an angel dis-



FIGURE 3 ROME, TOR DE' SPECCHI
ANTONIAZZO ROMANO
Santa Francesca Holds the Christ Child



FIGURE 4

Santa Francesca Holds the Christ Child

LONDON, HARRIS GALLERY



FIGURE 5 ROME, TOR DE'SPECCHI
ANTONIAZZO ROMANO
The Angel with the Loom

turbed at his task of weaving by dogs and cats. The inscription beneath the fresco (fig. 5) is: "How the blessed Francesca was accepted under the cloak of the Mother of God. And her daughters in Christ were also accepted by the glorious Mother of God in consequence of their offering themselves to her."⁸

Reference to the fifteenth-century account of the saint's *Visions*⁹ leaves no doubt as to the exact identity of the scenes represented in the Walters and Harris panels and explains many of the symbolic details. The first panel (fig. 1) shows the communion of the saints as it occurred at Christmas, 1432, and is described in *Visio* XLV:¹⁰

And when the Lord had withdrawn from the arms of His beloved, the glorious St. Paul and St. Benedict, and Mary Magdalen came as His representatives to her, who thus recorded it: The glorious Apostle Paul, and holy Benedict, and Mary Magdalen, who are the messengers of Jesus Christ and of the Queen of Heaven, salute thee from God Most High, and from His Mother. Attend ye to that which the messenger of God saith: 'In that holy

hour,' saith he, 'in which the Word of God descended into the Queen of Heaven, there appeared a fountain which is called the Fountain of Mercy.' Then blessed Paul caused her soul to be made ready, and the divine Liturgy was prepared. And St. Peter vested himself as a bishop to celebrate the Sacrifice, and he washed and purified the handmaid of Christ in that fountain of mercy, and afterwards he gave her the most holy sacrament of the Body of Christ. And St. Paul, and St. Benedict served St. Peter in the celebration of the Mass, and blessed Magdalen assisted at the office, for so it was the divine will, that there should be three witnesses thereat. And when the Mass was done, blessed Peter consecrated the handmaid of Christ as an Oblate of the Blessed Virgin before these witnesses, and there was likewise revealed to her the manner of the reception of her daughters, which manner and form she handed down to the others to be observed forever . . .

The Harris-Dante panel (fig. 4) shows the saint holding the Infant Christ in her arms, a miracle that is reported to have taken place several times during her life, and is described in *Visio* XII, XV, XLV, LVII and LXX, while the Harris panel (fig. 6) shows a vision dating from March 1st, 1433:¹¹

It befell upon a certain time that the servant of God, being, as was her wont, engaged in holy meditation and prayer in her chamber, was led by a shining light in her spirit into another and greater light, in which she saw the Queen of Heaven accompanied by a multitude of angels of the order of Seraphs, and there were also with her the blessed and holy apostle Paul, and Saint Benedict, with the glorious Magdalen. And the Queen of Heaven said to her: 'Welcome to this my beloved, my daughter and Oblate . . . live joyously and put thine own nature far from thee; for so has He ordained for thee, and has set thee on a high place, nor is there aught that can hinder thee, or do thee harm, or separate thee from Him.' The

⁸ "Como la beata Francesca fu acceptata sotto lo manto della madre de dio. Et le soe figliole in cristo furono ancora acceptate per offerte de essa gloriosa madre de dio."

⁹ G. Mattiotti, *Vita di S. Francesca Romana*, edit. Armellini (Rome, 1882), (from a ms. dated 1469 in the Vatican Library, Armadio XII, caps. I no. 23).

¹⁰ The term *Visio* refers throughout to the Latin text published by the Bollandists in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Martii II, p. 89 ff. (Parisii & Romae MDCCCLXV), (B.H.L. 3094).

¹¹ *Visio* XLVII: Mattiotti-Armellini, pp. 168-169.

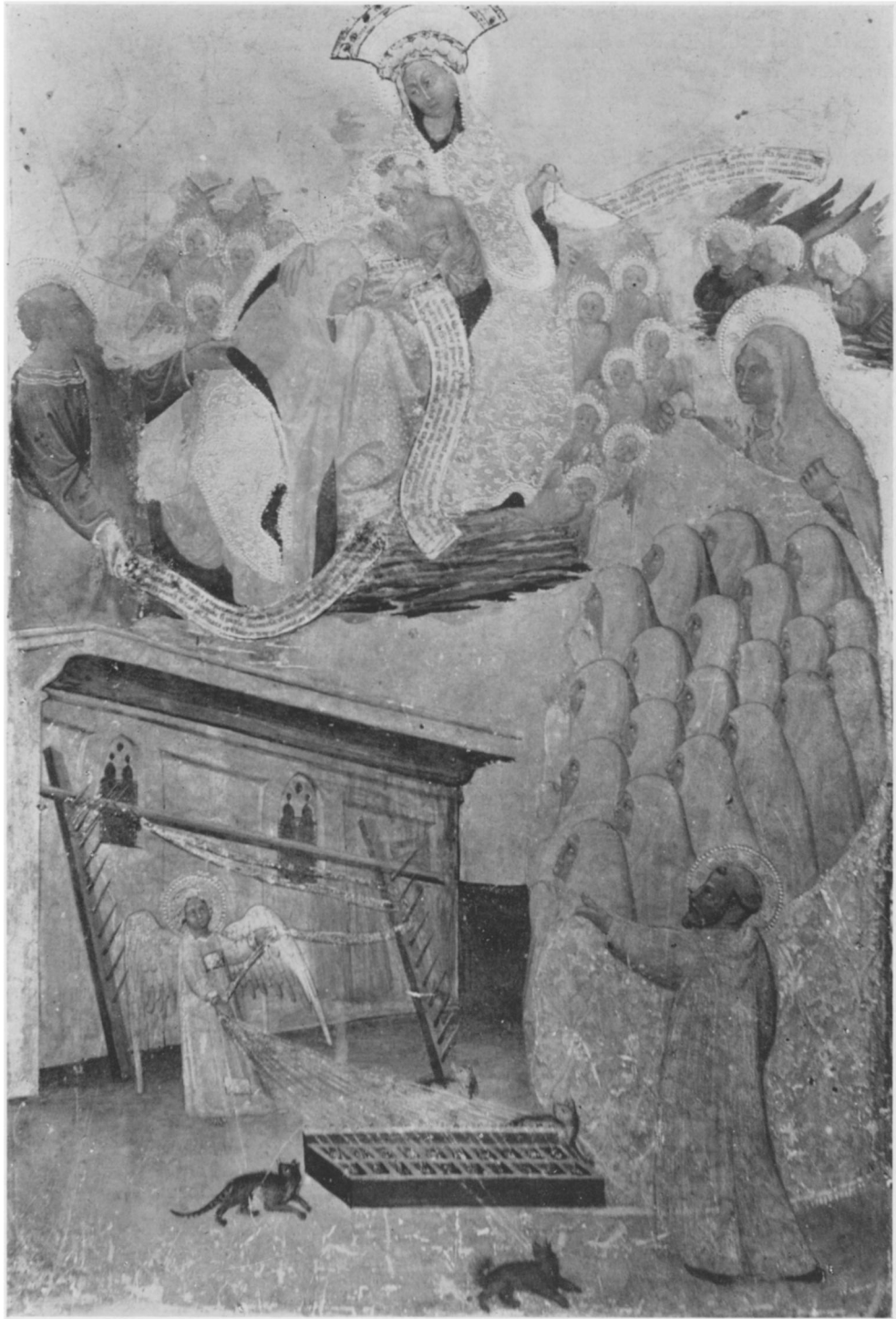


FIGURE 6

LONDON, HARRIS GALLERY

The Angel with the Loom

apostle Paul spoke reverently to the Queen of Heaven, and said: 'I thank thee, most high Queen, for that thou hast well directed her, and well covered her beneath thy mantle, ever consoling her, and by thy power hast led her to thee . . . ' And afterwards, when her spiritual father bade her under obedience to tell him the aforesaid vision, he asked her in what place she herself stood. And she, as a daughter of true obedience, recounting this vision to him, though with great shamefastness, answered him, that she stood at the right side of the Queen of Heaven, leaning her head on the Queen's breast, and covered with a golden cloak, wherewith the Queen herself was covered. And beneath that golden cloak was another cloak of white, with which the Heavenly Queen covered the daughters of this blessed one of Christ.

In this panel alone does the painter take certain liberties with the interpretation of his text, since it is not the Heavenly Queen who covers the twenty Oblates with her white cloak, but Saint Mary Magdalen and Saint Benedict, who extend a cloak around them.

Of the main features common to the three panels the most important is, of course, the saint herself, who is represented as a middle-aged figure, her body clad in a dark brown robe and her head covered by a white cloak. In the Baltimore and Harris panels she is shown with the rays of a *Beata*, and in the Harris-Dante panel with rays which end in stars. Also common to the three panels are the saint's heavenly protectors, Saints Paul, Mary Magdalen and Benedict. The latter was the patron of the Olivetans, whose founder, the Beato Bernardo Tolomei, adopted the Benedictine Rule.

Especially striking is the crown worn by the Virgin in the three scenes. A complete description of this is given in a vision (XV) which occurred at Christmas, 1432.¹²

But when at this time the time the saint returned to her natural state, and her spiritual father questioned her under obedience, as was his wont, and asked her how the crown was made which the Queen of Heaven held (wore), she replied that in one and the same crown there were three crowns, one above another; by the first was denoted humility of the Mother of Christ, and this

crown was pure white, and adorned with shining white roses, the lower garland (wreath) denoting the firm faith of the Virgin, and the upper one of this same crown her purity; for each of these crowns had two garlands, a higher and a lower. The second crown signified her virginity, and had a lower garland for her burning charity, and another above to denote her prudence; this crown had also twelve lilies of gold, in each of which was a certain star, and each star sent forth a ray of great brilliance. From the first star shone three rays, by which was understood the holy undivided Trinity. From the ray of the second star came four bright beams: the first for her humility, the second for her virginity, the third for her filial fear, the fourth for her purity. The ray of the third star sent forth seven beams, by which were denoted the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost which the Queen of Heaven had in full measure. From the ray of the fourth star there shone seven more beams for the seven sacraments of the holy Mother Church. The ray from the fifth star sent forth four beams for the four cardinal virtues. From the ray of the sixth star came three beams, the three theological virtues. And from the ray of the seventh star came twelve beams, which decked and adorned the whole head of the Mother of Christ; by them were understood the twelve articles of the holy Catholic faith. From the ray of the eighth star there came five beams, signifying the bitter pain that was suffered by the Queen of Heaven when she saw the Son of God, her child, slain on the cross, and wounded with five wounds. The ray of the ninth star had seven beams, showing the seven works of mercy. From the ray of the tenth came ten beams, showing the Ten Commandments of the Law. The ray of the eleventh star sent forth but one very bright beam, by which was signified the burning love (charity) of our Saviour. From the ray of the twelfth star shone four beams, for the virtue (honour), the shamefastness, the purity (modesty) and the discretion of the heavenly Queen; and all these shone in her clothing. And the handmaid of God understood it through the Divine will which showed it to her. And the third and uppermost crown denoted her great glory, and its lower garland showed forth the Virgin's courage, and the upper one her justice and mercy.

This triple crown was adorned all round with twelve precious stones. The first of these was like unto a diamond, by which was shown the Virgin's fortitude.

¹² Mattiotti-Armellini, pp. 52-55.

The second was like a carbuncle and signified her burning love of God. The third stone was like a sapphire, for the Virgin's constancy. The fourth stone was an emerald denoting the Virgin's true obedience. The fifth was a balas ruby, as it is commonly called, denoting the Virgin's grandeur. The sixth was like to beryl, and signified her steadfast memory. The seventh was a chalcidony, which is a stone of mystical colouring, and denoted the Virgin's understanding. The eighth stone was like to a garnet and denoted the Virgin's will. The ninth stone was like to a cornelian and denoted the strength of the Virgin. The tenth stone was like turquoise, and signified her truth. The eleventh was like topaz and denoted her preservation. The twelfth resembled a star sapphire and signified the Virgin's true wisdom. And the meaning of these stones was made clear to the understanding of the handmaid of Christ by a divine voice which spoke to her.

Other peculiar features of the panels are the three angels. The first one, in the Harris-Dante panel (fig. 4), is mentioned in Vision I:

Among other favours shown by God in this present life to his handmaid blessed Frances, this above all was singular, and methinks, reader, thou wilt read it of few of the saints. For there was given to her an Angel, who (as the servant of God declared) was of the second choir of the holy Angels, and was not that attendant Angel who is given as a guardian to every man . . .

The nosegay which the angel is holding is referred to in the vision that the saint had on the feast of St. John, 27th December, 1434.¹³

And the said apostle (John) in human shape presented to the saint a nosegay of very beautiful roses, in which there were twenty roses, five of them white, five red roses and five white and red musk roses; and below all these roses were five violets. Then the Apostle said to the saint: Give all these flowers to the Archangel, for he will deal with them as is fitting. And when this was done, the glorious Archangel held in his hand the fair gift, which gave forth a wondrous and fragrant odour; by which the handmaid of Christ was mightily rejoiced and strengthened. Then the holy Apostle told her that the first five roses, the white, signified purity and cleanness;

the second five, or red roses, stood for burning charity; and the musk roses, the red and white ones, denoted preparation of the heart and a will on fire with the love of God. Then he said to her: 'Just as these musk roses are shut at the bottom but at the top they are open and fresh, so should the heart of man be shut to base and mundane things, but wide open to high and heavenly things. And from all these virtues proceeds true and holy obedience, which yields a sweet odour to God.'

