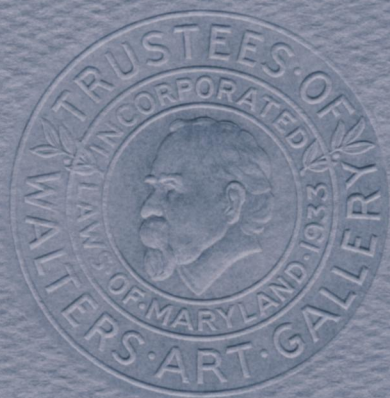


THE JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY



1949

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

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VOLUME XII
1949

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THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

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



FIGURE 1

COURTESY METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

*Deir el-Bahari: Middle Terrace
Late Dynastic Intrusive Burials nos. 2, 3 and 4 in position*

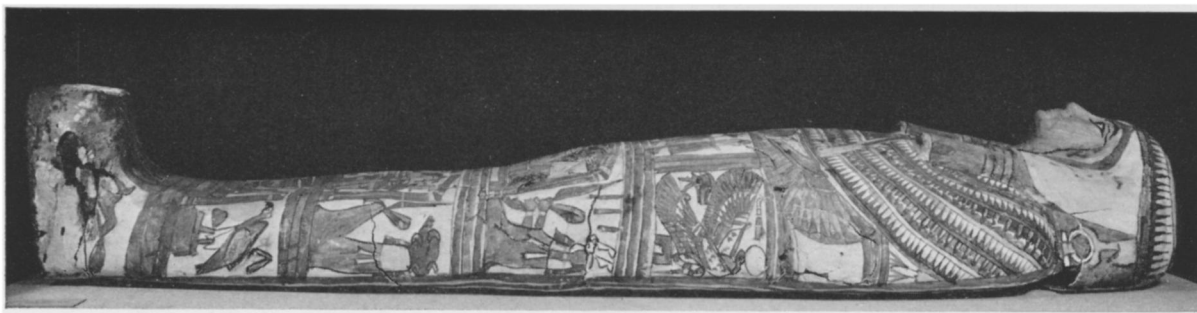


FIGURE 2

*Mummy in Painted Cartonnage
(side view)*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

THE WALTERS ART GALLERY MUMMY

BY GEORGE STEINDORFF

FROM THE BEGINNING, the fine and extensive Egyptian collection of the Walters Art Gallery had lacked one piece without which an Egyptian collection certainly is not complete—a mummy. Often visitors asked where they might see a mummy and were not a little disappointed when they received a negative answer at the Information Desk. This deficiency was finally remedied a short while ago; through an exchange arranged in 1941 with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Gallery came into the possession of a mummy still enclosed in its cartonnage¹ (figs. 2, 5, 6). This mummy came from the excavations that the Metropolitan Museum conducted for some years in the famous Terrace Temple built by Queen Hatshepsut, which is

today called Deir el-Bahari. In the sand and rubble accumulated through the centuries on the Middle Terrace (called the “Central Court” in the Baedeker plan), in front of the Punt colonnade, there were discovered during the winter of 1930-31 and later, four intact “intrusive” burials, which were placed there in the Late Period of Egyptian history.

They were plain mummy-shaped coffins carved out of sycamore wood, each containing a mummy in its cartonnage. Figure 1 shows three of the coffins in position. The uppermost of them is the one that contained our cartonnage. Its length is 184 centimeters; the sides are 6 centimeters in thickness. It is unpainted, except for the eyes and brows which are painted in black (fig. 4). On the breast an eye has been outlined in black on the bare wood, probably in practice for the outlining of the details of the face. The cartonnage lying in its coffin is shown in figure 3.

I now insert the description of the cartonnage as recorded by Lansing on the excavation site,

¹ No. 79.1. Mummiform cartonnages came into use in the late New Kingdom period as a cheap substitute for anthropoid wooden sarcophagi in which the mummy was placed. They were produced and sold commercially. They were decorated with religious pictures, which for the most part dealt with the cult of the Dead. These, however, were not supposed to have any magical effect, but only to show the sacred character of the mummy. In the selection of these pictures the manufacturers were apparently careless.



FIGURE 3 COURTESY METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
Cartonnage in Coffin

and which I have supplemented.

PAINTED CARTONNAGE

Dimensions: length 167.5cm.; width at shoulders 40cm.; height at nose 28cm.

Construction: The cartonnage is composed of five layers of coarse linen and plaster. Over the surface is a thin layer of coarse plaster, on which is the painted decoration.

The cartonnage was made with a slit up the back from the crown of the head to the foot-board (fig. 6). The paint, which runs over the edges of the opening, was evidently applied after the slit was made. There is a row of holes for lacing along both sides of the slit: 3-4cm. back from the edge on both sides and 5cm. apart. These were drilled through the back of the cartonnage after it was painted.

A simple two-ply linen cord is laced in the holes down the right side of the slit. There is no cord on the left side and never was. After the mummy was inserted, the embalmers did not succeed in drawing the edges of the slit together and it gapes open behind the buttocks 8 centimeters. The back of the cartonnage is crinkled, showing that it was soft and pliable when the mummy was inserted.

The mummy is 16 centimeters shorter than the cartonnage.

The foot-board was composed of two pieces of sycamore plank, 1.5 centimeters thick, dowed together, forming a board 26 centimeters high and 17 centimeters wide at its widest point. The top and bottom edges were slightly rounded. Brown muck was smeared over the joint of the two planks. The board was totally unpainted. It was attached to the top and sides of the foot of the cartonnage with dowels. It was perhaps in place before the mummy was inserted, as there are no dowels into it through the bottom of the cartonnage, which, if soft, could have been forced open for the insertion of the

mummy without moving the footboard.² (As Mr. Lansing informs me, "the foot-board is lost. It seems to have been removed before the mummy was packed in Egypt. When the cartonnage was unpacked in New York it could not be found.")

Form: mummiform. Represented with the wig cover with long semi-cylindrical tabs. The face is unbearded.

Decoration (fig. 5): round the head is a wreath of leaves. From the wreath on each side of head, hangs a vulture leg and foot, holding a sacred sign (royal ring). On the breast is a broad collar of beads (leaves), and crossed over this two long ribbons or ties. Below the collar is the winged sun-disk, the disk flanked by uraei. Below this the top and sides of the cartonnage are divided into five transverse registers, the registers being decorated as follows from chest to feet:

- 1) Divided into three compartments:
Center: the four genii of the Dead, "sons of Horus," mummiform, facing right with varied heads (human, baboon, falcon, jackal).
Left and right: a winged uraeus on a shrine, facing in. Between the wings (spread out in front, protecting) the sacred wedjet-eye; above, two hieroglyphs, the name of the winged sun-disk.
- 2) A booth enclosing on an elaborate base the sacred barque of the god Soker, with the archaic image of the Soker-falcon; behind this at the left the sacred wedjet-eye. Over

² The solid wooden foot-board was placed upon the cartonnage so that the mummy could be stood upright in order to carry out certain customs, for instance, the ceremony of the opening of the mouth, wherein the deceased is set in a standing position in order to enjoy his food. Probably there existed even in earlier times a custom mentioned by the classical writers and discussed also by Flinders Petrie—that is that, before the mummy was buried in the necropolis, it was left for some time—often for years—in a special room in the house, so as to bestow the benefits of its presence. There can be no doubt but that it was stood upright in this situation. Cf. Herodotus, II, 86; II, 136; III, 37; Diodorus, I, 92; also Flinders Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, p. 15; Carl Schmidt in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, XXXII (1894), p. 56.



FIGURE 4 COURTESY METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
 Cover of Coffin

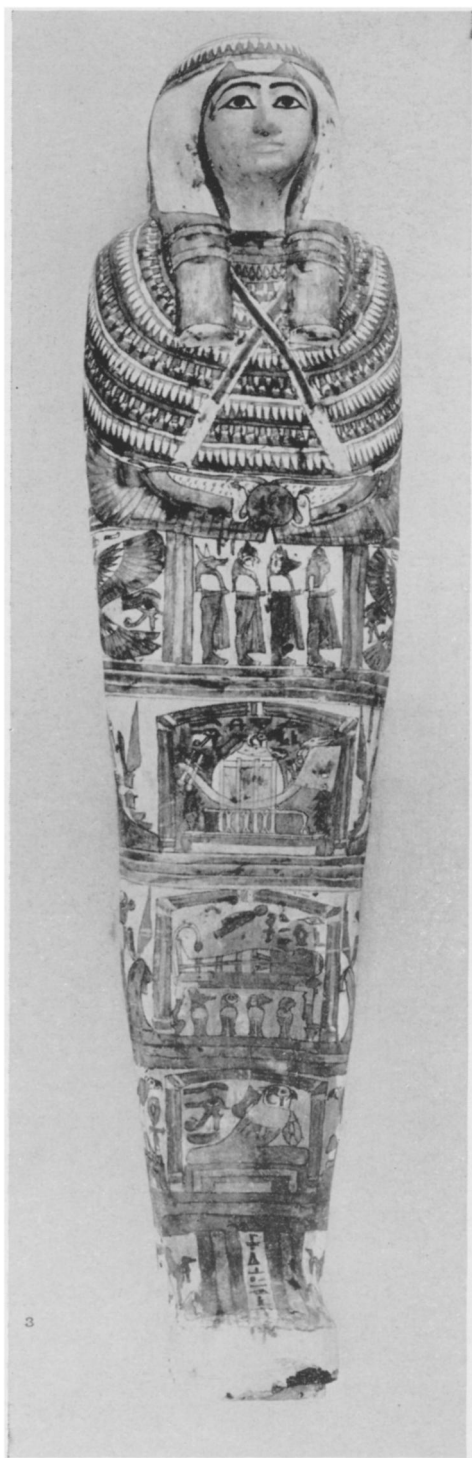


FIGURE 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Mummy in Painted Cartonnage

the barque the hieroglyphs: "Osiris, the Lord of the Depth (i.e. the Underworld)."³

Left and right, protecting the booth: a seated deity with cobra head surmounted by two feathers, holding knife and loop of cloth.

- 3) A booth enclosing a mummy on lion-footed bier, under which are the four canopic jars (see Appendix, p. 15) with stoppers in the form of heads of the four genii of the Dead. Over the mummy a flying loop of cloth (misunderstood soul-bird) and the hieroglyphs "Osiris, the First of the Westerners (i.e. the Dead)."

Left and right, protecting the booth: a seated deity with crocodile (?) head, holding knife and loop of cloth.

- 4) A booth enclosing an archaic divine image of the falcon wearing necklace with counterpoise, seated on a pedestal. Over back of falcon a wedjet-eye, surmounting a basket. Left and right of booth: Vulture carrying a flagellum, perched on a pylon. In front of the left vulture the sign "life," in front of the right vulture the misunderstood sign of the letter t.

- 5) Center: (on the feet, over the instep) a vertical column of hieroglyphs written in black on a yellow band, the beginning of the usual formula of offering to the dead: "an offering may Osiris give . . ."

Right and left, (over the ankles): a recumbent dog representing the god Anubis, with leash about neck, holding a feather between its forepaws.

Style: sloppy; careless rather than crude.

Colors: ground color, yellowish white. Face,

³ The earliest form of the barque of Sokar from the Old Kingdom shows the standing falcon (see illustration); P. A. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des niederländischen Reichsmuseums in Leiden*, vol. I (The Hague, 1918), pl. 17. The drawing for this symbol I owe to the kindness of Miss Suzanne Chapman.



bright yellow. Eyes, black. Other decoration, blue, green, red, yellow and black. Harsh in tone.

Condition: excellent, though damaged in shipment.

Mummy: The mummy contained in the cartonnage has crumbled, and without damaging the cartonnage cannot be further investigated or photographed. Its sex has not been established and cannot be determined from the few inscriptions, which do not mention the name of the deceased.

Date: ca. 700 B. C. The date of the intrusive burials excavated on the second terrace of Deir el-Bahari, together with their coffins and cartonnages, was summarily given by Lansing in his field notes as Late Dynastic (Dyn. XXVI-XXX). Still I would consider—admittedly more on general impression than on any grounds of sure evidence—that our cartonnage is somewhat older than the XXVI Dynasty. It appears that the two bands crossed over the chest occur from the XXII Dynasty on.⁴ There does not seem to be any exact duplicate. Even Valdemar Schmidt's *Sarkofager Mumickister* does not offer anything comparable, although that excellent compendium contains everything to be found in museum collections or published before 1909. Miss Mogensen⁵ published a cartonnage in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek which she dates in the Saitic epoch. The style of the paintings on this might be considered comparable to ours. On the other hand, H. E. Winlock in his publication of the excavations of Deir el-Bahari⁶ illustrates the coffin of a lady Ankh-shep-en-wepet, which shows the same semi-circular ornament over the forehead as does the Baltimore cartonnage. He

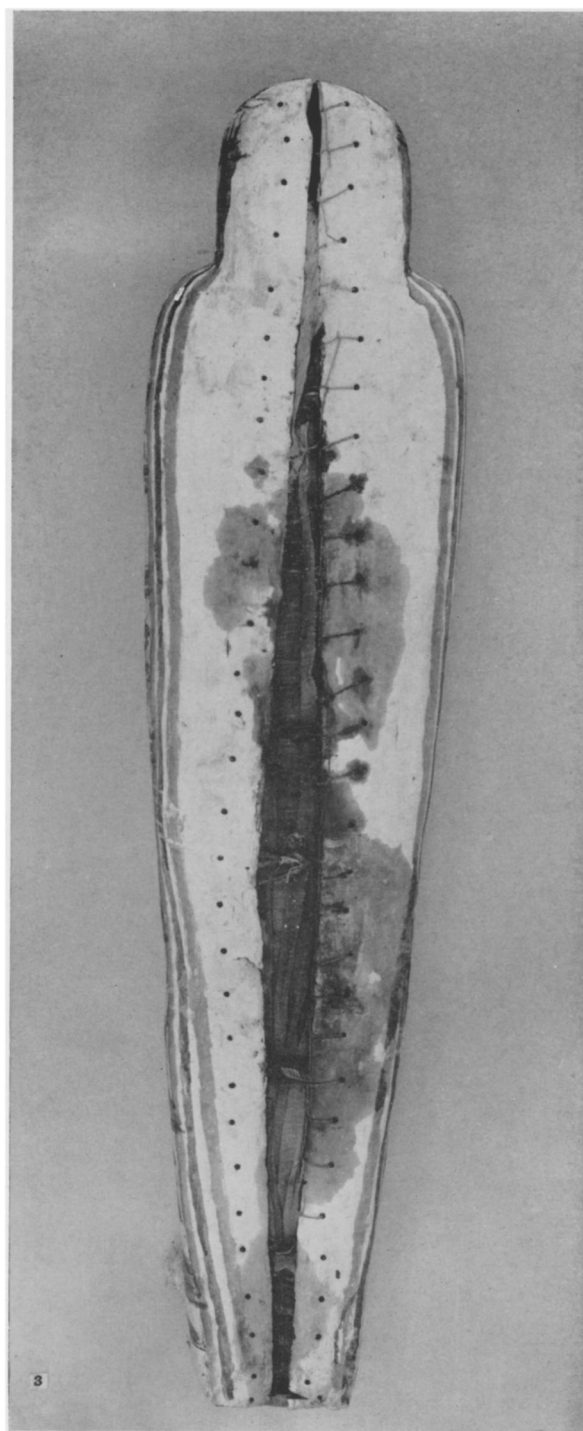


FIGURE 6

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Back of Cartonnage

⁴ This observation was made by Bernard v. Bothmer.

⁵ Maria Mogensen, *La Glyptotek Ny Carlsberg, La collection égyptienne* (Copenhagen, 1930), A. 584, pl. LXXV.

⁶ H. E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri: 1911-1931* (New York, 1942), pl. 90.

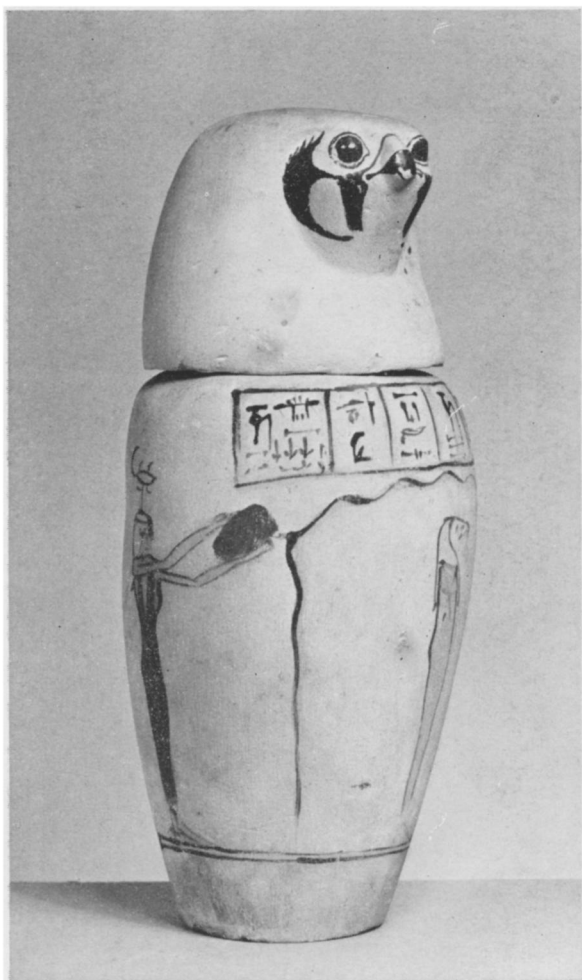


FIGURE 7

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Canopic Jar
Qebh-senuf

dates the coffin in the XXIII Dynasty.⁷ But the mummy itself was lost and so we shall never know how its cartonnage looked.

Closest to the Baltimore cartonnage is one in the British Museum, which is described as Pto-

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 98; *Idem*, in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, The Egyptian Expedition 1923-1924* (Dec., 1924), pt. II, p. 31.

⁸ British Museum, *Guide to the First, Second and Third Egyptian Rooms*, Third edit. (London, 1924), pl. XXVIII.

⁹ British Museum, *Handbook to the Egyptian Mummies and Coffins Exhibited in the British Museum* (London, 1938), p. 10, no. 6686, pl. IV.

lemaic in the *Guide to the Egyptian Rooms*,⁸ but which in the *British Museum Handbook*⁹ is not properly dated and finds itself under the heading "Dynasties XXII-XXX." But the painting of this London example is executed much more carefully and it is certainly much earlier. Nevertheless, these indications from various cartonnages appear to place ours in the period before the XXVI Dynasty.

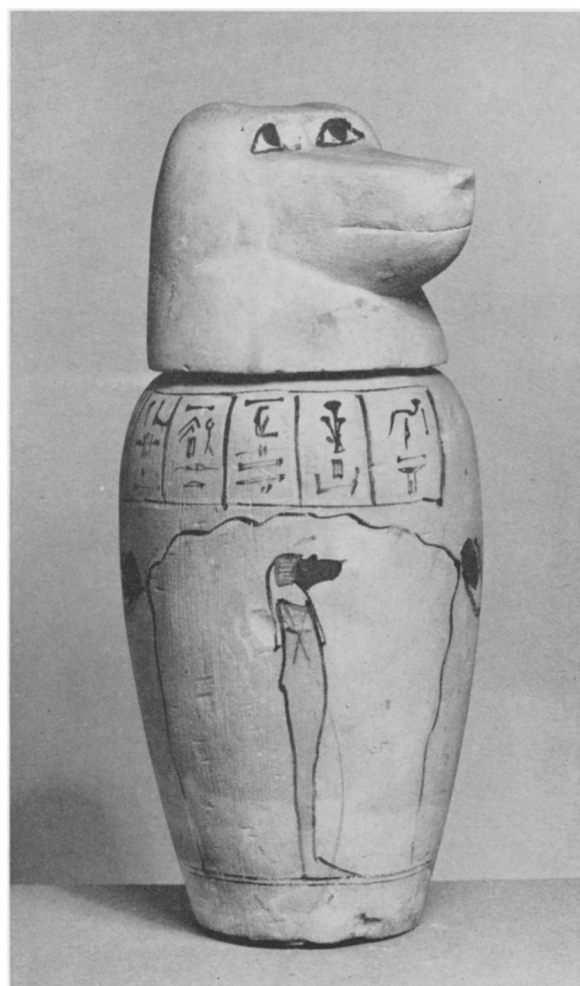


FIGURE 8

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Canopic Jar
Hehy

APPENDIX

The four sons of Horus depicted in the uppermost compartment of the cartonnage have for ages appealed to the imagination of the people and all sorts of myths were woven around them. It was held that these four sons were the progeny of the god Horus and of his own mother, Isis. Supposedly they were entrusted by the god of the dead, Anubis, with the burial of Osiris.

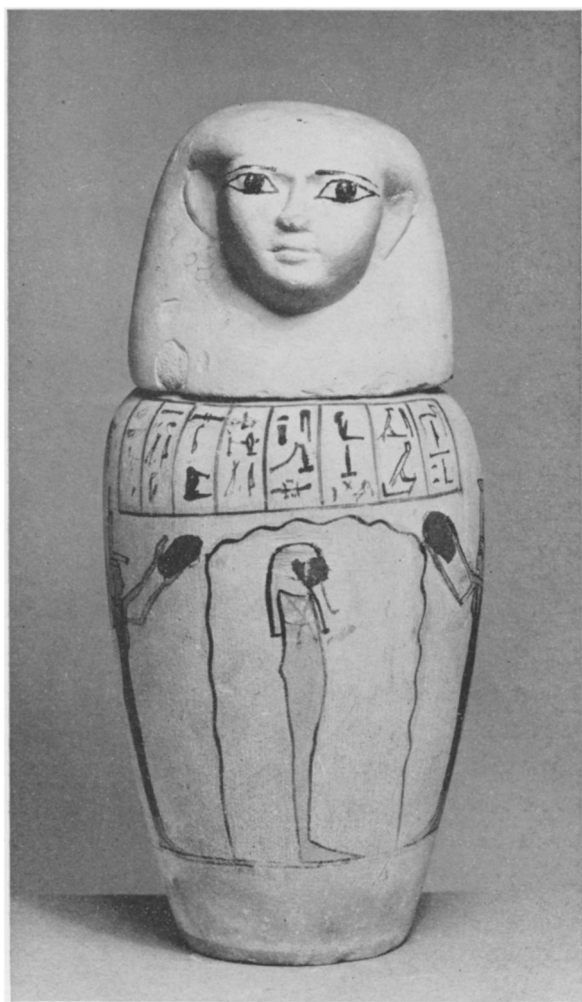


FIGURE 9
WALTERS ART GALLERY
Canopic Jar
Imesti

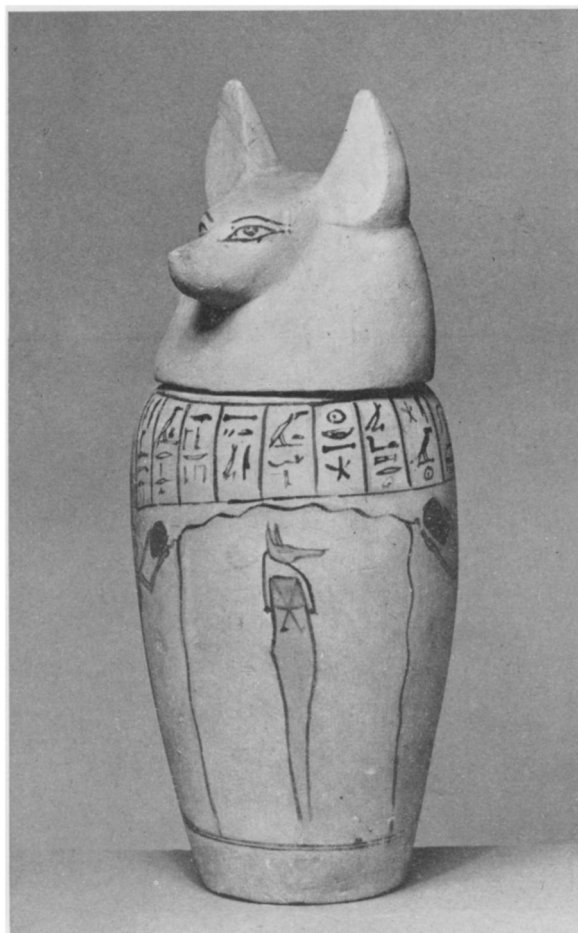


FIGURE 10
WALTERS ART GALLERY
Canopic Jar
Dwe-mutf

Their names are Imesti (human-headed), Hepy (ape-headed), Dwe-mutf (with a dog's or jackal's head) and Qebh-senuf (falcon-headed). Their chief task was to protect the deceased from hunger and thirst: "to drive away hunger from their stomachs and the thirst which is on their lips." Hence the inner organs of the deceased were entrusted to their care. According to another idea, these organs were identified with the sons of Horus themselves, and their protection was taken over by the four goddesses, Isis, Nephtys, Neith and the scorpion-goddess Selket.



FIGURE 11

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Canopic Jars of Penteweret

When in the Fifth Dynasty proper mummification, which previously was limited to kings, also was introduced for private individuals, the embalmer removed the inner organs (liver, lungs, stomach and intestines) and generally placed them separately in four jars—the so-called canopic jars. Their covers were often made—as early as the Middle Kingdom—in the form of the heads of the four sons of Horus and thus implied symbolically the identity of the jars with the sons of Horus. At first, however, this custom was not general.

It was not until the later period that the four canopic jars belonged among the important re-

quisites of the funeral. They were placed beside the mummy in the grave. So they are shown under the bier in the picture in the third compartment of our cartonnage (fig. 5).

Original canopic jars of various periods are to be found among the collections of the Walters Art Gallery. Among them the two following sets are of interest.

a) *Four Canopic Jars*¹⁰ from the period of the New Kingdom (XIX Dynasty) of blue-green faience

¹⁰ Nos. 48.432-48.435. H. ca. 23cm. Acquired 1917. Cf. Macgregor (Sale, London, June 27, 1922), p. 35, no. 254, pl. 5, also in Walters Art Gallery.

with outline drawings in black (figs. 11, 12). The covers are lacking. They belong, according to the inscription, to the "Osiris (a designation of the deceased), the real scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands (i.e. the King, the ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt), Pentewēret, the justified." On each vessel is represented the deceased in fashionable festival dress, worshipping in each case one of the four sons of Horus. b) *Four Canopic Jars* of limestone, from the Late Period belonging to a lady, "the mistress of the house"¹¹ (figs. 7-10). The covers are carved to

represent the four different heads of the sons of Horus. The sons of Horus appear also in the pictures, showing the protecting goddesses pouring over them the purifying water. The inscriptions contain very ancient magical formulas in which the four goddesses promise their help against all enemies to the son of Horus within the jar—that is to the particular organ identified with each one.

¹¹ Nos. 41.88-41.91. H. (incl. covers) ca. 37cm. Acquired 1925.



FIGURE 12

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Canopic Jars of Pentewēret



FIGURE 1

WILLIAM GILMOR COLLECTION

WILLIAM JAMES HUBARD
Portrait of Robert Gilmer, Jr.

ROBERT GILMOR, JR. BALTIMORE COLLECTOR*

BY ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE

Yale University Art Gallery

ROBERT GILMOR, SR. (1748-1822)¹ the first of his name in this country, was an able merchant and organizer who built the great business house known as the "Compting House" of Robert Gilmor & Sons.² The fortune at its height was estimated as a million or more, a considerably larger sum then than now and very unusual. Robert Gilmor, Jr. composed a "Memoir"³ of his father and this token of filial gratitude and affection gives an adequate synopsis of the rise of the energetic and honorable Scot to a position of eminence in the international commercial world of the Willings, Hopes and Barings—great merchants, bankers and insurance brokers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the year 1796 Thomas Twining, on his way from India to Europe, visited America. He came out to the United States on a ship with William Gilmor⁴ and in Baltimore visited the family, writing that "he passed the evening most agreeably discovering no difference whatever between an American and an English fireside." He also noted that the house "was a large, square, detached mansion, the handsomest I had yet observed in Baltimore."⁵

The genesis of the art collection of Robert Gilmor, Jr. is easier to account for than the genesis of his tastes and his attitudes—rather

unusual in America in 1800 for a young man scarcely past his majority. Born in 1774 in Maryland, educated by a tutor, and with a year at school in Amsterdam, he was able, when on the Grand Tour in 1799-1801, to quote both casually and at length from Barlow, Sterne, Thompson, Shakespeare, St. John, Gessner, Reynal, Rousseau, Walpole, Mrs. Radcliffe, Goldsmith, De Saussure, Dupaty, Richardson, Lumisder, Boni, Vergil, Horace, Wincklemann, Gilpin, Gibbon and Burke.

Previous to the Grand Tour he had already collected paintings, casts, drawings and engravings—purchased with his earnings (he was early employed in the family firm) and by his father at his request. In 1797, in a moment of introspection after a visit to Gilbert Stuart's studio, he wrote of himself that he had "a strong attachment to the Arts, and some little knowledge on the subject. . . . My fondness for the subject may perhaps prove dangerous, but as long as I can restrain it with [in] the bounds of prudence & reason, I am convinced it will prove one of the greatest sources of pleasure, amusement and relaxation from the serious concerns of life."⁶ When in Amsterdam a few years later, he remarked: "I am become so great a connoisseur, that I can instantly on entering a room point out even from the door all the principal pictures" and a Dutch collector, he said was

* Footnotes will be found at the end of this article.

“so pleased with my accuracy in distinguishing the merits of his pictures that he brought down his richest portfolios, which . . . he would not have done if he had not found I enjoyed them and *merited* the right of his finest performances.”⁷ After visiting the De Vos collection in Amsterdam, he said: “I had great pleasure in viewing all the fine works of Raphael, Michael Angelo & the Carraccis, & the inimitable landscapes of Claude in their original sketches. . . . He indeed shewed me some of the most beautiful things I ever saw, or ever expect to see again . . . he shewed me one drawing . . . of Ostade’s (the original of one of Mr. De Schendt’s pictures) for which he had paid Fourteen hundred! [florins]—Equal to Five thousand, six hundred dollars!—What would be thought in America of a man who gave such an enormous sum for one poor drawing, shut up in a port-folio?”⁸

In Paris at this time, as a result of the Napoleonic conquests and looting, were to be found such paintings that Gilmor said: “The gallery of paintings in the Louvre is perhaps the finest in the world, being enriched with all the fine and invaluable pictures brought from Italy, from the Netherlands . . . ”⁹

In these European letters he confessed himself an “enthusiast” and his opinions on all of the arts and sciences upon which he enlarged show that he had every right to consider himself a man of taste and feeling in the eighteenth and nineteenth century tradition. Not only aesthetic effect and appreciation, but technique and method interested him. On the subject of reproductions he wrote, after visiting the “Apollo Belvedere” in Paris (for which, of course, his extreme rapture was reserved), “I had often seen copies of the Apollo. . . . I have [one] in my own little *cabinet* but never yet was able to feel that excess of admiration. . . . I now know how far a copy may be inferior . . . ”¹⁰

In his travels all through his life he was aware

of the educational as well as the aesthetic value of works of art and another angle of his appreciation of this aspect was his comment on those assembled by Napoleon. He wrote: “It is a curious subject of reflection for the philosopher and not unworthy the attention of a historian of the decline of an Empire, to observe the various changes these incomparable statues have made in their places of residence, from one part of Greece to another, from Greece to Italy and from Italy to France. It seems to me that the removal of such *monuments of art* from a nation is unseparably connected with its decline. What further voyages they may still make, are tho’ uncertain at present, not wholly improbable.—Who knows but one day or other the Apollo and the Laocoon may attract the future ages in our Capitol; and the horses of St. Mark’s leave the banks of the Seine for the shores of the Potomack.”¹¹

Gilmor collected for his own pleasure, but he early recognized that in America we needed good pictures to “diffuse a taste for works of art . . . and cultivate the general taste. . . . ”¹² He hoped that at the time of his death¹³ a certain portion of his pictures might find their way to a public institution where they might afford rational and intellectual amusement, but severe financial reverses at the end of his life made it necessary to abandon this project.¹⁴

Robert Gilmor Jr.’s will (a hasty one drawn up immediately before his death and referring to another of the year previous which he hoped might yet be put into effect) said that “Having with great care and labour and at considerable expence, collected a large Cabinet of Pictures, Library, Minerals, Autographs, Engravings, drawings and various works of Art,” which he “should be very sorry to believe may be disposed at my death” yet faced the fact that it might be inevitable, left all to the discretion of his wife and executors, with individual legacies

of paintings to certain persons. He still expressed the hope that the four schedules on the earlier will might be carried out, or that parts of the different sections of the collection might be held together in some public institution.¹⁵ Unfortunately for the testator, a sale was deemed necessary and in 1849 a printed catalogue of the library was issued,¹⁶ and another for the works of art.¹⁷ Copies of the former are to be found, but none of the latter can be located today, although one copy passed through the sale of the Corner Library in 1866.¹⁸ This is to be regretted, for the inventory leaves much to be desired and the sale of the works of art, advertised for March, 1849¹⁹ was cancelled at the last minute by the executors.²⁰ However, paintings and books from his collection are found in private and public collections in Baltimore and other American cities.