The angel on the Walters panel (fig. 1) is one which appeared to the saint on the feast of Saint Benedict, 1436.¹⁴

After this handmaid of God had gone to the house of her daughters in Christ, that she might dwell with them, her husband being dead, it befell in the year of the Lord one thousand four hundred and thirty six on the feast of St. Benedict, that the most good God, bestower of all graces, magnifying his handmaid more wonderfully than ever, granted to her another Angel of the fourth Choir, that is to say, one of the Powers. And this Angel was granted to her in human form, as was said before of the other Angel, but more splendid than him; and his garment was a dalmatic, fairer than the tunicle of the other Angel. Which Angel did protect the servant of God from the violence of the evil spirits more wonderfully and powerfully than the first Angel. For the first one put them to flight with the movement of his head and the shaking of his shining hair, but the second one when defending the saint, had but to look upon the demons, and by his mere boldness they were put to flight. And these evil spirits were more afraid when they saw him, than of the sight of the other Angel. And this second Angel held in his hand three little golden branches after the manner of those branches of palms on which the dates do grow; which branches signified holy correction. And upon those branches were certain little cocoons (folliculi—leaves, flowers²), like those from which silk is made; from which cocoons this Angel made skeins, which he hung around his neck; and with his right hand he made balls from those skeins; and he performed this work unceasingly.

This same angel is seen weaving on the Harris panel (fig. 6) and is described in a vision of August 15, 1439.¹⁵

Almighty God, desiring to increase His favours towards this saint, willed that this second Angel should change his former work, which he had been doing with skeins and balls; and he set up a warp-beam for the lay-

¹³ *Visio* LVIII: Mattiotti-Armellini, p. 202.

¹⁴ *Visio* LXVI: Mattiotti-Armellini, pp. 220-221.

¹⁵ *Visio* LXIX: Mattiotti-Armellini, pp. 224-226.

ing of a warp; and he spoke solemnly unto the aforesaid saint, and said: 'I will begin, and will lay the warp for a web of an hundred ties (threads); and I will make another (of sixty, and another) of thirty ties.' And the voice of the Angel speaking unto the Saint was full sweet, and it seemed to that Saint that it came from afar off. But in the warp which the said Angel had laid, certain dogs and cats did hinder the ordering of the threads of the cloth; by which thing was denoted contradiction. And by cause thereof the Angel appeared to labour and be wearied; yet although he appeared so, he could not indeed be wearied; for an angel doth not suffer. And when the handmaid of Christ would give some general correction to her daughters in Christ, whether to all or some of those present, then at such time the Angel did naught unto the warp, but stood by with attentive mien, as one truly obedient. Moreover, when this beloved of God said her *Confiteor* every night before she went to rest (for such was ever her wont), the aforesaid Angel stood by attentively, and did none of the aforesaid work. Also when the handmaid of Christ recited the Office of the Seven Canonical Hours, whether by day or by night, the aforesaid Angel stood all transfigured, praising God; at which time an ineffable splendour was seen above the head of the said Angel, as it were a pillar ascending up to Heaven, and this remained so long as the servant of God was saying the Office of the Seven Canonical Hours. And the eyes of this glorious Angel were fixed upon Heaven, whilst the said Saint was reciting the Office. Moreover this second Angel was to the Saint as it were a mirror, in which she more fully and perfectly beheld both present and future than she did in that other Angel of whom it was told above; and in like manner were other favours, that had been shown to the handmaid of Christ, more fully and perfectly granted to her through this Angel than through the first. But the said handmaid of Christ could in no wise look upon this glorious Angel, for his splendour was more brilliant than the splendour of the first Angel, insomuch that it appeared only to the eyes of the Saint as a dark cloud in comparison with the brightness of the other Angel. And this great work of the aforesaid glorious Angel was done in the year one thousand three hundred thirty and nine on the feast of the Assumption of the glorious Virgin.

Ponzileoni¹⁶ gives a symbolical explanation of this scene, according to which the congregation of the Oblates was ordained and formed

(woven) by means of heavenly visions, and was assailed from the beginning by evil spirits (cats and dogs). Nevertheless, though these spirits tried to interfere, they could not break the threads, i.e., destroy the work of the saint.

The main point of iconographical dissimilarity between the Walters and Harris pannels and the Tor de' Specchi frescoes is the presence in the panels of inscribed scrolls. These written scrolls play a prominent part in the saint's visions. On October 18th, 1434, for example, Saint Paul wrote down the words of the Virgin on a scroll;¹⁷ on the feast of Saint Margaret in 1432 "a glorious Angel (or Archangel) held in his hand a scroll . . .";¹⁸ . . . "the glorious Magdalen wrote on this scroll,"¹⁹ and finally: ". . . and when the glorious apostle Paul had finished writing, he placed the scroll in the hands of the noble angel who was always in attendance on her (Francesca), and as she read in the said scroll I wrote her words down, and as I wrote them down, the writing on the scroll disappeared." Thus writes her confessor and biographer, Mattiotti, adding, that as the hour was late and it was too dark to write, the angel came the next morning with the scroll and thus enabled the work to be continued.²⁰

The inscriptions on the scrolls in the Walters panel (fig. 1) are taken from the saint's biography or rather from that part of the biography dealing with her visions.²¹ The Harris-Dante panel, however, unlike its companions, contains not passages from the saint's visions, but lines from the thirty-third canto of Dante's *Paradiso*. These are:

¹⁶ L. Ponzileoni, *Vita di Santa Francesca Romana* (Torino, 1874), p. 255.

¹⁷ Mattiotti-Armellini, p. 211.

¹⁸ Mattiotti-Armellini, p. 121.

¹⁹ Mattiotti-Armellini, pp. 211-212.

²⁰ Mattiotti-Armellini, p. 214.

²¹ See Appendix.

On the scroll held by the Virgin:
Donna, sè tanto grande e tanto vali,
Che qual vuol grazia, ed a te non ricorre,
Sua disianza vuol volar senz'ali.
La tua benignità non pur socorre
A chi dimanda ma molte fiate
Liberamente al' dimandar precorre.²²

On the scroll held by the angel with a nose-
gay:
In te misericordia, in te pietate,
In te magnificenza, in te s'aduna
Quantunque in creatura è di bontate.²³

On the scroll held by St. Mary Magdalen:
Vergine Madre, figlia del tuo figlio
Umile ed alta piu che creatura,
Termine fisso d'eterno consiglio,
Tu se'colei l'umana natura.
Nobilitasti sì che'l suo Fattore
Non disdegnò di farsi sua fattura
Nel ventre tuo si raccese l'amore,
Per lo cui caldo nell'eterna pace
Così è germinato questo fiore.²⁴

It is probable that like the Walters and Harris panels, the Harris-Dante panel originally contained inscriptions from the saint's visions, and that, when these were damaged, the present quotations from the *Paradiso* were substituted. On the other hand, the relationship be-

tween the "visions" and the *Divina Commedia* should not be overlooked.²⁵

Mattiotti's life of Santa Francesca Romana exists in several versions.²⁶ The Bollandist Latin text (which is said to derive from a manuscript formerly in the house of the Jesuits in Rome) is not always sufficiently closely related to the inscriptions on the Walters and Harris panels to warrant the assumption that it is translated from the Italian original employed for these paintings. The comparison of the Armellini text and the quotations of Ponzileoni seem to show that the painter of the panels and Ponzileoni used the same version of Mattiotti's life of the saint. Unfortunately Ponzileoni does not give any reference for his sources.

Of the purpose of the panels it is difficult to speak with any certainty. When that in the Walters Art Gallery alone was known, it appeared possible that this was an isolated votive panel. But with the appearance of the two Harris scenes it becomes clear that we have to do with a narrative cycle, which may originally have included all of the scenes represented in the Tor de' Specchi frescoes. On the other hand, it is possible that only the heavenly visions shown in the frescoes were represented in the panels. There are six scenes of this type in the frescoes, those lacking in the smaller series showing respectively:

I. How, the blessed Francesca being in a divine vision, omnipotent God deigned to take her by her right hand, saying to her words of burning charity.²⁷

II. Whilst the blessed Francesca was in holy meditation, her son, Evangelista, appeared to her with an angel of the second choir, which angel remained ever present with this blessed one (i.e. with Francesca).²⁸

III. How the eternal God deigned to come and fetch the soul of the blessed Francesca when it departed from her most sacred body.²⁹

Thus if the panels were devoted exclusively to the visions, there would originally have been

²² *Paradiso*, Canto XXXIII, 12-17.

²³ *Ibid.*, 18-20.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1-9.

²⁵ W. Zabughin, *Paradiso, Inferno e Purgatorio nella visione di Santa Francesca Romana* in *Riv. Stor. Ben.*, XV (1924), pp. 38-50; A. Monaci, *La Divina Commedia e le visioni di Santa Francesca Romana* in *Riv. Stor. Ben.*, XVI (1925), pp. 12-28.

²⁶ For bibliography see: A. de Gaiffier, S.J., in *Analecta Bollandiana*, L (1932), pp. 214-216; Dom P. T. Lugano, O.S.B., in *La nobil casa delle Oblate di Santa Francesca Romana in Tor de' Specchi* (Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1933), pp. 159-165; *idem*, *I processi inediti per Francesca Bussa dei Ponziani (Santa Francesca Romana)* in *Studi e Testi*, no. 120 (Città Vaticana, 1945), p. XXXIII, note 1, and p. XXXIV, note 1.

²⁷ "Come la beata Francesca essendo nella visione divina lo onnipotente Dio se degnava de pigliare essa beata per la mano destra dicendoli certe parole de infiammata carità."

²⁸ "Stando la beata Francesca in sancta meditatione li apparse Evangelista sua figliolo con uno angilo dello secundo choro lo quale angilo remase et stecte continuamente con essa beata."

²⁹ "Come lo eterno dio se degnava de venire per pigliare la anima della beata Francesca quando se partive dallo suo sacratissimo cuorpo."

six, perhaps ranged according to iconographical convention, one above the other, on either side of a painted full-length figure of the saint.

The authorship of the three panels also is shrouded in mystery, since they cannot be directly related to the work of any identified hand. The early attribution of the Walters panel to the school of Fra Angelico was abandoned by Berenson in favor of an ascription to Pietro di Giovanni d'Ambrogio, with whose style the panel has no direct relationship. The latter ascription was rejected by Pope-Hennessy,³⁰ who noted certain north Italian features in the style. It is certain, however, that the scenes must have been painted in Rome, since they can only have been executed for a community of Olivetan Oblates, and outside of Rome there was no such community. The panels may have been painted at any time after the saint's death in 1440, and their commissioning was perhaps connected with the depositions for her canonization that were made in 1440, 1443 and in 1445. On the grounds of style, the latest of these dates is the most plausible. The forms throughout the three scenes suggest that the artist was perhaps a miniaturist, working in Rome in the middle of the fifteenth century and preserving in his archaizing style elements derived from north Italy.

Of greater interest is the light thrown by the three panels on the genesis of the Tor de' Specchi frescoes of 1468.³¹ Initially attributed by Venturi³² to a Roman follower of Piero della Francesca, these twenty-five scenes were later republished by Longhi³³ as by Antoniazzo Romano, an attribution which a later attempt of Van Marle³⁴ to associate the scenes with Panciatto da Calvi has done little to disturb. We know that in 1469-70 Antoniazzo was commissioned to execute a version of the *Madonna di S. Luca* in S. Maria del Popolo, and there exists in the museum at Lyons a free version of

Giotto's *Navicella*, also by Antoniazzo and evidently painted at about this time, which was once in the Tor de' Specchi. Referring to the first of these commissions, Gnudi³⁵ rightly comments:

Abbiamo altri esempi posteriori, che mostrano come l'artista avesse le qualità culturali per eccellere in simili trasposizioni e interpretazioni di immagini della tradizione medioevale . . . E anche all'infuori di queste copie, lo stesso spirito contemplativo e culturale permane nei suoi Santi campeggianti sui fondi oro, nei suoi scheme iconografici talvolta, come nota il Longhi 'semplici come in un dugentista.'

Direct comparison of the photographs accompanying this article will show better than verbal analysis the precise methods employed by Antoniazzo in adapting the upright compositions of the Harris and Walters panels to the oblong field of the Tor de' Specchi frescoes; and it is perhaps the main interest of the panels that they explain a number of otherwise unintelligible archaisms in the frescoes, and bring these scenes, Antoniazzo's first major Roman commission, into line with a current conception of the sources and directions determining his early work.

³⁰ John Pope-Hennessy, *Sassetta* (London, 1939), pp. 186, 204.

³¹ Ponzileoni, p. 326: "Lucrezia, the fifth president of the Oblates (1468) had painted in the 'chiesa vecchia' scenes representing the Saint's miracles." No source quoted. According to D. Lugano, *op. cit.*, Lucrezia was the sixth president.

³² A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* (Milan, 1913), VII, 2, pp. 323-326.

³³ R. Longhi, *Vita artistica* (1926), p. 112; (1927), p. 226.

³⁴ R. Van Marle, *Development of the Italian Schools of Painting* (The Hague, 1934), XV, p. 337.

³⁵ Gnudi, *Mostra di Melozzo e del Quattrocento Romagnolo*, 1938, p. 40.

APPENDIX

It is useful to compare the inscriptions on the Walters painting and the Harris panel with the relevant passages from the Italian versions of the saint's life prepared by Armellini (Rome, 1882), from a manuscript of 1469 in the Vatican Library, and Ponzileoni (1874).

The Walters painting: On the scroll held by the Virgin are the words:

"L'umiltà cō la puritate della obedientia lo amore ed la munditia della conscientia fanno nello insieme buona lega, et quando sono unite in una anima sia puo bere co abbondantia alla fonte mia: perche io sono la fonte della vita chi a sete venga a me et beva et io li daro molta letitia."³⁶

These appear in Armellini as:³⁷

"La humiltà colla purità della obedientia, et lo amore conserte bene quanno ne lanima since so in questa fonte ve ad bere."

This is preceded by:

"Io so la fonte gentile, chi a sete venga ad bere, so confuorso senza fine, venga ad mi chi vole venire, darrioli allegrezza senza fine."

And in Ponzileoni³⁸ in the following form:

"L'umiltà con la purità della obbedienza, l'amore con la mondezza della coscienza fanno buona lega insieme, e quando si trovano unitamente in un'anima elle può bere con abbondanza ai miei fonti: imperciocchè io sono il

fonte della vita: chi ha sete venga a me, e beva, e io gli darò un'allegrezza che non avrà mai fine."

On the scroll held by the Infant Christ are the words: "Io sono lo amore divino el quale rapizco l' cuore di chi m'ama et lo metto nlo petto mio et fo tutto mio et fo provare molto contento esso. Guardo nlo specchio mio et si muta della grnde caritate et arde dello amore: fo lo tutto nfiammare et lo unisco alla mia Maiestate."³⁹

In Armellini these appear as:⁴⁰

"Io so lo amore divino lo quale tollo lo core, tollo quello che i mio et pongo nello mio pecto, facciolo innamorare et sentire grande delecto, resguarda nello mio specchio, facciolo trasformare, nel alta caritate facciolo ardere de amore: Puoi lo faccio confiammare, et facciolo essere unito, con lalta magestate che ce sta sempre ammirando, . . . "

And in Ponzileoni⁴¹ they become:

"Io sono l'amore Divino, il quale rapisco l' cuore di chi mi ama, e lo pongo nel petto mio, e il faccio tutto mio, e gli fo provare singolare diletto: egli risguarda nel mio specchio, e si trasforma nell'alta Carità, e bruccia di amore: io lo fo tutto infiammare, e l'unisco con la mia Maestà, . . . "

The scroll held by St. Mary Magdalen is inscribed:

"Vuoi che avete udito quale e lo rimedio che ha pres la Reina dello cielo per fare lunge sto grande malore ponetevi nlo ritiro et mundate lo cuore d'ogni macula sia Santa et pura la fede vostra et fervente in Dio la caritate: la grande Reina come Madre vostra dice she siate forti e che avete ferma speranza dello solare remedio che Dio ne manda."⁴²

In Armellini⁴³ this passage reads:

"Ovvi che avete udita et intesa questa thema, la quale è uno remedio che a preso lalta regina, ad potere remediare et levare questa grande fatica. Così dico ad voi che ve metete in silentio et levate omne sospitione. Et quanto ve sia possibile, nulla machia remanga nel vostro core: radunate tucti da voi in vera et sancta devotione, agiate la sostantia della fede con voi la quale è la purità che è sempre sperante et ferma nel signore, almeno in quello tienpo quanno ne adoperete in questo dicto, lo quale ve a comandato lalta regina, quanto sia possibile alla mente vostra. Lalta regina como tenera et amatrice et consigliatrice vostra dice che pigliete, che non ve mutete in nulla cosa che intervenga."

While in Ponzileoni⁴⁴ it figures as:

"O voi che avete udito quale è il rimedio che ha preso

³⁶ *Visio* XX: "Humilitas cum puritate obedientiae, et amor cum munditia conscientiae bene esse simul ligant, et constringunt; et in qua anima simul se sociant, talis anima in hoc fonte bibere potest."

And immediately preceding these lines: "Ego sum purus fons et nobilis: si quis sitit, veniat ad me, quicumque vult venire, et laetitiam sibi dabo, quae numquam habebit finem."

³⁷ Mattiotti-Armellini, pp. 69-70.

³⁸ Ponzileoni, p. 178.

³⁹ *Visio* XIII: "Ego sum amor perennis, qui ab omnibus rebus terrenis dilecti cor abstraho, et summa ex infimis maditari doceo. Facio ipsum delectari, post quod illum in me sui speculo totum facio transformari; in profunda caritate, postquam ardet amore coelestium, totum jubeo inflammari, ut se permittat uniri cum mea divina voluntate."

⁴⁰ Mattiotti-Armellini, p. 43.

⁴¹ Ponzileoni, p. 145.

⁴² *Visio* LXIII: "O vos, qui auditis et intellexistis istud thema, quod est singulare remedium per coelestem Reginam praeceptum ad removendum istud magnum periculum, stetis in silentio et in sancta devotione: habete substantiam fidei vobiscum, quae est pietas, quae firmiter sperat in Domino: in istis quae vobis praecepit alta Regina sitis obedientes, et habete animositatem, et recipite vires coeli, et in omnibus interventionibus non vos mittetis."

⁴³ Mattiotti-Armellini, p. 214.

⁴⁴ Ponzileoni, p. 159.

(continued on page 86)

THE LEGEND OF
SANTA FRANCESCA ROMANA

(continued from page 61)

la Regina del Cielo per rimuovere questo grande pericolo, mettetevi in ritiro, e nel silenzio: purgate per quanto vi è possibili il vostro cuore da ogni macchia: radunatevi in vera, e santa divozione nella unione della viva fede, che fermamente spera in Dio, e della carità: lalta Regina come tenera madre, e consigliatrice vostra dice che vi confortiate, abbiate fiducia in qualsivoglia cosa che v'intervenga, e non vacilliate per qualunque disastro, ma vi manteniate fermi nella speranza del promesso rimedio almeno in tutto quel tempo, che attualmente impiegate in quanto che vi ha comandato."

The Harris panel:

The inscriptions on the Harris panel (fig. 6) occur in Armellini but not in Ponzileoni. The first of them, that on the scroll held by the Infant Christ, reads:

"Anima che si ordinate pigliate larme mee da mi si reformata che facci lo mio volere puorti le insegne mee fa che vivi in amore la luce con ardore in ti farragio remanere, amame mi anima amame cha tagio riamata damme ad mi conforso cha io tagio conforzata."⁴⁵

In Armellini⁴⁶ these words appear in the following form:

"Le sequente parole le disse una divina voce alla beata stando in extasi:

'Anima che si ordinate, pigliate larme mee, da mi si reformata, che facci lo mio volere, puorti le insegne mee, fa che vivi in amore, la luce con ardore, in ti farragio remanere. Amame mi anima, amame che te agio amata, damme ad mi confuorso, cha lo te agio confuorsata.'"

On the scroll held by the Virgin in the painting are the words:

"... ette da lalto creatore. che lo signore ve a accepte nella mea unione ... este nella mea chiamata la dona anunita (?) tutte voi ve aspetta ... lanimi si reale. siate

bene fuorti ad cio che ne itervenerano."⁴⁷

In Armellini⁴⁸ these assume the form:

"Puoi lalta regina disse alle soe figliole: 'anime benedecte da lalto creatore, che lo signore ve a accepte, nella mea unione, fa che siate preste nella mea chiamata, la dona anunctiata, tucte voi aspecta. Tucte site aspellate nello mio volere, fa che siate attente nello vostro sentire, agiate lo core mundo et lanimi reale, siate bene fuorti in ciò che ne intervverano.'"

The third almost illegible cartellino in this panel reads:

"Preparate tu anima preparate ad questi bieni ad (?) questi ... li quali ... fa chencie (?) si virile animosa et fervente ... confiamata et ... te ardere de amore ...,"⁴⁹

a passage recurring in Armellini⁵⁰ as:

"Preparate bene anima, ad questi superni bieni ad tali grandi thesori, li quali aspectano ti, fa chence si virile, animosa et fervente, questo alto omnipotente, de amore te a ripiena."

⁴⁵ *Visio* XCV: "Anima, quae es ordinata, recipe arma meae, tu a me es reformata, ut facias quod ego volo: tu defers magna vexilla, fac quod vivas in amore, et meam lucem cum ardore faciam in te remanere. Ama me, o anima; ama, quia te amavi: praebe mihi confortamen, quia ego te confortatus sum ..."

⁴⁶ Mattiotti-Armellini, p. 234.

⁴⁷ *Visio* XLVII: "O animae benedictae a summo creatore, iste ipse Dominus vos accepit in unione, estote semper diligentes in mea vocatione: Domina Annuntiata vos omnes expectat: Omnes estis expectatae in mea voluntate; estote semper attentae in vestris sensibus: habeatis mundum cor, et animum virilem: estote semper fortes in omne quod potest evenire."

⁴⁸ Mattiotti-Armellini, p. 169.

⁴⁹ *Visio* XCV: "Prepara te bene, anima, ad ista superna bona, ad istos magnos thesauros, qui te hinc expectant. Fac quod sis humilis, animosa et fervens: nam iste Omnipotens te implevit suo splendore."

⁵⁰ Mattiotti-Armellini, p. 241.

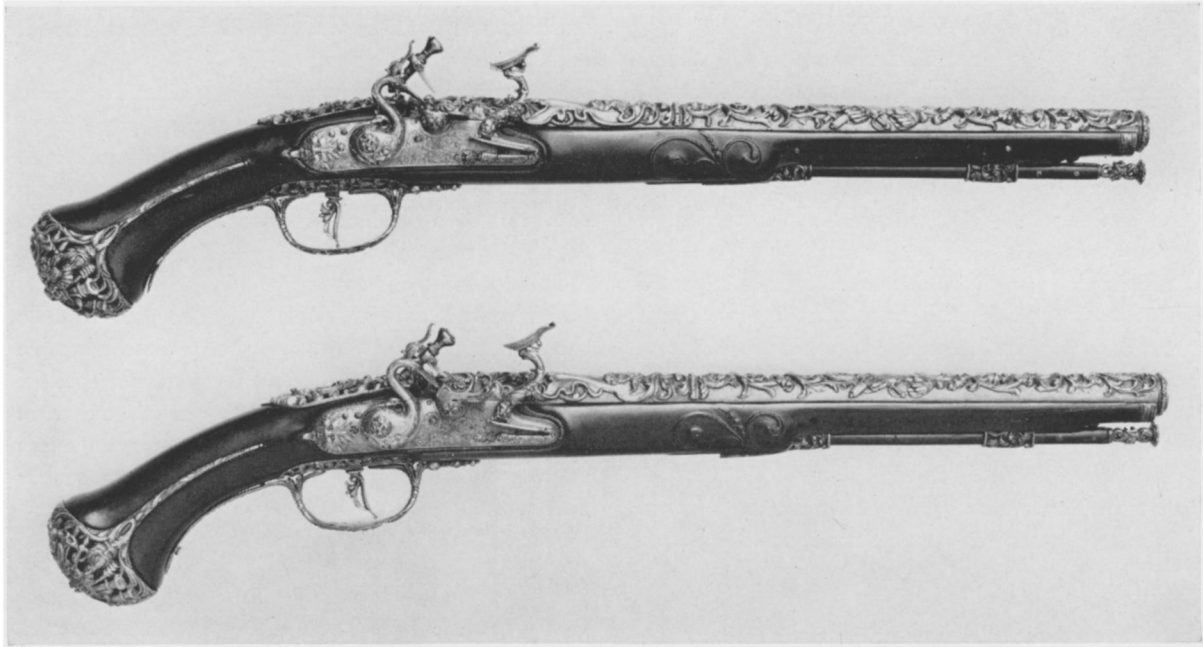


FIGURE 1

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Brace of North Italian Snaphaunce Pistols
The lower pistol is authentic, except for the stock and hammer

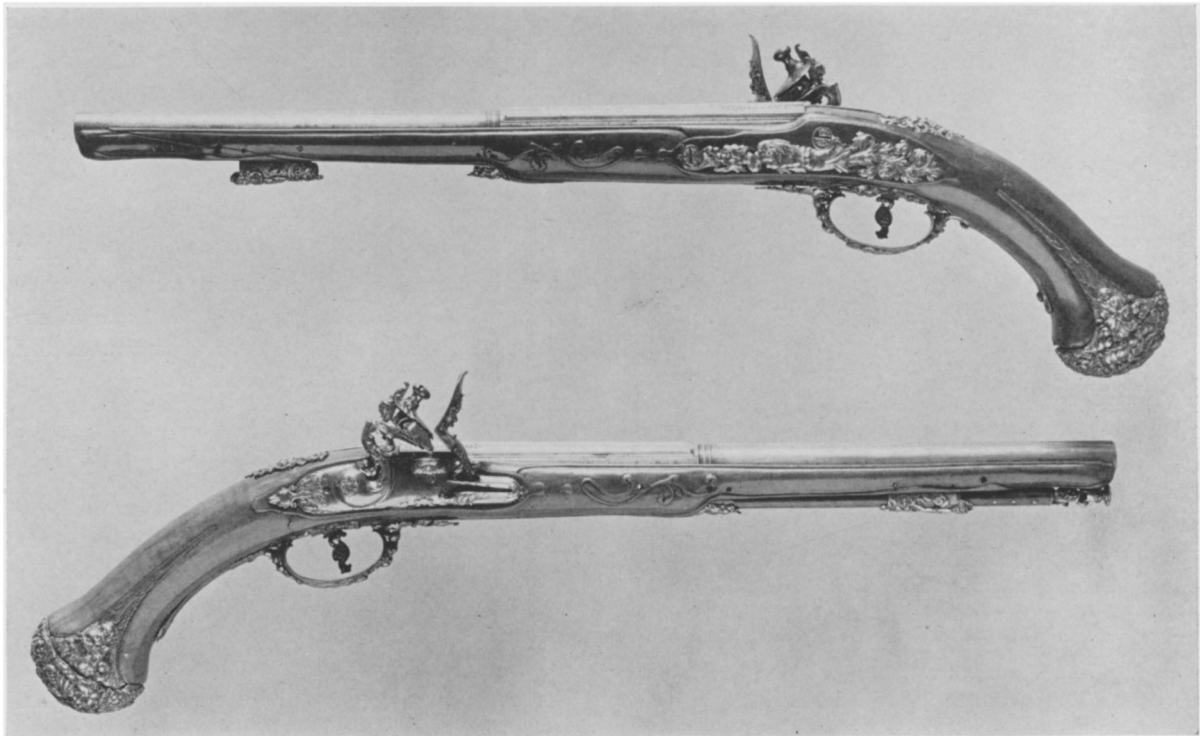


FIGURE 2

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Brace of Brescian Flintlock Pistols
The top pistol is authentic except for the stock and counter lockplate