The collection of Robert Gilmor, Jr. covered a wide field of objects and periods. At Nîmes in 1800 he acquired "some handsome fragments" which he hoped to get to America and "Had there been any possible means of conveyance I should certainly have brought away a small trunk of an Apollo, or an armed warrior, or else a beautiful corinthian capital."²¹ In Hubbard's portrait of Gilmor one sees a Greek ewer and kylix (fig. 1).²² Possibly the most interesting early work of art in the Gilmor collection was a Book of Hours for Paris Use which was acquired in Charleston in 1807—perhaps the first medieval illuminated manuscript to enter a Baltimore collection.²³ This manuscript was one of about twelve which Gilmor owned at the time of his death in 1848. Another was a Bible now owned by Princeton University Library.²⁴

In the collection chronologically after these volumes, came works which Gilmor attributed to Holbein, Raphael and Leonardo da Vinci. Gilmor's "Holbein" is now attributed to Corneille de Lyon and the subject, called by the

collector "An English Nobleman," has been identified as the Duc de Cossé-Brissac (fig. 11). This small panel portrait was procured from the dealer Flandin in 1821 at a cost of \$130.00 and had been brought to America by the Swedish artist, Ulrich Wertmuller.²⁵ The purchase of a work of this sort at that date was rather unusual. As early as 1800, Gilmor had begun to revise his previous opinion of Holbein as an artist and at Lauffenbourg wrote: "We saw some of the finest pictures of Holbein that he ever painted, and a great many of his drawings—I had never felt any pleasure in seeing that painter's works before, but really some of them are incomparably fine, and would do credit to any artist whatever.—His picture of Erasmus (who was his friend) is a capital portrait, and said to be an excellent likeness—Here we saw also an edition of Erasmus' work *In Praise of Folly*, which belonged to Holbein, who had made numerous drawings illustrating the subject, on the margins & at the bottom of the pages, with a pen and common ink."²⁶

Two works attributed to Raphael had extensive documentation. One of the heads from the cartoon of Ananias came from the collection of the English painter Rigaud and was last recorded in the Reuling collection in Baltimore.²⁷ The other so-called Raphael, a "Madonna and Child," Gilmor bought in 1844 from the dealer Flandin. The previous owner, Joseph E. Bloomfield of Philadelphia and New Jersey, purchased it in Spain in 1813 from the Marquis of Rianzuela to whom it was said to have been given by the Duke of Ossuna.²⁸ It cost Mr. Gilmor \$690.00 and he paid Flandin with paintings in exchange.²⁹ Gilmor did not consider this to be positively a Raphael and wrote to his friend and fellow collector, Charles Graff of Philadelphia, to go to the print dealers in that city for engravings after Raphael, Luini and Leonardo for he wished to work on attribu-



FIGURE 2 FORMERLY NICHOLAS M. MATTHEWS COLLECTION

FRANS SNYDERS
The Owl's Sermon to the Birds

tion.³⁰ However, he considered the painting "of the first class of art, highly finished. . . . Whoever may have been the artist, the picture is certainly a valuable one. . . ." ³¹ It was recently in the collection of Mrs. Albert Stern of New York, attributed to the Flemish painter Mabuse (Jan Gossart, 1478-1533 or 1536). It is one of several versions of an unknown and probably lost original.³²

The "Virgin and Christ Child with St. John" attributed to Leonardo was obtained by Gilmor from the dealer Del Valtooth, who said he had acquired it from a Prussian officer at the time the Louvre was broken up by the allied armies.³³ This work was on a pine panel, 26 inches square, and the estimated value was \$500.00, but Gilmor paid with paintings in exchange. He owned it as early as 1823 and it was recorded in a Maryland Historical Society catalogue as late as 1848.³⁴

In the lists of artists of the French, Spanish and Italian schools represented in Robert Gilmor's collection appear the names of F. Albano, Guido Reni, Antonio Balestra, Luca Cambiaso, Canaletto, Simone Cantarini (Pesarese), Annibale Carracci, Ludovico Carracci, Michael Angelo de Caravaggio, Castiglione, Borgonone, Cigoli, Pietro da Cortona, Carlo Dolci, Luca Giordano, Raphael Mengs, Pier Francesco Mola, Pannini, Parmigiano, Raphael, Salvator Rosa, Rosa da Tivoli, Sassoferrato, Spagnoletti, Velasquez, P. Veronese, Leonardo da Vinci, Boucher, Carolus, Claude Lorraine, Corneille de Lyon, Largillière, Mechiel, P. Mignard, A. Mignon, Francisco Millàn, N. Poussin, Sauvage, Swebach, Renaudet, Watteau. The quality of these paintings is problematical, even some of the names assigned to the artists cannot be recognized with certainty, but by the laws of chance alone, in such a large group certain works of interest were bound to appear and many are known to be pleasant and attractive school pieces.

As in contemporary English and European collections, paintings from the Dutch and Flemish schools led in number in Gilmor's with approximately one hundred and fifty listed at one time or another. Among these I believe that there were works of considerable interest, many of them sent out to the collector by Chevalier Aportool. On the list were works attributed to Barland, Backer, Backhuijzen, Beeldemaker, Berchem, Boonen, Both, Brueghel, Brill, Breydel, Brouwer, De Crayer, Cuyp, Everdingen, Flinck, Franks (Vrancx), Graat, Hals, De Heem, De Hondecoeter, Hobbema, Janson, Heemskerk, Molenaer, Molijn, Maes, Mierevelt, Metsu, Mieris, Michau, Gaspar Netscher, Ommeganck, Poelenburg, Rottenhammer, Rubens, Ruysch, Van Ruysdael, Savery, Schaecken, Schut, Seghers, Serre, Slingelandt, Steen, Swanevelt, Teniers, Terborch, De Vos,



FIGURE 3

NEW YORK, FREDERICK MONT COLLECTION

SALOMON VAN RUYSDAEL
The Ford (dated 1645)

Vanden Berg, Vanden Bergen, van Delon, van Goyen, Van Der Heyden, Van Balen, Van Der Neer, Van Der Meer, Van Ostade, Vander Poel, van Tilborgh, van Tol, van de Velde, vander Vliet, Verboom, Verbruggen, Verkolje, Vertangen, A. Waterloo, Weenix, Wiebke, Wijnants, Willeboirts, de Witte, the Wouwerms, and Zorg (Sorgh) among others. A great number remained in Baltimore collections until well after 1900 and since that date their dispersal, through catalogued and uncatalogued auctions, and their reattribution has

made tracing them well nigh impossible. A small Metsu portrait of a man was recently on the New York art market. A Salomon Van Ruysdael, "The Ford" (fig. 3),³⁵ and a Hendrik Cornelisz van der Vliet, "Interior of the Great Church at Delft,"³⁶ are, I believe, typical of works in the collection. The latter canvas, bought for 200 florins by Gilmor at the Hague in 1818, is now in the collection of the Baltimore Museum of Art.³⁷ The subjects of the paintings of these schools included still life, genre, animals and paintings of birds; one of the paint-



FIGURE 4

NEW YORK, ROBERT GILMOR COLLECTION

SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE
Portrait of Robert Gilmor, Jr.
(Painted in London in 1818)



FIGURE 5

NEW YORK, ROBERT GILMER COLLECTION

SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE
Portrait of Mrs. Robert Gilmer, Jr.
(Painted in London in 1818)

ings in the latter class, attributed to the school of Rubens and now assigned to Frans Snyder (1579-1657), was the "Owl's Sermon to the Birds" or "Long Live the King" (fig. 2). Gilmor bought this at the "Old Museum" in Boston for \$20.00. It was last recorded in 1914 at a New York sale.³⁸

The leading paintings in Gilmor's English group were the portraits of himself and his wife by Sir Thomas Lawrence; they were long considered the finest examples of that artist in America (figs. 4, 5). Their cost had been \$500.00 each in London in 1818 and they were frequently lent to Baltimore loan exhibitions.³⁹ The portrait of Robert Gilmor was copied by Sully⁴⁰ and the portraits of both Mr. and Mrs. Gilmor were engraved in mezzotint by John Sartain.⁴¹ The Lawrence paintings are now owned by Robert Gilmor of New York. In the Gilmor collection were also a number of works by Barker of Bath, by George Morland and Richard Wilson, as well as numerous examples of the English watercolor school (one album of watercolors having been bought from the collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence).⁴² On the English landscape Gilmor wrote Thomas Cole from Baltimore on October 20, 1830: "The English school of landscape painting is as you say not a strict adherence to nature—There is too much artificial effect, to which Gilpin led the way, and the consequence is a slovenly unfinished style of execution merely to produce it—Turner was certainly the best, . . ." ⁴³ In the same letter he said, with regard to Richard Wilson's work and the two Richard Wilsons which he (Gilmor) owned: "You speak of Wilson's Niobe—I suspect the *view* is a real one, as Italy furnished such abundantly.—I have two pictures by him, one of which is a view of the Lake of Nemi near Rome—It is accurate, and the picture is rendered interesting by the figures. It is engraved.—The other is a view of a Con-

vent at Venice, on one of the Canals—Nothing is added but a procession of monks which gives all the interest to any simple scene, but the colouring of land & water is quite in the style of Claude, and entitles him to his name of the English Claude——" ⁴⁴

"Lake Nemi" Gilmor bought from the Anglo-American landscapist, Groombridge, in Baltimore in 1806,⁴⁵ and the "Convent in Venice," from Flandin in New York in 1819 for \$150.00⁴⁶

Works by the American artists included in the Gilmor collection follow the rise of the school in the United States as that school followed the taste of the great world—from works by fashionable portrait painters such as members of the Peale family,⁴⁷ Stuart,⁴⁸ Sully,⁴⁹ and Jarvis,⁵⁰ through the early landscapists Guy⁵¹ (fig. 7) and Groombridge⁵² to Doughty,⁵³ Cole⁵⁴ and Weir,⁵⁵ and painters of genre such as Mount and Chapman. From the Peales there were portraits, still life, and history; from Stuart—family portraits and the last replica commissioned of his great Washington (this is now owned by the Walters Art Gallery) (fig. 6). From Jarvis and Sully came family portraits, also Jarvis' self-portrait, likewise in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 8) and the original Sully head of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Gilmor had also a Washington Allston "Edwin, Beattie's Minstrel"; it was not known in 1879 and has not since appeared.⁵⁶ The Charles R. Leslie in the Gilmor collection was "The Personification of Murder," an illustration for the passage in *Macbeth*:

" . . . and withered murder,
Alarum'd by his sentinel, the wolf,
Whose howl's his watch, thus with his
stealthy pace,
With Tarquin's ravishing strides, towards
his design,
Moves like a ghost . . . "

The picture is in the tradition of the works in

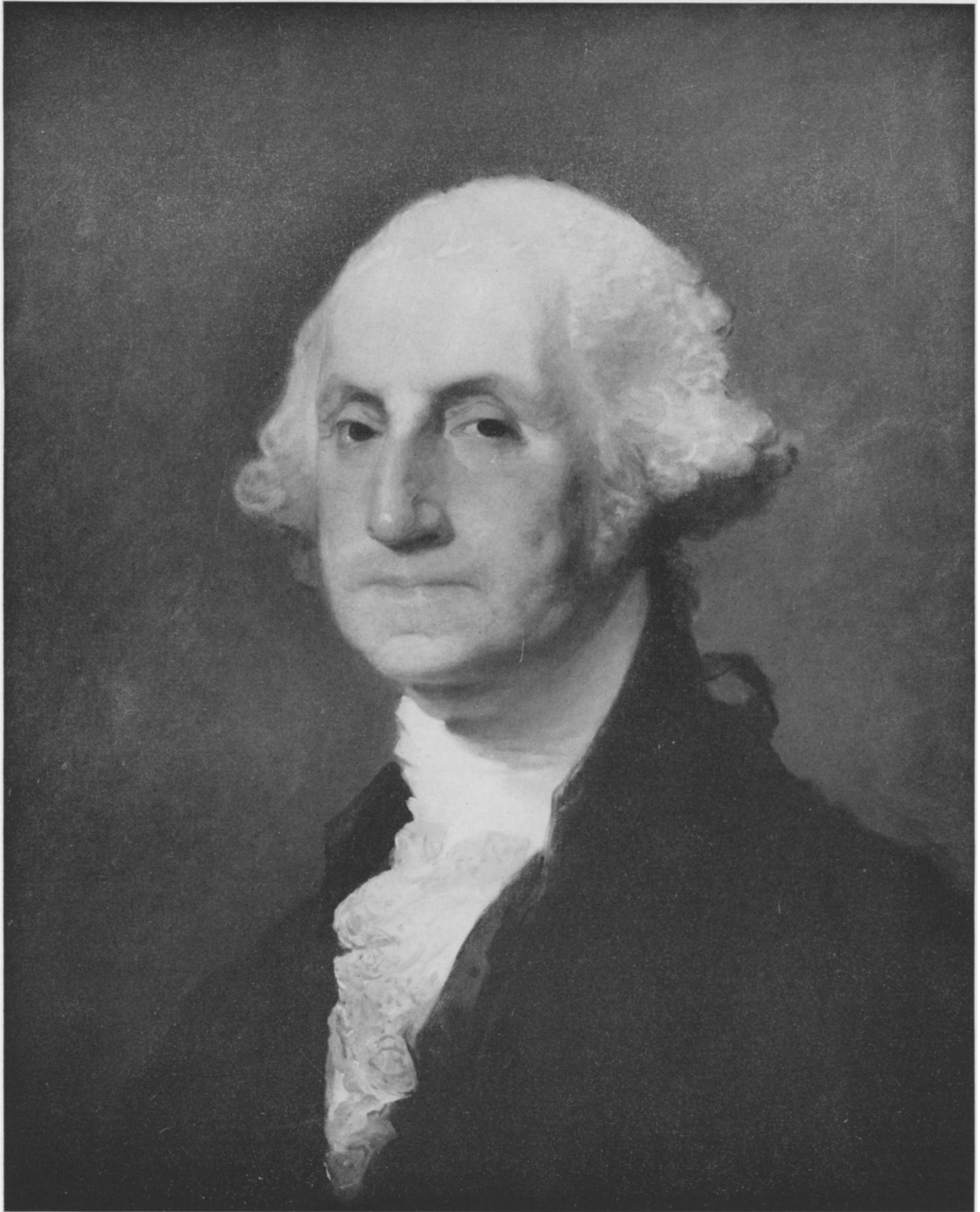


FIGURE 6

WALTERS ART GALLERY

GILBERT STUART
Portrait of George Washington
(Painted in Boston for Gilmor in 1825)



FIGURE 7

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRANCIS GUY

View of Baltimore from Beech Hill
(The Home of Robert Gilmore, Sr.)

Boydell's Gallery. In 1830, Robert Gilmore III wrote in London on May 25th: "... to the exhibition room of Sir T. Laurence's works, lately deceased. Here I saw many interesting things, but nothing superior or equal to my uncle & aunts portraits . . . staid at Bernard Carters till 11½—where Mr. West the distinguished painter dropped in & we enjoyed ourselves much in conversation. He tells me that the murderer of Leslie in our collection is equal to anything he (L) paints now-a-days & that the background, &c, sea &c is by Wash. Alston! . . ."⁵⁷

Mr. Gilmore also had an instinct for material which was not to be of artistic interest until a later time—such as the tombstone from Jamestown in Virginia⁵⁸ and the "curious relic"

Charles Willson Peale's "Washington and the Generals at Yorktown."⁵⁹

Robert Gilmore was a most generous patron of struggling American landscape painters and really may be said to have set both Cole and Doughty upon the road to success. He had at least five or six examples of the latter's works, but as early as 1827 wrote Cole: "I have given away almost all the pictures I had of Doughty, for want of a place for them——"⁶⁰ Previously he had said that he thought "As long as Doughty studied & painted from nature (who is always pleasing however slightly rendered in drawings or paintings made on the spot) his pictures were pleasing, because the scene was real, the foliage varied & unmannered, and the broken ground & rocks & trees had the very



FIGURE 8

JOHN WESLEY JARVIS
Self-Portrait

WALTERS ART GALLERY



FIGURE 9

PHILADELPHIA, EDWARD KESLER COLLECTION

JOHN GADSBY CHAPMAN
Rose Vernon

impress of being after *originals*, not ideals—His *compositions* fail I think in all these respects, & have now so much uniformity of manner in them that they excite no longer the same agreeable feelings in me that his very *earliest* sketches did. 'Tis true they have more effect, & sometimes some spirit in consequence but these do not compensate for the pleasing variety of *nature*——’’⁶¹ “But when Doughty undertakes to produce a *poetic* effect in his landscapes, I think nine times out of ten he is extravagant & false in his colouring & design, whereas in his early pictures when he selected well and painted correctly, he produced the most pleasing performances.—I have never thought as much of his pictures since, as instead of natural objects, natural & varied foliage in his trees, & natural broken rock or ground, he has relied on memory for effect, and then nothing is true, but a mannerism prevails throughout which displeases the lover of beautiful scenery——’’⁶² Gilmor gave financial assistance and professional advice to Cole. The former was more appreciated than the latter, but despite discussions by mail and at meetings, mutual admiration was maintained, for Mr. Gilmor continued to purchase from this artist. In 1826, discussing the subject of an order he said: “I will only repeat what I formerly said (in my last letter) that I prefer *real American Scenes* & compositions, leaving the distribution of light, choice of atmosphere, & clouds & in short all that is to render its *natural effect* as pleasing and spirited as the artist can feel permitted to do without violation of its *truth*——’’⁶³ and later “. . . Nature, *nature*, after all is the great Master in landscape painting’’⁶⁴

Two William Sidney Mount paintings were in Gilmor’s collection.⁶⁵ “The Long Story” (fig. 10) is now owned by the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, whereas “Boy Getting over a Fence, Throg’s Point, New York” has not

been located. They are excellent as examples of genre, just as the small panel portrait of “Rose Vernon” by John Gadsby Chapman, once in Gilmor’s collection, represents admirably the sweetly simple and sentimental portrait illustration (fig. 9). The latter illustrates a tale by Mary Spencer Pease which appeared in *The Gift* for 1843.⁶⁶

Gilmor acquired his paintings from the artists themselves and from dealers such as Brett, Lichleigtner, McGary, Valtooth, Coleman, Tanner, Saunders, Earle, Harris, Jones, Flandin, Kennedy, Vecchio, Pawley, Childs, Bishop and Wagstaff. Others came from such varied sources as Christie’s, Squibbs and Smart in London, several Bonaparte sales, the Meade and Bingham collections in Philadelphia, Joseph Allen Smith’s in Charleston, Astor in New York, the Dutch consul in Baltimore, the Tesch collection, the Antonini collection, the Prince of Monaco in Paris. Among the dealers, Brett he considered “A tolerable judge . . . a quiet smooth tongued man,” but he wrote his friend and fellow collector Graff: “You and I, liberal *dealers* with such folks! Must always pay the piper——’’⁶⁷ Another dealer, Pawley, was, he thought, “A cunning dog, & knows well how to take advantage of a Collector.”⁶⁸ Flandin, he said, overrated his own and underrated Gilmor’s works, many of which had been bought from him. He added “discovering his views, I was on my guard and foiled all his adroit attempts to take me in.”⁶⁹ With John Trumbull, who did a big business in paintings, Gilmor wanted to know at once his very lowest prices⁷⁰ and, on the European works he purchased, feared the Connecticut Yankee had “jipped” him—for he saw a title he thought he had recently from the artist, in a catalogue of one of Trumbull’s earlier London sales!⁷¹ Also from Trumbull for \$50.00 came a panel (8x6 in.) of “Venus and Cupid and Nymphs” by Poelen-

burg formerly in the John Smibert collection in Boston.⁷² In addition, from Trumbull were two of the "Patriot Painter's" miniatures on wood—one of the Marylander, Otho Holland Williams, and the other Mrs. Gilmor's uncle, William Loughton Smith, of South Carolina.⁷³ Gilmor made it clear to the artist that he wished his early work.

To Graff, to whom he had described these traders, Gilmor wrote that all information he sent him was "strictly confidential" and that "Between gentlemen of character & proper feeling like ourselves, who I trust are above the trickery of mere picture dealers, I think candid statements should always be made, and I should as soon think of cheating at cards as deceive an amateur friend who asks my opinion."⁷⁴

On attribution of works bought by himself or others he said "I differ . . . as you know I am very free to do on all occasions where my judgment is to decide—I may be wrong myself, but I *must* be candid and independent . . ."⁷⁵

When Gilmor recorded the sums expended on works of art he seldom changed the price into American dollars. Purchases in guineas, pounds sterling, guilders, francs, napoleons, louis and other units are impossible to reduce today and it is futile to surmise on the capital value. The most expensive item was the Mabuse already discussed, for which, as we noted, he paid \$690.00 in paintings in exchange and not cash. The next most expensive commission, I think, was the sum paid for the pair of portraits of himself and his wife by Sir Thomas Lawrence, which cost \$500.00 each. The general run of paintings in the collection cost about one hundred dollars, more or less, with a small proportion going to double that or higher. The gain and loss estimated by the owner was on the whole, slight, although there were occasional doublings of price, and once one item bought at \$135.00 was later considered worth \$1000.00.

At the time of the depression of 1837, Gilmor refused to buy on account of the "universal distress" caused by the Jacksonians in Washington whom he thought were "despots" and "malignant enemies of commerce & the merchants & Banks."⁷⁶

The first systematic list kept by Robert Gilmor was in a blank book recording all the paintings up to 1823, giving brief accounts of when and where purchased, the sum, estimated value, dimensions.⁷⁷ By 1830 he had revised this scheme and wrote his friend Graff in Philadelphia: "I should not require a receipt from Mr. Waln merely for the purchase money, as the check indorsed to his order is sufficient, but I make a point of preserving in a packet by themselves, receipts for purchases of pictures stating what the picture is or is supposed to be, & whom painted, with as full a history of it as is known to the seller. . . . I would recommend your also adopting this course—It gives an authenticity & interest to your collection when you can trace a picture back as far as possible—I keep a strict account of mine, & when I part with one, I give also my authorities with it, when you come here—I will shew you how I manage this matter."⁷⁸ A very sensible attitude, and it is a great pity more Americans did not do the same thing.

What Gilmor called his *catalogue raisonnée* was in existence for some time after his death for I have seen quotations from it; it may be in existence now or possibly may have been burned. Its disappearance is a great loss.

There is no way of estimating the number of prints and drawings in the Gilmor collection, but the inventory listed two hundred and twenty-five paintings (apparently exclusive of those itemized as legacies), twenty-five portfolios of engravings and drawings, sixty-two boxes of autographs, a library of two thousand books, boxes of pamphlets and a number of

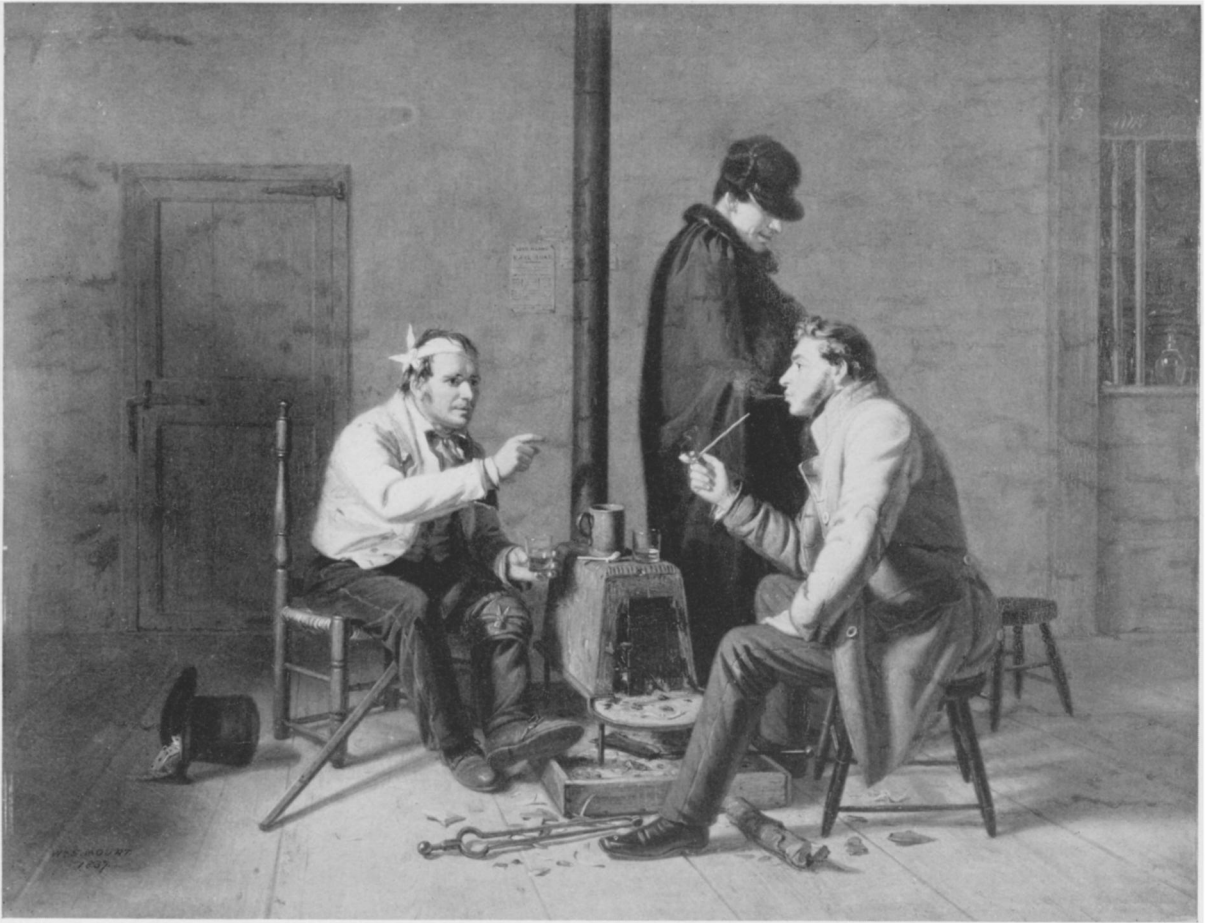


FIGURE 10

WASHINGTON, CORCORAN GALLERY OF ART

WILLIAM SIDNEY MOUNT
The Long Story

pieces of sculpture.⁷⁹ The collection of paintings varied in number from three to four hundred pieces at a time, but in the approximately fifty years of Gilmor's buying and selling I think at least five hundred oils may have passed through his hands. He constantly bought and sold, for he liked, he said, "the variety produced by exchanges, for one gets tired of the same things continually before the eyes."⁸⁰ He had many more paintings than he could hang and, periodically faced with the space problem, he would resolve to consolidate his many items into fewer and better canvases so that the

walls of his town and country houses, his office and warehouse might carry them.

Today the level of the collection, if preserved in its entirety, would not fit the great American galleries which buy what they will on the international market; nor was the type of collection comparable to those of the post Civil War period when taste was either for a gilt-edged bond in the form of an old master, or for the prize of the year's Salon. However, it is very much to be regretted that it had to be dispersed and is not now what would be termed a monument to "American civilization and cul-

ture." In taste and judgment in all classifications I do not believe Gilmor was behind the times, but think he was abreast and ahead of many of his contemporaries in all but political thinking—for he remained a devoted admirer of Washington and a die-hard Federalist, considered Andrew Jackson "the arch demon of mischief" and with the defeat of Henry Clay felt that the doom of the country was sealed.

In his old age Gilmor was modest about his

collection and in 1837 wrote to his friend Graff that "It is no doubt equal if not superior to most in the country both for numbers and originality, yet one good picture of a London cabinet would be worth the whole—I have however seen much worse collections abroad, and if mine only stimulates my countrymen to cultivate a taste for the Fine Arts I shall be well compensated for my expence in making it even such as it is."⁸¹—I think he was fair.



FIGURE 11 ROCHESTER MEMORIAL ART GALLERY
CORNEILLE DE LYON
Portrait of the Duc de Cossé-Brissac
(Attributed by Gilmor to Holbein the Younger)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

¹ Obituary notices in the *Patriot*, Jan. 15, 1822; *Federal Gazette*, Jan. 15, 1822.

² *Baltimore Past and Present* (Baltimore, 1871), pp. 285-288; Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1824), p. 81; Clayton C. Hall, *Baltimore its History and its People* (New York & Chicago, 1912), III, pp. 624 f.; George W. Howard, *The Monumental City, its Past History and Present Resources* (Baltimore, 1889), p. 1002; Conway W. Sams and Elihu S. Riley, *The Bench and Bar of Maryland* (Chicago, 1901), II, pp. 656 ff.; Edward T. Schultz, *History of Freemasonry in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1884), I, pp. 88 ff.; Eugene L. Dedier, *The Social Athens of America in Harper's Magazine*, LXV, no. 385 (June, 1882), pp. 25 ff.

³ Robert Gilmor, Jr., *Memoir or Sketch of the History of Robert Gilmor of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1840).

⁴ William Gilmor (1775-1829), brother of Robert, Jr. and author of *The Pains of Memory with some other Poems* (New York, Printed for the Author, 1807). A copy of this work is owned by the Maryland Historical Society. It contains a note written in 1884 by Robert Gilmor IV (1833-1906) stating that these poems were by his grandfather, that he had never seen another copy, and that he owned some of William Gilmor's manuscripts.

⁵ Thomas Twining, *Travels in India a Hundred Years Ago with a Visit to the United States* (London, 1893), pp. 393, 395.

⁶ Robert Gilmor, Jr., *Memorandums Made in a Tour to the Eastern States in the Year 1797 in Bulletin of the Boston Public Library*, XI, no. 1 (April, 1892), pp. 75 ff.

⁷ *Idem*, *Journal of Travels 1799-1801*, letter no. 21 from Amsterdam, 4th Aug. 1800. Six of the seven volumes of Robert Gilmor, Jr.'s travel journals on his European tour of 1799-1801 have been located. The first from America through England, Scotland and Wales, is not known to me. Two volumes of letters written on tours in England and Wales are owned by Robert Gilmor of New York. Four volumes, in the form of letters written to his brother William, are in the collection of the Maryland Historical Society. References to the letters in the Maryland Historical Society will hereafter be denoted as *Gilmor Letters*.

⁸ *Gilmor Letters*, no. 21, Amsterdam, 4th Aug. 1800.

⁹ *Idem*, no. 4, Paris, 25th April 1800.

¹⁰ *Idem*, no. 8, Paris, 29th May 1800.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Letter to Thomas Cole, May 24, 1828 [?] in collection of New York State Library.

¹³ Obituary in *Baltimore American*, Dec. 2, 1848:

"Died on Thursday morning, the 30th of November, in the 75th year of his age, Robert Gilmor, the last representative of a commercial house; which, during half a century, maintained a widespread reputation for honorable and successful enterprise. Himself a virtuous and public minded citizen—a liberal and enlightened Merchant—a munificent patron of the arts, with the tastes and acquirements of an accomplished gentleman—honored by all—affectionately beloved by kindred and friends—after a long life, without stain or blemish on his name, he left the world in peace, with all the hope of a believing Christian."

¹⁴ Letter to Robert Bolton, Baltimore, 10 Feb. 1846:

"Sir

I have received your letter of 5 inst. this morning, and observe you are like myself a votary of collections of interesting autographs.—I however have been obliged by infirmity from

advanced age (being in my 73d year) and lately confined to a sick chamber, to give up most of my pursuits, and would now much rather part with many objects of art & taste, as well as literature, during my lifetime, short as it now probably will be, than leave them behind to be scattered abroad, our republican institutions being adverse to the perpetuating all such matters, especially as I have no children. It is probable I may dispose of what I have to the Smithsonian Institutes, who have some idea of it, as a nucleus for their own Museum & Library.

I was not aware of Dr. Raffles being acquainted with my name—Him I know through my friend Dr. Sprague of Albany who was much indebted to him for some of his most valuable autographs, as he was to me at the commencement of his own collection, for I believe I was the earliest person in the Country who attempted to form one. Since then I have given away nine duplicates to brother Collectors here & exchanged with others abroad, that would treble my own, for I have been & I still am constantly applied to by beginners, so that I cannot boast of any duplicates of great interest remaining in my possession, and especially of the names you have sent me, who are all *signers* of D. of Independence and are now becoming very scarce. My own list of them is complete, but I have none to spare, being quite exhausted of my duplicates of them to gratify friends.

I should be glad myself to get one of Major André & also of Oglethorpe, but all I could obtain from Mr. Zefft was a facsimile signature of the latter. I was promised one of André but it was afterwards withheld.

My foreign collection is exceedingly rich in every class, especially Sovereigns of England France & Germany—but my American Collection is to me the most interesting & valuable and is contained in 24 quarto cases bound as volumes in which the letters lie unfolded.

I regret I am obliged to return so unsatisfactory an answer to your application. It would have given me pleasure to aid you in your collection, but I have not health enough to endure the fatigue of turning over my own to look for even one of your desiderata.

I am
my dear Sir,
Your Most Obedt. St.
Robert Gilmor

P.S.

If you are acquainted with your neighbor Mr. Hunter of Hunters Island & meet with him, I will thank you to present my compliments to him and say it is a long while since I heard from him.—"

¹⁵ Will recorded 14 Dec. 1848, Baltimore Probate Court, Book 22, pp. 451-456.

¹⁶ *Catalogue of the Library of the Late Robert Gilmor* (Baltimore, Joseph Robinson, 1849).

¹⁷ *Robert Gilmor, Esq., deceased. Catalogue of Rare and Valuable Paintings, Statuary, Minerals, Coins, Engravings, &c. to be sold by public auction, 8th March, 1849 by Gibson & Co.* (Baltimore, 1849).

¹⁸ *Catalogue of the Library of William H. Corner of Baltimore, Md., composed almost exclusively of books referring to the History of America . . . to be sold . . . November 13, 1866* (New York, Leavitt, Strebeigh & Co., 1866), p. 20, no. 190.

¹⁹ *Baltimore American*, Mar. 6, 1849.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Mar. 8, 1849.

²¹ *Gilmor Letters*, no. 31, Nîmes, 16 Dec. 1800.

²² *Baltimore Museum of Art, A Century of Baltimore Collecting 1840-1940* (Baltimore, 1941), p. 27; *idem*, *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Painting in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1945), no. 120, illus.

²³ Walters Art Gallery, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1949), p. 35, no. 92. The manuscript is now owned by the Library of Congress, ms. Acc. 4560(7).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18, no. 42. Princeton University Library, Garrett ms. 28.

²⁵ Gilmor manuscript catalogue of 1823; William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (New York, 1834), list of Gilmor paintings: II, pp. 459-461, cited hereafter as Dunlap, 1834; Maryland Historical Society, *Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, &c. . . First Annual Exhibition* (Baltimore, 1848), no. 59; Maryland Institute, *Catalogue of Paintings on Exhibition* (Baltimore, 1856), no. 71; *Catalogue of the Rare and Valuable Oil Paintings, Engravings, &c. Belonging to the Estate of the Late Robert Gilmor, which formed his Gallery at "Glen Ellen" and many of which were inherited from his Uncle, Robert Gilmor, deceased, so long celebrated as a collector of Works of Art. To be sold . . . 13th of April, 1875 . . .* [Baltimore], F. W. Bennett & Co., Auctioneers, no. 18. The painting is now in the collection of the Rochester Memorial Art Gallery.

²⁶ *Gilmor Letters*, no. 25, Lauffenbourg, 8th Oct. 1800.