ITALIAN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY PISTOLS: GENUINE AND FALSE

BY STEPHEN V. GRANCSAY

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

THIS ARTICLE deals with two pairs of pistols, one in The Walters Art Gallery (fig. 2),¹ the other in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 1),² which have been described in arms and armor publications as genuine and impeccable pieces. The reason for publishing the present study is to call attention to the fact that both pairs of pistols have been considerably restored. These pistols originally represented the highest quality of sculptured steelwork, as may be seen by examining the authentic elements. They were worthy of Brescia, and of Brescia at its best. Their steel mountings bear comparison with the best contemporary German work, as may be demonstrated by placing them alongside the chased ironwork on firearms and sword hilts in The Metropolitan Museum of Art executed by Caspar Spät, who was appointed chaser in steel to the elector's court at Munich in 1635 and who died in 1691.

The restorations of the two pairs of pistols are so skillfully executed that it requires a practised eye to distinguish the genuine from the false elements.³ There is no doubt that both

pairs of pistols had been considered entirely authentic because of their effective appearance and because they had not been dismantled to enable one to study the details and to make comparisons. The mountings on an assembled pistol are not easy to analyze. They should be studied piece by piece. In this connection, I recall having been shown by a collector "a fine pair of wheellock pistols," and when the locks were dismantled it was found that they had never had any interior mechanism! This is an extreme case, but it emphasizes the fact that it is essential that public museums make critical appraisals of their works of art and that the results of their studies be published. The present study may well lead to the discovery of similar restorations, especially since many firearms have been damaged by fire, the stocks having been destroyed while the steel mountings have often been retrieved. Under such circumstances, many pistols have been restored to simulate their original condition.

Gunsmithing has always been a profession for the artistically inclined. Leonardo da Vinci made a study of the wheellock mechanism. Benvenuto Cellini made his own bird gun complete, lock, stock and barrel. Some years ago a sculptured snaphaunce lock inscribed "Acqua Fresca A Bargi" and dated 1679 was offered to

¹ No. 51.587-588. L.: 20 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

² 04.3.187-188.

³ Leonard Heinrich, armorer at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, dismantled the pistols and collaborated with me in appraising the ancient and modern workmanship.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art as a Cellini masterpiece, an opinion not to be wondered at, since in workmanship the lock is well worthy of that master.⁴ The same master signed the authentic lock of the snaphaunce pistol belonging to the Museum (fig. 6), which will be described in this article. North Italian firearms never failed to impress and interest one because of their extraordinary technical merits. The artist-gunsmiths had to have an understanding of the qualities of iron, and how to purify and reduce it to perfection; how to temper and soften it and how to color it into various hues, and how to "clean it white"—that is, polish it as smooth as glass; how to keep iron from rusting; how to carve and cut it in relief; and how to gild and engrave.

The authentic locks and mountings of the two pairs of pistols under discussion are splendid examples of the difficult art of cutting images and ornaments out of solid iron, a form of ironwork which reached a high development during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but which is almost extinct today. In this painstaking technique the artist worked the metal cold with chisels and chasing tools, the hand guiding the chisel just as in stone sculpture. Because of the difficulty which he experienced in manipulating iron, he was obliged to execute his work with care.

In connection with our study of genuine and false elements, it would be of value to study the splendid group of seventeenth-century Brescian firearms in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. These light and graceful weapons with their highly decorative overlays of lacelike pierced steel were not only practical to handle, but were pleasing to the eye as well. A number of good examples, wheellock, snaphaunce and flintlock, from the workshops of the famous Cominazzo family and Giovanni Battista Francino are shown. The task of building a firearm was as-

signed to a designer, a stockmaker, a barrel-smith and a locksmith, who also made the mountings. The locks often bear the artist's name, while the mountings, which were usually made by the locksmith, lack a signature. The barrels, too, are usually signed, but often by an artist other than the locksmith. In rare instances the stock is signed.⁵ When only the barrel is signed one generally attributes the pistol to the barrelsmith, although usually the barrelsmith was a specialist.⁶ For example, the various members of the Cominazzo family were barrel-smiths, and presently we shall have occasion to refer to them.

Milan was a competitor of Brescia in the making of firearms. For one thing, Brescia and Gardone were dependent upon the "High Serene Authority of Venice" and, in view of the difficulty the Milanese encountered in acquiring arquebuses promptly from Brescia, a great industry for the production of gun barrels was developed at Milan. But the princes, captains and arms merchants continued to look to Brescia for their supply of firearms. Alphonso II of Este, Vittorio Amedeo, Duke of Savoy, and Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, sent to Brescia for thousands of arquebuses. The Duke of Mantua was the patron of all the firearms master craftsmen, due to the fact that he continually needed

⁴ Stephen V. Grancsay, *A Chased Pistol Lock* in *Bulletin Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXIX (1934), pp. 43-44, fig.

⁵ *Idem.*, *A Pair of Seventeenth Century Brescian Pistols* in *The Art Bulletin*, XVIII (1936), pp. 240-246, 6 figs.; this deals with a brace of Brescian flintlock pistols in The Walters Art Gallery, each of which bears the signature of the three masters who made them. The locks are engraved "Piero Alsa in Brescia," the stocks are stamped "Gio. Marno in Brescia fece," and the barrels are stamped with the name "Gio. Batt. Francino."

⁶ So, too, in swords, it was mostly the bladesmiths who signed their pieces with marks and names, while hilts very rarely show marks, so that in the study of swords it has become customary to judge them only from the viewpoint of the names and marks on the blades. It is true that some bladesmiths also made hilts enriched by chisel work, damascening, gilding, engraving and etching, just as some barrelsmiths also made the locks and mountings. I have made these comparisons because the artists who made the firearms mountings also on occasion made sword hilts and, in fact, any kind of artistic metalwork.

arms, and particularly firearms for the defense and expansion of his duchy. Ordinarily the manufacturers of Venice and Brescia were his suppliers. Thus, on November 15, 1610, he ordered from Luca Tron of Venice the shipment to Mantua of 1610 arquebuses, and on December 12, 1613, he asked for the shipment of 1500 gun barrels according to the order already given to Captain Antonio Grimani of Brescia. At Brescia, Giovanni Battista Vaijlato, "a licensed merchant and noble citizen of Milan," on March 5, 1585, asks permission for the transit through Milanese territory of "eight bales of hunting arquebuse barrels," bought by him from the merchants of the Gardone markets.

The two pairs of pistols which are the subject of this article show two typical mechanisms, the snaphaunce and the flintlock. In a study of these mechanisms, one sees the gunsmith's ingenuity in solving intricate mechanical problems. In point of development, the snaphaunce, which may have been invented as early as the middle of the sixteenth century, is intermediate between the wheellock and the true flintlock. It is the first battery lock, the battery (frizzen) being the upright steel portion against which the pyrites or flint strikes when the hammer falls. The snaphaunce has a sliding flashpan cover, similar to that of a wheellock; it is entirely separate from the battery, which is a safety element. It is pivoted on the side of the lockplate and until ready to fire is turned away from the pan, the arm being cocked and primed with the pan cover closed. Thus the weapon was safe to carry. The pan cover, instead of being moved by hand as is usual in the wheellock, is automatically thrown back with the falling of the hammer by a rod moved by the tumbler.

⁷ K-9, pl. 19.

The date of the introduction of the simple flintlock is not known, and there are no known specimens that can be definitely assigned to the sixteenth century. It was probably invented by Marin Le Bourgeois of Lisieux in the first decade of the seventeenth century. The flintlock came into general use during the seventeenth century and was employed by troops all over the world until the middle of the nineteenth.

In the flintlock the sear mechanism normally is enclosed and acts directly on the tumbler which has half-cock and full-cock notches. The half-cock sear is a safety device which holds the hammer away from the frizzen, avoiding the danger of premature discharges which would be present if the hammer were kept at fullcock after the pan is primed. Before discharge, the hammer can instantly be drawn back to the full-cock position and the trigger pull withdraws the sear from the full-cock position, by-passing the half-cock notch as the hammer falls. The half-cock notch is narrow and deep, preventing the withdrawal of the sear by trigger pull, while the full-cock notch is shallow, thus enabling the trigger sear to slide off the shoulder easily. The frizzen and pan cover are combined and pivoted close to the pan, so that when pushed back by the blow of the hammer it at once uncovers the priming. By this device was swept aside the need of the separate mechanism for the opening of the pan cover.

The snaphaunce pistols in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 1) have been described and illustrated in Baron C.A. de Cosson's *Le Cabinet d'armes de Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, Duc de Dino*, published in Paris in 1901⁷. One pistol is authentic with the exception of the ebony stock, and the authentic hammer is assembled on the modern lock. The authentic elements are of superlative quality, although all the mountings have a leadlike surface, having been cleaned

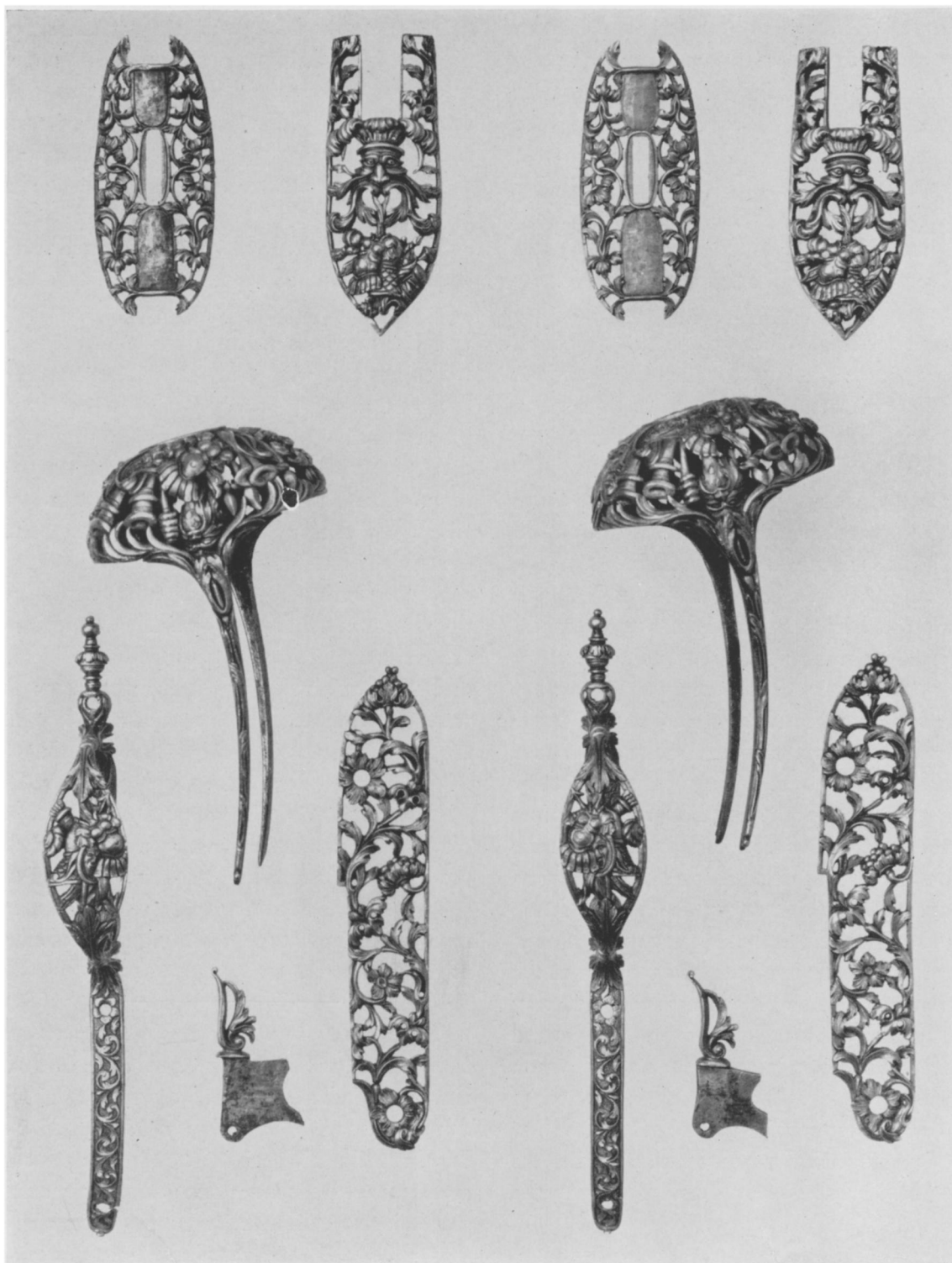


FIGURE 3

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Mountings of North Italian Snaphaunce Pistols
 (Trigger guard, trigger, counter lockplate, butt cap, trigger plate, tang plate)
 The elements on the left are authentic

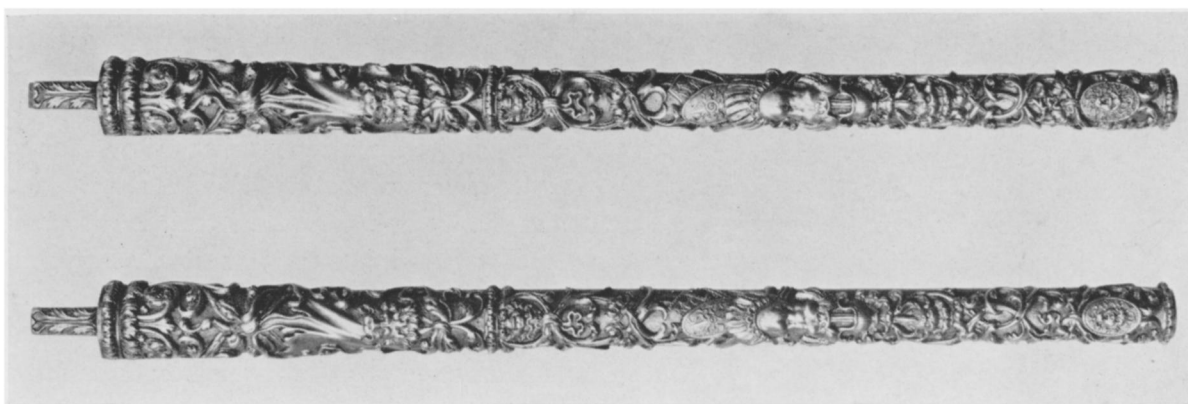


FIGURE 4

Barrels of Snaphaunce Pistols
The lower one is authentic

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

with acid in order that the genuine and modern elements would have the same appearance (fig. 3). The authentic lock, and in all likelihood the mountings as well, are the work of a member of the Acqua Fresca family, noted locksmiths who took their name from a small place in the territory of Bologna.⁸

The smoothbore barrels, of .51 caliber, are chiseled in very high relief with Medusa heads, classical trophies, foliation, etc. (fig. 4). In comparing the details of the relief sculpturing of the ancient and modern barrels, the difference in workmanship is obvious. And there are structural differences. On the underside of the false barrel the eyelets for the pins which secured the barrel to the stock are soldered on instead of being swaged into grooves. The sculptured

acanthus leaf of the tang of the modern barrel is welded on; in the authentic barrel the acanthus leaf is chiseled out of the solid tang. Both barrels have a stippled background, but the stippling is different on each barrel.

The locks are chiseled in relief and engraved (fig. 5), and bear on the interior the signature "Acqua Fresca A Bargi." The signatures of the authentic and modern locks vary (fig. 6), and the authentic signature shows its age. The mainspring of the authentic lock is much stronger than that of the modern lock. Incidentally, the stem of the modern hammer is cracked. Such a defect usually occurs when the hammer is released without a piece of flint in the hammer jaws, for without the projecting flint the neck strikes the top of the frizzen with considerable

⁸ Other works by the Acqua Fresca family are: In the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, a pair of pistols (no. 721) with barrels inscribed "Piraube aux Galleries 1683" and locks signed "Acqua fresca;" in the collection of Professor Costantini of Florence, a pistol signed by the same maker; in the Royal Armory in Turin, a gun (M 31), the barrel by Matias de Baeza at Florence 1709 and locks by Acqua Fresca; in the Stibberts collection in Florence, a pistol lock signed "Acqua Fresca" [A. Lenti, *Il Museo Stibbert* (Firenze, 1918) no. 2947]; in the sale of the collection of the late William Newall, Esq., at Christie's in London on June 27, 1922, lot 175, a steel snuff-box, signed "Acqua Fresca, 1691;" in the sale of the collection of the late S. E. Kennedy, Esq., at Christie's in London on March 18, 1918, lot

60, a pair of snaphaunce pistols with ebony stocks, one barrel being inscribed "Matteo Acqua Fie Lea," and the inscription "Acqua Fresca" appearing below the flash-pans; in a manuscript inventory of the former Herzoglich Pfalz-Zweibrückener Gewehr-kammer from 1795-1815, in the Library of the Germanic National Museum in Nuremberg, are listed the following inscriptions on locks, "Acqua Fresca" and "Acqua Fres Bar:nt Bol 1683;" in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, a snaphaunce pistol lock of superior quality with the date 1679 and the inscription "Acqua Fresca A Bargi" engraved under the mainspring (Grancsay, *op. cit.* in *Bulletin Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXIX (1934), pp. 43-44, fig.); in 1867 the Advocate Claudio Calandra appears to have possessed a finely decorated breech-loading gun signed "Acqua fresca in Bargis 1694."

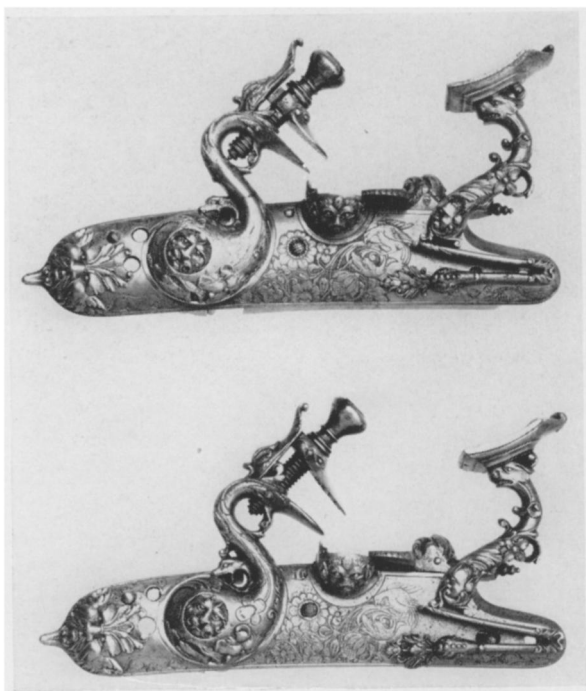


FIGURE 5 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
Locks of Snaphaunce Pistols
The upper lock is authentic except for the hammer

force, the strain often causing the metal to crack; under normal functioning, the projecting flint strikes the face of the hinged frizzen throwing it back.

Four screws are authentic, one for the tang, one for the butt plate, and two lock screws. The two authentic lock screws are slightly greater in diameter than the modern lock screws, and in the case of the butt cap screw, the modern screw is of greater diameter. The tang screws are interchangeable.

The ebony stocks are both modern, both being of mediocre workmanship and made by the same carver. Ebony was rarely used for pistol stocks in the seventeenth century. In The Metropolitan Museum of Art is a wheellock hunting gun made by the Munich master, Caspar Spät, and dated 1668. The stock is of beech veneered in ebony and is attributed to the Augsburg stock maker, Elias Becker.⁹ Ebony

was used for pistol stocks in the nineteenth century, when our pistol stocks were made.¹⁰

The pistols from The Walters Art Gallery are signed flintlocks (fig. 2).¹¹ Both barrels are authentic. Of one pistol the lock (the spring of which retains its temper), butt cap, trigger guard (a full length nude figure, a winged half figure emerging from acanthus leaves, and a mask), and ramrod tip are authentic; of its mate the top strap (the plaque adjacent to the tang which is chiseled with a mask and foliation), trigger plate and front (mask) and rear ramrod sockets (a nude child and dolphin) are authentic (figs. 8, 12). The trigger is chiseled as an eagle-like bird.

Both walnut stocks are modern. The carved recesses for the locks and mountings are not executed with the fine care which occurs in a masterpiece. In the mid-seventeenth century, the period of our pistols, woodcarving was a highly developed art and stocks of quality in keeping with the fine mounts were made. The stocks are

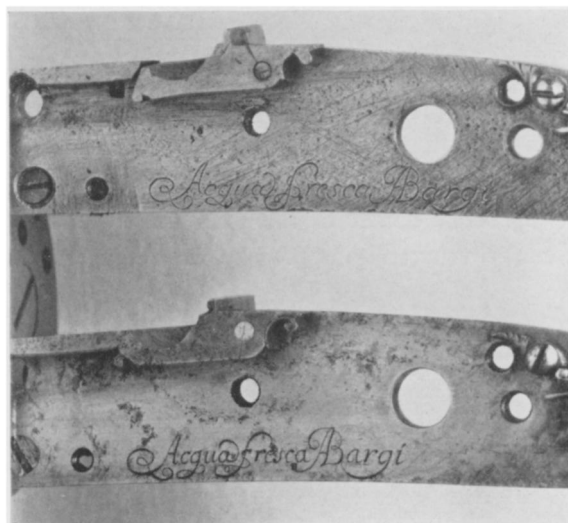


FIGURE 6 METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
Signatures on Interior of Snaphaunce Locks
The lower signature is authentic

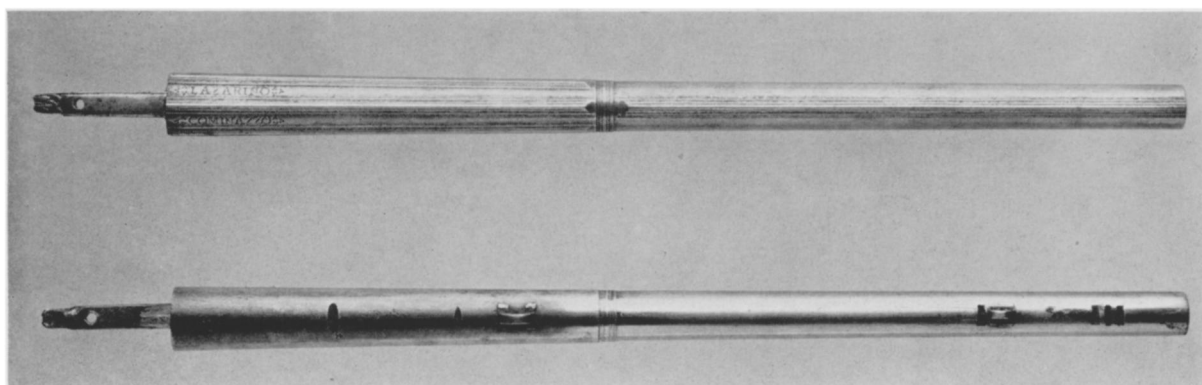


FIGURE 7

Barrels of Flintlock Pistols, signed LAZARINO COMINAZZO
(Showing top and under side)

WALTERS ART GALLERY

of walnut with a reddish color which was acquired by varnishing and polishing. Better results would have been obtained if a French polish (oil and shellac) had been applied to close the pores, and then waxed overall.

The barrels, of smooth bore, are .50 caliber, their overall length is $13\frac{1}{16}$ inches (34.8 cm.), and they have been cut down at the muzzle end (fig. 7). The altered barrels would have required only a light charge of powder, for a heavy load of black powder in a short barrel would not burn entirely behind the bullet before it left the barrel. The loops on the under side, through which the pins securing the barrel to the stock

passed, have been relocated, as may be seen by the unoccupied grooves of the original loops. The muzzle and breech ends of the barrel are divided by transverse rings, the muzzle end being decorated with a median group of ridges and the breech end with three groups of ridges. At the breech end is stamped the name LAZARINO COMINAZZO.

In contemporary times Cominazzo barrels were renowned, and today it is the ambition of practically every collector of firearms to have a pair of pistols with barrels bearing the Cominazzo name. The founder of the workshop at Gardone in the Val Trompia, about fifteen miles north of Brescia, seems to have been Lazarino Cominazzo, who worked for Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, in 1593 when he was twenty-five years of age. Several members of the Cominazzo family bore the name of Lazarino, hence their pedigree is difficult to verify. Cominazzo barrels were exceptionally light yet strong, being reinforced at the breech. The usual ornaments were ridged transverse rings, groups of ridges and flutings and a herring-bone pattern. It is entirely wrong to attribute to Lazarino Cominazzo the extraordinarily elegantly executed locks and mountings with which the stocks of his works are enriched.

⁹ Carl Otto v. Kienbusch and Stephen V. Grancsay, *The Bashford Dean Collection of Arms and Armor in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Portland, Maine, 1933), no. 190, pls. 60-61.

¹⁰ Cf., for instance, Stephen V. Grancsay, *The Charles Noé Daly Bequest of Firearms in Bulletin Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXX (1935), pp. 189-192, fig. 4.

¹¹ These pistols were in the Hollingworth Magniac collection and have been exhibited by him in the Victoria and Albert Museum. They were bought at the Magnac sale by Duveen. The pistols are described and illustrated in the following publications: *Catalogue of the renowned collection of works of art, chiefly formed by the late Hollingworth Magniac Esq. . . .* (London, Christie's, July 2-July 15, 1892), lot 746, pl.; Francis Henry Cripps-Day, *A Record of Armour Sales 1881-1924* (London, 1925), p. 32, fig.; Major H. B. C. Pollard, *A History of Firearms* (London, 1926), p. 36, pl.; E. H. G., *Democratic Weapons: Hand Firearms. A History of Firearms by Major H. B. C. Pollard*: review in *The Illustrated London News* (April 17, 1926), p. 716, 2 figs.