²⁷ From Dr. G. Reuling manuscript list: "Italian School: 3, Raphael Sanzio Head of a Woman. Coll. of Corsighillero Gazliani [*sic*] of Salerno, Passucci, Rigaud, Rogers (see documents)." From another undated Reuling manuscript list: "22 Female Head by Raphael Sanzio, painted on an old panelled door. This painting is authenticated by a number of documents, among which is a letter by Bacon (dated 1815) the great English sculptor & Rigaud the historical painter, & other art authorities of this century. *A most beautiful head!*" Dunlap, 1834: "One of the Heads in the cartoon of Ananias, in Fresco, from the collection of the Corsignore Galignani at Salerno; afterwards belonged to Rigaud, the R.A. and brought to New York by a gentleman sixteen years ago. N.B. The letters of Rigaud the son, and of Bacon the sculptor, go to support its claim to originality—Raphael."

Copies of letters regarding Raphael's head of a woman from the Gilmor collection: Letter to John Bacon Esqre., Newman St., London, dated Pall Mall, Wednesday morn., July 10, 1815: "My dear Friend

The time of my departure from London drawing near, I avail myself of your kind offer to take charge of a picture for me, by depositing in your hands the Female head of Raffaele's so highly prized by my late Father. You will easily conceive that it is not without regret that I take leave of this exquisite picture, which I have studied & admired for so many years; I know you admired it as well as myself, & therefore need say nothing in its praise, indeed it speaks for itself, & I am sure the more you contemplate it the more it will grow in your estimation; it may however be interesting to know something of its history.

It was formerly in the collection of the Corsigliere Gagliani at Salerno—during the troubles occasioned by the French revolution that Collection was sold & this head of Raffaele's with some other pictures was purchased by an Italian Artist of the name of Pascucci, & brought to England; Pascucci shewed it to my Father who immediately recognized it as an old acquaintance, as the very Picture he had seen & admired in Gagliani's collection whilst on his studies in Italy;—He could not resist the temptation, but immediately purchased it & thus became possessed of one of the finest heads of this Great Master of the Art. He conceived it to have been painted about the same period of the Transfiguration, when Raffaele had completely lost all the dry manner of his Master Perugino. And consequently he considered it very superior to most of the Raffaeles in this Country, which are generally some of his earlier productions; it appears to have been a study from Nature, from a favorite model often introduced into his pictures, and this Head he has made use of for one of the female figures in the

Cartoon of the Death of Ananias.

I remain
Your very sincere Friend
S Rigaud"

Letter to B. W. Rogers Esqre., dated Newman Street, London, July 8th, 1815:
"Sir.

In bearing my testimony to the picture which you have purchased, agreeably to your request, I inform you that I have for the last thirty years been well acquainted with Mr Rigaud, whose letter on the subject of the picture you read at my house, & I believe took away with you. I know him to be a man of inviolable integrity, & that the statement he has given respecting the picture may be implicitly relied on, as far as he was himself informed on the subject; & no one certainly was more likely to be correctly informed than the son of the artist who purchased, and also had studied from the picture in Italy.

The late Mr. Rigaud, who bought the picture, was an historical painter of great eminence, one of our Royal Academies, & acquainted I believe with most of the cabinets in Italy, & other parts of Europe, and was esteemed an excellent judge of ancient pictures; so much so that I recollect his having a whole collection of pictures consigned to his care and arrangement, from abroad, as a person to whose judgment connoisseurs were likely to look up with deference. It is quite certain that he esteemed the picture to be an original Raffaele, of which he gave the best proof by making a purchase of it himself for his own study; after which, tho' by no means an opulent man, he could never be bribed to part with it, although he had many handsome offers for it. I well recollect the time when he used to be quite annoyed by the calls of gentlemen and artists to see (this) picture. Since his decease his son, who is now about to reside in Wales, where he has family connections, has been desirous of disposing of this & a few other pictures; and from the admiration with which I have always myself viewed the picture in question, I offered to let it stand in my parlour to be noticed by such company as might visit my study, rather than be subjected to the uncertainty of being publicly sold with pictures of an inferior description; & I can bear a conscientious testimony to the admiration it has met with from many artists of eminence who have called upon me.

I have the honour to be Sir, Your indebted and most respectful servant.

Bacon.

P.S. You will observe this head as belonging to a female in Raffaele's cartoon of the Death of Ananias, near the fallen figure. She is retreating from it."

²⁸ In the collection of Mrs. Richard Pleasants are the two following memoranda from among Dr. George S. Reuling's records, either Gilmor's or his own transcriptions of the pedigree of the work which had been in Gilmor's collection:

Letter given Robert Gilmor when he bought the "Raphael" *Madonna and Child*.

"Picture of the Virgin & Child—by Original, of Raphael Urbino

This painting, whose ("pencil")-drawing sweetness—(or say softness) and coloring, is inimitable; and the admiration of all Professors of painting, was for a long period, in the House of Dukes of Ossuna, Grandees of Spain, where it was duly appreciated by them; and, one of them, desirous to make a return for favors received by him, of the Marquis of Rianzuela, presented to him this picture, with whom it remained until the entrance of the French into Spain (& the siege) when on his abandoning his house in Badajos,—he brought with him this valuable—(Alaja—) Jewell, altho the documents accompanying it & discussing it were lost. Of the Marquis de Rin . . . [?] himself, it was purchased in the year 1813.

The above is a true translation of the paper given me by Mr Howard [?] Lafuette. [?], in Cadiz, when I purchased this picture paying at the time \$1500 for it.

Jos. E. Bloomfield
New York Sep. 6. 1844."

[Pencil note of Reuling—"re Mabuse Mad & Child]

Copy of Memo in Catalogue of Robert Gilmor:

"Madonna and Child, on panel covered with plaster. It is very old but in excellent preservation in the material part. It is asserted to be and was sold for the work of Rafael. There is the same turned up foot of the child, seen in the Madonna della Sedjola and other pictures of Rafael. On the back is a long inscription in large letters in a foreign language, not readable now, and below which is a monograph . . . ; whether the S stands for Sanzio, Rafael's surname, is doubtful. MEASUREMENT: 17½ in. high, 13½ in. wide.

This picture is reported to have been belonged to the family of the Duke d'Ossuna, Grandees of Spain, one of whom had received an important service from the Marquis de Rianzuela of Badajos. When the French entered Spain in 1813 and besieged Badajos, he escaped with this Picture, which had been given him as an acknowledgment of his services, and came to Cadiz. Bloomfield was there as supercargo for a cargo of flour as supply for the British, and the Marquis in want of money, bought it for \$1500; he kept it until 1844, and then put it in Flanders Gallery to be sold. The price asked was entirely out of the question, but after a great deal of correspondence &c., I finally got it in exchange for four pictures, a Pynacker, a Metz, Holbein and Francisque Milé." [Note on back: "Documents regarding Madonna & Child by Jan de Mabuse (supposed formerly to be by Raffael)"]

²⁹ Letter from Robert Gilmor to Charles Graff, 16 Dec. 1844, which is in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Max J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei* (Leiden, 1934), VIII, p. 157.

³³ Louis Hauteceur, *Histoire du Louvre* (Paris, n.d.), p. 89.

³⁴ Gilmor manuscript catalogue of 1823; Maryland Historical Society, *Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, &c. . . First Annual Exhibition* (Baltimore, 1848), no. 58.

³⁵ Collection of Frederick Mont, New York City.

³⁶ Gilmor manuscript catalogue of 1823; *Catalogue of the Second Annual Exhibition of Peale's Baltimore Museum of the Works of American Artists . . .* (Baltimore, 1823), no. 103; *Baltimore Federal Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 24, 1823; Dunlap, 1834; Maryland Historical Society, *Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, &c. . . Fourth Exhibition* (Baltimore, 1853), no. 44; *idem*, *Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, &c. . . Seventh Exhibition* (Baltimore, 1868), no. 49.

³⁷ Baltimore Museum of Art, *A Century of Baltimore Collecting 1840-1940* (Baltimore, 1941), no. 30, illus.

³⁸ *Collection of Nicholas M. Matthews*, American Art Association (New York, February 17-18, 1914), no. 134, illus.

³⁹ Gilmor manuscript catalogue of 1823; Dunlap, 1834; Maryland Institute, *op. cit.*, no. 96; *Baltimore American*, Jan. 27, 1874; Eugene L. Dedier, *The Social Athens of America* in *Harper's Magazine*, LXV, no. 385 (June, 1882), p. 27; Baltimore Museum of Art, *A Century of Baltimore Collecting 1840-1940* (Baltimore, 1941), p. 27.

⁴⁰ Edward Biddle and Mantle Fielding, *The Life and Works of Thomas Sully* (Philadelphia, 1921), p. 159, no. 651.

⁴¹ Frank Weitenkampf, *How to Appreciate Prints* (New York, 1909), p. 122.

⁴² Now in collection of Miss Frances Gilmor of Baltimore.

⁴³ Letter of Robert Gilmor to Thomas Cole, Baltimore, Oct. 20, 1830, in collection of New York State Library.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Gilmor manuscript catalogue of 1823; Dunlap, 1834; manuscript list of the collection of Mrs. William Gilmor (in the Maryland Historical Society); *Catalogue of Valuable Paintings . . . collection of Mr. Granville Sharp Oldfield . . . to be sold . . . 15th May, 1855 . . .* (Baltimore, F. W. Bennett, 1855), no. 600; Peabody Institute Gallery of Art, *List of Works of Art on Exhibition including the collections of John W. McCoy and Charles J. M. Eaton* (Baltimore, October, 1910), p. 20, no. 19; Baltimore Museum of Art, *A Century of Baltimore Collecting 1840-1940* (Baltimore, 1941), p. 30; Anna Wells Rutledge, *List of Works of Art in the Collection of the Peabody Institute* (Baltimore, 1949), p. 29.

⁴⁶ *Baltimore American & Commercial Daily Advertiser*, Oct. 28, 1822; Gilmor manuscript catalogue of 1823; Dunlap, 1834.

⁴⁷ "Fruit" by James Peale: *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 7, 1823; Dunlap, 1834. "Fruitpiece" by Raphael Peale, painted for Gilmor for \$20.00 in 1819 in Philadelphia; Gilmor manuscript catalogue of 1823; *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 1, 1823; Dunlap, 1834. "Still Life" by Raphael Peale, painted for Gilmor for \$20.00 in 1819 in Philadelphia; later owned by Susan P. Hoffman: Gilmor manuscript catalogue of 1823. "Isabel Baron" by Rembrandt Peale, commenced previous to 1822 and perhaps not completed: letter of Jan. 5, 1822 in collection of American Philosophical Society. "Fruitpiece" by Sarah Peale, bought for \$20.00 in Philadelphia in 1822; Gilmor manuscript catalogue of 1823. "Fruitpiece" by Sarah Peale, bought for \$15.00 from Kennedy in Philadelphia in 1819, later owned by J. Latimer Hoffman: Gilmor manuscript catalogue of 1823; Dunlap, 1834; J. Latimer Hoffman Sale Catalogue (Baltimore, Pattison & Gahan, May 31, 1910), no. 702. "Still Life" by Samuel [sic] Peale, bought for \$20.00 in Philadelphia and later exchanged with Harris Jones: Gilmor manuscript catalogue of 1823.

⁴⁸ In 1797 on his tour of the Eastern states Gilmor stopped at Stuart's studio, later writing: "We went to Germantown to see Stewart's painting of the late President . . . Stewart came in . . ." and showed them "the first copy he had made of the celebrated full length which he had painted for Mrs. Bingham intended as a present to the Marquis of Landsdown—It was supposed one of the finest portraits ever was painted. This copy was for Mr. Bingham's own use and from which Stewart told us he had engaged to finish copies to the amount of 70, or 80,000 Drs at the rate of 600 Drs a copy. This circumstance is unique in the history of painting, that the portrait of one man should be sought after in such a degree as to be copied by the original artist such a number of times and for such an amount. . . . As a portrait painter Stewart is not excelled I believe by any man living. . . ." Robert Gilmor, Jr., *Memorandums made in a tour to the Eastern States in the year 1797* in *Bulletin of the Boston Public Library*, XI, no. 1 (April, 1892), p. 75. Concerning the "Portrait of Washington" painted to Gilmor's order by Stuart in 1825, and now in the Walters Art Gallery, see E. S. King, *Stuart's Last Portrait of Washington* in *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, IX (1946), pp. 81 ff.

⁴⁹ Edward Biddle and Mantle Fielding, *The Life and Works of Thomas Sully* (Philadelphia, 1921), pp. 159-169, nos. 651-654. In 1841, Robert Gilmor wrote to Charles Graff that he had bought an original head of Charles Carroll painted by Sully for the full length sent by family to the Marquess of Wellesley (letter in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art). He thought it very fine, ranking with that of Jefferson and Victoria in Earle's Gallery: Charles Henry Hart, *A Register of Portraits Painted by Thomas Sully, 1801-1871* (Philadelphia, 1909), no. 277.

⁵⁰ Maryland Institute, *op. cit.*, no. 47: "Robert Gilmor, Jr." by John Wesley Jarvis in collection of Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. Jarvis' "Self-portrait," sold at Gilmor sale in 1875 (no. 28), subsequently collection John King, Baltimore; presented in 1948 by Baroness Helen Giskra to the Walters Art Gallery: Harold E. Dickson, *John Wesley Jarvis* (New York,

1949), no. 115, p. 354, pl. 14. "Mrs. Robert Gilmor, I" (Louisa Airey) by John Wesley Jarvis: Gilmor manuscript catalogue of 1823; will of William Gilmor, 1829; Dunlap, 1834; manuscript list of collection of Mrs. William Gilmor; *The Valuable Paintings collected by the late Hugh L. Bond of Baltimore . . . to be sold . . . Jan. 11, 1923* (New York, American Art Association, 1923), no. 75, illus.; Baltimore Museum of Art, *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Paintings in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1945), no. 85; Harold E. Dickson, *John Wesley Jarvis* (New York, 1949), p. 351, no. 82. The painting is now in the collection of H. B. Marshall of Maryland.

51 "Distant View of Federal Hill" (i.e., "View of Baltimore from Beech Hill," by Francis Guy, now in collection of Maryland Historical Society: *Federal Gazette*, May 22, 1804; *Catalogue of the Society of Artists of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1811), no. 116; J. Hall Pleasants, *Four Late Eighteenth Century Anglo-American Landscape Painters in Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* (Worcester, Mass., 1943), pp. 96 f.; Baltimore Museum of Art, *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Painting in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1945), no. 50.

52 "Hollingsworth's Mills, Jones Falls, Baltimore" by William Groombridge, ordered from the artist in 1806 at a cost of \$50.00: Gilmor manuscript catalogue of 1823; Dunlap, 1834. In the collection of Mrs. J. G. Hopkins of Baltimore in 1895 (letter in collection of Maryland Historical Society). J. Hall Pleasants, *op. cit.*, p. 54. Present location of the picture is unknown.

53 J. Latimer Hoffman Sale Catalogue (Baltimore, Pattison & Gahan, May 31, 1910), no. 701: Landscape thought to be by Doughty; no. 723: "The Delaware Water Gap" by Thomas Doughty, signed. "View from Beech Hill, Baltimore" by Thomas Doughty: Gilmor manuscript catalogue of 1823; *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 7, 1823; *Catalogue of the Second Annual Exhibition of Peale's Baltimore Museum of the Works of American Artists . . .* (Baltimore, 1823), no. 158; Baltimore Museum of Art, *A Century of Baltimore Collecting 1840-1940* (Baltimore, 1941), p. 26, in collection of Dr. Michael Abrams, Baltimore. "View of Ellicott's Mill Dam, Baltimore" by Thomas Doughty: Gilmor manuscript catalogue of 1823. "Landscape with Fisherman" by Thomas Doughty: manuscript list of the collection of Mrs. William Gilmor.

54 "Landscape—Man in Hunter's State" by Thomas Cole: Dunlap, 1834; Maryland Historical Society, *Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, &c. . . First Annual Exhibition* (Baltimore, 1848), no. 35; *idem*, *Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, &c. . . Second Annual Exhibition* (Baltimore, 1849), no. 151. Landscape ("The Last of the Mohegans" ?): Dunlap, 1834; Wadsworth Athenaeum, *Thomas Cole 1801-1848 One Hundred Years Later, A Loan Exhibition* (Hartford, 1948-49), pp. 5, 19, 40, illus. Rev. Louis L. Noble, *The Life and Works of Thomas Cole, N.A.* (New York, 1856), pp. 92, 120, 123, 141.

55 "Neapolitan Minstrel Playing Guitar" by Robert Weir, a present to Robert Gilmor from the artist: letter of Gilmor to Graff dated May 1, 1837, in collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. "View from Ft. Putnam" by Robert Weir: letter of Gilmor to Graff, April 17, 1837, in collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. "Rebecca" by Robert Weir: letter of September 21, 1835, in collection of Pennsylvania Historical Society; Henry T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists* (New York, 1867), p. 211.

56 "Edwin, Beattie's Minstrel" by Washington Allston. Allston said that this was his first work after his return to America in 1818 and it is mentioned in a letter to William Collins, May 18, 1821 (Dana Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society). It was exhibited at the Allston exhibition at Harding's Gallery in Boston in 1839 (no. 9) when Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, writing for the *Salem Gazette* called it one of the early examples of the pictures of sentiment which revealed "those states of the soul which, from their very delicacy and ineffable sweetness,

hover on the confines of unconsciousness." See also: Dunlap, 1834; Moses Foster Sweetser, *Allston* (Boston, 1879), p. 190; Edgar P. Richardson, *Washington Allston, A Study of the Romantic Artist in America* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 139, 206.

57 European Diary of Robert Gilmor, III, London, May 25, 1830, in collection of the Maryland Historical Society. Manuscript list of collection of Mrs. William Gilmor; Maryland Historical Society, *Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, &c. . . First Annual Exhibition* (Baltimore, 1848), no. 176; *idem*, *Descriptive Catalogue of Statuary and Paintings . . .* (Baltimore, 1879), no. 135; *ibid.* (1883), no. 135; Tuckerman, *op. cit.*, p. 181, now in collection of James R. Herbert Boone of Baltimore.

58 Formerly in collection of the Baltimore Athenaeum; now in collection of Maryland Historical Society.

59 Letter in collection of Maryland Historical Society:

"Baltimore 3, March 1845

John Smith, Esq.

President of the Maryland Historical Society

Sir

It gives me pleasure to offer to the Society for its acceptance, on the conditions established in our by-laws, a curious relic of our Revolutionary History, being a view of York-Town in Virginia just before the surrender of Lord Cornwallis. It was painted by the venerable Charles W. Peale (long deceased), so well known by his portraits of the Patriots and officers of the Revolution, with whom, and especially with general Washington he was intimately acquainted.

In the foreground, on the bank of the river is a group of officers, whose horses are held near them. They are six miniature full-length likenesses admirably finished, as not only the head, but the uniforms are carefully treated, as the Gold lace, epaulets, sword hilt, &c sufficiently show, and have been evidently painted at or about the same time. The principal figure is Washington, who is in the center—on his right hand stands the Marquis de La Fayette, & in between them in the rear is General Knox. On the left of Washington is unquestionably the Count de Rochambeau, with his star. On his left & in the rear is a French officer, at least I presume so from the order of St. Louis which he wears in his buttonhole, though it is not improbable it may be Rochambeau, & the officer with the Star, the Duke de Lauzun (see the notes in Sparks 8th volume of Washington's correspondence, page 160). The last person in profile with a scroll (perhaps the capitulation to be proposed) is probably Col. Hamilton or Col. Laurens. I think it is most likely to be the latter, as Hamilton was a small man.

The English ships are seen behind a point on the opposite shore, but there is one in the river, probably a fire ship while two ships of Count de Grasse's fleet are seen coming up York River under full sail bearing the white flag (see Sparks, page 172) [*sic*]. On the shore are the dead horses carried down every day from the British camp. The town is seen in the distance, with the large house occupied by Lord Cornwallis as his headquarters. . . .

Robert Gilmor"

60 Letter dated Baltimore, Dec. 5, 1827 in collection of New York State Library.

61 Letter to Cole dated Baltimore, Dec. 13, 1826 in collection of New York State Library.

62 Letter to Cole dated Baltimore, Dec. 27, 1826 in collection of New York State Library.

63 Letter to Cole dated Baltimore, Dec. 13, 1826 in collection of New York State Library.

64 *Ibid.*

65 "The Long Story" by William Sidney Mount: Maryland Historical Society, *Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, &c. . .* (Baltimore, 1848), no. 208; Corcoran Gallery of Art, *Catalogue*

· ROBERT GILMOR, JR., BALTIMORE COLLECTOR ·

of the Paintings, *Statuary* . . . (Washington, 1874), p. 38, no. 37; *ibid.* (1884), p. 63, no. 67; *ibid.* (1886), p. 64, no. 67; *idem*, *Catalogue of Paintings* (Washington, 1905), no. 34; *idem*, *Illustrated Handbook of Paintings, Sculpture and other Art Objects* (Washington, 1939), no. 260. "Boy Getting over a Fence" (i.e., "Country Lad on a Fence") by William Sidney Mount, engraved for the *New York Mirror*, Nov. 1, 1834 by J. A. Adams. The work was exhibited at the National Academy in 1832, no. 93, lent by A. B. Durand. Gilmor probably bought it from Durand about 1832, since he owned it in 1833, when he gave Mount permission to have it engraved for the *Mirror*. For discussion of both these paintings see Bartlett Cowdrey and Herman W. Williams, *William Sidney Mount* (New York, 1944), no. 27 and no. 12.

⁶⁶ Engraved by J. I. Pease for illustration of "Rose Vernon, or the silk purse" by Mary Spencer Pease in *The Gift, a Philadelphia annual* (Philadelphia, 1843), pp. 251-272. Exhibited at the Baltimore Museum of Art, *A Century of Baltimore Collecting 1840-1940* (Baltimore, 1941), p. 25. The portrait is now in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Kesler of Philadelphia.

⁶⁷ Letter dated May 11, 1837 in collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁶⁸ Letter to Charles Graff dated Nov. 2, 1844 in collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁶⁹ Entry in Gilmor's Diary for June 14, 1826. See *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVII (1922), p. 346.

⁷⁰ Letter of Gilmor to Trumbull dated Baltimore, Sept. 27, 1825 in collection of the New York Historical Society.

⁷¹ Letter of Trumbull to Gilmor dated Oct. 25, 1825 in collection of the New York Historical Society.

⁷² Trumbull had bought this panel from Smibert's heirs in Boston in 1776. Gilmor considered it "a small but very beautiful and perfect picture": Gilmor manuscript catalogue of 1823; *Catalogue of the Second Annual Exhibition of Peale's Baltimore Museum of the Works of American Artists* . . . (Baltimore, 1823), no. 76; Dunlap, 1934. This may have passed through the Oldfield sale in 1855, no. 257, and may have been later in the Reuling collection (Sale, New York, Anderson Galleries, Nov. 4-5, 1925, no. 9).

⁷³ Letter of Trumbull to Gilmor dated Oct. 25, 1825 in collection of the New York Historical Society; letter of Trumbull to Gilmor dated Nov. 14, 1825 in collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

⁷⁴ Letter dated Nov. 5, 1835 in collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁷⁵ Letter of Gilmor to Graff dated Oct. 4, 1837 in collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁷⁶ Letter of Gilmor to Graff dated May 11, 1837 in collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁷⁷ Manuscript catalogue of Robert Gilmor, 1823. Now in collection of Robert Gilmor of New York City.

⁷⁸ Letter dated Sept. 20, 1830 in collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

⁷⁹ Baltimore Probate Court, Inventory Book 60, pp. 418-433.

⁸⁰ Letter of Gilmor to Graff dated April 17, 1837 in collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

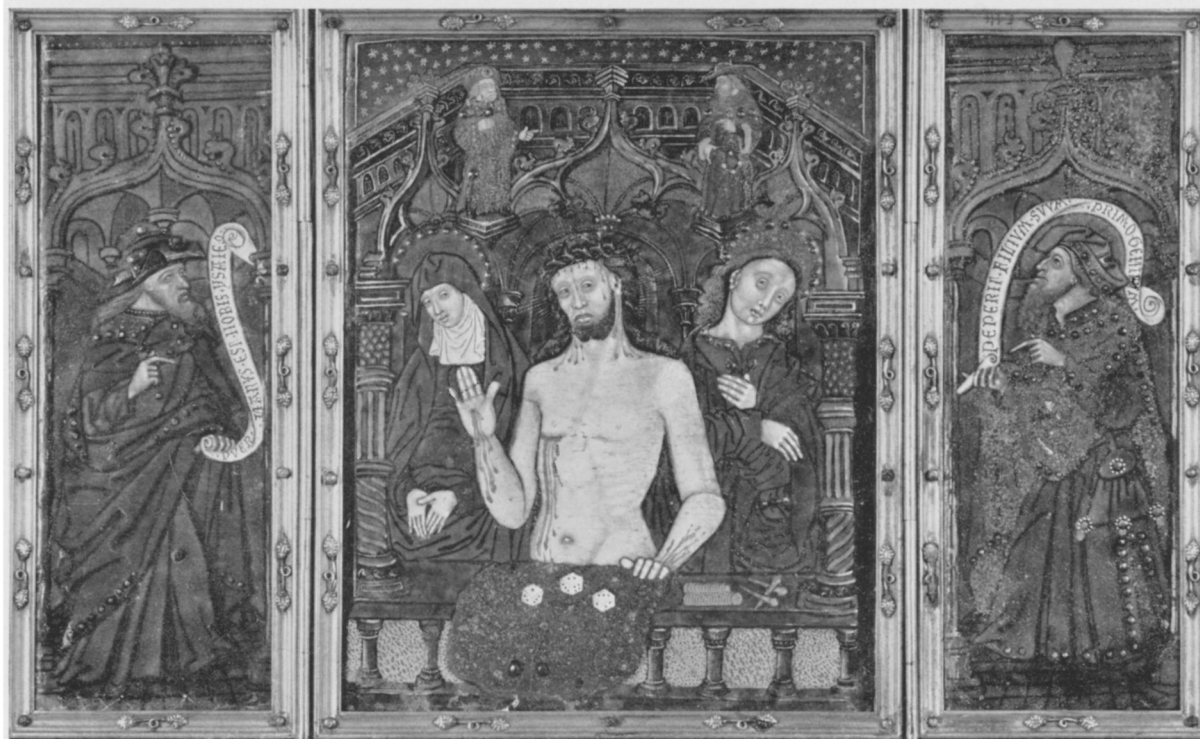
⁸¹ Letter written in 1837, in collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



FIGURE 12

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ROBERT GILMOR, JR. *An Elegant Musical Evening Abroad* (from a Sketchbook of a European Holiday)



FIGURES 1 AND 2

WALTERS ART GALLERY

(Above) WORKSHOP OF TRIPTYCH OF LOUIS XII: *Pietà*
 (Below) MODERN FORGER: *Man of Sorrows*

A METHOD FOR DETECTING FALSE LIMOGES PAINTED ENAMELS

BY MARVIN C. ROSS

Walters Art Gallery

THE COLLECTORS of the second half of the nineteenth century sought the Limoges painted enamels of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with extraordinary fervor. Gradually, this exaggerated interest in these charming *objets d'art* has subsided, due partly to a change in taste, but probably affected also by the fact that so many have entered public collections that there are too few available to inspire private individuals to form collections of them. However, the high prices paid for these painted enamels in the past had the usual result—forgeries were made to supply the very great demand. Now that so many are in public collections, the time has come for isolating the genuine from the false and concentrating on the former.

When the late Monsieur Marquet de Vasselot published his *corpus*¹ of the earlier Limoges painted enamels, he grouped the existing examples into workshops, sometimes around the name of a known craftsman, at other times

merely around a title suggested by the best known enamel in the particular group. Among the latter was one which he called the "Workshop of the Triptych of Louis XII,"² after an enamel with portraits of that king and his wife, Anne of Brittany. Marquet de Vasselot listed twenty-three enamels in his catalogue as being attributable to this workshop.

In his introduction, Marquet de Vasselot stated that in general he refrained from including any discussion of enamels which he believed to be of doubtful authenticity. However, in one instance he broke this rule: in his catalogue description of an enamel in the Bargello in Florence, he called attention to a doubtful triptych³ that had formerly been in the Spitzer collection, the central panel of which was a repetition of the corresponding portion of the Bargello triptych. The Limoges workshops often repeated their compositions, but in this instance, Marquet de Vasselot had grave suspicions about the authenticity. Nevertheless, he appears to have considered the enamel of sufficient importance to make mention of it, despite his general rule about ignoring doubtful examples. The Spitzer triptych was acquired by Henry Walters, eventually becoming part of the collection of the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 2).⁴ The object is im-

¹ J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Les émaux Limousins de la fin du XVe siècle et de la première partie du XVIe* (Paris, 1921).

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 150ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 311. *La Collection Spitzer*, 1891, vol. II, no. 2.

⁴ No. 44.438.

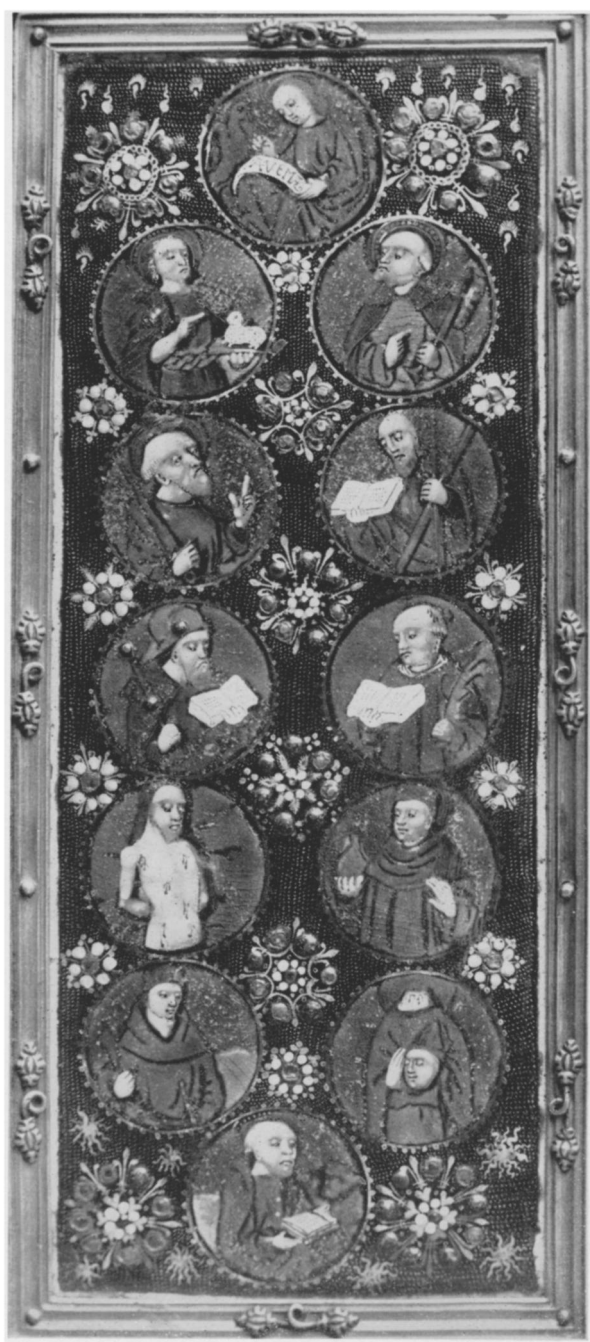


FIGURE 3
WALTERS ART GALLERY
WORKSHOP OF TRIPTYCH OF LOUIS XII
Wing Showing Twelve Saints

pressive enough to deserve careful study before abandoning it, and that I propose to do in this paper.

The central panel, depicting "The Man of Sorrows between Mary and John," is the portion of the triptych under suspicion. The composition is correct (as noted earlier, the Limoges enamellers often repeated their compositions). The colors are splendid and the enamel even is partially decomposed, as occurs in many genuine enamels. However, in certain parts the drawing is not clear and there is a muddy and uncertain quality, which no doubt aroused Marquet de Vasselot's suspicions. In attempting to examine the surface, it was found that the ultra-violet light, so useful in detecting restorations in enamels, gave no help at all. The microscope revealed much, but it is not practical to put into words a clear description of what the eye sees. Mr. David Rosen, Technical Adviser of the Walters Art Gallery, suggested enlarged photographs as a record of what had been noted with the microscope and as a basis for comparison. The enlargements used to illustrate this article were made by Mr. Rosen, and it seems to me that they make it possible to arrive at convincing conclusions.

The first step was to use enlarged photographs for the analytical study of an enamel considered to be entirely genuine. The Walters Art Gallery owns a triptych in enamel of the "Pietà with Saints Catherine and Sebastian"⁵ which does not appear in Marquet de Vasselot's catalogue, but which repeats the composition of another triptych⁶ that he includes in his catalogue (fig. 1). Also in the Walters collection is a wing of triptych showing twelve saints, catalogued by Marquet de Vasselot (fig. 3).⁷

⁵ No. 44.91.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 305-306.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 304-305. Walters Art Gallery no. 44.127.



FIGURE 4

WALTERS ART GALLERY

WORKSHOP OF TRIPTYCH OF LOUIS XII
St. Denis (Enlarged Detail of Figure 3)

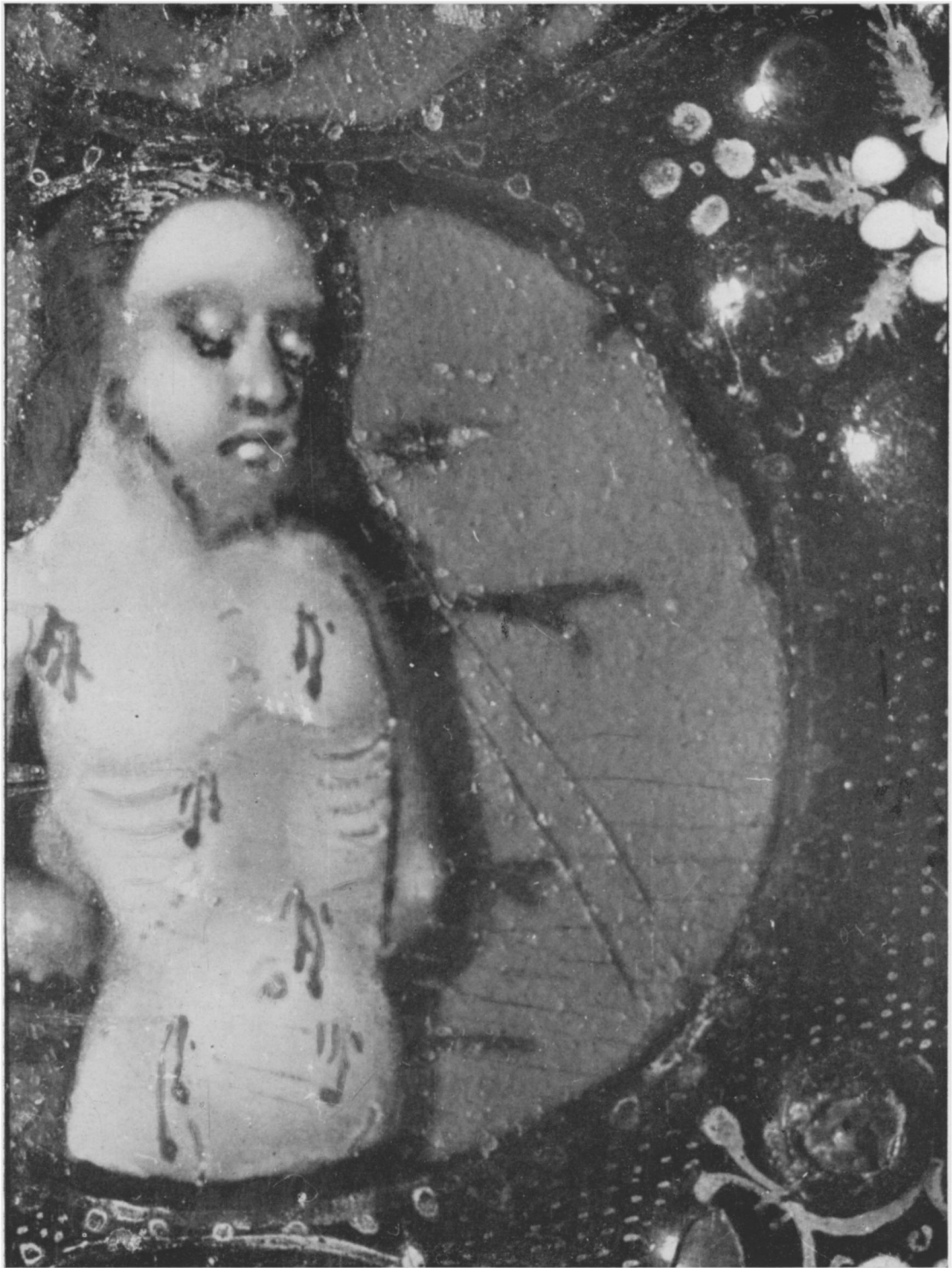


FIGURE 5

WORKSHOP OF TRIPTYCH OF LOUIS XII
St. Sebastian (Enlarged Detail of Figure 3)

WALTERS ART GALLERY



FIGURE 6

WALTERS ART GALLERY

WORKSHOP OF TRIPTYCH OF LOUIS XII
St. Sebastian (Enlarged Detail of Figure 1)



FIGURE 7

WORKSHOP OF TRIPTYCH OF LOUIS XII
Head of Christ (Enlarged Detail of Figure 1)

WALTERS ART GALLERY



FIGURE 8

WALTERS ART GALLERY

MODERN FORGER
Head of Christ (Enlarged Detail of Figure 2)



FIGURE 9

WALTERS ART GALLERY

MODERN FORGER
Head of the Virgin (Enlarged Detail of Figure 2)



FIGURE 10

WALTERS ART GALLERY

WORKSHOP OF THE TRIPTYCH OF LOUIS XII
Head of the Virgin (Enlarged Detail of Figure 1)



FIGURE 11

WALTERS ART GALLERY

WORKSHOP OF THE TRIPTYCH OF LOUIS XII
St. John (Enlarged Detail of Figure 1)



FIGURE 12

WALTERS ART GALLERY

MODERN FORGER
St. John (Enlarged Detail of Figure 2)



FIGURE 13

WALTERS ART GALLERY

WORKSHOP OF THE TRIPTYCH OF LOUIS XII
Executioners
(Enlarged Detail of Figure 1)

Enlarged photographs of these two enamels prove beyond any question that both issued from the same workshop. The enlargements of the two Saint Sebastians, even with the great difference in the scale of the originals, show the same method of drawing the hair, the eyes, the ribs and the same method of applying the gilding (figs. 5, 6). Comparing details of one of the executioners of Saint Sebastian from the Pietà triptych and of the Saint Denis from the wing with twelve saints, one finds not only the

rendering of features to be the same, but also the flower-like motives that are so typical of these enamels (figs. 4, 13). It seems beyond any question that the Pietà triptych came from the same workshop as the wing of the twelve saints, in other words the "Workshop of the Triptych of Louis XII."

It is now time to compare the Pietà triptych with enlarged details of the panel with the "Man of Sorrows." Let us juxtapose the heads of the two Christs (figs. 7, 8). In the Christ of

the Pietà, every line is logical and unhesitating, and the modelling is clear and understandable. The Christ from the other enamel (with a decided air of the nineteenth century about him) has an entirely different modelling and the lines about the eyes are a series of dots without significance. The enlargements of the Virgin from the two enamels make even clearer the difference between the genuine and the suspect pieces. In the former (fig. 10) the modelling is firm and the drawing brings out the form. In the latter, (fig. 9) the modelling is not convincing (the relation between the nose and face is entirely different) and the lines become broken or shaggy in an effort to duplicate the general effect of the other artist's technique. The enlarged details of the two heads of Saint John make all these differences even clearer (figs. 11, 12). For example, the lines about the eyes and nose of Saint John from the "Man of Sorrows" panel are merely a series of separated dots, rather than lines drawn with a comparatively dry brush as should be the case. It is possible also to see considerable difference in the application of gold to the surface and the decomposition is not at all the same in the two

instances.

These contrasts between the two enamels indicate that the "Man of Sorrows" was not made in the "Workshop of the Triptych of Louis XII," but by someone imitating him in comparatively recent times. He could not model the figures similarly or put on the gold in the same way and he could not produce the same decomposition. The method of drawing lines by a series of dots indicates he worked with a magnifying lens and reproduced what he saw, rather than painting in his natural style as the original enameller had done.

The comparative use of enlargements, which thus demonstrates the "Man of Sorrows" enamel to be a forgery beyond any question, is a method which can be applied in similar instances to establish the difference between genuine and false painted enamels of Limoges. It can be used to prove the authenticity of enamels whose history is unknown, as well as to provide scientific grounds for disqualifying enamels which to the practiced eye have an appearance of spuriousness about them.

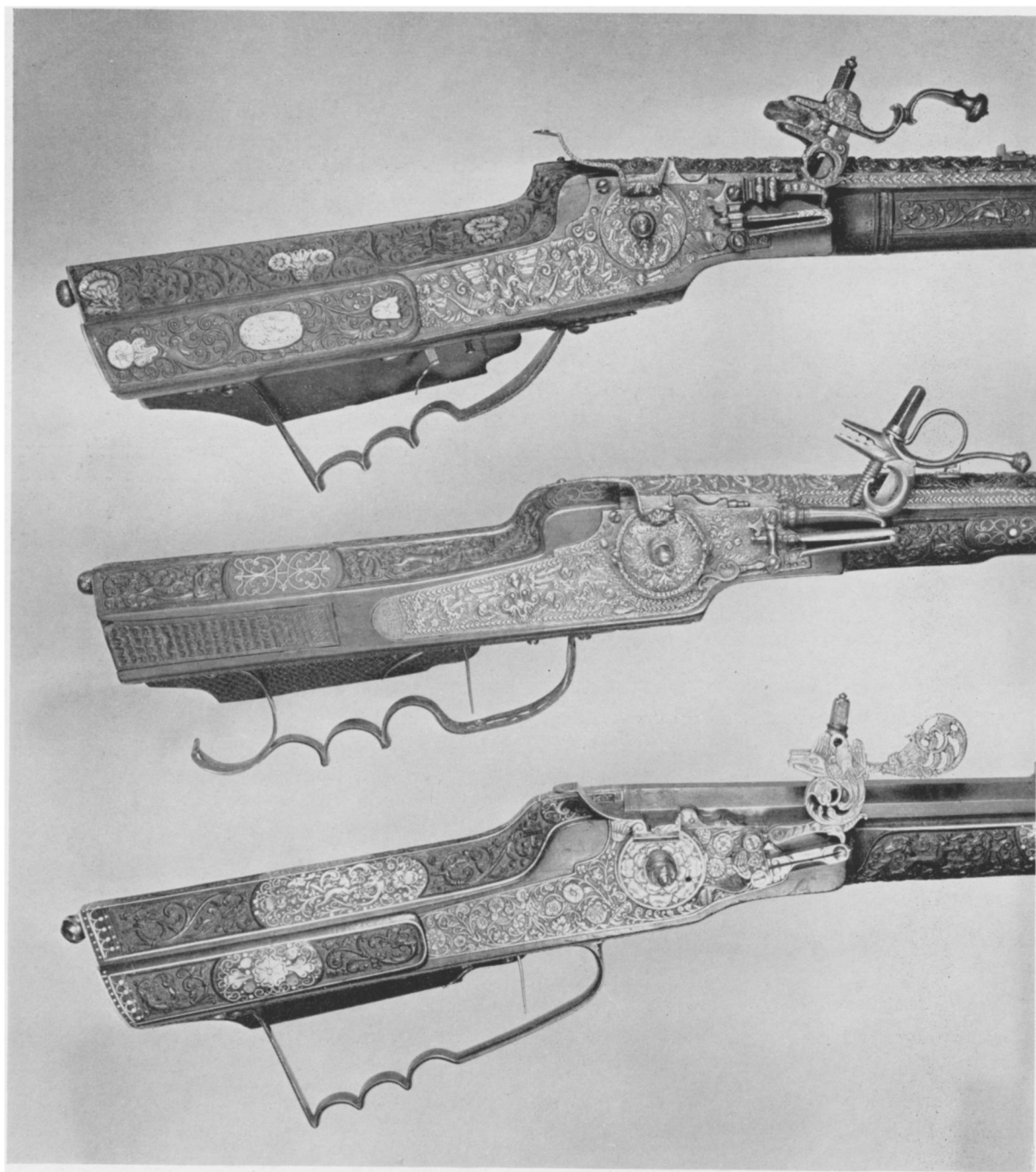


FIGURE 1

YORK, PA., PRIVATE COLLECTION

*Three Wheellock Rifles Carved by the Master H. N.
(Lockplate side)*

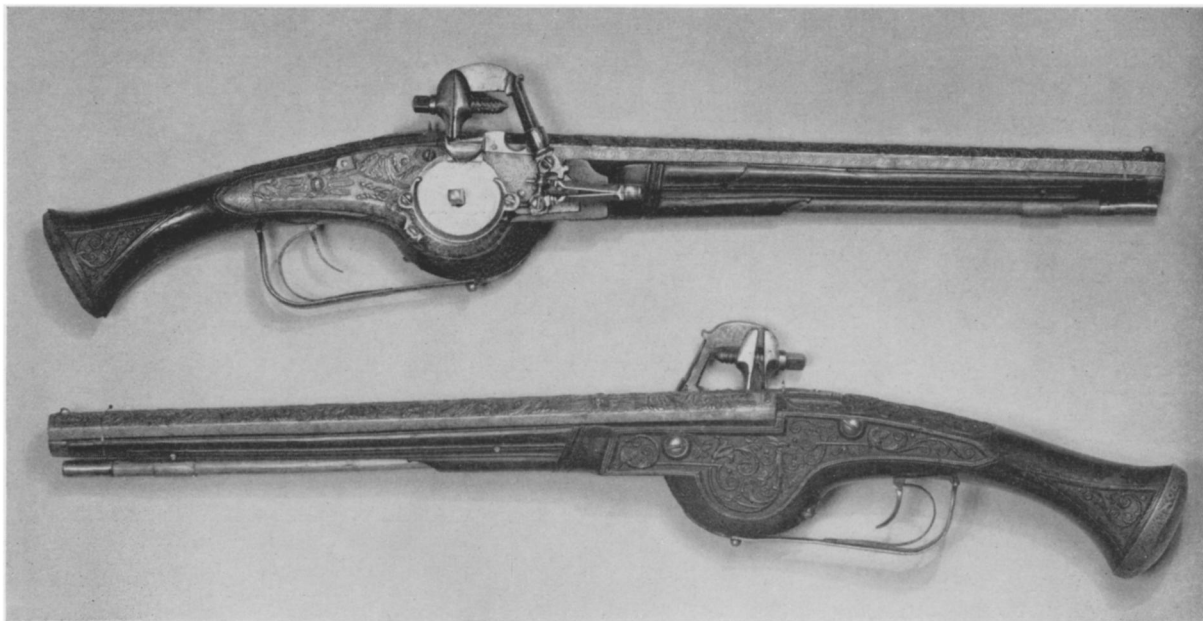


FIGURE 2

Pair of Wheellock Pistols Carved by H. N.

WALTERS ART GALLERY

FIRE ARMS CARVED BY THE MASTER H. N. (DER MEISTER DER TIERKOPFRANKE)

BY RICHARD H. RANDALL, JR.

Princeton University

IN THE FOUR CENTURIES since Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tyrol, first assembled fine arms and armor as works worthy of an art collection, collectors have studied this broad field intensely, and the chronology of the types of weapons and armor and of the decorative styles has been widely grasped. More recently, collectors have tended to investigate the various schools of arms workmanship and have sought a closer knowl-

edge of the craftsmen themselves. Many splendid volumes and innumerable articles have published the styles and known works of outstanding art st-armorers, and with these as guides, collectors have been able to identify many fine anonymous pieces and add to the growing inventories of the works of specific armorers, gunsmiths, and sword-mounters.

Thus, through the recent publication by Dr. Hans Schedelmann of the *Meisterbuch* of the Viennese gunsmiths and gun-stockers,¹ the writer has been able to connect a fine, but long

¹ H. Schedelmann, *Die Wiener Büchsenmacher und Büchsen-schäfte* (Berlin, 1946).

unnoticed pair of seventeenth-century wheellock pistols in the Walters Art Gallery² (fig. 2) with a series of firearms made for the Austrian nobility and the court of Ferdinand III, Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and Holy Roman Emperor (1608-1657). All the weapons of this series have their stocks delicately carved with baroque designs of monsters and foliage, and the work surely is that of a single master stock-carver of Austrian origin. The metal work on these arms, however, varies in richness and design and is the work of several different hands. Unfortunately, the names of many of the craftsmen who made these weapons are unknown to us, but we have a number of armorers' marks, sets of initials and dates as aids to further research, and perhaps other pieces will be discovered which will lead to the eventual knowledge of the craftsmen themselves.

With the invaluable assistance of Dr. Schedelmann, the present writer has been able to inventory twenty-seven firearms which are the work of this single seventeenth-century Austrian stock-carver. Three of them are illustrated in figures 1 and 3 for comparison with the Walters pistols in figure 2. The inventory appears at the end of this article, and contains all the most pertinent facts about each piece, particularly in regard to makers' names, marks, and dates, as well as the provenance of the pieces, where it is known.

The presence of the royal monograms on three of the carved rifles of this series, in addition to the personal symbols used by Ferdinand III, distinctly links these firearms to his court, where they served either as hunting weapons for his family and his guests or as presentation weapons to his followers. A pair of rifles, inventory numbers 13 and 24, bear the monogram of Ferdinand and his first wife, Maria Anna, while number 3 once bore the now missing crowned

initial of Eleanora, Ferdinand's third wife. Ferdinand used as his personal symbols Fortuna and a lion and griffin rampant. These devices appear in whole or in part on seven of the weapons of the series, and the crowned double eagle of Austria appears on six of the arms.

Ferdinand III, who was very popular in public life, combined in himself the attributes of a soldier and an intellectual. He succeeded Wallenstein in 1634 as head of the imperial troops and was responsible for the victories of Regensburg, Donauwörth and Nördlingen. He was known by his contemporaries as a linguist of unusual talents and was also a composer of music, which was later published by G. Adler of Vienna. The fine group of Ferdinand's personal hunting weapons that remains today in Vienna attests his activity as a sportsman, and among those weapons we find several of the beautifully carved rifles of the present series.

The walnut and fruitwood stocks of these firearms are carved in crisp, low relief with swirling patterns of vines and flowers intermixed with monsters, symbolic figures and animals of the chase. The compositions display a baroque restlessness which is enhanced by the choice of fantastic beasts, such as kangaroo-like creatures (see the central gun, fig. 3), camels, and exotic birds. The carver also had a favorite habit of portraying either a dog or a monkey playing a musical instrument. On the top rifle in figure 3 a dog may be seen playing a bagpipe, a subject which recurs on several of the arms, and on the central rifle is a monkey blowing a horn.

Due to the carver's singular habit of terminating his vine motifs with animal or grotesque heads, he was dubbed by Dr. Schedelmann³

² Nos. 51.445 and 51.446. L. 21 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Butt cap lacking on 51.446. Ex-colls.: Thewalt (Sale, Cologne, 1903, no. 1700); Keasbey (Sale, New York, Dec. 5, 1924, no. 141).

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 82f.

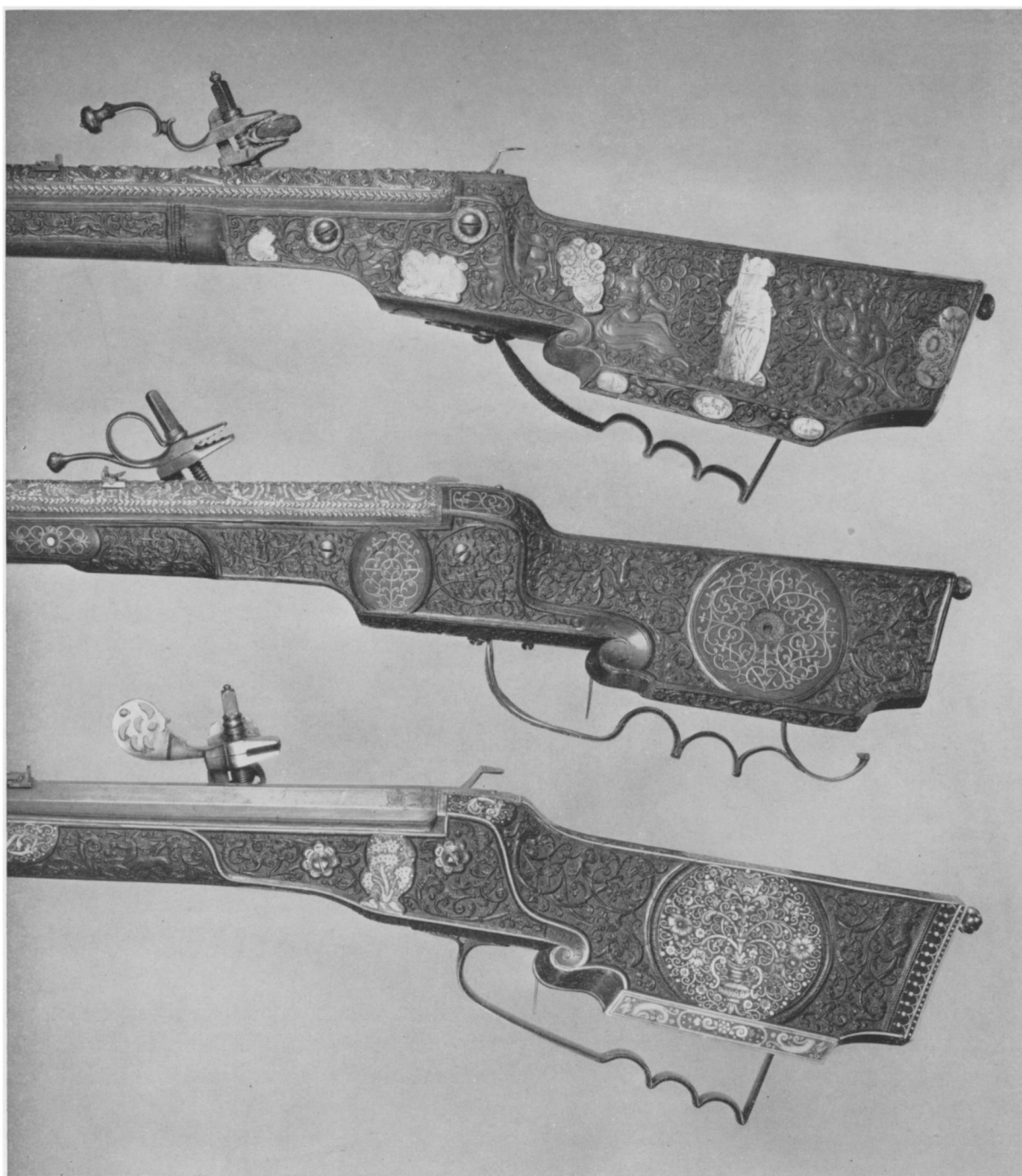


FIGURE 3

YORK, PA., PRIVATE COLLECTION

Three Wheellock Rifles Carved by the Master H. N.
(Reverse side)

"Der Meister der Tierkopfranke" or the master of the animal-headed plants. There was not even a hint of his identity until Dr. Schedelmann recently discovered that the rifle, numbered 8 in the inventory, bore the carver's initials, H.N.⁴ This discovery brought into question the carver's suspected Viennese origin, since the guild

some, if not all, of the other unknown masters also worked in the Salzburg area, including the master carver H.N. himself.

The *Meisterbuch* does, however, identify for us the gunsmith Hans Faschang, who signed four of the guns listed in the inventory with either his name or initials. Faschang worked in

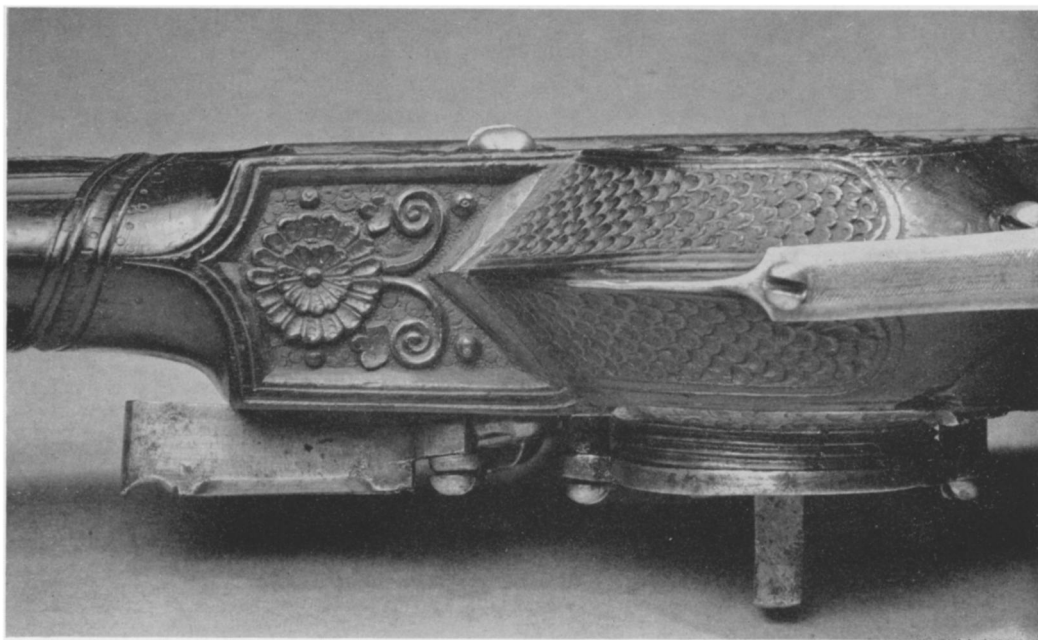


FIGURE 4

Carved Wheellock Pistol
(Underside of Stock)

WALTERS ART GALLERY

records and archives of that city, which are very comprehensive, contain no reference to a stock-carver with the initials H.N.

The Vienna guild records, moreover, do not identify any gunsmiths who correspond to the initials KZ, HW, MSH or GF, which are found on the barrels of various guns of this group. One barrel mark,⁵ however, has been identified as that of the brothers Paul and Sigmund Klett of Salzburg-Elenau. Relying on this clue and the fact that the other craftsmen were not of Viennese origin, it seems logical to assume that

Vienna during the 1630's, and two of the guns in this series, which he signed, are dated 1637 and 1638.⁶ His identification was the original reason for the assumption in Dr. Schedelmann's book that the carver of the animal-headed ornament came from Vienna, but the

⁴ Described in a letter to the present writer.

⁵ Johan F. Støckel, *Haandskydevaabens Bedømmelse* (Copenhagen, 1943): mark no. 4366.

⁶ Inventory nos. 1 and 2.

Klett mark suggests that the majority of the unknown masters may have worked as far from Vienna as Salzburg.

The workmanship of the pistols in the Walters Art Gallery collection is characteristic of that found on the weapons of this series. A glance at figure 2 shows them to be typical mid-

boar spears, is common to many of the arms carved by H.N., and is generally found on the underside of the stock. In the central gun of figure 1, the scales may be seen on the lower lip of the butt.

At the tangs the pistols bear another larger cartouche with a large central flower (fig. 5).



FIGURE 5

*Carved Wheellock Pistol
(Carving at Tang)*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

seventeenth century wheellock pistols in nearly unrubbed condition. The dark, straight-grained walnut of the stocks with its restless carving is nicely contrasted with the light-colored ram-rods and the mass of bright silver inlay on the metal parts.

On the underside of the stocks, the pistols are carved with a small panel containing a large flower amid curling tendrils on a background roughened with lightly incised floral ornament and dots. Extending from these panels around the bulge of the lock to the fore-end of the trigger guards, an overlapping pattern of concave scales is carved (fig. 4). This feature, often seen on the shafts of seventeenth-century

The freedom of the carving seen elsewhere on the pistols is rendered somewhat stilted here by an exact balance of the twisting vines on either side of the cartouche. The background is again roughened with light carving. The butts are carved on either side with a graceful curved and recurved vine, set in a small triangular panel with a similar ground. The border mouldings of these panels are accentuated with a series of faintly punched trefoils.

The reverse sides of the Walters pistols display fine panels of the distinctive animal-headed tendril ornament typical of the master H.N. The dog-headed finial of the large central recurving plant in the panel is clearly shown in figure 6,



FIGURE 6

*Carved Wheellock Pistol
(Panel on Reverse Side)*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

as well as the smaller fantastic heads that terminate two other bits of swirling vine. These animal-headed ornaments may be compared to those shown on the patchboxes of the upper and lower rifles in figure 1 and with the reverse sides of all three rifles in figure 3, where other examples of tendrils ending in human, bird, animal and grotesque heads may be seen. This feature is to my knowledge peculiar to this Austrian carver, and with few exceptions, his works display some form of animal-headed vine ornament.

The backgrounds of the side panels are again lightly cut with flowers and dots. The foreparts of the pistols are simply ornamented with a few mouldings, and the ramrods are secured with simple brass thimbles.

The locks of the Walters pistols are heavily encrusted with inlaid silver on a punched ground. The raised inlay depicts a winged cherub's head and a group of plants that resemble

heads of wheat (fig. 2). The borders of the lockplates are bevelled and engraved with a repeated trefoil design and show distinct traces of gilding. The remaining parts, the wheel, the doghead, and the doghead spring, are of bright steel, relieved by a few mouldings. The thirteen and one half inch octagonal barrels are rifled with six grooves and bear the numbers 1 and 2 on their tangs. The heavy silver inlay on the barrels is on a punched ground like the locks, and shows four putti amidst profuse plant ornament (fig. 7). Several of the inlaid flowers appear to be roses, which have been mistakenly interpreted as Tudor roses, accounting for an earlier attribution of these pistols to English craftsmen. The borders are engraved with a repeated semicircular pattern and a dot, which somewhat resembles the manner in which the overlapping scales are carved on the undersides of the pistols. Each piece is fitted with a notch rear sight on the tang and a silver bead foresight.

The trigger guards, which are fitted with external trigger springs, are cross hatched and decorated with light silver tracery and dots. This type of work resembles that on the pistol numbered 21 in the inventory.

Unfortunately, one of the butt caps of this pair was lost in recent years, but the remaining cap served as the first clue in identifying the pieces. It displays a fancifully engraved double eagle of Austria, surmounted by a crown, which is too freely handled to be identified for dating purposes as the Archducal, the Hungarian, or the Imperial crown. However, the presence of the royal double eagle itself is sufficient to tie the pistols to the court of Ferdinand III. The borders of the butt cap are engraved with tendrils and foliage and show obvious traces of gilding (fig. 8).

Of the other arms of this series that the writer has examined, the central rifle in figure 1 shows the closest parallel to the Walters pistols in the silverwork. The rifle displays the

royal double eagle on the wheelcase, and the lock is decorated with a putto amid plant ornament. A small portion of the butt-end of the lockplate of this rifle is not inlaid like the rest of the lock, but is engraved. This unusual feature also appears in the locks of the Walters pistols (fig. 2), as well as in the lock of the miniature pistol numbered 14 in the inventory. All of these arms have bright steel dogheads and doghead springs, and in the case of the pistols, the wheels also are of bright steel.

The barrel of the rifle is profusely inlaid with cherubs and plants, and is signed at the rear sight "H.W. 1628." It seems probable that this craftsman, H.W., is therefore also the master of the barrels and locks of the pistols in the Walters Art Gallery. He is probably also the maker of the metal parts of inventory number 14 and number 3, although I have not had a chance to examine the latter except from photographs. Unfortunately the gunsmith, H.W., has not been identified to date. The initials do

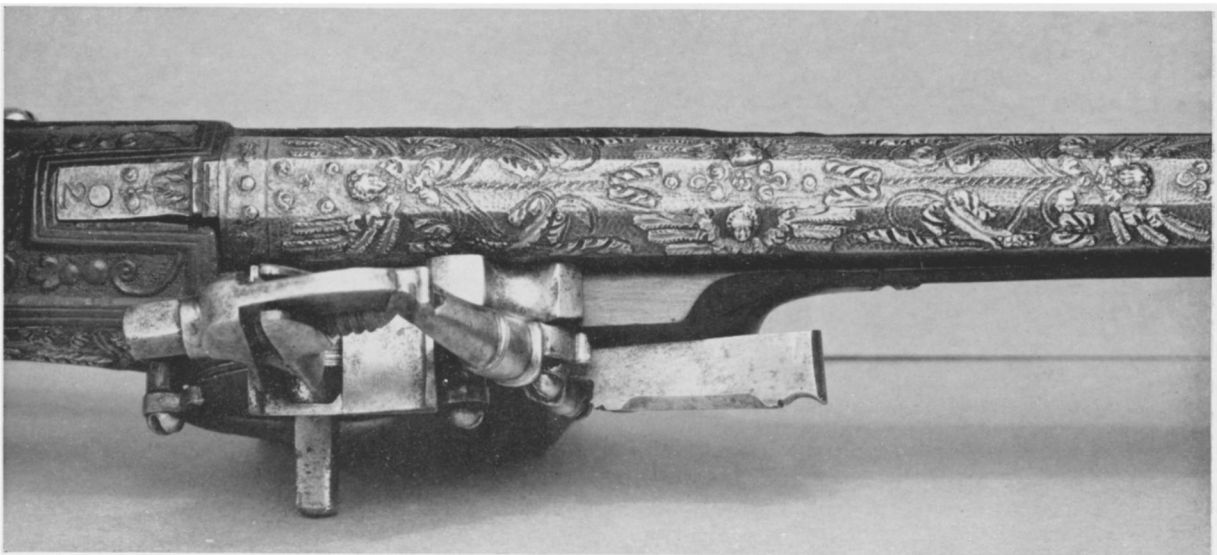


FIGURE 7

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Carved Wheellock Pistol
(Silver-inlaid Barrel)*

not concur with any name found in the Vienna *Meisterbuch*, so we shall have to look for him elsewhere, perhaps also in the Sa'zburg area.

In the following inventory of twenty-seven firearms carved by the master H.N., all cousins of the fine pistols in the Walters Art Gallery, each weapon is of princely quality. It is the hope of the present writer that future discoveries of records and arms will disclose the identities of the unknown gunsmiths and of the master stock-carver, H.N. himself.

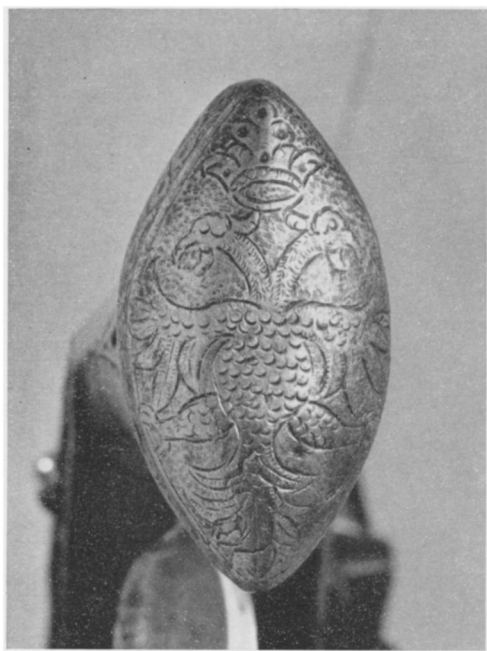


FIGURE 8 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Carved Wheellock Pistol
(Engraved Butt Cap)

INVENTORY OF FIREARMS CARVED BY "H.N."

(Der Meister der Tierkopfranke)

1. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, D 101—Wheellock rifle.⁷ Lock and barrel richly decorated with silver and gold. The barrel is signed "Hans Faschang, 1637." The stock is richly carved with animals and tendrils, and the underside is scaled. The hammer has a chimney.

2. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, D 103—Wheellock rifled carbine. Plain barrel, signed "H.F.1638" (Hans Faschang). The lock has a pierced wheel housing and the hammer has a chimney. The stock is carved with the royal double eagle, flanked by lions and griffins, amid the vine and animal decoration. The underside is carved with a scale pattern.

3. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, D 112—Wheellock gun. Richly inlaid with silver on the barrel and lock. The stock is profusely carved with animals and tendrils, and set in the cheekpiece was a crowned E, for Eleanora of Mantua, third wife of Ferdinand III (married 30 August 1652, she died 1686). Since Ferdinand died in 1657, the E with the Empress' crown indicates its construction between 1652 and 1657.

4. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, D 111—Wheellock rifle⁸ with gold and silver inlay on the barrel, portraying in the center, the royal eagle, and signed "H.F." (Hans Faschang). Lock inlaid and with heart-pierced wheelcase. The stock is richly carved and shows the lion and griffin on either side of a bone inlay of a hunter slaying a bear. The underside is carved with scales.

5. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, D 98—Wheellock gun dated "1648."

6. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, D 99—Wheellock gun with a fine octagonal barrel inlaid with running vine motifs in silver. It bears the double eagle of Austria, and at the tang the armorer's mark of three thistles surmounted by "PSK." This has been traced to the brothers Paul and Sigmund Klett, who moved from Suhl to Ebenau-Salzburg in 1636. Sigmund worked until 1664 and Paul until 1688. The stock is carved with lions supporting a plaque of mother-of-pearl together with stags, rabbits and hounds, among the usual vine and tendril motifs.⁹

7. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, D 347—Wheellock gun with the barrel marked "H.F." (Hans Faschang).

8. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, D 104—Wheellock gun with a plain barrel and lock; the latter having a geared wheel. The stock is carved with rabbits, deer and a wolf in panels of animal-headed ornament. The cheekpiece is carved with a combat of two stags. The stock of this gun is signed "H.N."

9. Munich, National Museum, no. 441—Wheellock gun. The lock and barrel are heavily inlaid with silver. The

⁷ Schedelmann, *op. cit.*, fig. 59.

⁸ *Ibid.*, fig. 111.

⁹ James G. Mann in *The Connoisseur* (Dec., 1949), p. 99, fig. 100, no. XXIV.

lock shows cherubs blowing horns, amid plant ornament, while the upper jaw of the hammer shows a pelican. The stock is carved with animals and vines, and the patchbox and obverse of the butt have the decoration carved upside down. A few inlays of silver are dispersed within the carving.

10. *Munich, National Museum*—Carved wheellock gun.

11. *Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 51.445*—Wheellock pistol. (Ex Thewalt and Keasbey Collections) (fig. 2).

12. *Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 51.446*—Mate to number 11 (fig. 2).

13. *London, Wallace Collection, no. 816*¹⁰—Wheellock rifle. Stock carved with animal-headed foliage interspersed with silver openwork inlays. The cheekpiece has a crowned monogram, which should be read: "F.M.A." F for Ferdinand, Archduke, King of Hungary and Bohemia, M.A. for Maria Anna of Spain, his wife, married 20 February 1631, died 1646. The monogram bears the Archducal crown, and therefore the gun must have been made before Ferdinand became Emperor on 16 February 1637, and dates between 1631 and 1637. Lock engraved. Barrel inlaid with Fortuna on a globe, the lion and the griffin rampant in silver. Scaled on underside.

14. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 19.53.7*—Small wheellock pistol. The rear half of the barrel is inlaid with silver, as was the lock, which has been somewhat reworked. The stock is carved on the base of the butt, at the tang, and on the reverse with plant ornament, while the underside of the stock is scaled. Overall length about 9 inches.

15. *Paris Musée de l'Armée, M 159*—Wheellock gun, carved with the crowned double eagle, supported by lions, surrounded by animals of the chase and vine ornament. The forestock of the rifle is carved with a scale pattern. The barrel is similar to number 6, and bears a mark, which is probably also that of Paul and Sigmund Klett. It is decorated with running vine patterns inlaid in gold.¹¹

16. *Vienna, Rothschild Collection*—Wheellock gun signed "G.F. 1631."

17. *St. Donat's Castle, England, W. R. Hearst Collection*—Wheellock gun. The barrel is plain, dated "1659," and the lock is engraved with a doe in a pattern of grotesque-headed foliage. The stock is fully carved with a pikeman, a woman, animals playing musical instruments, and castles among the animal-headed vines. The cheekpiece and stock are further decorated with openwork panels of silver.¹²

18. *York, Pennsylvania, Private Collection*—Wheellock rifle. Barrel and lock heavily inlaid with silver cherub's heads and foliage. Wheelcover displays double eagle, barrel signed "H.W. 1628". Stock carved with kangaroo-like creatures and hunting animals amid animal-headed foliage; scaled in the underside. Steel openwork inlays in cheekpiece and forestocks. Patch box restored. Ex Magniac and Zschille Collections (figs. 1 and 3).

19. *York, Pennsylvania, Private Collection*—Wheellock rifle. Stock carved with Spring and Fall, grotesques, and animals of the chase, interspersed with mother-of-pearl inlays. Barrel inlaid with Fortuna, the lion and griffin. Lock with cherubs (harpies?) and plants in silver (identical to lock of number 9) (figs. 1 and 3).

20. *York, Pennsylvania, Private Collection*—Wheellock rifle. The plain barrel is lightly chiselled and engraved at the breech to match the fine floral chiselling of the lockplate. This work resembles several lockplates from the hand of Hans Keiner of Eger, but this barrel bears the mark "K.Z." above a squirrel. The stock is crisply carved with panels of animal-headed decoration interspersed with fine inlays of bone and mother-of-pearl. The cheekpiece has a central inlay of bone and pearl depicting a vase of flowers (figs. 1 and 3).

21. *York, Pennsylvania, Private Collection*—Wheellock pistol. The barrel and lock show traces of silver inlay on a hatched ground. The stock is carved with three small panels of floral ornament.

22. *Vienna, Private Collection*—Wheellock rifle.¹³ Plain lock and barrel; the latter signed "M.S.H. 1631." The stock is richly carved with stags, hounds, the lion and the griffin. The cheekpiece and borders are inlaid with stag-horn.

23. *Vienna, Private Collection*—Mate to number 22.

24. *Vienna, Private Collection*—Mate to number 13. Formerly W. R. Hearst Collection.¹⁴

25. *Cologne, Leiden Sale, 1934, lot 713*¹⁵—Short wheel-

¹⁰ James G. Mann, *Wallace Collection, Catalogue of European Arms and Armour, Part III* (London, 1945), pp. 330-331, pl. 93, no. 816.

¹¹ Mann, *Wallace Collection*, p. 331, note.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Schedelmann, *op. cit.*, fig. 108.

¹⁴ Mann, *Wallace Collection*, p. 331, note. Schedelmann, *op. cit.*, fig. 109.

¹⁵ Illustrated on plate 37 of Sale Catalogue.

(Continued on page 111)

There are a number of sculptures of this sort among those of the fifth century from Ahnas.⁷ Also, among the Coptic bronze incense burners showing a lion devouring a wild boar, the skin is rendered by the same convention.⁸ These comparisons suggest that, in addition to its resemblance to the protomes found at Qustul near Egypt, and thought to have been imported from Egypt, the Walters bronze ornament seems closely connected both stylistically and technically with Coptic sculptures in Egypt and with bronzes which are definitely Coptic. These related objects have been assigned, all on entirely different grounds, to a fifth or sixth century date. The sculptures from Ahnas with which it relates most closely are considered fifth century. The bronze incense burners, which compare in technical details are somewhat more stylized than our protome and are probably of the late fifth or of the sixth century.⁹ Thus, it seems probable that the Walters bronze was made in Coptic Egypt in the fifth century.

Emery and Kirwan suggest that the seven similar ornaments found at Qustul were perhaps made for the poles on biers. The type was not new,¹⁰ and the presence of the ring on the Walters example seems to indicate an ornament for a chariot rather than for a bier. There are other pieces which have a considerable resemblance

to the Walters ornament not only in type but stylistically, which are without much question of this late date. Two of them with the protomes of a hippopotamus suggest an Egyptian origin, not only on the basis of stylistic comparison with the present one, but also because of subject matter.¹¹ Thus, we have another group of Coptic bronzes which were exported over the Mediterranean world, very much as were the Coptic bronze patera found in many European graves of the same period.¹²

FIREARMS CARVED BY H. N.

(continued from page 63.)

lock rifle. The stock is richly carved and inlaid with open-work designs in steel. The rear half of the barrel and the lock are inlaid with silver cherubs and foliage.

26. Prince Starhemberg-Eferding Collection—Wheellock gun carved by H.N. Similar in workmanship to number 18.

27. Vienna, Salzer Sale, March 29-31, 1933, lot. 388—Carved wheellock gun.

LA DAME AUX CAMÉLIAS

(continued from page 77.)

It may have been written to Tony, since it refers to her horse. It is wholly unknown to any of her many biographers. It is the only known letter of love by one who surely knew "tout ce que cette passion a de doux et de terrible." Its passage through the auction room parallels and proves the truth to life of one of the moving incidents of Dumas' great novel. It is a heart-stirring link with a once living figure whose life was beautified as Manon's was created, by a momentary flash of genius, and who, as thus transfigured, will remain pitied and loved by countless generations of enthralled readers of the book which has given her immortality.

⁷ E. Kitzinger, *Notes on Early Coptic Sculpture in Archaeologia*, LXXXVII (1937), pp. 181ff. See pl. LXXI, figs. 4 and 5 and p. 189.

⁸ M. C. Ross, *A Group of Coptic Incense Burners in American Journal of Archaeology*, XLVI (1942), pp. 10f., fig. 1.

⁹ Ross, *op cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁰ See E. Gabrici, *La Quadriga di Ercolano in Bollettino d'Arte* (June, 1907), p. 10, fig. 9.

¹¹ E. von Mercklin, *Wagenschmuck aus der Römischen Kaiserzeit in Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, XLVIII (1933), fig. 46, p. 127, and H. Burg, *Minor Arts of Early Periods* (1939), no. 38 (this bronze was until recently on the New York Art Market). See also *Berichte der Provinzial-museen zu Bonn und Trier* (Bonn, 1922), pl. VIII, fig. 1.

¹² Further study may relate stylistically similar bronzes made for other purposes, such as a knife handle found in France, see M. Volotaire, *Bronzes Figurés du Musée de Saumur in Revue Archéologique*, X (1919), p. 290, no. 465.



*Bronze Ibex-Bull, Persian
from Azerbaijan territory, 1000 to 600 B.C.*

ADDITIONS to the material on the ancient Near East were few, but important. Except for a handsome Achaemenid silver plate, embossed and incised with radiating lotus stamens, the objects are in bronze. The most spectacular is the beautifully sculptured ibex-bull, a stand for some kind of vessel. The most historic are the two plaques from the palace doors erected about 850 B. C. by Shalmaneser III, one of which is illustrated. Most of the reliefs from these doors are in the British Museum.

*Assyrian Soldiers Cutting Trees on a Mountain
Bronze relief plaque from Palace of Shalmaneser III
Assyrian about 850 B.C.*



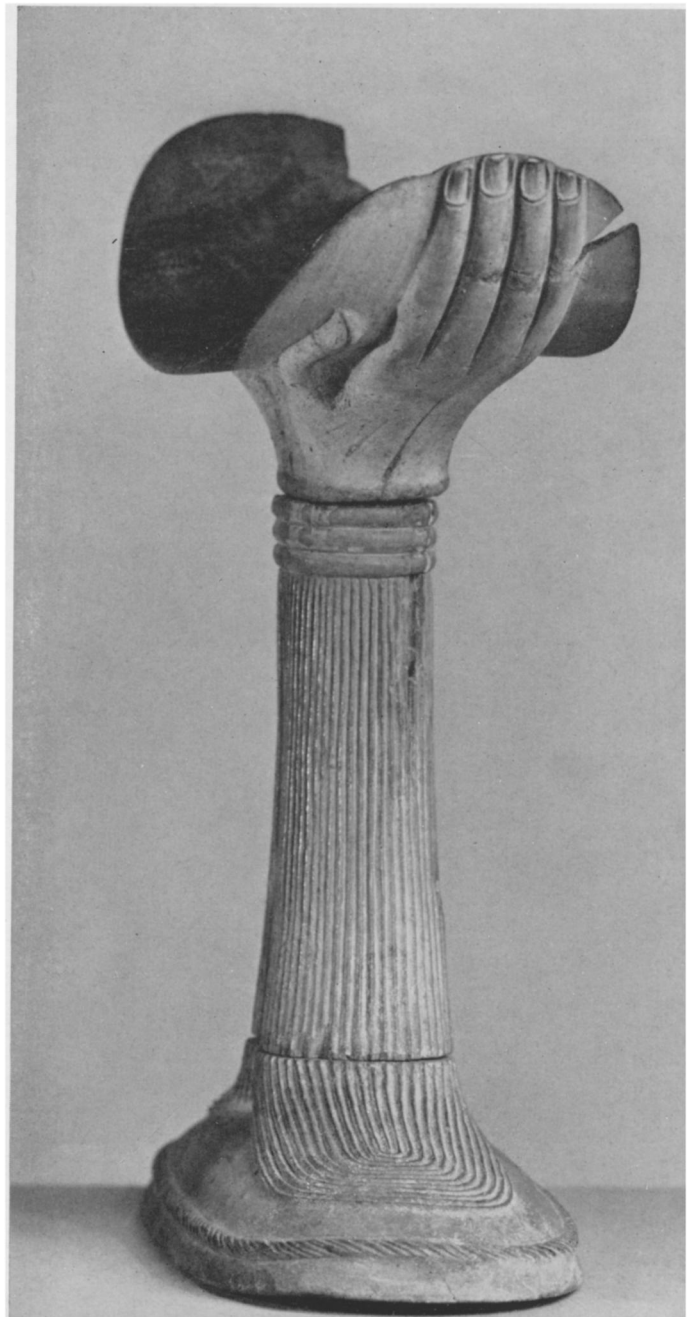
A PORTFOLIO OF NEW ACCESSIONS

SELECTIONS FROM THE BRUMMER COLLECTION

THE DISPERSAL of the vast art collection of the late Joseph Brummer was an event without parallel in the art annals of this country. At the public sales held in April, May and June, 1949, nearly every American museum, large and small, took advantage of this extraordinary opportunity to enrich its collection. The Walters Art Gallery acquired one hundred and forty-one objects, ranging in date from about 2500 B.C. to about 1700 A.D., and so diverse in nature that nearly every section of the Gallery's collections, except the departments of Paintings and of Far Eastern Art, was enriched. The following pages present merely the briefest possible summary of the new wealth of material that supplements our major holdings.

Some of the most ancient objects acquired added strength and variety to our extensive Egyptian collection. Foremost among these is a fine Fifth or Sixth Dynasty relief from a mastaba, an important addition to the small group of Old Kingdom relief sculptures in the collection. Also added were an interesting Middle Kingdom painted coffin and half of the delicately illustrated "Fayum Papyrus," the rest of which is in the Cairo Museum. A favorite piece will be the charming wooden head-rest illustrated here, epitome of the aristocratic elegance of the New Kingdom.

*Carved Wood Head-Rest
Egyptian, 1400 B.C. or later*





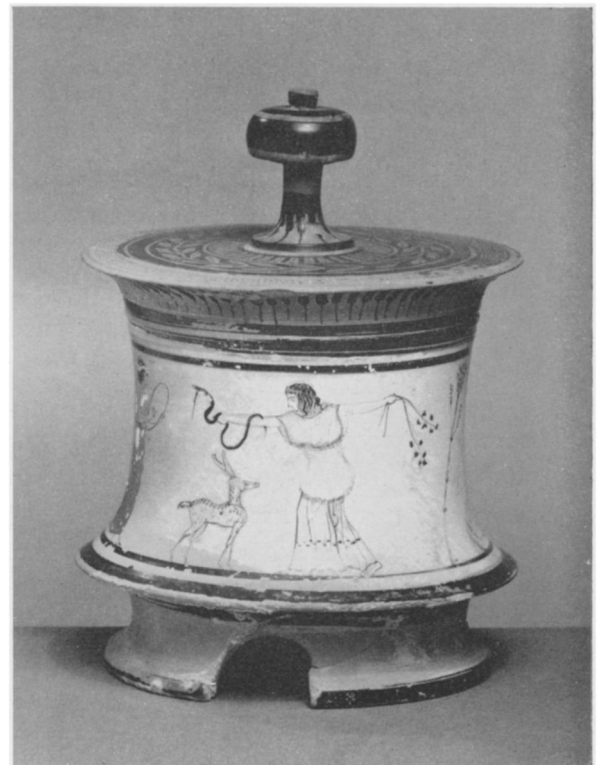
times. Other bronzes comprise ornamental furniture fittings, including a nearly complete set of mountings for a couch, and two pieces of armor. The more spectacular of the latter is a very finely ornamented bronze greave, to be dated before 500 B.C.

The two small pieces of silver include a beautiful little conical wine strainer, which has escaped corrosion to a miraculous degree, and a tiny late Roman silver platter—perhaps a toy.

Foremost among the ceramics is the very rare Attic white-ground pyxis, illustrated here, on which a dance of maenads has been painted in light colors and very delicate outline. It is by the "Sotheby Painter." The other three vases are all of sculptured shapes, the most interesting being a small aryballos, strongly modelled to represent a negro's head.

*Portrait of a Woman, perhaps Octavia
Roman, 1st century B.C.*

*Pottery Toilet Box
Greek, about 460 B.C.*

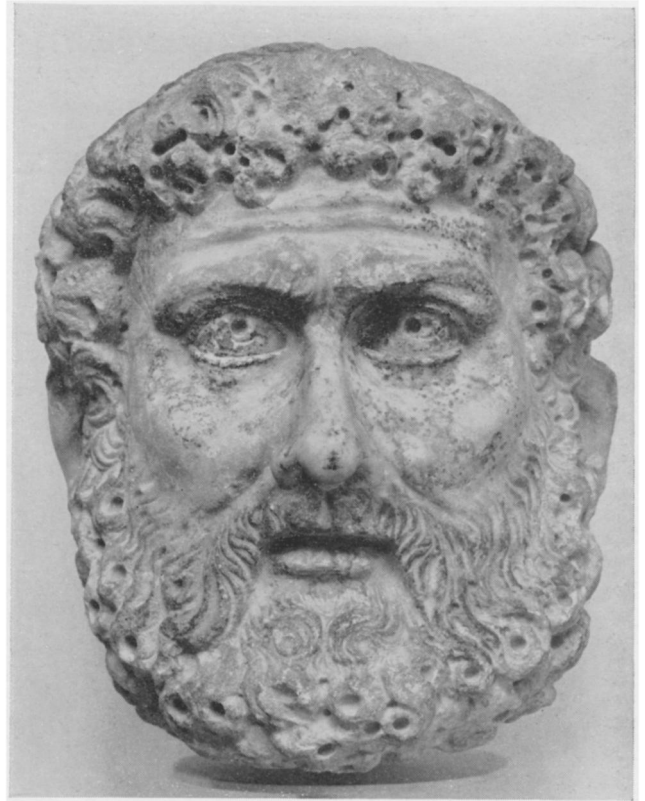


FOURTEEN OBJECTS were added to the classical collections of the Gallery, supplementing the sculpture, bronzes, silver and ceramics by pieces not only of artistic distinction, but of importance in presenting a record of the daily life of ancient times.

The marble sculpture included two portrait heads from the first century B.C.: a fine, idealized head of a woman, here illustrated, which forms an interesting contrast to a powerfully realistic portrait of a man of the last days of the Republic.

The sole piece of bronze sculpture added is a beautifully worked statuette, exquisite in its patina, which represents a Roman citizen performing a sacrifice. It dates from Augustan

THE TRANSITION from antiquity to the Middle Ages—a period whose obscurity is only now beginning to be pierced by the light of systematic study—finds an exceptionally rich documentation in the collections of the Walters Art Gallery. Each of the four acquisitions of the Early Christian period in the West adds significantly to the material previously in the Gallery. By far the most spectacular is the colossal marble head here reproduced, which can be compared to only one other piece in an American museum. A fourth-century bas-relief showing men transporting a wine cask is an unusual provincial piece, while two sculptures in metal of pagan subjects are of special distinction:



Colossal Head, 4th century A.D.

*Bronze Statuette of a Youth
Early Christian period, 4th century A.D.*

a small silver statuette of a Lar, and the fine bronze of a walking youth, illustrated.

Of the same early period is a group of Gallo-Roman antiquities. Among the ten fibulae and buckles of various types are six showing enamel. A bowl of Gallo-Roman workmanship is an interesting addition to our early medieval silver.

The already significant collection of folkwandering antiquities has been almost doubled in importance by the new accessions. Outstanding is a massive Burgundian iron buckle covered with silver and gold, one of the best preserved specimens known. Among the jewelry is an Aquitaine buckle overlaid with silver, five pieces of Ostrogothic and Langobard goldsmith's work, including a brooch ornamented with garnets and gold filigree, and an enamelled ring. Six Irish pieces have been added to the small group of rare Celtic antiquities boasted by the Gallery.





Silver-Gilt Plaque
Byzantine, 11th century

THE ALREADY notable collection of Coptic and Byzantine objects has been strengthened by some accessions of particular importance. Foremost among several marble sculptures is the great panel shown here, carved in high relief with an animal design of exceptional beauty. Objects in precious metals include three sixth-century silver pieces found at Hamah in Syria, and related to the other great silver treasure from the same area already in the Gallery. Byzantine jewelry includes a renowned gold filigree ring set with cameos, a necklace of gold and plasma from Egypt and a unique eleventh-century garnet cameo of a saint. The finest piece of silversmith's work acquired is the lovely relief plaque illustrated, showing the Virgin *orant*, which was executed in the same workshop as the famous silver reliquary bookcover in the Louvre, formerly in the treasury of St. Denis. It is the finest example of this particular kind of Byzantine work in any American museum.

Bronze lamps, mountings and buckles add impressive pieces to both the Coptic and Byzantine sections of the Gallery.

The first example of Byzantine ceramics to enter the collection is a glazed bowl with a representation of the Virgin. The first Coptic manuscript is a rare fragment of *Exodus* written in a handsome eighth-century uncial.

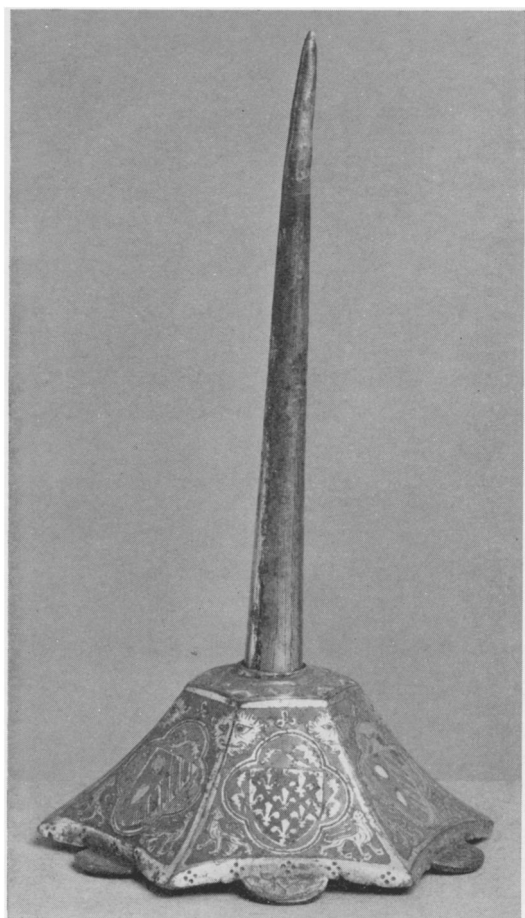


Marble Relief:
Griffin Attacking a Stag
Byzantine, 10th century

THE BEAUTY and importance of our large group of medieval minor arts have always lent particular lustre to the Walters Art Gallery. Accessions to this already distinguished department included a fine jewelled phylactery of Limoges workmanship, a beautiful little gilt-bronze statuette of the Virgin which is a masterpiece of Mosan sculpture of around 1230, and a rare fifteenth-century *cuir-cisé* binding. The most numerous as well as the most important additions, however, were to the collection of enamels, already among the foremost in the country. Aside from an interesting specimen of Italo-Byzantine enamel-work, these were distributed among the famed centers of the valleys of



Christ Before Pilate
Painted Enamel Plaque
Monvaerni Workshop, Limoges, late 15th century



Travelling Pricket Candlestick
French (Limoges), late 13th century

the Rhine and the Meuse, as well as Limoges. Particularly notable are three small plaques by the Cologne Master of the Annoschrein, two Mosan plaques including an important one with an Old Testament scene, and an extremely rare Limoges enamelled base for a cross from the church at Obasine, to which it probably came from the Abbey at Grandmont. The little pricket candlestick shown here is a particularly charming example of Limoges workmanship and displays the arms of France and of the Counts of Turenne. Only one addition was made to the extensive collections of painted enamels, but it is of considerable significance. It is a panel from the workshop of the Pseudo-Monvaerni, the pioneer atelier in the development of enamel painting. The plaque, formerly in the collection of Otto H. Kahn, is the first significant example of this early workshop to enter the Walters Art Gallery.

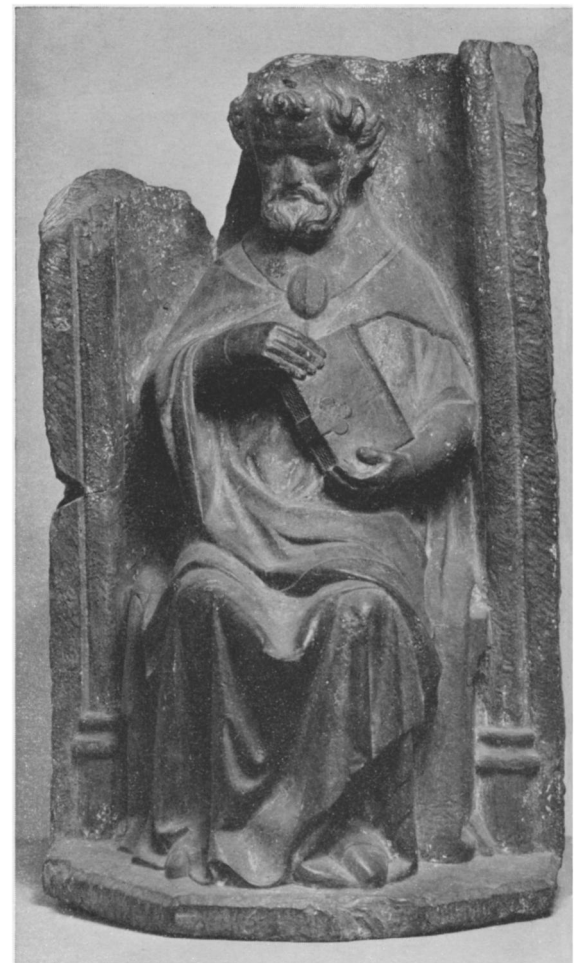


chisel. No weathering has clouded the rhythmic crispness of the hair, and the sensitive fluctuations of the planes that carve a mood which is the more compelling because of its restraint.

Among the large sculptures acquired on this same occasion is one not in stone, but of wood, which came to the Gallery through the generosity of Mr. David Rosen. It is a polychromed crucifix of life size, of the end of the gothic period, a fine and moving piece of sculpture.

Head of Christ
French (Champagne), ca. 1400

Seated Saint
Flemish (Tournai), end of 13th century



PARTICULARLY noteworthy was the opportunity offered by the auction of the Brummer collection to acquire distinguished examples of stone sculpture. The Gallery acquired about a dozen pieces of western medieval workmanship, ranging from Carolingian architectural fragments from Italy and France to a charming polychrome lady from Champagne, that epitomizes the graceful reluctance with which the Gothic north yielded to the coming of the Renaissance. A delicately carved twelfth-century double capital depicting the Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet is quite possibly from the cloister of St. Pons. A life-size thirteenth-century statue of a female saint makes up for a damaged face by the unspoiled poetry of the drapery. Two notable gothic sculptures are reproduced here: a seated saint, sculptured in the black stone of Tournai, by the same late thirteenth-century sculptors whose work is to be found on the west façade of the Cathedral there. Above is the life-size head of Christ from Ervy, preserving, despite the accidents of scattered abrasions, the fresh touch of the fifteenth-century sculptor's



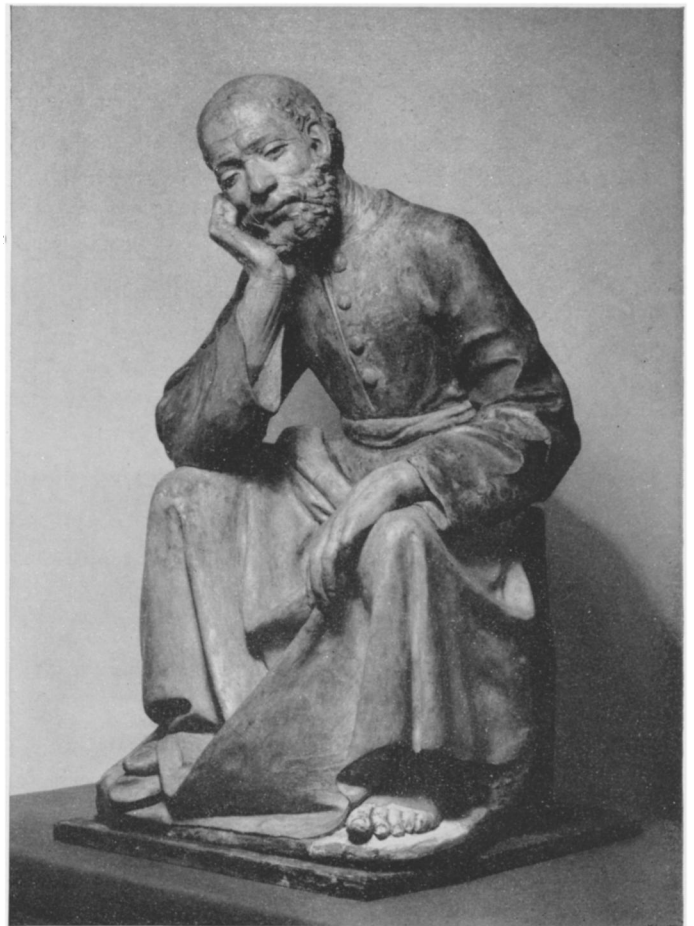
A Caesar
French, ca. 1700

THE RENAISSANCE accessions include seven articles of furniture, notably an exceptionally fine walnut cassone from the Davanzati Palace. A large bronze eagle of the fifteenth century is an important sculpture cast by the lost wax process.

Three large figures are particularly significant in a Gallery that in the main has had to represent the history of renaissance sculpture almost entirely from small pieces. A life-size marble statue of a saint, attributed to the notable sixteenth-century Sicilian sculptor, Antonio Gagini, is one of several now scattered through American museums.

Particularly fine is the seated St. Joseph, illustrated, also life-size, executed in polychromed terra-cotta, which is attributed to Matteo Civitale. It originally formed part of a *crèche* group, other pieces of which are now in the National Gallery in Washington.

Latest in point of date of all the accessions is the baroque marble Caesar, probably made to embellish the façade of a French chateau in the time of Louis XIV. It is a spirited and interesting decorative sculpture of its period and represents the kind of work commissioned outside the great royal enterprises at Versailles.



St. Joseph
Attributed to Matteo Civitali (1436-1501)
Italian (Lucca), 15th century

A LETTER FROM LA DAME AUX CAMÉLIAS

BY DOUGLAS GORDON

Baltimore, Md.

ON JULY 15, 1775, in describing the Abbé Prévost, author of *Manon Lescaut*, Julie De Lespinasse, outstanding in a literary and amorous century as a renowned letter writer and a distinguished votary, and finally victim of the main subject of her letters—love—says that the Abbé was “l’homme du monde qui a le mieux connu tout ce que cette passion a de doux et de terrible.” The adventures of the adorable Manon were first published in 1731. The story of her love and misfortunes, and of the blind devotion of the faithful Chevalier des Grieux achieved enormous success. Long before 1775, it was accepted as a masterpiece. Its author’s other works have been completely forgotten. It remains in purity of style, in intensity of feeling, in profound knowledge of mankind the great classic of supremely happy though ultimately disastrous love.

In 1848, long after the fevered life of Julie De Lespinasse had flickered out, after the entire world of which she formed a part had come to a violent end, and when the Romantic period itself was drawing to a close, the unheard-of son of Alexandre Dumas, at the age of only 24 years, wrote *La Dame aux Camélias*. It too received immediate and enthusiastic recognition. And it was by its youthful author’s intention and by common consent at once linked with the

long admired story of Manon as the second great French love story.

An early and unforgettable scene of the younger Dumas’ novel describes the auction, after the death of his heroine, Marguerite Gautier, of the magnificent contents of her apartment, among them a richly bound copy of *Manon Lescaut*. The narrator, depicted as a sophisticated Parisian, has long been familiar with Marguerite’s career as the most spectacular courtesan of Paris. Her daily routine of an afternoon drive in the Bois de Boulogne in her blue carriage, and her evening appearances at the play or opera were well-known features of the life of the metropolis. Equally well-known and universally admired were her rare beauty, her elegance in costume and manner, and her noble independence—even of those whose passion and fortunes supplied the vast sums that passed so quickly through her fingers.

The auctioneer in offering for sale her copy of *Manon Lescaut* casually says, “Something has been written on the first page.” The narrator buys the book to gratify the curiosity which brought him to the sale in the first place. He is puzzled to find the inscription,—

Manon à Marguerite
Humilité
Armand Duval.

Some days after the sale, the original donor of the book visits its new owner. He begs to see it, and he then describes the tempestuous course of his love for Marguerite. All the world now knows Armand Duval's story. It has run through hundreds of editions in all the principal languages. It has been played before thousands beginning in 1852, and with renewed success when revived a generation later by the divine Sarah Bernhardt. It made a sensation on the American stage under the title *Camille*. It has been filmed five times with outstanding actresses in the role of Marguerite. To music lovers it is known as *La Traviata*.

The theme of the story that has so profoundly stirred humanity is the true virtue of the glaringly unvirtuous woman. Marguerite first abandons her life of subsidized luxury in Paris to live in a village with the man she loves entirely for his own sake. When his father persuades her to give him up, she pretends, in order for his sake to make the breach complete, that love of the capital's pleasures has caused her to abandon him. She returns to Paris, and to a certain and early death. In the play and in the opera, the father, moved by her goodness of heart, permits his son—too late, it is true—to see her again. In the novel Armand leaves France, and does not return until the day he seeks the purchaser of Marguerite's *Manon Lescaut*.

The similarity of Manon and Marguerite exists only in the deeply moving way in which their lives and early deaths are told. Actually, they are completely opposite in character. Manon is always ready to betray the Chevalier des Grieux for lucre. Marguerite ever independent of her admirers, gives up her own love and life itself for the sake of Armand. There can be no

doubt that Manon should have shown *humilité* to the nobler Marguerite. Yet in the minds of readers the two characters will always be associated, partly because of the inscription in Armand's copy of *Manon Lescaut* to which the auctioneer gave such slighting reference.