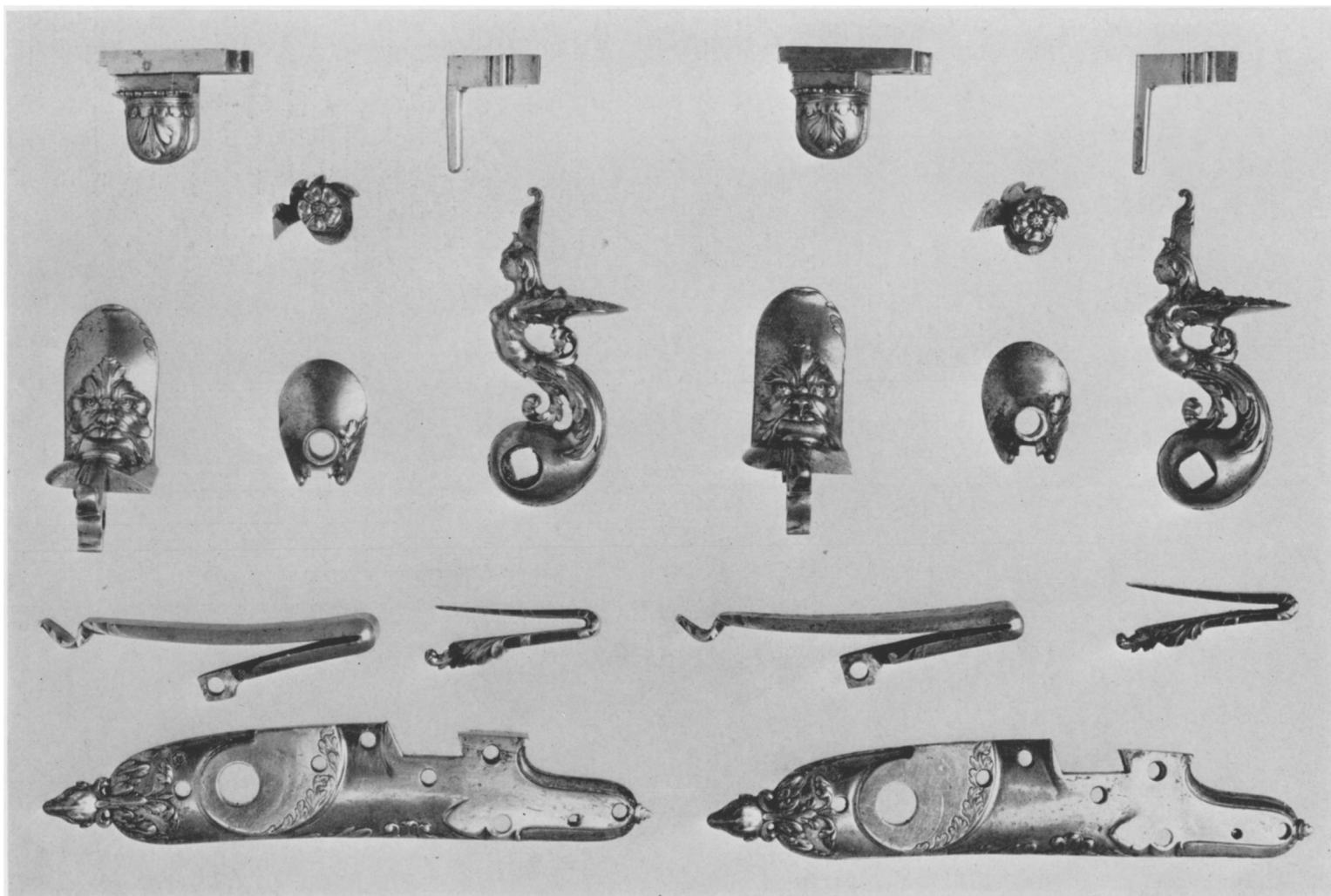


FIGURE 8

*Dismantled Locks of Flintlock Pistols
The elements at the right are authentic*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

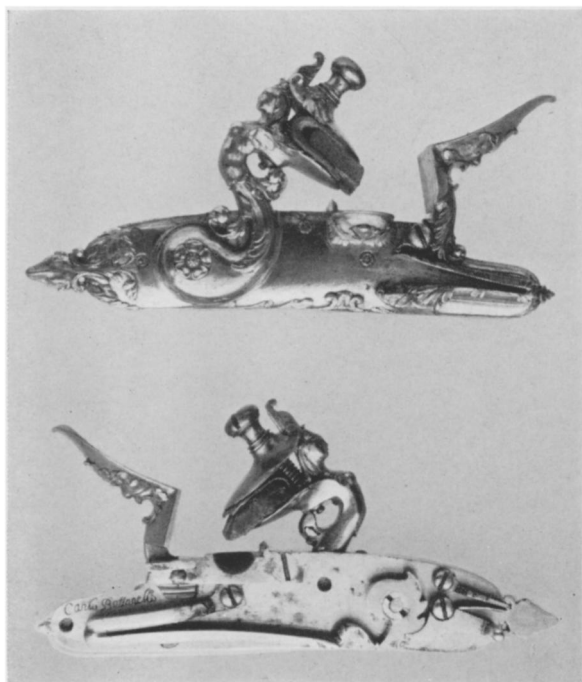


FIGURE 9 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Authentic Lock of Flintlock Pistol
(Interior and exterior)

The Cominazzi were barrelsmiths. The collaborating artists have been given but slight consideration even when the locks are signed. Many Brescian lock makers are known by their signed pieces, but the artists who made the lacelike pierced and relief chiseled mountings have not been identified, although it is reasonable to assume that these were made by the locksmiths. Many public and private collections of

arms possess firearms executed by the Cominazzi. Among the most beautiful is a pair of wheellock pistols in the Royal Armory of Madrid¹² by Lazari Cominaz, with the lock bearing the mark of Alessandro Francini, nephew of the famous Giovan Battista Francini. These pistols were sent to Philip IV by his brother, the Cardinal Infante D. Fernand, together with a Milanese equestrian armor¹³ of which the two pistols were a part and which was incorrectly reported in the Royal Armory Catalogue of 1849 as a possession of Christopher Columbus.

The steel mountings on the Walters pistols are of the richest quality, embossed and chiseled (fig. 12). Only one lock is authentic, and it is signed on the interior above the mainspring, Carlo Bottarelli (figs. 9, 10).¹⁴ This lock shows the perfection of workmanship attained by Bottarelli in the relief chiseling of steel. In studying the ornament one sees how skillfully the design was adapted to the structural features (figs. 8, 9). The hammer is gracefully shaped in a double curve with a female half figure arising from acanthus leaves which are

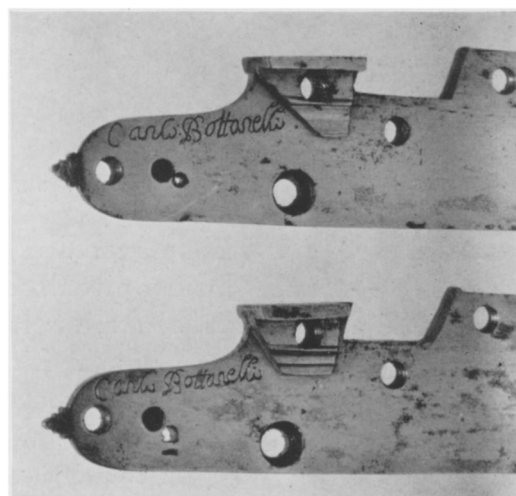


FIGURE 10 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Signatures on Interior of Flintlock Locks
The top signature is authentic

¹² K. 90-91.

¹³ A. 422.

¹⁴ In the Royal Armory at Turin is a pair of pistols (nos. 41-42) with barrels stamped with the name "Gio. Batt. Francino," and on the interior of the lockplate the name of the metal chaser, "Carolus Bottarelli Brixienensis Fecit in 1665." The same inscription appears on the other lock with the date 1666. Another pair of Francino wheellock pistols in the Zeughaus in Berlin has the locks signed "Carlo Bottarello." The inscription "Carlo Bottarello Brescia" also appears on the blade of a seventeenth-century dirk with handle of ivory sculptured with a caryatid in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (26.145.152): Bashford Dean, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Catalogue of European Daggers including the Ellis, de Dino, Riggs, and Reubell Collections* (New York, 1929), no. 241, pl. 69.

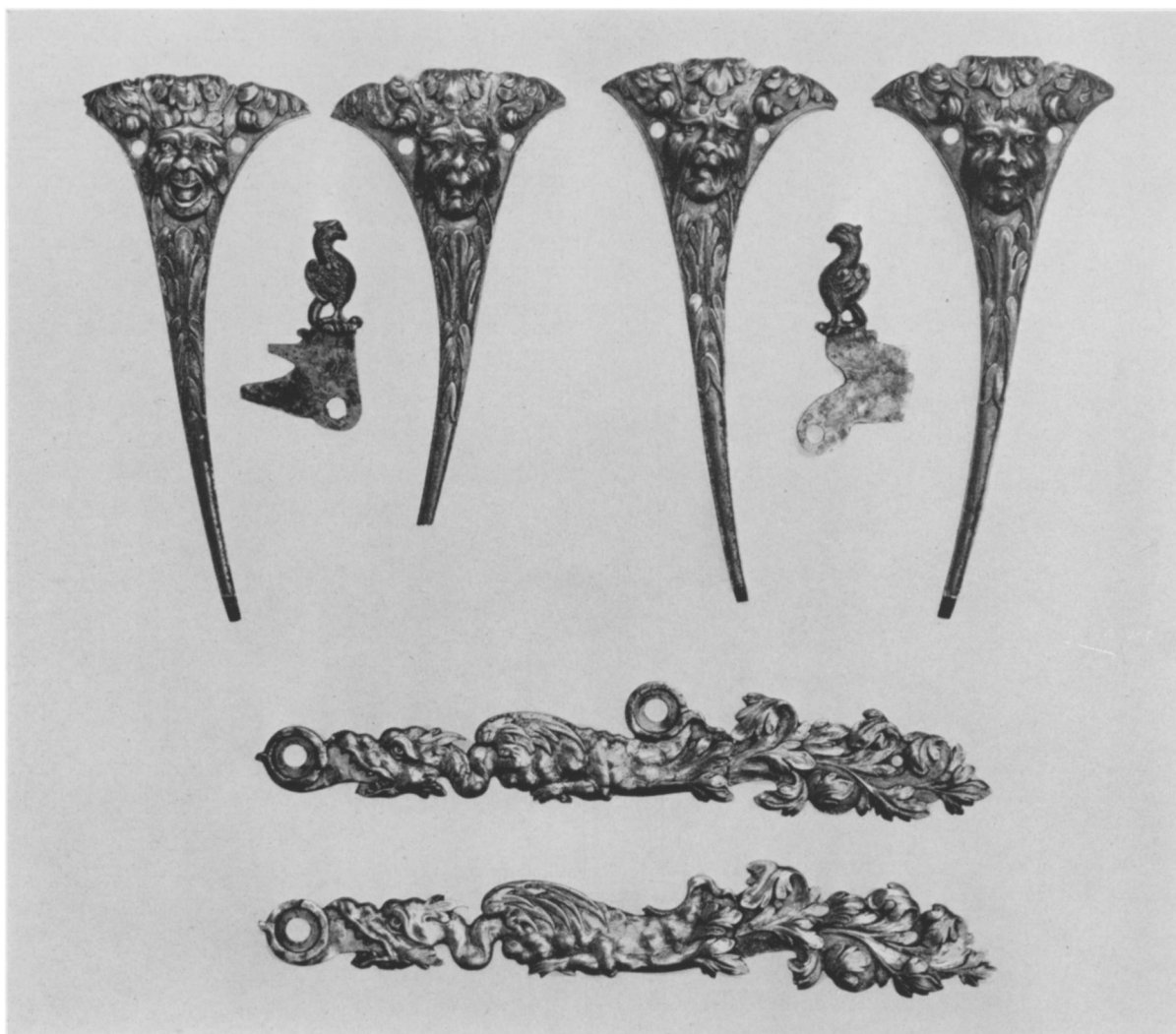


FIGURE 11

*Mountings of Brescian Flintlock Pistols
(Side plates of butt caps, triggers, counter lock plates)
All are modern, except the trigger at left*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

extended in such a way as to strengthen the stem of the hammer. The hammer pivot head is chiseled with a five petaled rosace; the lockplate terminates in a wolf's head; the frizzen is chiseled with a mask in relief. The nut on the tumbler pivot is twisted; this damage was apparently awkwardly done by someone who wished to dismount the lock but who did not know how to proceed.