The fact that Marguerite was closely copied from an actual and well-known person, Alphonsine Plessis, who called herself Marie Duplessis, likewise differentiates her from Manon. That also made possible an occurrence in reality—at the 1941 Walters Sale—not unlike the imaginary episode of the auction which took place in 1847.

In the Walters auction catalogue,¹ item 437 is thus described:

DUMAS, FILS, ALEXANDRE—La Dame aux Camélias. 12mo, full red morocco, with dentelle gilt framework on green morocco, gilt lines and corner fleurons, richly gilt backs on panels on inlaid green, citron, brown and black morocco, inner gilt dentelle borders, gilt edges, by LE BRUN, 1852.

Paris, 1851.

An exceedingly interesting middle nineteenth century specimen of French binding, signed and dated by the binder at the foot of the backstrip. Inserted is an autograph letter signed 'Marie,' on personal matters.

Despite the non-committal description, it seemed more than probable that the autograph letter signed "Marie" might have been written by the real Marguerite Gautier. Furthermore, the 1851 edition, although the second, is the first to contain the beautiful tribute to Marie Duplessis by Jules Janin. In addition, the upper left corner of the first page of the letter modestly displays two tiny blind-stamped shields with the letters "M" and "D," surmounted by a coronet of roses. These are not readily visible because the letter was bound in, (its top is actually cut by the binder's knife, and gilded with the pages of the book), when the "exceedingly interesting middle nineteenth century specimen of French binding" was executed.

¹ *Four Centuries of French Literature . . . Collection of Mrs. Henry Walters* (New York, Parke-Bernet Galleries, April 23-25, 1941).

All the external evidence thus points to Marie Duplessis as the author of this letter on "personal matters."² These themselves—and, even more, the verve with which (albeit badly spelt and scarcely punctuated) the letter is written—fit perfectly with her habits and character in fiction and in reality. The letter untranslatably says:

Mon cher coeur,

Voila un siecle que tu est parti je t'ai ecrit deux lettres et tu ne mas pas repondu Si tu as un peu d'amitie pour moi ne m oublie pas si longtemps tu veux savoir ce que je devien? je vais souvent au theatre je vois tres peu de monde et je t'aime de tout coeur. toi cher donne moi de tes nouvelle aime moi bien et envoie moi du chevreulle je veux dire un chevreulle dis moi si monsieur mon cheval se porte bien. Je veux recevoir souvent de long lettre de toi et si nom ferai t'aracher les yeux et dieu sait si je te les menage cette fois si adieux mon cher bibi Malgre ma colere je te baise longtant toujours et de toute mon âme

Marie

leundi 23 Octob(re) 1843 cinq heure de matin³

The writing of the two letters reproduced in *La Revue Encyclopédique* in 1896⁴ in an article, *La Dame aux Camélias*, by Jules Bois shows that the "Marie" of the Walters letter was without question Marie Duplessis. The recipient of the letter preserved it with care in an elaborately bound copy of the book immortalizing his mistress, and in the edition especially pointing out

her charms and her noble dignity. Yet while glorying in the love of the celebrated beauty, he carefully tore off the part of the letter on which his name once appeared. Who he was can scarcely be surmised, even after lengthy references to the many books mentioning Marie Duplessis, and careful study of the chronicles of the Jockey Club, and the careers of the lesser lions of the Boulevards.

The early life of Alphonsine Plessis gave no promise that she would one day be the darling of the capital. She was born in the village of Nonant on January 16, 1824. Her father, Marin Plessis, the illegitimate son of a priest unfrocked for leading a life anything but sacerdotal, was a dissipated rural peddler. Her mother, Marie Deshayes, could only have been in the most destitute circumstances to marry such a disreputable character. She was obliged to leave him after the birth of her second daughter, and became a servant. Nonetheless, there was a trace of noble blood in her veins.⁵ Her great-great-grandfather, an impoverished nobleman, had made a bad marriage, and died soon afterwards. His widow married a farm laborer, and abandoned her daughter, Anne du Mesnil, who made a similar match. The descendants of Anne—except for a brief moment, Alphonsine—never rose above the level of her husband.

² Mr. Walters' interest in Marie Duplessis is shown by the fact that he also owned *Péchés de Jeunesse*, Alexandre Dumas' youthful verses published in Paris in 1847. This copy of an extremely rare book has been extra-illustrated and in addition has had inserted an autograph letter of Dumas, and a manuscript in his writing of the poem of eighty-four verses to the memory of Marie Duplessis (item 436 of the sale catalogue). Mr. Walters also owned a first edition of the play, *La Dame aux Camélias* (Paris, 1852), likewise containing a letter of Dumas, and a card signed by the actress, Eugénie Doche (item 438 of the sale catalogue).

³ Dear Heart,

It seems an age since you went away. I have written you twice, and you have not replied. If you have any kindness for me, do not neglect me so long. Do you want to know what I

am doing? I go to the theatre frequently. I see very few people, and I love you with all my heart. Tell me, dearest, what you are doing. Love me always, and send me some venison, I mean a great deal of venison. Tell me if His Lordship my horse is in good health. I want to receive many long letters from you, and if not I will tear out your eyes, and Heaven knows I do not intend to spare them this time. Goodbye, dear love, despite my rage I kiss you again and again, forever, and with all my soul.

Marie

Monday, October 23, 1843, 5 a.m.

⁴ Issue of February 15.

⁵ Comte Gerard de Contades, *Les quartiers de la Dame aux Camélias*, in *Le Livre* (December, 1885), reprinted in *Portraits et fantaisies* (Paris, 1887).

The two daughters of the desperately poor Marie Deshayes and Marin Plessis, Delphine and Alphonsine, were brought up by almost as greatly impoverished cousins. In 1838, in her fifteenth year, Alphonsine, penniless and uneducated, but it is said already well versed in love affairs, was sent to Paris. For a while she was a shop girl, living from hand to mouth, protected occasionally by students, but at other times leading an entirely promiscuous life.

At this period of her life, Nestor Roqueplan, journalist and director of various theatres, and of the Opera for a time, saw her on a cold winter day near a street-corner stove, and gave her a *cornet* of fried potatoes. Only a few years later he observed her, exquisitely dressed, walking arm-in-arm with Agénor, Duc de Guiche, Comte de Gramont, afterwards Duc de Gramont and Prince de Bidache,⁶ a nephew of the worthless, but now better known Franco-English dandy, the Comte d'Orsay. Marie Duplessis, as she thereafter called herself, had been raised from the status of a *grisette* by a humble restaurant keeper who established her in an apartment in the Rue de l'Arcade. The Comte Fernand de Monguyon was the first of her many noble lovers, and the first to equip her with that essential of her new station—a coach and pair. In the fall of 1839 Monguyon saw, sitting in the lately presented carriage, the Duc de Guiche.⁷

The new lover of Marie Duplessis had her taught reading and writing, elocution and music. He gave her magnificent presents. When he had run through his entire fortune in ready mon-

ey, he told her he could not as a patriotic Frenchman mortgage his many historic chateaux to prolong their costly relationship. Accordingly, he left her on a friendly basis after this declaration of principles. He soon made a brilliant marriage, retained his family treasures, and at the height of his career was Minister of Foreign Affairs under Napoleon III. Still, he would be forgotten today, but for his brief *alliance* with Marie.

She, however, introduced to the richest circle of the Paris nobility, the *lions pur sang*, the members of the recently formed and still supremely fashionable Jockey Club, became variously the mistress of the Marquis de Contades, the Baron de Plancy, Edouard Delessert, the Comte Pierre de Castellan, who had her portrait painted and a posthumous *sanguine* of her drawn by Chaplin, the Comte Olympio Aguado, the Vicomte Théodore de Narbonne, Mariano d'Osuma and the Comte de Gervilliers. Meanwhile, her favors were lavished also on the horse-dealer, Tony, the pianist, Franz Liszt, the poet, Alfred de Musset and the retired Russian diplomat, the Comte de Stackelberg. The latter gave her a fashionably furnished apartment and superb jewels, and sped her on her short-lived career of luxurious dissipation.⁸

In addition, Marie Duplessis had early in 1844 met the Vicomte Edouard Perrégaux, grandson of the Napoleonic financier and Regent of the Bank of France. He had already thrown away a fortune on the beautiful Alice Ozy whom he took away from the youngest son of Louis Philippe, the Duc d'Aumale, afterwards creator of the great collections at Chantilly.

Perrégaux's early follies were as nought compared with those which now overtook him. He lavished such gifts upon Marie Duplessis that within two years he was completely ruined. In his then reduced circumstances he could not ex-

⁶ Nestor Roqueplan, *Parisine* (Paris, n.d.).

⁷ Baron de Plancy, *Souvenirs et indiscretions d'un disparu* (Paris, 1892).

⁸ Johannes Gros, *Une courtisane romantique—Marie Duplessis* (Paris, 1929). Published also in Paris in 1923 under the title *Un page du romantisme galant—Alexandre Dumas et Marie Duplessis*. This work summarized everything published to that time, and contains in addition the result of years of research.

pect to figure in her circle any longer. But with a devotion worthy of the Chevalier des Grieux, he begged her to marry him. He fully realized that he would make his exit from the happy side of what remained of her life immediately after the marriage took place. To avoid the objections of the Perrégaux family, the prospective bride and groom journeyed to London and were married in the Brompton Oratory on February 2, 1846. Thereafter Marie's writing paper, silver, carriage and even the sets of harness of her thoroughbreds were marked with a count's coronet.

Shortly after the beginning of the connection with Perrégaux, Marie Duplessis, in September, 1844, met Alexandre Dumas, the younger, then just 21, and her junior by six months. Her devotion to him was by no means so great and exclusive as that of Marguerite for Armand Duval. Penniless as he was at the time, he could not have expected to take a large share in the life of Marie, then in the process of ruining Perrégaux, extracting a fortune from the aged Comte de Stackelberg, and running wild through the roster of the Jockey Club. The letter of farewell of Dumas, dated August 30, 1845, laments his inability to maintain her as he would have wished to. Then and afterwards he insisted she would, like Marguerite Gautier, have given up her life of sordidly earned opulence, if he had asked her to do so. At least in his play the author—proud then and to his dying day of having had a part of the love of Marie for a longer period than most—gave himself, as represented by Armand Duval, the satisfaction of being preferred to the Duc de Guiche, thinly disguised under the name of Agénor, Comte de Giray.

Later Dumas said of himself at this period of his life, "*comme je ne savais rien faire, je fis de la littérature.*" In 1846 appeared in instalments running into the following year, his *Quatre*

Femmes et un Perroquet, a cynical, fantastic novel, half Voltaire, half Stendhal. In 1847, he published a short story, *Césarine*, in which is seen more of the tenderness for the weakness of women, barely discernible in his first works, and so pronounced in his later writings.

Unlike the Armand of the novel, seeking in a far country to forget an unforgettable love, Dumas had just completed a merry trip through Spain, and was in Marseilles when Marie died on February 3, 1847. He returned to Paris too late to attend the funeral. It took place on the morning of February 5 in the Madeleine—the church of Marie's patron saint near which she had lived since she was first established in the Rue de l'Arcade. The mourners besides Romain Vienne, a childhood acquaintance, subsequently author of an extravagant and inaccurate biography,⁹ and a general busy-body in all that concerned her affairs, were Tony, Olympio Aguado, Edouard Delessert, and of course the ever faithful Edouard Perrégaux.

Dumas did reach Paris in time for the exhibition preceding the sale of Marie's property on February 24. Her apartment on the second floor of 15 (then 11) Boulevard de la Madeleine, was crowded with fashionable and condescendingly virtuous women, dealers in second-hand furniture, and numerous celebrities, including Jules Janin, Théophile Gautier, Charles Dickens and Sir Richard Wallace.

Dumas and Jules Janin¹⁰ tell great tales of noblewomen bidding immense prices for belongings of Marie Duplessis. In reality, most of the bidders were second-hand dealers. Tony acquired her bay horse and sidesaddle, a drawing by Vidal—probably, judging from its high price of 860 francs, a portrait of Marie—and various

⁹ Romain Vienne, *La vérité sur la Dame aux Camélias* (Paris, 1876). A second edition was published in 1888.

¹⁰ *Journal des débats*, issue of February 9, 1852.

furnishings, including a little-used *prie-dieu*. Romain Vienne bid on clothing and personal belongings, presumably for Marie's estranged sister and sole heiress, Delphine. The two books from her library showing the most wear, according to Gautier were *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, bought by a Monsieur Lamy, and *Manon Lescaut*, not separately identified in the list of the auctioned property. The Duchesse de Raguse bought rings and other jewels, evidently on behalf of her nephew, Edouard Perrégaux.

Upon his return from the exhibition, Dumas wrote a lengthy poem sorrowfully describing Marie's apartment at the time he spent happy hours there, and its subsequent sad appearance.¹¹ The following year, *La Dame aux Camélias* was published. In 1851 a second much larger edition came out, prefaced by Jules Janin's tribute to Marie Duplessis. In 1852 the play was published. It was written, said Dumas,¹² in eight days during the summer of 1849. Its prolonged troubles with the government censor ended when the *coup d'état* put on the throne Napoleon III. His half-brother, the Duc de Morny—to whom the play was dedicated—as Minister of the Interior gave it official approval. It began a triumphant run on February 2, 1852. Thereafter, editions of the novel and play came out at frequent intervals, as both had—in contrast with the many other works of Dumas, now as completely forgotten as those of the Abbé Prévost, other than *Manon Lescaut*—established

a permanent place in French literature.

With the success of the story and play, interest in Marie Duplessis herself increased. Innumerable articles and books referred to her, or were written about her or some aspect of her life. Her tomb in the Cimetière du Nord—built by Perrégaux and still maintained by the son-in-law of Dumas whose novel and play created a more lasting memorial, and who was himself buried nearby many years later—is to this day covered with constantly renewed flowers.

Despite the greatest possible public attention to everything pertaining to Marie, it was only in 1865 that the first letter written by her appeared in an autograph sale.¹³ One to Dumas was bound in his friend Jules Janin's copy of *La Dame aux Camélias*, afterwards belonging to Madame Eugénie Doche who created the role of Marguerite in 1852.¹⁴ (In January 1884, Dumas who had bought at an auction¹⁵ his farewell letter to Marie Duplessis, presented it in the 1858 edition of *La Dame aux Camélias*, illustrated by Gavarni, to Sarah Bernhardt, then starring in her sensational revival of the play based on the novel.) A letter from Marie to Tony,¹⁶ and one to Dr. Davenne¹⁷ asking him to visit her during her last illness are also known. Over half a century after Marie's death a most gracefully written letter to the youthful lawyer of a dunning creditor was published by its then aged recipient.¹⁸ Seven years after the death of Edouard Perrégaux in 1889, Jules Bois published eight of Marie's letters to her most steadfast lover. The last of these written shortly before her death, and begging Perrégaux's forgiveness, is surely the finest letter by her among the thirteen recorded.

The Walters letter was written before Marie knew Dumas, Perrégaux, or Stackelberg, and long after her break with the Duc de Guiche.

(Continued on page 111)

¹¹ *Péchés de jeunesse* (Paris, 1847)—a poem entitled "M.D." and dedicated to Théophile Gautier.

¹² Alexandre Dumas, *Théâtre*, Preface (Edition des Comédiens, 1882).

¹³ *L'Amateur d'autographes*, issue of April 18, 1865.

¹⁴ Adolphe Brisson, *Portraits intimes*, New Series (Paris, n.d.).

¹⁵ *L'Amateur d'autographes* (April, 1911).

¹⁶ *Chronique médicale*, issue of June 1, 1905.

¹⁷ Johannes Gros, *op. cit.*, describes this letter as being in the collection of Edouard Pasteur.

¹⁸ Henri Lumière, *Une lettre inédite de Marie Duplessis* (Alençon, 1900).

There are a number of sculptures of this sort among those of the fifth century from Ahnas.⁷ Also, among the Coptic bronze incense burners showing a lion devouring a wild boar, the skin is rendered by the same convention.⁸ These comparisons suggest that, in addition to its resemblance to the protomes found at Qustul near Egypt, and thought to have been imported from Egypt, the Walters bronze ornament seems closely connected both stylistically and technically with Coptic sculptures in Egypt and with bronzes which are definitely Coptic. These related objects have been assigned, all on entirely different grounds, to a fifth or sixth century date. The sculptures from Ahnas with which it relates most closely are considered fifth century. The bronze incense burners, which compare in technical details are somewhat more stylized than our protome and are probably of the late fifth or of the sixth century.⁹ Thus, it seems probable that the Walters bronze was made in Coptic Egypt in the fifth century.

Emery and Kirwan suggest that the seven similar ornaments found at Qustul were perhaps made for the poles on biers. The type was not new,¹⁰ and the presence of the ring on the Walters example seems to indicate an ornament for a chariot rather than for a bier. There are other pieces which have a considerable resemblance

to the Walters ornament not only in type but stylistically, which are without much question of this late date. Two of them with the protomes of a hippopotamus suggest an Egyptian origin, not only on the basis of stylistic comparison with the present one, but also because of subject matter.¹¹ Thus, we have another group of Coptic bronzes which were exported over the Mediterranean world, very much as were the Coptic bronze patera found in many European graves of the same period.¹²

FIREARMS CARVED BY H. N.

(continued from page 63.)

lock rifle. The stock is richly carved and inlaid with open-work designs in steel. The rear half of the barrel and the lock are inlaid with silver cherubs and foliage.

26. Prince Starhemberg-Eferding Collection—Wheellock gun carved by H.N. Similar in workmanship to number 18.

27. Vienna, Salzer Sale, March 29-31, 1933, lot. 388—Carved wheellock gun.

LA DAME AUX CAMÉLIAS

(continued from page 77.)

It may have been written to Tony, since it refers to her horse. It is wholly unknown to any of her many biographers. It is the only known letter of love by one who surely knew "tout ce que cette passion a de doux et de terrible." Its passage through the auction room parallels and proves the truth to life of one of the moving incidents of Dumas' great novel. It is a heart-stirring link with a once living figure whose life was beautified as Manon's was created, by a momentary flash of genius, and who, as thus transfigured, will remain pitied and loved by countless generations of enthralled readers of the book which has given her immortality.

⁷ E. Kitzinger, *Notes on Early Coptic Sculpture in Archaeologia*, LXXXVII (1937), pp. 181ff. See pl. LXXI, figs. 4 and 5 and p. 189.

⁸ M. C. Ross, *A Group of Coptic Incense Burners in American Journal of Archaeology*, XLVI (1942), pp. 10f., fig. 1.

⁹ Ross, *op cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁰ See E. Gabrici, *La Quadriga di Ercolano in Bollettino d'Arte* (June, 1907), p. 10, fig. 9.

¹¹ E. von Mercklin, *Wagenschmuck aus der Römischen Kaiserzeit in Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, XLVIII (1933), fig. 46, p. 127, and H. Burg, *Minor Arts of Early Periods* (1939), no. 38 (this bronze was until recently on the New York Art Market). See also *Berichte der Provinzial-museen zu Bonn und Trier* (Bonn, 1922), pl. VIII, fig. 1.

¹² Further study may relate stylistically similar bronzes made for other purposes, such as a knife handle found in France, see M. Volotaire, *Bronzes Figurés du Musée de Saumur in Revue Archéologique*, X (1919), p. 290, no. 465.

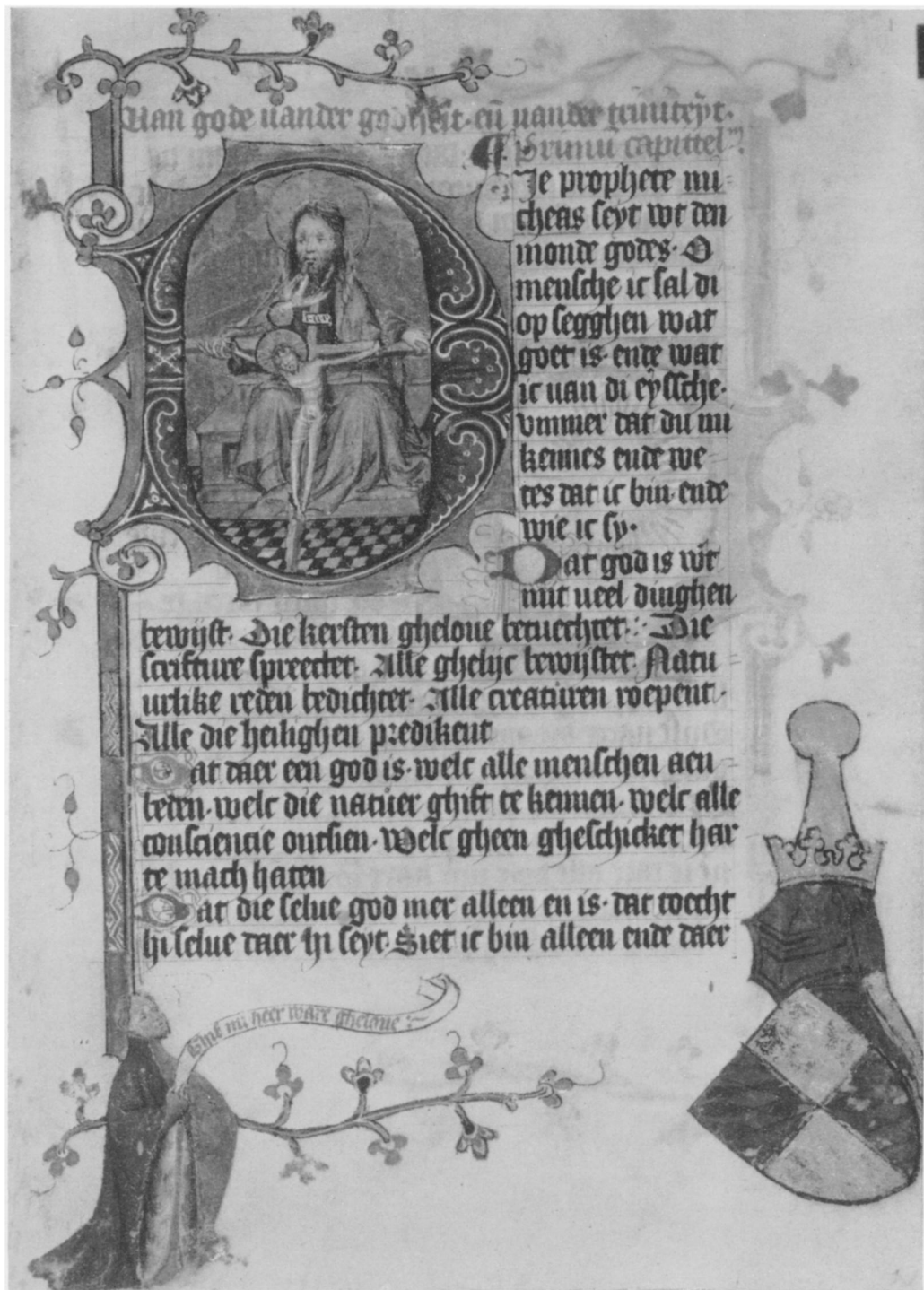


FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

DIRC VAN DELF
Tafel van den Kersten Gheloue
(W. 171, fol. 1)

THE ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS OF MEESTER DIRC VAN DELF'S TAFEL VAN DEN KERSTEN GHELOVE

BY MARGARET RICKERT

The University of Chicago

MEESTER DIRC VAN DELF and his *Tafel van den Kersten Ghelove* have been treated exhaustively in two publications by Dr. L. M. Fr. Daniëls, O.P.¹ All the known extant manuscripts (seven of the *Winterstuc* and two of the *Somerstuc*) have been studied by Father Daniëls and on the basis of *lacunae* and of variants in the order and readings of the text, he has demonstrated certain relationships between them.² Of the seven *Winterstuc* manuscripts, Father Daniëls grouped the six in European libraries in the schema shown in figure 2.³

The seventh *Winterstuc* manuscript is in Baltimore in the Walters Art Gallery, Ms. 171, and was not seen by Father Daniëls. However, on the basis of photographs and notes furnished him by Miss Dorothy Miner, Librarian and

Keeper of Manuscripts, as to *lacunae* and the order of certain chapters, he placed it on the G-H-C branch of the textual tree. Since he could not collate this manuscript, however, Father Daniëls did not attempt to relate it chronologically to the other three;⁴ and he has ignored, except for quoting certain statements, the valuable evidence to be furnished by a stylistic study of the illuminations not only in Walters 171, but in the other three illustrated *Winterstuc* manuscripts as well.⁵ (See *Concordance*, pp. 106f. below.)

The omission of Walters Ms. 171 is a fundamental weakness in the schema, in view of the following observations based primarily on stylistic evidence, which form the subject of the present study:

¹ L. M. Fr. Daniëls, *Meester Dirc van Delf, zijn Persoon en zijn Werk* (Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1932); *Idem, De Tafel van den Kersten Ghelove* (Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1939), 4 vols.

The "Table of Christian Faith" is one of many popular medieval *compendia* of Christian knowledge and commentary. It consists of two parts, corresponding to the divisions of the liturgical year: a Winter portion of fifty-seven chapters and a Summer portion of fifty-three. The Winter portion begins with the Trinity, and treats of the nature of the Godhead, of heaven and earth, of man and of the virtues and vices, of the heathen and Jewish dispensations, and finally of the Life of Christ through His discourse at the end of the Last Supper. The Summer portion treats of Christ's Passion and Ascension, of Pentecost, of the Holy Church, the Acts of Mercy, the Seven Sacraments, of secular history and government, the parables and proverbs of Solomon, and finally of the Last Judgment. The first word of each chapter in the illuminated copies is introduced by an historiated initial illustrating the subject of the chapter,

except that Chapter I in the two earliest *Winterstuc* manuscripts (see below) has three additional pictures. For a list of the *Winterstuc* subjects, see pp. 106-108 below.

² The two *Somerstuc* manuscripts (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 691, and The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 73 E 27) do not concern this study, except as Morgan Ms. 691 is related stylistically to the illuminated *Winterstuc* manuscripts. The Hague *Somerstuc* manuscript has no miniatures.

³ Daniëls, *Tafel*, vol. I, p. 132.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁵ The chief works where Dutch illuminated manuscripts are discussed are the following: A. W. Byvanck and G. J. Hoogewerff, *La miniature hollandaise dans les manuscrits des 14^e, 15^e et 16^e siècles* (The Hague, 1925), 3 vols.; G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst* (The Hague, 1936), 5 vols.; A. W. Byvanck, *La miniature dans les Pays-Bas septentrionaux* (Paris, 1937).

1. Walters Ms. 171 (Daniëls' Ms. E, hereafter cited in this present study as W. 171) displays on folio 1 a kneeling "donor" figure and the arms of Duke Albert of Bavaria, Count of Holland, for whom the book is known to have been composed in 1404 (fig. 1).⁶ Albert died December 12, 1404; the Walters manuscript looks, therefore, like a presentation copy begun, if not finished, before his death.⁷ Father

(Daniëls' Ms. H), but by a different artist whose style seems to have been influenced by successive hands in W. 171 and possibly also (in the latter part of the manuscript) by the style of miniatures in chapters now missing at the end of W. 171.

4. On folio 112^{vo} of W. 171 and following pages, the style of the illumination changes. There seem to have been two different minia-

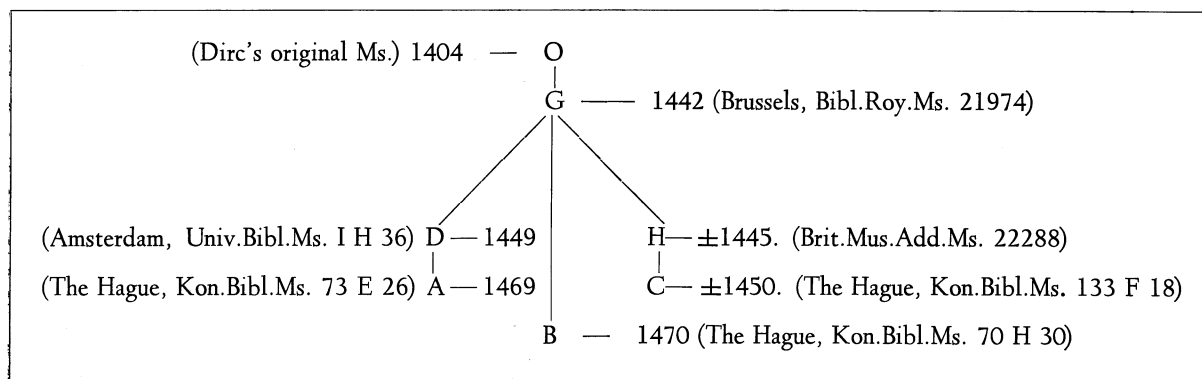


FIGURE 2

Father Daniëls' "Schema" for the Winterstuc Manuscripts

Daniëls quotes this information about the arms from De Ricci's *Census*,⁸ but does not comment on its implications.

2. The first twenty-eight of the thirty-five⁹ miniatures in W. 171 are by the same hand as that which painted the donor figure on folio 1; the border decorations through folio 110 also are all by the same hand. This miniaturist, and perhaps the illuminator of the initials and borders in this part, can be identified also on the only page containing a painted miniature and border in the fourth of a four-volume Bible in Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 205) which was written, as stated in the colophons of volumes I and III, by Henricus of Arnhem in 1403.

3. All of the thirty-five miniatures in W. 171 are faithfully copied, detail for detail, in Additional Ms. 22288 in the British Museum

turists who finished the manuscript, one of whom is closely related to, if not identical with, one of the illuminators of the Pierpont Morgan Library manuscript of part of the *Somer-*

⁶ That the book was composed for Albert and in this year is stated in the Prologue to the *Somerstuc*. For text see Daniëls, *Tafel*, I, pp. 82 and 83.

⁷ The text through fol. 164^{vo} is written in one hand. The original hand ends abruptly at the bottom of this page, and Chapter XXXIV is completed in another hand on the recto of fol. 165, an inserted leaf. It is to be assumed that this indicates the loss of one or more gatherings at the end of the volume, containing further chapters of the *Winterstuc*. The style of the illumination changes after fol. 110, and two different hands complete the pictures. See below, pp. 97 ff. If the chapters missing from W. 171 were illustrated by still a different hand, this further change in style may be reflected in the Life of Christ cycle in Add. Ms. 22288.

⁸ Daniëls, *op. cit.*, p. 72. Seymour de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935), I, p. 823, no. 397.

⁹ Fr. Daniëls, quoting De Ricci, gives the number as thirty-four. There are four miniatures for Chapter I, folios 1-3. The last chapter is XXXIV, but two chapters, both text and miniatures, are missing. See below, note 41. Thus there are actually thirty-five miniatures.

stuc (Ms. 691).

5. The same cycle of illustrations found in W. 171 and duplicated with additions in Add. Ms. 22288, is found in part in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 21974 (Daniëls' Ms. G), dated 1442; the style is thin and poor both in the miniatures and in the decoration. In Daniëls' Ms. C (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 133 F 18) the illustration cycle has disappeared and only one historiated initial with the Trinity occurs, at the beginning of Chapter I.

THE ILLUMINATION OF THE FIRST PART OF WALTERS MANUSCRIPT 171.

The arms on folio 1 of W. 171 are somewhat rubbed, but untampered with and easily decipherable (fig. 1). They are: quarterly, 1-4, fusilly in bend argent and azure (Bavaria); 2-3, or, four lions rampant: 1-4, sable (Flanders), 2-3, gules (Holland). Seymour de Ricci in his listing of W. 171, attributes to A. van de Put of the Victoria and Albert Museum the identification of the bearings as being those of the counts of Holland of the house of Bavaria, and suggests that they refer to Albert. The same arms were also borne by Albert's son, William, who was Count of Holland from 1404 to 1415. Since the *Tafel* was composed for Albert and no evidence exists that Master Dirc remained in the service of William after the death of his father,¹⁰ it would appear almost certain that the arms are those of Albert and not of William. The date, therefore, is probably 1404, and this early date fits very well the costume of the kneeling figure on the same page. The bell-

¹⁰ Daniëls, *Meester Dirc*, p. 29.

¹¹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 2810, fol. 195, reproduced in the facsimile of the manuscript published by the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1907. Other examples of this costume are found in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Mss. 10982-10983 (1403-4). Cf. fol. 1 of each, reproduced in C. Gaspar and F. Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique* (Soc. Française de Reprod. de Mss. à Peintures, Paris, 1937), pl. CI.



FIGURE 3

LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

The Trinity
(Add. Ms. 22288, fol. 2)

sleeved "houppelande" with very high, close-fitting collar is found in miniatures such as the portrait of Duke Philip of Burgundy in the *Livre de Merveilles* before 1404.¹¹ The very long sleeve of the under-tunic, covering most of the hand, is also of this date or earlier, as are the forked beard, and neck-line hair-cut. The text on the scroll reads "Ghif mi heer ware gheloue." The obvious association of the kneeling votive figure with the coat-of-arms, in conjunction with the known facts about the composition of the *Tafel*, make it appear that this manuscript is a presentation copy of the *Winterstuc* of the *Tafel* especially written and illuminated for Albert. This would make W. 171 the earliest of all the



FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY
The Vernicle
(W. 171, fol. 1v, actual size)

extant *Winterstuc* manuscripts, the first copy of O at the top of Fr. Daniëls' tree.¹²

The style of the illumination on the first 110 folios bears out this early date. In each instance, it consists primarily of a large historiated initial

set on a gold square, from which a quadrant has been removed at each corner. Out of the initial grow two curling stems, to each of which is joined the border composed of a stem and a bar decorated with geometric line-patterns in blocks, which extends along the left hand margin. The stem continues across the top and bottom of the page, giving forth leaves of very simple trefoil shape, colored alternately red and blue with white markings and usually tipped with a pen-flourish. Other motifs are tiny gold heart-shaped leaves on hair-line stems, and very occasionally, as on folio 1v (fig. 4), roughly drawn daisy-like forms with a center and half a dozen petals. Elements of the decorative style, both motifs and border bars, are recognizable as derived from French illuminated borders of the second half of the fourteenth century,¹³ but coarsened and less carefully executed. The patterning on the initial itself probably also derives from the fine French initials of the fourteenth century, simplified and stylized. As for the miniatures themselves, the faces are softly modelled with considerable attention to the features (fig. 5), the flesh tones, and above all, the expressions and the differentiation of types as may be seen, for instance, on folio 30 (fig. 9). The draperies are fairly rich in gothic linear pattern, but show no feeling for texture or depth of folds, and have little relation to the form or movement of the body (fig. 7).

So much for the style in general. Other examples of it are few—so few that it is impossible to establish with any certainty a local origin or chronological stylistic development. In all, less than half a dozen manuscripts in this style datable around 1400 are known.¹⁴ Of

¹² For further evidence of the precedence of W. 171 over other *Tafel* manuscripts, see below, pp. 95 ff.

¹³ For example, Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. fr. 437 (dated 1374), fol. 3v, reproduced in Henry Martin, *La miniature française* (Paris, 1923), pl. 63.

¹⁴ See Hoogewerff, *Noord-Nederl. Schilderkunst*, I, pp. 82 ff.



FIGURE 5

WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Vernicle
(W. 171, fol. 1vo, enlarged detail)



FIGURE 6 LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM
The Four Cardinal Virtues
(Add. Ms. 22288, fol. 27)

these, three are of special importance for establishing the individual characteristics of the illuminator of W. 171, as well as for pointing out the probable source of the style.

Foremost among these few examples is the single painted initial on the first folio of volume IV of the Bible in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Ms. 205, written by Henricus van Arnhem, and completed probably for the Carthusian monastery of Nieuwlicht near Utrecht in 1403.¹⁵ The style of this historiated initial (fig. 8) is strikingly close to that of the early part of W. 171: the line patterning on the initial letter itself, the shape of the gold field on which it is placed, the type of border vine and even the markings on some of the trefoils are almost identical in the two manuscripts. As to the figure painting, the head of God the Father in the Trinity miniature of W. 171 (fol. 1, fig. 1) and the head of the dead Alexander in the

Brussels Bible are notably alike, with the same deep-set eyes, and hair and beard softly modelled with white highlights and red shadows with brown lines. The draperies have the same rich play of gothic line and delicate delineation of abundant, supple folds. One or two of the figures of knights in the lower half of the Bible initial duplicate in type and pose the figure of Albert in the Walters manuscript; the large sleeves and high collar of the tunics in the Bible and of the cloak in the Walters miniature indicate a close date. The coloring in the two manuscripts has the same delicacy and thinness, with the use of line shading. Even better for comparison with Brussels Ms. 205 is folio 43vo in W. 171 (fig. 7) where personifications of the four cardinal virtues—Prudence, Justice, Fortitude and Temperance—show exactly the same poses and facial types and the same delicately shaded, shallow, linear folds of the drapery.



FIGURE 7 WALTERS ART GALLERY
The Four Cardinal Virtues
(W. 171, fol. 43vo)

The consistent use of "foreshortened" tiles in the floor both on folio 1 and on folio 43^{vo}, as elsewhere in W. 171, is matched in the Brussels Bible. Other figures, such as Adam on folio 25 in W. 171 (fig. 19), correspond closely, both in facial type and in the badly drawn thin arm and large hand, to Alexander in the Bible.

There is no evidence that Henricus van Arnhem, the scribe of the Brussels Bible, was also the illuminator. No other painted decoration appears in the whole four volumes, the rest of the illumination consisting only of very fine decorative penwork. If the Bible actually was written at Nieuwlicht, to which it originally belonged, its localization near Utrecht might be significant in view of the fact that Master Dirc studied at the Dominican convent at Utrecht¹⁵ and might have had contacts with an illuminator working locally there. It is further important to note, as Byvanck points out,¹⁷ that the initial in the Brussels Bible seems to be the first example extant of the Utrecht style in which many manuscripts were illuminated in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. The initial in the Brussels Bible, while not a strong piece of work, shows very great sensitiveness, especially in the handling of the facial types, and a considerable degree of originality in the suggestion, even within the cramped limits of the initial letter, of foreshortening. Consider especially the bed and the figure lying flat on it, not tipped up as usually, and the effect of recession into space in the lower part of the

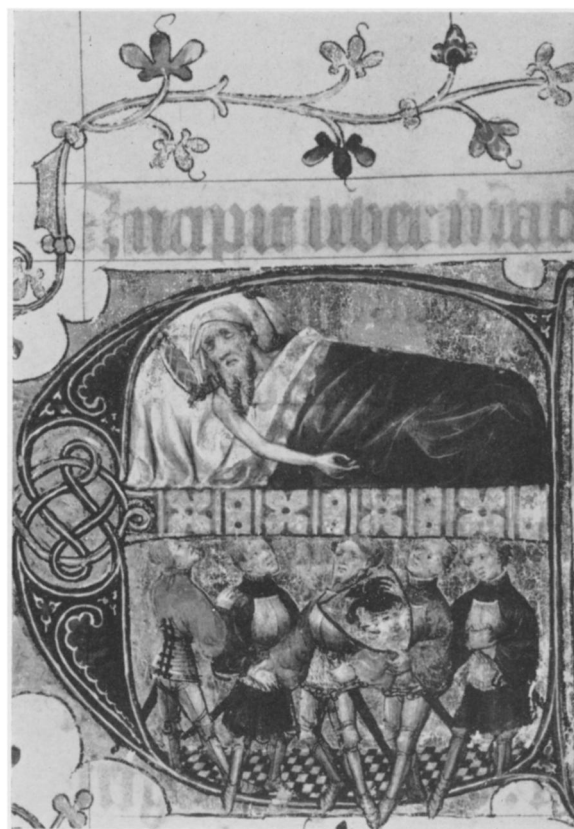


FIGURE 8

BRUSSELS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE

Death of Alexander
(Ms. 205, fol. 1)

¹⁵ For the colophons of this Bible (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Mss. 106, 107, 204, 205) see Byvanck and Hoogewerff, *op. cit.*, Text, pp. 4-5, no. 9. On the grounds of the similarity of the decorative border to those in British Museum Add. Ms. 22288, which he dates 1405-10, Hoogewerff assumes that the miniature is considerably later than the date 1403: *Noord-Nederl. Schilderkunst*, I, pp. 105 f. Byvanck, on the other hand, accepts the date without question: *Miniat. Pays-Bas sept.*, p. 21. As will appear in the present study, there seems no reason for the later dating.

¹⁶ Daniëls, *Meester Dirc*, pp. 242 f.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

miniature, produced by placing the standing figures partly behind and partly in front of the lower shaft of the initial — an arrangement which also suggests a kind of three-dimensional spatial relation between the figures themselves. The quality of the Brussels initial is, I think, on the whole better than that of many of the Walters miniatures, but this could be expected in the case of a single picture painted in a fine big book otherwise devoid of miniatures, presumably by a visiting artist who made of this particular piece of work something of a *tour de force*. However, the three miniatures cited for comparison in W. 171, and also the very dignified, sensitive figure of a seated Christ-God holding the orb, the resurrection banner, and a



FIGURE 9 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Seven Ages of Man
(W. 171, fol. 30)

book (fol. 4, fig. 17) are equal in quality to the Brussels miniature.

A second of the three manuscripts closely related to W. 171, which apparently leads us backward in time and therefore points a little more plainly to possible origins, is a copy of the *Rijmbijbel* of Jacob van Maerlant (Amsterdam, Koninklijke Akademie, Ms. XVIII, now deposited in the Royal Library at the Hague). This manuscript is dated by Hoogewerff around 1380.¹⁸ It could, it seems to me, be somewhat later, but that it is earlier than Brussels Ms. 205 seems to be indicated by the general type of decoration on folio 1 (fig. 11). The miniature with diapered background and frame decorated with geometric patterns and with gold ornaments at the corners and in the middle of each side, apparently is derived from similar framed miniatures on a much smaller scale and of finer technique in French manuscripts from Pucelle onward through the fourteenth century.¹⁹ The initial letter of the text, containing decorative

leaf-work only, shows elements of the initial design in Brussels Ms. 205, notably the interlaced knots that are lacking in W. 171. Other decorative details common to Brussels Ms. 205, W. 171 and the Amsterdam *Rijmbijbel* are the white-line patterns on the initial and the "X" motifs. The border decoration contains the trefoil and cinquefoil motifs found in the two other manuscripts. It would appear from this analysis that the *Rijmbijbel* represents an earlier stage of development in the initial form than is seen in Brussels Ms. 205, where the miniature and the initial are combined in one decorative scheme, which becomes progressively stylized in the Dirc and later related manuscripts. The gold dots surrounded by pen-flourishes on folio 1 of the Amsterdam manuscript will be found not in the early part of W. 171, but in the latter part by other illuminators, as will be seen.

The styles of the various miniatures which



FIGURE 10

LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

The Seven Ages of Man
(Add. Ms. 22288, fol. 20)



FIGURE 11 THE HAGUE, ROYAL LIBRARY
JACOB VAN MAERLANT
Rijmbijbel
(Amsterdam, Koninklijke Akademie Ms. XVIII, fol. 1)

occur on folios 1 to 3 and folios 101 and 130 of the Amsterdam Rijmbijbel show marked differences which, I believe, constitute some of the elements of what we may now call the Dutch style in the early stages of its development.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 82; cf. note 3. Byvanck and Hoogewerff, *op. cit.*, date it both *ca.* 1375 (p. 3) and *ca.* 1400 (pls. 102 and 103, reproducing fols. 2 and 3 respectively). Byvanck, *Miniat. Pays-Bas sept.*, p. 22, assigns it to the "first years of the fifteenth century." On stylistic grounds, as appears in this study, it certainly could not be later than *ca.* 1400.

¹⁹ Cf., for example, British Museum, *Schools of Illumination*, pt. VI (French), pls. 3, 4.

²⁰ A similar representation is found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. lat. 432 (Commentary on the Psalms), where it illustrates Psalm 109 (110): *Dixit Dominus domino meo . . .* (fol. 209). Reproduced in Byvanck, *Miniat. Pays-Bas sept.*, pl. XI, fig. 25.

The manner represented by the miniature on folio 1 (fig. 11) seems most closely related to the early part of W. 171. It is a very curious type of Trinity, showing God the Father seated on a low cushion holding the globe in His left hand, His right hand raised in blessing toward the resurrected Christ, showing His wounds and carrying the banner; a downward flying dove represents the Third Person of the Trinity.²⁰ This miniature is by no means the work of a beginner, though it exhibits certain clearly inconsistent characteristics, and shows, it would seem, the lack of coordination of elements of a newly developed style. For example, the faces are modelled delicately, the cheek contour and the mouth and chin of the



FIGURE 12 THE HAGUE, ROYAL LIBRARY
JACOB VAN MAERLANT
Rijmbijbel
(Amsterdam, Koninklijke Akademie Ms. XVIII, fol. 101)

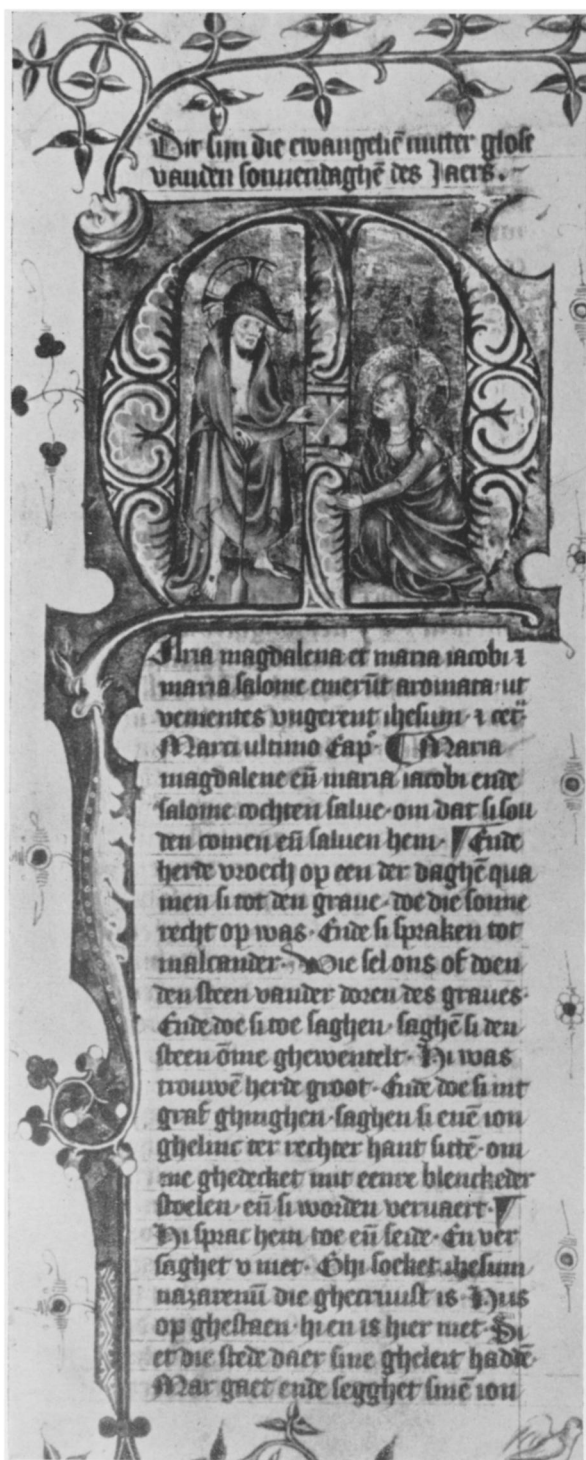


FIGURE 13 COPENHAGEN, ROYAL LIBRARY

Sermones Domenicales
(Ms. Thott 70 Folio, fol. 100)

Christ are very sensitive, while the figure itself is feeble, awkward, incorrect and unsubstantial in pose and clumsy in gesture. The color is exquisitely fine and soft in tone, mauve and pink prevailing, and is heavily highlighted with white. The drapery folds have the gothic richness noted in the Walters manuscript, but are painted with heavier pigments and stronger highlights and shading.²¹ The "foreshortened" tile floor recalls that of the Walters and Brussels manuscripts.

The other two styles in the *Rijmbijbel* are not directly concerned with the early part of W. 171, but seem to be related to somewhat different trends,²² in the direction of a more vigorous, heavily painted style (fig. 12), such as is characteristic of the latter part of W. 171, of British Museum Add. Ms. 22288, and of Pierpont Morgan Library Ms. 691. In spite of these differences within the manuscript itself, the Amsterdam Bible seems to be all of one date and may constitute, therefore, a key manuscript

²¹ Similar heavily shaded drapery and also the trefoil motifs with heavy spots of color are found in some of the miniatures of Morgan Ms. 691, for example, fol. 63. See below, p. 99 f.

²² For illustration of the second hand (fols. 1vo-3) see Hoogewerff, *Noord-Nederl. Schilderkunst*, I, p. 84, fig. 31. The seven figures are almost certainly by the same hand as some, at least, of the miniatures in a so-called Poor Man's Bible in the British Museum (King's Ms. 5) usually dated ca. 1400. For reproductions, see G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collection* (London, 1921), IV, pl. 122. The miniatures in King's Ms. 5 certainly could not be attributed to the early hand of W. 171 and Brussels Ms. 205 with any more stylistic reason than fols. 1vo-3 in Amsterdam, Koninklijk Akademisch, Ms. XVIII could be ascribed to the artist of folio 1 in that same manuscript. The seven miniatures on folios 1vo-3 of the Amsterdam *Rijmbijbel*, while representing a stylistic development found elsewhere (as in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Germ. Folio 820, of which fol. 6 is reproduced in Byvanck, *Miniat. Pays-Bas sept.*, pl. VIII, fig. 21), have no immediate connection with the problems involved in this present study except, as pointed out above, as certain of their stylistic characteristics seem to be reflected in Morgan Ms. 691. See above, note 21.

The third hand, fols. 101 and 130 (reproduced in Byvanck and Hoogewerff, *op. cit.*, pl. 103) is very close in technique of modelling to a group of miniatures in an English Carmelite Missal (British Museum, Add. Ms. 29704-5) datable ca. 1390. See Margaret Rickert, *The Reconstruction of an English Carmelite Missal* in *Burlington Magazine*, LXVII (1935), pp. 99-113; see also, *Speculum*, XVI (1941), pp. 93-102.

in the developing Dutch style, especially, as localized later in the Utrecht region.

The third important early Dutch manuscript bears the date 1370. It is manuscript Thott 70 Folio in the Royal Library in Copenhagen (fig. 13).²³ As I have not seen the manuscript itself and can judge it only from reproductions of two of its pages, all that can safely be said of it here is that the type of initial, with its strong linear white patterning, on a gold field with concave corners, the border with trefoil motifs on thick stems, and the geometric patterns in the border band, is closer to W. 171 than to the initial and decorative border on folio 1 of the Amsterdam *Rijmbijbel* or Brussels Ms. 205. But the figure types—short, poorly proportioned and swathed in rich gothic drapery—and the delicately modelled features look very much like the work of the artist of folio 1 of the Amsterdam manuscript. The combination of thick and hair-line stems in the border decoration also suggests the Amsterdam book's style, but the more heavily shaded markings of some of the motifs (as the rounded trefoils) and the gold trefoils on a hair-line stem are almost identical with those found in the latter part of W. 171 and in Morgan Ms. 691, as are also the pen-flourished gold dots and daisies scattered in the margins. These similarities would tend to place Ms. Thott 70 Folio later than 1370, in which case it would be necessary to assume that the date in the colo-

phon had been copied together with the text from an earlier exemplar. On the other hand, it is impossible to establish any clear chronology on the basis of so few manuscripts, and the most that can be deduced from this cursory consideration of the Copenhagen book is that it unquestionably belongs in the tradition²⁴ of the Amsterdam, Brussels, and Walters manuscripts, and seems to help explain some of the differences in style between Morgan Ms. 691 and the early part of W. 171. These will be discussed further a little later on.

WALTERS 171 AND ADD. MS. 22288

The establishment on heraldic and stylistic grounds of an early date for W. 171 is important also in view of the fact that the only other finely illuminated manuscript of the *Winterstuc*, British Museum Add. Ms. 22288, has a series of sixty-nine historiated initials of which the first thirty-seven were certainly copied from those in the Walters manuscript.²⁵ The series includes the two for Chapters XII and XIII which are missing in W. 171. In Add. Ms. 22288 as also in W. 171, Chapters XXIII and XXIV and the miniatures illustrating them are reversed in their order.²⁶ On folio 93^{vo} in Add. Ms. 22288 begins a long series of miniatures with scenes from the Life of Christ, accompanying text beyond the point where W. 171 breaks off. The initials and borders continue in the same style in this series as on preceding pages, but there seems to be some variation in the quality, if not actually in the style of the painted miniatures in this latter portion.

The miniatures from Add. Ms. 22288 that are best for comparison with corresponding pictures in W. 171 are those which, because they contain figures in striking compositions, show clearly how closely the artist of Add. Ms. 22288 was following his models. Seven of the nine chosen are from the first part of the trea-

²³ The manuscript contains *Sermones Dominicales*. The date occurs at the end of the manuscript and also on fol. 6. See Byvanck and Hoogewerff, *op. cit.*, Text, p. 3, no. 4. Fol. 100 is reproduced on pl. 141.

²⁴ Byvanck, *Miniat. Pays-Bas sept.*, p. 20, states, without giving any evidence, that it probably was written "at Maastricht or in north Gelder."

²⁵ British Museum Add. Ms. 22288. 205 leaves, 333 x 235 mm.; gothic script in 2 cols. 69 historiated initials. It contains sixty-six chapters of the *Tafel*, that is fifty-seven of *Winterstuc* and nine of the *Somerstuc*.

²⁶ In W. 171 the miniature for Chapter XXIII is on fol. 90, that for Chapter XXIV on fol. 85^{vo}; in Add. Ms. 22288, the corresponding miniatures are on fols. 52 and 49^{vo} respectively.



FIGURE 14 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Sin Personified
(W. 171, fol. 90)

tise. In the case of W. 171, as we have seen, this part was probably illuminated by the miniaturist of Brussels Ms. 205. The two on folios 82 (fig. 27) and 86 (fig. 23) in Add. Ms. 22288 copy respectively folios 148^{vo} and 156 (figs. 26, 25) the two final miniatures in W. 171, which are by the two other hands that finished the illumination of the Walters manuscript. Thus it seems certain that Add. Ms. 22288 was made after W. 171 was finished, whether before or after the death of Albert, and that in Add. Ms. 22288 all the miniatures through folio 86, and also the one on 90^{vo} are by the same hand. On folio 93^{vo}, as noted above, the style of the London manuscript seems to change somewhat, and certain features which appear commonly in the latter part of W. 171—notably the architectural canopy—are introduced (cf. fig. 16 and 24). The miniatures on and after folio 93^{vo}

²⁷ These hands will be discussed in detail below in the following section.

are larger, the figures are heavier and broader, and the draperies are more plastically rendered. The faces are modelled more strongly and have more expression, a characteristic feature being a pucker between the eyes, giving the face a slightly frowning expression. Since a similar type of figure is found in one of the two miniatures by artists of the latter part of W. 171, it seems possible that these miniatures in the British Museum manuscript may be reflecting the changes of style in W. 171.²⁷

The resemblances between the corresponding miniatures in Add. Ms. 22288 and W. 171 are unmistakable (figs. 14, 15). The initial letters have exactly the same form and white line patterns. However, a motif in these white patterns that appears only in two of the initials in the last part of W. 171—the little flying dove—occurs on the very first initial in Add. Ms. 22288 (cf. figs. 16 and 3). The relation of the



FIGURE 15

LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

Sin Personified
(Add. Ms. 22288, fol. 52)



FIGURE 16

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Confession
 (W. 171, fol. 112vo)



FIGURE 17

WALTERS ART GALLERY

God the Father Enthroned
 (W. 171, fol. 4)



FIGURE 18

LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

God the Father Enthroned
(Add. Ms. 22288, fol. 3)

picture to the initial (for the most part it is contained within or behind it, but frequently it overlaps the letter) is the same; and the figure types—in pose, gesture, costume, and even in the very patterns of the drapery folds—are strikingly close. But there are also some differences in stylistic details. The patterning on the initials in Add. Ms. 22288 is flatter in technique and lacks the integration of form which suggests

that is is made up of curling serrated leaf forms. (Cf. figs. 1 and 3.) In these miniatures also, the throne of God the Father is represented differently: in W. 171 the lines are diagonal, running into the background from left to right; in Add. Ms. 22288, they tend to converge toward a vanishing point in the center of the picture; and the surfaces are more heavily shaded, with light and dark areas. So also with the drapery folds which, although often identical in pattern, in Add. Ms. 22288 are more deeply shaded. This more "painterly" technique of rendering the figure and throne is not necessarily later²⁸ than the delicate, linear style of the first part of W.

²⁸ Cf., for example, miniatures by Jacquemart d'Hesdin and/or André Beauneveu in the *Très Belles Heures du duc de Berry*, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 11060-61, before 1402. Reproduced in Hoogewerff, *Noord-Nederl. Schilderkunst*, I, p. 126, fig. 49.

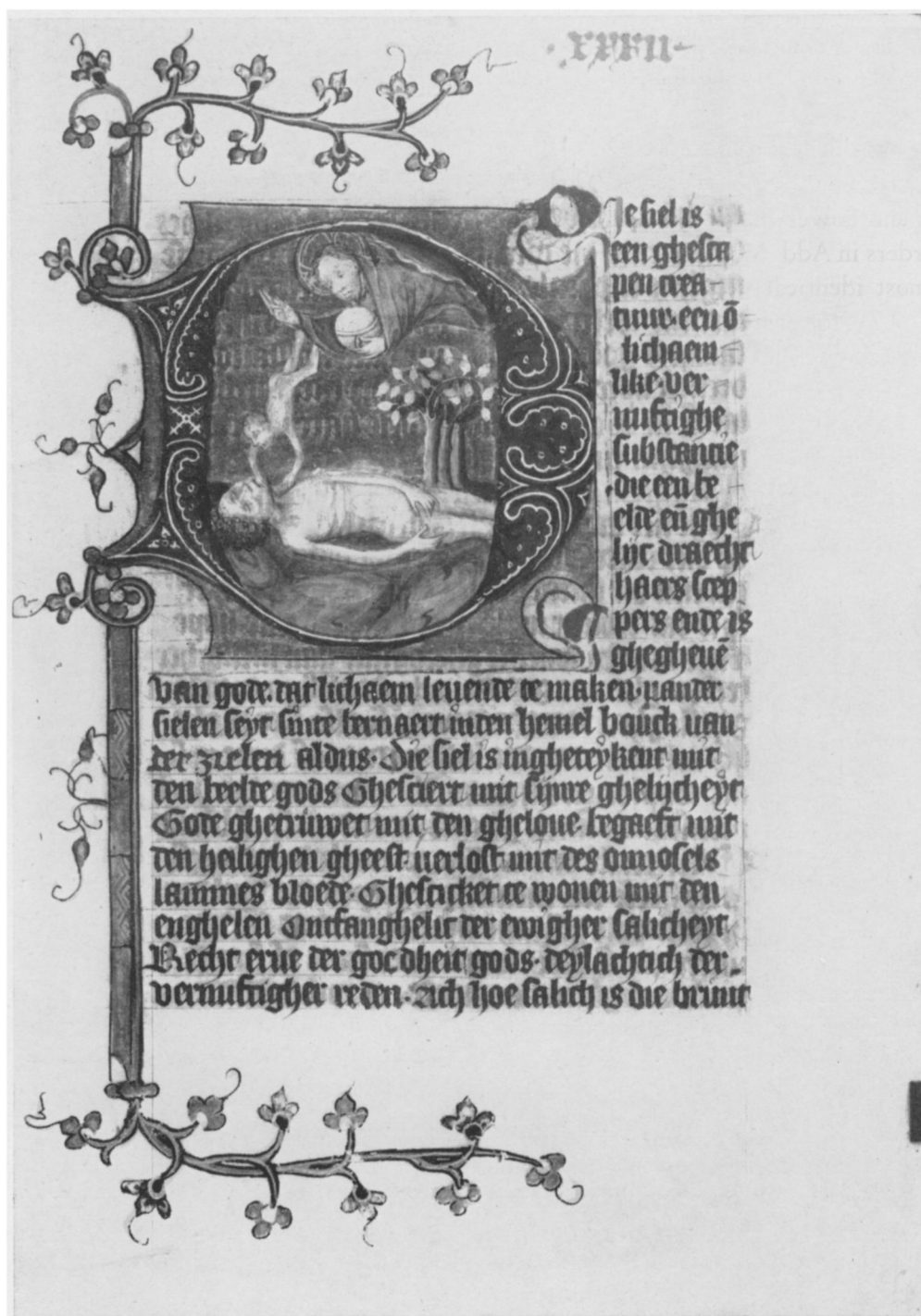


FIGURE 19

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Creation of the Soul
(W. 171, fol. 25)

171 and of the miniature in the Bible of Henry of Arnhem, but it suggests a hand formed under different influences. Other instances of this different style may be seen in the treatment of landscapes (figs. 19 and 20) especially in the manner of representing the foliage on trees and the plants and flowers in the foreground.

The borders in Add. Ms. 22288 contain some motifs almost identical with those in the first part of W. 171, for example, the trefoil with a half-circle at the point where the leaf joins the stem.²⁹ (Cf. figs. 6 and 7.) Another trefoil is marked precisely as in the latter part of W. 171 (fig. 16). One motif occurs in Add. Ms. 22288 which is not found in W. 171: the pointed "ivy" leaf (fig. 23). In general, the borders in Add. Ms. 22288, like the miniatures, appear to be close in motifs and design to those in W. 171, but not identical in style: the heavier painting noticeable in the miniatures also appears in the decoration.

In the penwork of Add. Ms. 22288 also there is less delicacy than in W. 171, rather coarse daisy forms frequently occurring in the right hand margin, detached from the border. These only occasionally are found, and then as a part of the initial design, in the first part of W. 171 (figs. 4 and 7). The coarse daisy forms and circles surrounded by pen-flourishes become much more frequent in the latter part of W. 171 (fig. 16)—further evidence, perhaps, of the closer stylistic affinity between the artist of Add. Ms. 22288 and those of the latter part of W. 171.

In such a clear case of copying compositions as the illuminations in Add. Ms. 22288 show, the question must inevitably arise as to which manuscript was the original. The three best



FIGURE 20

LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

Creation of the Soul
(Add. Ms. 22288, fol. 17v)

kinds of evidence for establishing the facts are textual, physical, and artistic.

Except for the disarrangement of Chapters XXIII and XXIV in W. 171 (resulting, possibly, from a mix-up of Dirc's original pages), which is found also in Add. Ms. 22288, textual evidence that the latter copied W. 171 would depend upon a careful collation of the two manuscripts with a view to detecting scribal errors copied by one from the other or introduced through eyeskips or other careless scribal habits. This I have not been able to carry out. Some notes, however, have been made of additions or insertions in W. 171, in a different, somewhat stiffer hand (closer to Add. Ms. 22288), which have been copied in the London manuscript. For instance in W. 171, the rubric for Chapter XVIII (fol. 43) is given in the original hand through the word *duechden*. Another rubricator has added *dacr dat bouck vand' Ridder-*

²⁹ In Add. Ms. 22288 the circle is somewhat exaggerated and tends to transform the trefoil into a cinquefoil. So also in Brussels Ms. 205.



FIGURE 21

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Creation of Man
(W. 171, fol. 21v)

scap af scriift, whereas in the London manuscript the whole rubric has been copied with no sign of a break. Insertions of proper names (as *ycarus*, fol. 51v, *dyogenes*, fol. 57, etc. in W. 171) in this different hand in spaces left blank by the original scribe are clearly written in Add. Ms. 22288. There would seem to be no reason for these differences in script if the scribe of W. 171 were copying from as clear a text as Add. Ms. 22288; while there might be if he were working from a text in the making. The spellings and dialect forms of Add. Ms. 22288, according to Daniëls,³⁰ suggest that it is West Flemish with a Dutch "substratum," which corresponds nicely with the conclusions regarding the style of illumination pointed out above. Many more words are abbreviated in Add. Ms. 22288 than in W. 171, which might argue also for the somewhat mechanical copy of a more carefully written presentation volume.³¹

More significant, in the circumstances, are certain physical features to be noted in W. 171. On every page where a chapter heading occurs, there is minute writing in the fold of the inner margin, now often partially concealed in the binding.³² Many are sufficiently visible, however, to be legible and are found to correspond, in abbreviated form, to the rubricated chapter headings. (Clear examples may be found on folios 11v, 32, 81, and 105.) Moreover, on two pages (folios 105 and 110) at the edge of the bottom margin (perhaps originally also on other pages and trimmed off in rebinding) are apparently directions to the illuminator for the subjects of the miniatures. These do not appear in Add. Ms. 22288, and indeed there would be no need of them if a copy were being made from an already completely rubricated and illuminated manuscript.

Finally, from the point of view of artistic quality in the miniatures in the two manuscripts, the evidence points unmistakably to W. 171 as the original book. The artist of the early part of W. 171, even though somewhat naive, is a much finer, more sensitive person than the illustrator of the British Museum *Tafel*. Compare, for example, the two groups of four figures illustrating Chapter XVIII in W. 171 and in Add. Ms. 22288 (figs. 7 and 6). In the former, each type — lawyer, merchant, knight, and cleric—while similar to the others in facial features, seems to suggest an individual character, in pose, as in expression; but in the other miniature, the four, except for costume, are almost exact replicas of one another, even as to their blank expressions. The sensi-

³⁰ *Tafel*, I, pp. 181 f. and 186 ff.

³¹ Byvanck, in fact, describes Add. Ms. 22288 as a "library copy," whereas W. 171 he calls a presentation copy for Albert's own use: *Miniat. Pays-Bas sept.*, pp. 22 f.

³² I am indebted to Miss Dorothy Miner for calling my attention to these minute notations which, unless the manuscript is fully opened, can easily be missed.

tiveness of the work in W. 171 comes out clearly in the amazing figure of the lifeless man on folio 25 (fig. 19), which suggests so strongly the similar figure of the dead Alexander in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Ms. 205. The soul, represented as a small nude individual in the typically medieval manner, has a delicate, almost ethereal form, and it hovers over the mouth of the inert man, instead of appearing to choke him, as in the corresponding rendering in Add. Ms. 22288 (fig. 20). In this latter miniature the coarseness and hardness of the figures set the measure of the difference in quality between these two illuminators. The same point may be made in comparing the cave-man type of Adam on folio 12 of Add. Ms. 22288 (fig. 22) with the wide-eyed, somewhat bewildered Adam on folio 21_{vo} of W. 171 (fig. 21). It is inconceivable that an artist of the calibre of the illuminator of the first part of the Walters manuscript should slavishly copy compositions in a style obviously so inferior to his own, and yet be able to infuse into them such fine feeling.

THE ILLUMINATION OF THE LATTER PART OF W. 171 AND RELATED STYLES

The difference between the style of illumination in the first part of W. 171 as far as the miniature on folio 110, and that on folio 112_{vo} in the same manuscript is evident in the initials and borders as well as in the paintings (cf. figs. 1 and 16). The trifoliate border motifs on these two pages are entirely different in shape and markings. Also, in place of the delicate oval gold leaves on hair-line stems which appear at the point of the initial and at intervals along the border bar in the early part of W. 171, there is a group of six- or seven-petalled daisies with large centers on a stiff hair-line stem; while in the right hand margin similar daisies are scattered about, as also in Add. Ms. 22288. The initials on folios 112_{vo} and 117_{vo} are patterned with



FIGURE 22

LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

Creation of Man
(Add. Ms. 22288, fol. 12)

the flying doves found also in Add. Ms. 22288.

The miniature on folio 112_{vo}, representing a man and woman confessing (fig. 16) is placed under an architectural canopy painted in shades of mauve, which is to be compared to folio 93_{vo} in the London manuscript (fig. 24). The figure types on folio 112_{vo} and other pages following in the Walters book tend to be short and heavy as in Add. Ms. 22288, and very different from those in the first part of W. 171 (cf. for instance, fig. 7). But if we compare the figure types on folio 112_{vo} and successive pages, with those on folio 148_{vo} of the same manuscript (fig. 26), we will find also notable differences, the miniature on folio 148_{vo} being very much closer in style to Add. Ms. 22288 (fig. 6) than miniatures by any other hand in W. 171. The border decoration on folio 148_{vo} also is closer to that in Add. Ms. 22288 than are the borders either in the first part of W. 171 or on folio 112_{vo} and fol-



FIGURE 23 LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

Symbol of the Evangelists
(Add. Ms. 22288, fol. 86)

lowing pages. It appears, therefore, that after folio 110³³ in W. 171 two new hands were at work on the illumination, and that the second (folio 148^{vo}), while not the same as the artist of Add. Ms. 22288, shows the same plastic handling and heavy coloring of the figures and draperies. This same tendency seems to be even more marked in the London miniatures illustrating the Life of Christ, models of which are not found in W. 171, but which were perhaps copied from other series of miniatures in a different, though related style.