Both counter lockplates, which are modern,

have teeth on the inside to grasp the lead in which they were embedded while being chiseled with the motif of a dragon emerging from acanthus leaves (fig. 11). Some of the authentic screws have been preserved, that is, two screws each for the lockplate, the trigger guard and the butt cap. Only one butt cap is authentic (fig. 12). It is embossed in relief and chiseled with a full length putto holding the tail end of a dragon on each shoulder, and above and be-

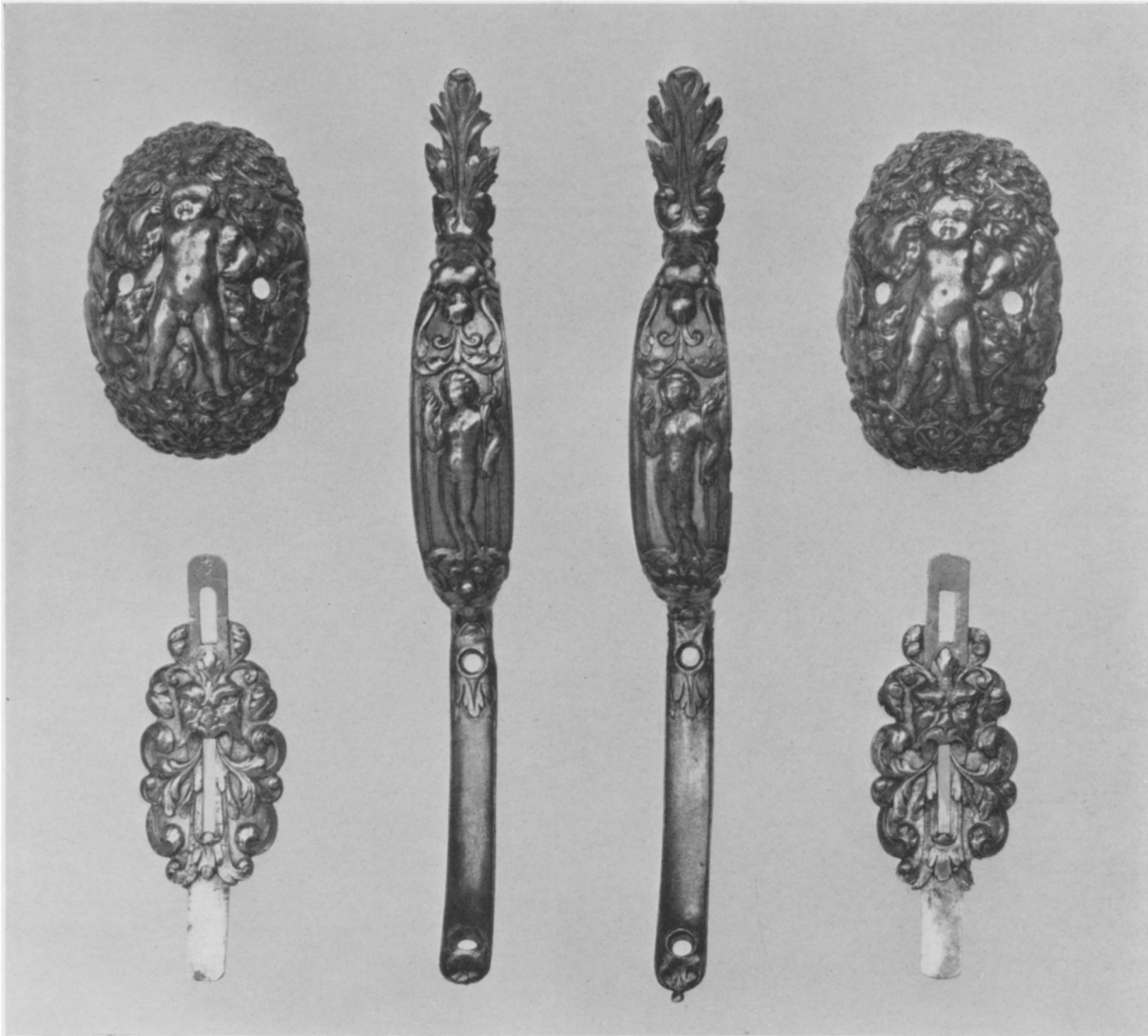


FIGURE 12

*Mountings of Brescian Flintlock Pistols
(Butt caps, trigger guards, trigger plates)
The elements at the right are authentic*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

low the putto are a bird and foliation. A comparison of details shows convincingly the superior design and workmanship of the authentic piece. It is executed with more freedom, the modeling is bolder, and the details are more skillfully finished. Our butt cap has no integral elongation at the sides, a feature which is usual in butt caps in order to secure the cap more firmly to the stock. In fact, our authentic

butt cap has been altered slightly. The short sides have been cut away and a plain sunken border was made on each side. Over each sunken border was placed the end of an elongated side piece, embossed and chiseled with a mask and acanthus leaves, which on both pistols are modern (fig. 11). It will be helpful to refer here to comparative material which will help us to understand how our buttcaps have been altered.

We shall also see that the mountings of the Walters pistols are not the usual type which accompany Cominazzo pistols.

In the Musée de l'Armée in Paris is a pair of superb snaphaunce pistols with barrels signed LAZARINO COMINAZZO.¹⁵ These pistols are among the masterpieces illustrated in the catalogue of that museum. They are of particular value in our study, since they bear comparison in certain details with the Walters pistols. Especially noteworthy are the butt caps, which are embossed and chiseled in the same style and which include similar motifs. The lockplate terminal ornaments—an animal's head—are also similar. Of further interest is the probability that the Walters stocks were originally enriched with extraordinarily fine pierced lace-like iron mountings as was customary in pistols of this type and quality. It is believed that the technique of making these lacelike mountings, which also required the stock to be delicately cut to receive the mountings, was not familiar to the artist who made the restorations and that therefore he invented the separate side ornaments of the butt and the counter lockplate ornaments, which are modern on both pistols (fig. 11). This explanation is given further support by the fact that the butt caps do not have integral elongated sides, which are necessarily lacking when the lacelike mountings are used. With such mountings the butt caps were only slightly extended at the sides. The thin lacelike mountings could easily be consumed or irreparably damaged in a fire, and hence would require replacements. The gilding which appears on several elements is modern. Gold powder was apparently mixed with ether, banana oil or lavender oil, painted on and made to adhere by heat. It was apparently not burnished, and the appearance of the gilding differs on the authentic and modern elements, probably because the modern elements may have been

cleaner before the gold was applied. The ancient gilding would have been mercury gilding, a more effective and more permanent process.

To distinguish the genuine from the false is primarily a question of being able to recognize superior workmanship. This involves a familiarity with all kinds of workmanship—good, bad, indifferent, as well as superior. Without the ability to appraise the ensemble as well as details, such as faces, hands, modeling of the body and limbs, spacing, etc., the modern element would satisfy one as well as the original, and in some cases the modern element would be considered of finer workmanship. Of course, the capable copyist who is making a duplicate element makes the piece well enough so that it is difficult to identify.

The restoration of the pistols which are the subject of this article was undoubtedly executed by artists who were doing artistic chiseled work in legitimate fields. For example, firearms with elaborately chiseled steel mountings were still created in the mid-nineteenth century. One may cite an outstanding example in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, having the stock of ebony and steel mountings richly sculptured with human and chimerical figures and foliation.¹⁶ The butt is sculptured with foliation and four female caryatids in steel and a

¹⁵ M. 1722. Le Musée de l'Armée, *Armes et armures anciennes et souvenirs historiques les plus précieux*. Publié sous la direction du Général Mariaux, Directeur du Musée, par la Société des Amis du Musée de l'Armée (Paris, Hotel des Invalides, 1927), vol. 2, pls. 52, 54. Other firearms with mountings apparently by the same master who made the mountings of the Walters pistols are: (1) A small fowling piece with barrel inscribed GIO. LAZARINO COMINAZZO in the Rutherford Stuyvesant collection (See Bashford Dean, *The Collection of Arms and Armor of Rutherford Stuyvesant 1843-1909* (Printed Privately, 1914), no. 170, pl. 42 and figs. 170 a-h). (2) A pair of flintlock pistols from the Hohenzollern Museum, Sigmaringen, with barrels inscribed LAZARINO COMINAZZO (See *Catalogue of a valuable collection of armour and weapons, comprising . . . magnificent Brescian pistols by the Cominazzo family. . . .* (Sotheby's, London, July 29, 1930), lot 109, 2 figs. These pistols sold for \$4850.).

¹⁶ Stephen V. Grancsay, *op. cit.* in *Bulletin Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXX (1935), pp. 189-192, fig. 4.

crown chased in gold. These steel mountings, unlike the splendid silver mountings of the Napoleonic firearms of Versailles manufacture, were not cast and chased. They were made of wrought iron and sculptured in relief, then case hardened. This technique was a survival in a period when stereotyped interchangeable parts were already being made, and the artist who practised it did so to achieve a work not only of usefulness, but also of skill and taste. This is not the ordinary pistol of the period. It emulates the best work of the past, and the mountings exemplify the highest type of steel chasing of the mid-nineteenth century. At this period the services of the best artists were enlisted for the ornamentation of firearms, as may be seen in a *Recueil d'ornements*, published in Liège about 1856 by Charles Claesen.

It is believed in the case of the pistols discussed in this article that they were damaged by fire and that the restorations were made to

salvage pieces which could be recognized as having been originally of extraordinary quality. The details of this salvaging procedure have been lost in the course of time. A genuine effort was made to restore the pistols as skillfully as possible and this aim was accomplished with a considerable degree of success. Nevertheless, one of the Walters pistols and one of the Metropolitan Museum pistols are forgeries, for in both pistols the modern locks are inscribed with the artist's name just as it appears on the authentic locks. To inscribe the name of an artist other than the one who made the lock is clearly a forgery. They were intended to fool the experts. And this aim was apparently successful for about a hundred years. So far as the writer knows, their authenticity has not previously been questioned.¹⁷

¹⁷ The Metropolitan Museum pistols were referred to by me incidentally in the *Bulletin* (March 1934) as "a pair of snap-haunce pistols, one a skillfully made copy."



FIGURE 1

HONORÉ DAUMIER
Le Fardeau
(terracotta)

WALTERS ART GALLERY

A TERRACOTTA BY DAUMIER

BY HENRI MARCEAU
Philadelphia Museum of Art

and DAVID ROSEN
The Walters Art Gallery

THE WALTERS ART GALLERY has recently acquired and placed on exhibition a work of prime interest to students of the draftsman, painter and sculptor, Honoré Daumier (figs. 1, 3). It is a terracotta statuette¹ of a woman burdened with a great bundle, hurrying forward in a gale, while the child beside her clutches her skirt to keep pace. The clay has been manipulated quickly to establish the main forms and movements of the figures, and then left without any attempt at smoothing or finishing the surface. The figure must have been fired immediately, for the edges are sharp and crisp and there are no damages. The initials H.D. were incised on the base, toward the back, before firing (fig. 7).

The terracotta corresponds closely to the familiar painting in the Tate Gallery, known as "Le Fardeau", wherein a mother and child move swiftly along a walled quai, beyond which a row of buildings dimly indicates the

farther bank of the Seine (fig. 2).² The woman plunges forward and swings the bundle of wet, heavy clothes on her hip, while her child tries desperately to keep up with her. It is quite obvious that the painted version and the terracotta belong to the same creative impulse. Knowing Daumier's method of forming figures plastically to serve as models for his painting, we may assume that the picture followed the clay study immediately, or, at least, within a short space of time.

In this connection it is of no little interest that a document has come to light that makes it possible to date the sculpture with fair precision. Marvin Ross, Curator of Medieval and Subsequent Decorative Arts at the Walters Art Gallery, has received from Jean Adhémar of the Bibliothèque Nationale a reference to a memorandum of Baudelaire's³ friend, Poulet-Malassis. Under date of January 14, 1852 is noted:

¹ No. 27,524. H. 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. Unpainted. Published: Eduard Fuchs, *Der Maler Daumier* (Munich, 1930), no. 174 A, pl. 174 A. Ex-colls.: Pierre Cloix, Paris; Paul Rosenberg, Paris.

² Fuchs, *op. cit.*, no. 293 B.

³ Baudelaire once planned to do with Daumier a *catalogue raisonné* of the artist's lithographs, but the project was abandoned.

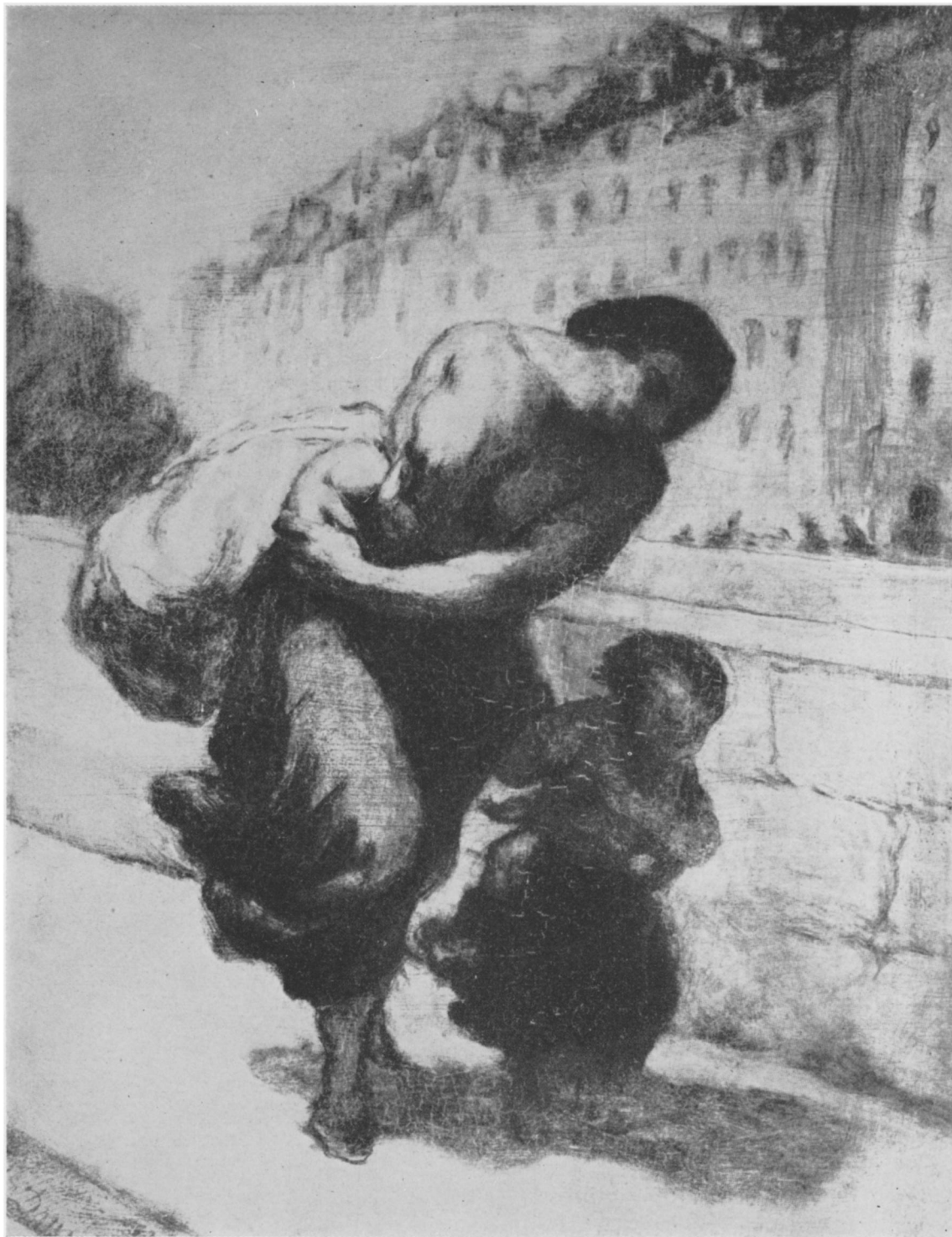


FIGURE 2

LONDON, TATE GALLERY

HONORÉ DAUMIER
Le Fardeau



FIGURE 3

WALTERS ART GALLERY

HONORÉ DAUMIER
Le Fardeau (rear)



FIGURE 4
WALTERS ART GALLERY
HONORÉ DAUMIER
Le Fardeau
(detail)

"Baudelaire me mène chez Daumier quai d'Anjou . . . Il fait aussi de la sculpture . . . Je vois comme une grande bacchanale en cire aux murs de l'atelier. Diverses ébauches. Une Madeleine, une blanchisseuse trainant une petite fille le long du quai par un grand vent. Ebauche d'un sentiment si triste qu'on dirait l'énorme paquet de linge qu'elle a sous le bras (est) en route pour le Mont de Piété . . ."⁴

This would indicate that the statuette was already in existence in 1852, and that the related Tate Gallery picture must have been executed relatively early in Daumier's painting career. It is also possible, knowing Daumier's habit of exhausting the pictorial possibilities of a particular theme, to place in the same period the series of paintings inspired by the life along

the Seine, such as "Le Premier Bain", "La Blanchisseuse" and "Baigneuses."⁵ The suggestion that the subject matter may have found its ultimate prototype in the work of one of Daumier's fellow book-illustrators is put forward by Charles Seymour in a *Note* following this article.

But the terracotta version of "Le Fardeau" is important far and beyond any academic question of dating. It is a classic example of the integrity of the creative artist, and it serves admirably to show that the method of Daumier throughout began and ended with drawing. As has been mentioned, the figures are established by the most rapid handling of the clay. Numerous finger prints indicate that Daumier's principal modelling tools were his fingers. Occasional details and the basic masses are reasserted and emphasized by lines drawn with a stick or other sharp instrument. The eye sockets are gouged in deeply; no eyeballs have been made, but incised lines indicate the ultimate position of the pupils (fig. 4). The line of the neck has been reestablished with an incision, as well as the forms of the breasts, the waist, the arms, etc. Throughout there is the sensation of swiftly moving fingers pushing clay here and there, drawing and correcting forms and masses until reality emerges.

The same method may be observed over and over again in Daumier's drawings and paintings. To make this clear one has only to compare the detail of the terracotta (fig. 4) with a detail of his watercolor drawing of the "Third Class Carriage", in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 5).⁶

⁴ Archives du Louvre, *dossier* Moreau-Nelaton.

⁵ Exposition Daumier, Paris, 1878, nos. 36, 37 and 73 respectively.

⁶ Daumier's technique as a draftsman and a painter was analyzed by the present authors in an article in vol. III (1940) of the *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, pp. 9-41, with 34 illustrations.



FIGURE 5

WALTERS ART GALLERY

HONORÉ DAUMIER
Third Class Carriage (Watercolor)
(detail)



FIGURE 6
WALTERS ART GALLERY
HONORÉ DAUMIER
Ratapoil
(detail)

With Daumier, drawing, painting, and sculpture were merged into one exciting and dynamic plastic experience. They were never separate mental exercises. One senses also that with his sculpture, as with his painting, the desire to "finish" was never so strong as the desire to create through simplification of the unimportant planes and exaggeration of the major lines of movement. It is this selective sense which lends to the Walters "Le Fardeau" its lunging, hurried and forward thrust, as well as its balance of weights in movement.

It must also be pointed out that the Walters terracotta is one of the extremely few works of

Daumier's sculpture that have come down to us just as they left the artist's hands. The well-known series of about thirty-six clay caricature busts of political personalities was found in bad condition in Daumier's studio after his death. The pieces had not been fired, and had to be repaired to some extent. The bronze casts of these, struck off posthumously, while important, are not entirely representative of his art. The same situation obtained in regard to the clay caricature of Napoleon III, "Ratapoil", which was reworked before the twenty bronze casts were made in 1890 by Sicot-Decauville and another twenty in 1925. Comparison of the "Ratapoil" cast in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 6) with the terracotta "Le Fardeau" (fig. 3) will demonstrate to what a degree the surface of the former has been smoothed and blurred, until it has quite lost Daumier's touch.



FIGURE 7
WALTERS ART GALLERY
Le Fardeau
(detail of base)

SHORT NOTES



FIGURE 1

C. J. TRAVIES DE VILLERS
La Chouette
 (engraved by Lavoignat)

NOTE ON THE RELATIONSHIP
 BETWEEN AN ILLUSTRATION BY
 TRAVIES DE VILLERS AND
 DAUMIER'S "LE FARDEAU"

BY CHARLES SEYMOUR, JR.
National Gallery of Art

AS A PROTOTYPE for Daumier's "Le Fardeau" there should be considered a drawing by Charles Joseph Travies de Villers,¹ engraved by

Hippolyte Lavoignat,² for the first illustrated edition of Eugene Süe's well-known *Mystères de Paris* (Paris, Gosselin, vol. I, 1843).

The engraving on page 20 of that volume illustrates an incident in Süe's melodramatic account of the little Fleur-de-Marie's troubles as a waif in Paris. It shows the horrific one-eyed "La Chouette" with her loaded basket dragging little Fleur-de-Marie home across the Pont-Notre Dame (the towers of Notre Dame in the distance). The exact correspondence of the two figures to the text, including the elements of haste and compulsion expressed in their relationship, would indicate that the compositional theme of the burdened adult woman leading a hurrying little girl actually originated as an illustration to Süe's narrative. That Daumier would have known this particular illustration well is proved by the inclusion of three of his own drawings, also engraved by Lavoignat, in the 1843 edition of the same volume ("Bras-Rouge," opposite p. 107; "Polidori-Bradamante," opposite p. 194; "Tortillard", opposite p. 308). Travies' illustration is, of course, merely a point of departure for Daumier who

¹ 1804-1859. Like Daumier a contributor to *Charivari* and *La Caricature* and also ambitious to become a painter. He showed three times at the Salon (1848, 1853, 1855), but most of his paintings never got much beyond the stage of sketches.

² Active 1835-1858. A painter, but known principally as an engraver on wood. For his work on the Gosselin edition of *Les Mystères de Paris* see Bérals, *Les Graveurs du XIX^e siècle*, IX (Paris, 1889), pp. 68-69. A portrait of Lavoignat attributed to Daumier (from the Lavoignat family) is in the National Gallery of Art, Chester Dale Collection.

organizes the group in true sculptural terms into a strong plastic unity and exaggerates with deliberate expression the weight of the burden and the movement of the figures. He changes the caricature of a human being, "La Chouette," into a timeless and almost ageless woman and alters Fleur-de-Marie into a universal type of dependent childhood.

This metamorphosis of the theme under Daumier's hands is a clear example of his deep artistic leanings and power. There remains nevertheless a trace of the Romantic humanitarian and dramatic quality which is present in Süe's narrative. The theory that Travies' illustration lies directly behind Daumier's group helps to explain this residual literary Romantic quality. Such a relationship between the illustration and the group in sculpture reveals how much Daumier's art belongs to the currents of his times and gives a vivid demonstration of some of the reasons why it is also absolutely exceptional. In Daumier's handling of the theme, the place of an expression in graphic art at the beginning of the progression toward painting through sculpture is important. It is a valuable indication of the artist's psychological as well as technical dependence on drawing even when working in other media.

NOTE ON THREE
DAUMIER WATERCOLORS
IN THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

BY MARVIN C. ROSS

The Walters Art Gallery

THE LIBRARY of the Peabody Institute in Baltimore has lately been given the diaries of George A. Lucas. He was a Baltimorean who,

bored with his work as an engineer, set sail for Europe in 1857, but using his seasickness as an excuse never to return to America, became a resident of Paris, where he died in 1909. His diaries give a fascinating picture of American collecting in the second half of the nineteenth century. George Lucas became so enamoured of French art that Ballu in his book on Barye (Paris, 1890) wrote of him: "M. Lucas, qui bien que de nationalité américaine, est passionné d'art français . . ." ¹ He acted as the buyer in Paris for William T. Walters from 1861 until his death in 1894 and afterwards for his son, Henry Walters. He became the agent for Samuel P. Avery about 1866. In addition he acted as agent for many others, including the Jenkins and Fricks of Baltimore, and William Field of Chicago. His passion for Delacroix, Barye, Millet, Daumier, Corot, Manet, as well as for lesser masters, such as Bonvin, Gerôme, Meissonier and others, explains in part the richness of American collections in these masters.

His diaries, a brief day by day notation, are a fascinating source of information for what was being offered for sale by the Paris dealers during a period of more than fifty years. In addition, there are frequently notes of his dealings directly with artists. The references in the year 1864 to Honoré Daumier, which concern three of the watercolors by that artist now in the Walters Art Gallery, ² are sufficiently interesting to quote in detail:

26 Feb. 1864 — called on Marcelle — not at home — looking up Daumier.

19 March 1864 — carried drawing to H. Daumier — drawing to be finished in a week.

¹ P. 133, note 1.

² In an excellent article, Miss Agnes Mongan was able on stylistic grounds to date these watercolors correctly. See *Six Aquarelles Inédites de Daumier*, in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1937, pp. 245 ff. See also H. Marceau and D. Rosen, *Daumier: Draftsman-Painter* in *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, III (1940), pp. 9-41, figs. 22, 27, 34.

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26 March 1864 — at Daumier's, drawing not finished.
13 April 1864 — met Daumier who told me that the drawing of the omnibus was finished.

28 April 1864 — at Daumier's and ordered 1st and 2nd class.

6 June 1864 — note from Daumier . . . at Daumier's. Took and paid for (200 fr.) 2 drawings 1st and 2nd class R Road ———

The record of the purchases by Lucas for Walters during the month of March, 1864, do not exist at the Walters Art Gallery. However, those for June are preserved here and under the date of June 6, 1864, Lucas in his own handwriting records the purchase of the First and Second Class Carriage watercolors for William T. Walters. It was often the custom of Walters and Lucas to take home and study for a few days the paintings and watercolors they commissioned, frequently suggesting changes. Since the watercolor of the Omnibus finished in April, 1864, shows variations with the woodcut of January 30th of the same year, changes may have been suggested by the patrons in this instance.

It is of interest to Americans that at an early date Lucas and Walters knew and appreciated the watercolors of Daumier and even purchased such fine examples. With the growing attention given to the history of American collecting, these few notations from an old diary take on considerable significance.

SCULPTURE GROUPS AFTER ROGIER

(continued from page 43)

groups surely did not use this particular engraved design as his working model, for in certain details (*e.g.* the beard of Joseph) the sculpture follows the painting more closely than does the engraving; but if the remaining portions of our copy in sculpture are some day found, new

light might be shed on this very enigmatic problem in the history of painting.

The two sculptures, although of fine quality within their genre, are of but secondary importance in themselves. They nevertheless comprise a significant addition to an ever-increasing body of evidence that Rogier van der Weyden's direct influence on the sculpture of his time and for two generations afterwards was a singular phenomenon in northern European art.

A GREEK SHEPHERD

(continued from page 23)

ity of the arms, it is hard to say whether they may be called sloping. They do seem to be, and Miss Lamb picked sloping shoulders as an Attic characteristic, in especial contrast with the Arcadian style¹¹ (compare figures 3, 5-7). The narrow waist and long legs, if they mean anything, mean an early date, for they mirror a lack of understanding of the human body and a consequent lack of realism in its portrayal.

My suggestion about our bronze shepherd, then, is that it was made in Athens, and considering its generalized and therefore unlearned body and rather advanced head, I would suggest a compromise date in the neighborhood of 525 B.C.

¹¹ Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, p. 100.