It is interesting to speculate on the probable stylistic characteristics of the models reflected

in the Life of Christ miniatures in the London manuscript. In some respects, one of the hands of Morgan Ms. 691 (c.g. fol. 160, fig. 29) is suggested: the large size of the miniature in relation to the text column; the strong coloring with dull, heavy blues and greens, deep red, and much mauve; the shading of the drapery and the modelling of the faces, the exaggerated gestures and tense, sullen expressions, which occur especially in the Passion cycle of Add. Ms. 22288. It would seem that the artist of folio 160 in Morgan Ms. 691 is not the same as that of the Life of Christ cycle in the London manuscript, but one can easily imagine the style to have been carried over into copies of his work. Folio 156 of the London book³⁴ is particularly close, it seems to me, to folio 160 in Morgan Ms. 691. It is worth noting also that the "Mystic Wine Press" on folio 180^{vo} of Add. Ms. 22288, while not closely copied from that on folio 5 of the Morgan manuscript, uses the same iconographic scheme. The style of this Morgan miniature, however, is that of the first hand, which is closer to one of the two hands in the latter part of W. 171 (see below).

It would appear questionable, in view of the various styles distinguished in Add. Ms. 22288, whether a single artist could have produced all the miniatures in this manuscript. Yet certain peculiarities of face and figure types consistently reappear throughout the manuscript, as for example the bearded head on folios 12 (fig. 22), 20 (fig. 10), and 128^{vo},³⁵ which seem to suggest the mannerism of a single artist. On the other hand, the reflection in Add. Ms. 22288 of the

³³ The collation of W. 171 shows that a gathering ends with folio 110, the next gathering begins with folio 111 and ends with folio 118, where there is a catchword.

³⁴ Reproduced, Byvanck, *Miniat. Pays-Bas sept.*, pl. X, fig. 18. Cf. also pl. IX, fig. 17, reproducing fol. 106^{vo} of Morgan Ms. 691, which is in the same style as fol. 160.

³⁵ Reproduced, Hoogewerff, *Noord-Nederl. Schilderkunst*, I, p. 108, fig. 39.

several different styles of W. 171 in those miniatures which are copied from it, shows the artist of the London manuscript to have been sufficiently eclectic to have produced miniatures as different in style and as uneven in quality as those of the Life of Christ cycle (see footnote 7).

The border decoration remains consistent in style throughout Add. Ms. 22288, though here, too, some pages approach more closely than others the style obviously reflected from that of W. 171; there is no evidence that the whole of Add. Ms. 22288 was not illuminated without interruption.

To return, now, to the latter part of W. 171: if we compare the miniatures from folio 112_{vo} on, with some of the miniatures, folio 30_{vo}, for example, in Morgan Ms. 691 (figs. 16 and 28), we will find a much closer stylistic relation than was evident between this Walters artist



FIGURE 25

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Symbols of the Evangelists
(W. 171, fol. 156)



FIGURE 24

LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

Marriage of the Virgin
(Add. Ms. 22288, fol. 93_{vo})

and Add. Ms. 22288. The more open curves at the corners of the initial field (in Morgan Ms. 691, however, the initial lacks the point on the left side), together with the almost identical patterning on the initial itself, the pen drawn six- or seven-petalled daisies on hair-line stems, the clumsy, rounded, trefoil motifs (more heavily colored in Morgan Ms. 691) are evidence of their closeness. Above all, the squat, shapeless figures bundled in voluminous draperies, the folds of which are indicated only by linear surface patterns, are strikingly similar in the two manuscripts. Especially significant is a comparison of the curious vertical and oblique lines in the figure of the kneeling penitent to the right of the monk in the two miniatures; also, the use of fine white lines on the dark material of the monk's habit, to indicate the play of light on the folds. The faces have the same slightly



FIGURE 26 WALTERS ART GALLERY
Pythagoras and his Disciples
(W. 171, fol. 148v)

puzzled expression, produced by the up-tilting of the eyebrows, which contrasts with the frown on some of the faces on folio 93v of Add. Ms. 22288 (fig. 24)—a contrast further evidenced in the shape of the faces and hands, and in the drapery.

The illuminator of folio 30v in Morgan 691 does not seem to have done all the miniatures in this manuscript. Folio 160 (fig. 29), for example, shows very different figure types and technique of painting them, even though the initial letter and the border are the same. In this miniature the faces have heavy eyelids and sullen expressions, and the far side of the face is distorted in an attempt to foreshorten it; the hands are very large with long fingers; and the draperies are rendered with a great deal more shading and deeper, sharply ridged folds. The composition is less suggestive of space than that on folio 30v.

The change from the first to the second hand

in the illumination of the Morgan *Tafel* seems to take place between folios 56 and 63, or in the ninth gathering of the manuscript. Folio 63 (fig. 33) indeed, shows very marked differences in the modelling of the faces and in the deeply shaded drapery folds, yet apparently has some relation to the figure tradition found on folio 1 of the Amsterdam *Rijmbijbel* and (in a more linear form) on folio 1 of W. 171. The shaded drapery and heavily modelled faces in Morgan Ms. 691 become progressively accentuated on folios 81, 98v, 106v, 131v, 148, and finally 160. Each of these miniatures is in a separate gathering containing no work by the first hand. Miniatures by Hand I are, however, to be found in other gatherings interspersed within this group, as well as in those preceding and following it. It may be that Hand I (which is probably identical with the first hand in the latter part of W. 171, as seen on folio 112v) was the chief



FIGURE 27 LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM
Pythagoras and his Disciples
(Add. Ms. 22288, fol. 82)

illuminator of Morgan Ms. 691 and that Hand II, his collaborator, originally formed in a style closer to that of the early part of W. 171, developed during the progress of his work. There is also in Hand II some affinity, in matters of facial expressions and rendering of drapery, with certain phases of the more plastic style in Add. Ms. 22288, as suggested on page 98 above.

Morgan Ms. 691 and W. 171 formerly were assumed to be parts of one and the same manuscript; this, however, is certainly not true in view of the fact that the measurements of the two manuscripts are different,³⁶ as is also the size of the miniature in relation to the text. The script is not by the same hand, nor is the border decoration uniform in the two manuscripts. It is interesting to note, however, that Morgan Ms. 691, like W. 171, contains directions for the illuminator on a number of pages (folios 18, 38^{vo}, 56, 63, 81, and others). The date of Morgan Ms. 691 does not appear to be far from that of W. 171, and it is possible that this manuscript of the *Somerstuc*, like W. 171, was an original, rather than a copy of an earlier

³⁶ W. 171 measures 118 x 83 mm.; Morgan Ms. 691 measures 130.2 x 88.9 mm.

³⁷ I am indebted to Miss Meta Harrsen, Keeper of Manuscripts at the Pierpont Morgan Library, for calling to my attention the fact that the first words of the last folio of Morgan Ms. 691 correspond to those of the Duke of Burgundy's copy of the *Tafel*, as published in Joseph Barrois, *Bibliothèque Prototypographique* (Paris, 1830), no. 772. Daniëls (*Tafel*, I, p. 89) referring to this fact, observes that Morgan Ms. 691 could not be described as a "large volume," and also that it contains only the second part of the *Somerstuc*. The second folio of Morgan Ms. 691 contains the Table of Contents for this volume and does not correspond to the opening words of this folio as described in Barrois. However, the manuscript was rebound in 1572 and the first folio was replaced by a new one on which the Prologue was copied. Is it possible that the manuscript was divided at this time and that Morgan Ms. 691 is only the last part of the manuscript which is described as belonging to the Duke? In this connection, it may be significant that the first folio of Morgan Ms. 691 was originally numbered (in roman numerals) CCXI, and the first signature (on present folio 5) is cc i. An ancestor of Floris van Oudheusden, who had the manuscript rebound in 1572, was connected with the Burgundian court (Daniëls, *Tafel*, I, pp. 87 ff.). If the first part of Morgan Ms. 691 could be found, the problem of its identification could doubtless be settled.



FIGURE 28 NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

Confession
(Ms. 691, fol. 30^{vo})

illuminated exemplar.³⁷

The distinction of individual hands and their interrelation among these three Dirc manuscripts, interesting though it be, is of less importance than the overall similarity among them in the miniature styles and the border decoration, and the light which these common characteristics throw on Dutch style of the very early fifteenth century.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WINTERSTUC MANUSCRIPTS

It remains to consider the difficult question of dating the *Winterstuc* manuscripts. W. 171, as we have seen, appears to be the earliest of the three; its stylistic characteristics relate it unmistakably to three Dutch manuscripts dateable between 1370 and 1403. And there is evidence in the arms and portrait of Albert on the first page that it was the presentation copy dating, therefore, before December 12, 1404.

The directions for the rubricator and illuminator in the Walters book suggest that it was the first fair copy of Dirc's own manuscript. Add. Ms. 22288 copies all the miniatures in W. 171 and continues with a further series (possibly copied also, whether from gatherings now lacking at the end of W. 171 or from an unknown model) obviously influenced in style by the artists—particularly the two later ones—in W. 171. There is no evidence that the illumination of W. 171 was interrupted by the death of Albert, but, if so, no long interval seems to have elapsed before it was finished. The change of style in the borders, as well as in the miniatures, between folios 110 and 112 argues that the borders were not, as usually, put in throughout the manuscript before the miniatures were painted,³⁸ but the uniform script and the fidelity of the copies in Add. Ms. 22288 of miniatures both in the earlier and in the latter part of W. 171 would suggest that the Walters manuscript was completed without any considerable interruption in

time. If this be true, Add. Ms. 22288 may very well be dated *ca.* 1410 or slightly before, as De Vreese on textual grounds³⁹ and Hoogewerff on stylistic evidence⁴⁰ place it.

Certainly there is no evidence in the illumination for Fr. Daniëls' assigning to Add. Ms. 22288 so late a date as *ca.* 1445, because of what he finds to be its dependence textually on Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Ms. 21974, dated 1442.⁴¹ On the contrary, it appears certain that the miniaturist of the Brussels manuscript had access to Add. Ms. 22288 (*cf.* concordance of miniatures in the two manuscripts, pp. 106-108 below) and in a much thinner, feebler style, copied most of the historiated initials, including part of the series from the Life of Christ. In addition, the Brussels copy introduces on folio 1 (containing the Prologue to the *Winterstuc*, compiled, apparently, on the basis of that in the *Somerstuc*⁴²) an historiated initial A enclosing in the upper part the figure of Albert backed

³⁸ A classic example is the so-called Milan-Turin Hours, begun for the Duc de Berry about 1380 and finished *ca.* 1450. All the borders are of the early date, though many of the miniatures on the same pages are of much later date. *Cf.* Hulin de Loo, *Heures de Milan* (Brussels, 1911).

³⁹ W. de Vreese, *Bouwstoffen van het Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* (The Hague, 1927-37), I, p. 283.

⁴⁰ *Noord-Nederl. Schilderkunst*, I, p. 106.

⁴¹ Daniëls dates the London manuscript *ca.* 1445, concluding that, on the grounds of textual *lacunae*, additions, and variants it is a copy of Brussels Ms. 21974: *Tafel*, I, pp. 127 *et supra*.

An examination of the textual evidence is not within the scope of the present study, but it would appear that this evidence of relationship on the basis of the texts of the two manuscripts cannot be interpreted as indicating conclusively the dependence of Add. Ms. 22288 on Brussels Ms. 21974, but that it might equally well indicate a reversed relationship. In support of this latter hypothesis, attention should be called to the probable position of the missing chapters in W. 171, as indicated by the old gothic folio rubrics which show that between the present folios 24 and 25 (old numbers xxiv and xxxii) seven leaves, presumably containing two complete chapters (the "Four Complexions of Man" and the "Physiognomy of Man"), are missing. In Add. Ms. 22288, these two chapters fill approximately four leaves, that is both sides of two leaves each (fols. 13^{vo}-17 inclusive). Since W 171 is smaller not only in format, but also in script than Add. Ms. 22288, the seven missing leaves might have sufficed for this amount of text. (The Concordance of illustration on pp. 106 f. below shows the consistent ratio of the amount of space required for the same text in the two manuscripts.) Folio 25 as now numbered is the first of a new gathering of eight, but its original number xxxii would normally indicate the last leaf of a quaternion. Miss Miner suggests that the original eighth leaf may for some reason have been can-

celled and the gathering inserted with only seven leaves and a stub of a leaf whose number xxxii was then assigned to the first leaf of the new gathering. When the book was rebound this defective quire was omitted or lost. In any case, Chapter XI in W. 171 ends on fol. 24^{vo} and Chapter XIV begins on present fol. 25. That this chapter on the "Nature of the Soul" (which Daniëls numbers XII on the basis of his Mss. *D* and *A*) did not originally follow XI ("Creation of Man") is proved by the gap in W. 171. The order of these chapters in Add. Ms. 22288 evidently represents the original order of W. 171, namely: XI—"Creation of Man;" XII—"Four Complexions of Man;" XIII—"Physiognomy of Man;" XIV—"Nature of the Soul." This is the order followed also in the text of The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Ms. 133 F 18 and Brussels Ms. 21974. But curiously enough the Brussels manuscript introduces after the Prologue (on folios 1 ff.) a Table of Contents (lacking in W. 171 and Add. Ms. 22288) for the fifty-seven chapters contained in it, in which the chapter on the "Nature of the Soul" (Chapter XIV in W. 171 and Add. Ms. 22288) is numbered XII and follows XI; this, according to Daniëls, is the order of Mss. *D* and *A*. The Table of Contents in Brussels Ms. 21974 was evidently taken from some other source, perhaps the prototype of *A* (*cf.* Daniëls, *Meester Dirc*, pp. 233 f.). If W. 171 had already lost Chapters XII and XIII by the time Brussels Ms. 21974 was made, the Walters *Tafel* could have furnished the prototype of the *DA* order as well as that of *HG* in Daniëls' *schema*. The late dates of *D* and *A* further support this hypothesis. It is worth noting that the Hague Ms. 133 F 18, like Add. Ms. 22288, contains sixty-six chapters.

⁴² Daniëls suggests (*Tafel*, I, p. 76) that this combination of ideas may be taken from the Prologue to the *Somerstuc* (*q.v.*: *ibid.*, p. 82). The miniature was copied in the German translation in the Darmstadt manuscript: Hessische Landesbibliothek, Ms. 2667, reproduced as the frontispiece of volume I of Daniëls' *Tafel*.



FIGURE 29

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Constantine, St. Helena and St. Silvester
(Ms. 691, fol. 160)



FIGURE 30 BRUSSELS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE
The Trinity
(Ms. 21974, fol. 2)

by a double-headed eagle, and in the lower part a figure of Dirc writing his book (fig. 31). This miniature does not occur in Add. Ms. 22288 which, like W. 171, has no Prologue; the miniature of Albert in Brussels Ms. 21974 seems to be introduced as historical allusion in pictorial form to the authorship and sponsorship of the book.

The style of illumination in Brussels Ms. 21974 preserves the tradition of W. 171 and Add. Ms. 22288. The historiated initial decorated with line patterns, placed on a gold field with concave corners, such as that with the Trinity (fol. 2, fig. 30), is close to the corresponding initial in Add. Ms. 22288 (fig. 3). The border motifs also are of the same general form and coloring. But there are striking differences between the two styles of illumination. In Add. Ms. 22288 the initial is integrated with the border, the thick stem of which suggests a

vine growing out of the terminals of the letter. In the Brussels manuscript, the letter is completely detached from its decoration; the sprays of hair-line stems merely touch the gold field, thus faintly echoing the original integration with the letter. The slender stems are twisted into tortuous curls and thickly set with tightly curled tendrils. On folio 17^{vo} (fig. 32) similar hair-line sprays shoot stiffly from a detached length of bar decorated with geometric designs reminiscent of Add. Ms. 22288; the curling tendrils on this page are touched with a spot of green color. The upper bar does not join the terminal branch (cf. fol. 27, Add. Ms. 22288, fig. 6); the lower one, which does touch it, is not accompanied by a stem which integrates the design, but carries at its lower end a rather thicker stem, set with the colored trefoil motifs. Thus we have in Brussels Ms. 21974 traces of the design in Add. Ms. 22288 but much modified, especially as to the type of sprays and the integration of the design with the initial. These characteristics we find in later Dutch manuscripts, particularly those be-



FIGURE 31 BRUSSELS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE
Archduke Albert and Dirc
(Ms. 21974, fol. 1)

longing to the so-called Utrecht group, of the second quarter of the fifteenth century, such, for example, as the fine Missal of Bressanone, made for Zweder van Culemborg, Bishop of Utrecht in 1425.⁴³

The figure style in Brussels Ms. 21974 is also far removed from that of Add. Ms. 22288 (cf. figs. 32 and 6). The figures are small, feebly drawn, with enormous feet; the attributes of two of the cardinal virtues have changed: Prudence now holds a book, and Temperance, the monk, a bowl. The sword of Justice and the spear of Fortitude are retained. But the small, comical little figures have lost entirely the sober monumentality of the London artist's style, which contains only one historiated initial, with Even so, the illustrative tradition of these manuscripts is still unmistakable in Brussels Ms. 21974.

The cycle of illustrations found in W. 171, Add. Ms. 22288, and Brussels Ms. 21974 does not appear in the Hague manuscript (Koninklijke Bibliotheek Ms. 133 F 18, Daniëls' Ms. C), which contains only one historiated initial, with the Gnadenstuhl Trinity at the beginning of Chapter I (fol. 6). The date of this Hague manuscript is puzzling. In the Royal Library catalogue it is given as ca. 1450, and Fr. Daniëls⁴⁴ accepts this date on the grounds that textually this manuscript is later than the London one and therefore, according to his reasoning, also later than Brussels Ms. 21974. However, an inscription on folio 4^{vo} of this Hague manuscript reads

⁴³ Hoogewerff, *Noord-Nederl. Schilderkunst*, I, pp. 430 ff. Cf. especially figs. 221, 223, 225. Other examples of this style are numerous; many are reproduced in Byvanck and Hoogewerff, *op. cit.*, Text, fig. 67 (1435-50); I, pl. 30 (ca. 1440); pl. 45 (ca. 1435); II, pls. 127, 128 (ca. 1435); pl. 183 (ca. 1430). The heavy branch type of border (Brussels, fol. 17^{vo}) survives also in other late manuscripts; for example, the so-called Lochorst Bible in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, datable 1425-32. Hoogewerff, *Noord-Nederl. Schilderkunst*, I, p. 423, fig. 215, reproduces one of the few pages containing it, and calls it "the old-fashioned style," comparing it with a page in Add. Ms. 22288. Reproduced, *ibid.*, p. 108, fig. 39.

⁴⁴ *Tafel*, I, p. 128.

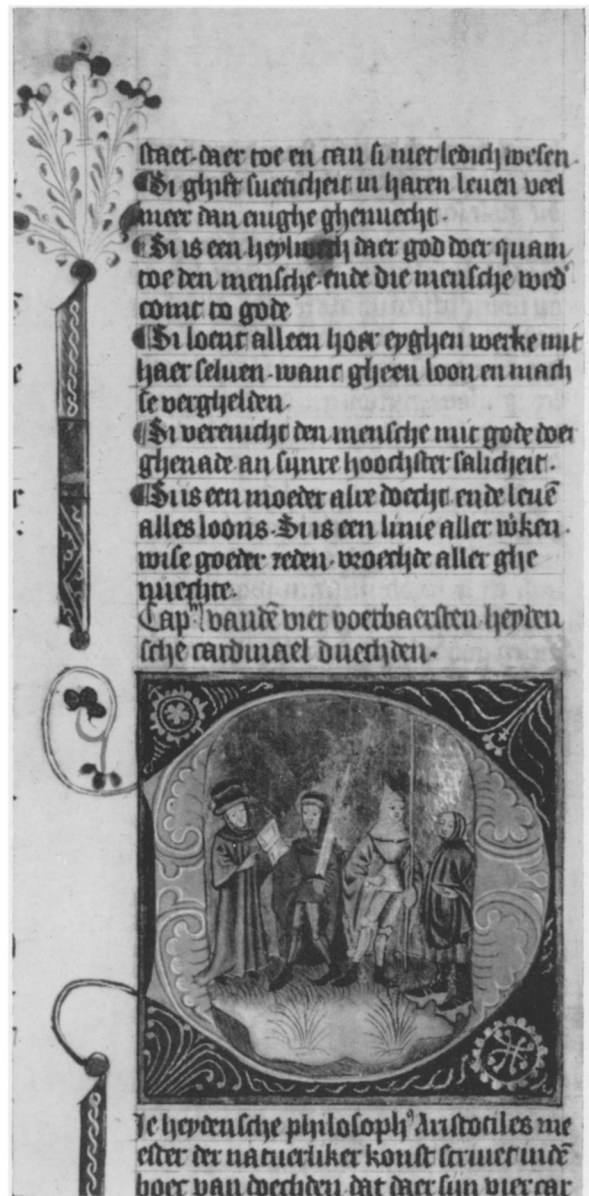


FIGURE 32 BRUSSELS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE
The Four Cardinal Virtues
(Ms. 21974, fol. 17^{vo})

as follows: "Desen boec was ghemaect ende ghescreven Int iaer ons heeren doe men screef M.CCC ende seune Op den XXii ten dach in iulio." The date as given, 1307, obviously is impossible, but may have been written in error for 1407. The stylistic relation of the historiated initial and its decoration to that of the Walters, the London, and the

Morgan manuscripts is evident, although the quality of the miniature is inferior. A specific motif, the flying dove, which is used in these three manuscripts but not in Brussels Ms. 21974, is found in the shaft of some of the initials of the Hague *Tafel*. Moreover, the fact that the Prologue to the *Winterstuc* and a Table of Contents precede the text in this manuscript as in the Brussels copy, but not in W. 171 or Add. Ms. 22288, suggests that the date of 1407 for the writing of the text may be correct and that the Hague manuscript may stand between these manuscripts and the Brussels copy.⁴⁵ The revised chronological order of illustrated *Winter-*

stuc manuscripts would then appear as follows:

W. 171 (Ms. O) — 1404

Add. Ms. 22288 (Ms. H) — 1405-10

The Hague Ms. 133 F 18 (Ms. C) — 1407

Brussels Ms. 21974 (Ms. G) — 1442

The remaining manuscripts in Fr. Daniëls' *schema* are written on paper and are decorated only with pen-flourished initial letters. All three are dated, but since they contain no illustrations, they have not been included in the present study.

⁴⁵ Cf. also note 41 above.

CONCORDANCE OF ILLUSTRATIONS OF WINTERSTUC MANUSCRIPTS

		W. 171	Add. Ms. 22288	Brussels 21974	The Hague 133 F 18
Prologue: Albert and Dirc				fol. 1	
Chapter					
I	Gnadenstuhl Trinity	fol. 1	fol. 2	fol. 2	fol. 6
I	Vernicle	fol. 1 _{vo}	fol. 2		
I	Symbolic Trinity	fol. 2	fol. 2 _{vo}		
I	Ten Names of God	fol. 3	fol. 2 _{vo}		
II	God the Father Enthroned	fol. 4	fol. 3		
III	Creation of the World	fol. 5 _{vo}	fol. 4		
IV	Nine Choirs of Angels	fol. 6 _{vo}	fol. 4 _{vo}	fol. 3	
V	Eight Heavens	fol. 8 _{vo}	fol. 5 _{vo}	fol. 4	
VI	Seven Planets	fol. 10	fol. 6	fol. 4 _{vo}	
VII	Twelve Signs of Zodiac	fol. 12	fol. 7		
VIII	Four Elements	fol. 15	fol. 8 _{vo}	fol. 5 _{vo}	
IX	Paradise	fol. 17 _{vo}	fol. 10	fol. 6 _{vo}	
X	Fountain of Life and Four Rivers of Paradise	fol. 19 _{vo}	fol. 11	fol. 7	
XI	Creation of Man	fol. 21 _{vo}	fol. 12	fol. 8	
XII	Four Complexions of Man		fol. 13 _{vo}	fol. 9	
XIII	Physiognomy of Man		fol. 15 _{vo}	fol. 10	
XIV	Creation and Nature of the Soul	fol. 25	fol. 17 _{vo}	fol. 11 _{vo}	
XV	Seven Ages of Man	fol. 30	fol. 20	fol. 13 _{vo}	
XVI	Seven Ages of the World	fol. 32 _{vo}	fol. 21	fol. 14 _{vo}	
XVII	Three Theological Virtues	fol. 37 _{vo}	fol. 24	fol. 16	
XVIII	Four Cardinal Virtues	fol. 43 _{vo}	fol. 27	fol. 17 _{vo}	
XIX	Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit	fol. 53	fol. 32	fol. 21	
XX	Eight Beatitudes	fol. 60 _{vo}	fol. 36	fol. 23 _{vo}	
XXI	Tree of Life with Twelve Fruits	fol. 74	fol. 43 _{vo}	fol. 27 _{vo}	
XXII	Fall of Satan	fol. 81 _{vo}	fol. 47 _{vo}	fol. 30	
XXIII	Sin Personified	fol. 90	fol. 52	fol. 32 _{vo}	
XXIV	Temptation of Adam and Eve	fol. 85 _{vo}	fol. 49 _{vo}	fol. 31	
XXV	Seven Capital Sins	fol. 97	fol. 55 _{vo}	fol. 35	
XXVI	Seven Devils of the Seven Sins	fol. 105	fol. 60	fol. 37 _{vo}	

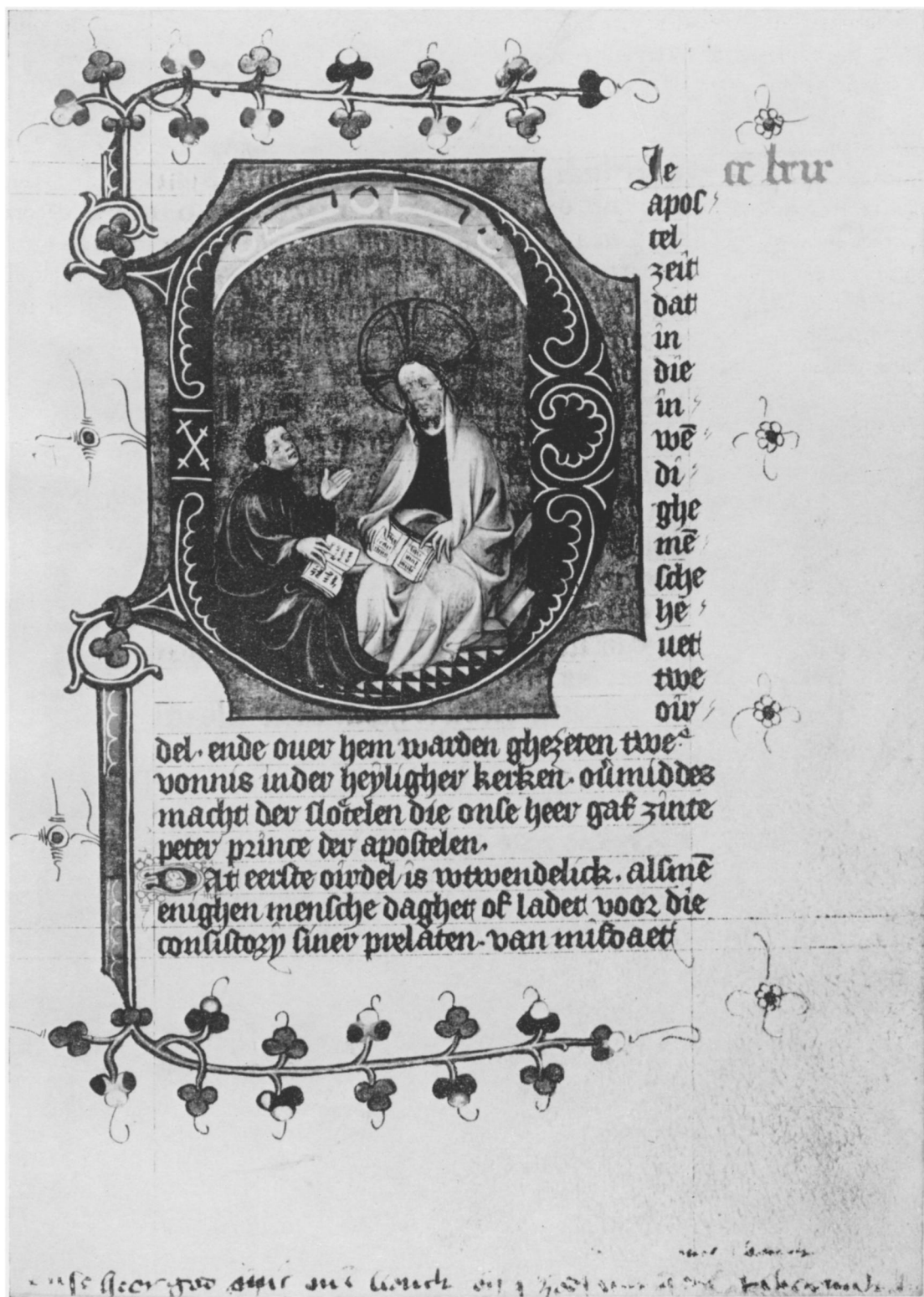


FIGURE 33

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Jesus and a Priest discuss Holy Writ
(Ms. 691, fol. 63)

CONCORDANCE OF ILLUSTRATIONS OF WINTERSTUIC MANUSCRIPTS—*Cont.*

		W. 171 22288	Add. Ms. 21974	Brussels 21974
<i>Chapter</i>				
XXVII	Seven Sins against the Holy Ghost	fol. 110	fol. 62 ^{vo}	fol. 39
XXVIII	Monk and Cleric Hearing Confession	fol. 112 ^{vo}	fol. 63 ^{vo}	fol. 39 ^{vo}
XXIX	Bishop Hearing Confession	fol. 114 ^{vo}	fol. 64 ^{vo}	fol. 40 ^{vo}
XXX	Pope Hearing Confession	fol. 116 ^{vo}	fol. 65 ^{vo}	fol. 41
XXXI	Church Representing the Holy Land	fol. 117 ^{vo}	fol. 66	fol. 41
XXXII	Moses Receiving the Law	fol. 122 ^{vo}	fol. 68 ^{vo}	fol. 42
XXXIII	Pythagoras and his Disciples	fol. 148 ^{vo}	fol. 82	fol. 50 ^{vo}
XXXIV	Symbols of Four Evangelists	fol. 156	fol. 86	fol. 52 ^{vo}
XXXV	Mystery of the Incarnation		fol. 90 ^{vo}	fol. 55 ^{vo}
XXXVI	Marriage of the Virgin		fol. 93 ^{vo}	fol. 57
XXXVII	Annunciation to the Virgin		fol. 96	fol. 58 ^{vo}
XXXVIII	Conception of the Christ Child in the Blessed Virgin Four Fountains of the Heart in the Form of the Cross		fol. 99	fol. 60 ^{vo} fol. 61
XXXIX	Visitation		fol. 102	fol. 62
XL	Nativity		fol. 105	fol. 63 ^{vo}
XLI	Circumcision		fol. 109	fol. 65 ^{vo}
XLII	Adoration of Magi		fol. 112 ^{vo}	fol. 68
XLIII	Purification of Virgin		fol. 115 ^{vo}	fol. 69 ^{vo}
XLIV	Flight into Egypt		fol. 119	fol. 71 ^{vo}
XLV	Christ among the Doctors		fol. 122	fol. 73
XLVI	Jesus at Nazareth Preparing for His Mission		fol. 125	fol. 75
XLVII	Baptism		fol. 128 ^{vo}	fol. 77
XLVIII	Christ Tempted		fol. 131 ^{vo}	fol. 78 ^{vo}
XLIX	Calling of the Apostles		fol. 135	fol. 80 ^{vo}
L	Christ Preaching		fol. 138 ^{vo}	fol. 82 ^{vo}
LI	Transfiguration		fol. 141 ^{vo}	fol. 84 ^{vo}
LII	Entry into Jerusalem		fol. 146	fol. 87
LIII	Christ and the Money Changers		fol. 149 ^{vo}	fol. 89 ^{vo}
LIV	Magdalen Anointing Christ's Feet		fol. 152 ^{vo}	fol. 91
LV	Last Supper		fol. 156	fol. 93 ^{vo}
LVI	Washing of the Feet		fol. 160	fol. 95 ^{vo}
LVII	Christ's Discourse after the Last Supper		fol. 163	fol. 97 ^{vo}
LVIII	Christ Carrying the Cross		fol. 166 ^{vo}	
LIX	Crucifixion		fol. 172 ^{vo}	
LX	Mystic Wine Press		fol. 180 ^{vo}	
LXI	Seven Last Words of Christ on the Cross		fol. 186	
LXII	Symbols of the Passion		fol. 189	
LXIII	Deposition		fol. 191 ^{vo}	
LXIV	Entombment		fol. 195	
LXV	Mourning for Christ		fol. 198 ^{vo}	
LXVI	Christ in Limbo		fol. 210 ^{vo}	

NOTE: Illustrations of the manuscripts are published by courtesy of the respective owners.



FIGURE 1

Bronze Protome

WALTERS ART GALLERY

A FIFTH-CENTURY BRONZE ORNAMENT

BY MARVIN C. ROSS

Walters Art Gallery

AMONG THE RECENT acquisitions of the Walters Art Gallery is a bronze ornament¹ of considerable strength and beauty, which is an important addition to the group of bronzes in the

collection that shows the transition from the Classical to the Byzantine. It represents a protome in the form of a panther (figs. 1, 2). The panther is springing into space from an acanthus-



FIGURE 2

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Bronze Protome

like decoration. Although the sculpture gives an impression of power, in detail it is very much stylized, particularly in the rendering of the ears, in the lines of the forehead and in the skin. The latter is represented by a series of small gouges in the bronze. On the back of the panther is a ring and between his paws a bar, evidently being for the passage of a rope or rein. The whole is made to fasten to a rod of some sort.

In the auction catalogue of the Brummer estate² the bronze was described as having been "found in Northern Syria". Dr. Ernst Kitzinger has demonstrated that the protome as a decorative motive was particularly popular in the Mediterranean world from Graeco-Roman times onward, especially for decorating marble capitals in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.³ However, I know of no other bronzes of the

type which can be said to have come from Syria. On the other hand, seven bronze ornaments of this same type were among the extraordinary discoveries made in the tombs at Qustul in Nubia.⁴ These, like the present one, are hollow cast with an open socket at the back in which were found traces of wood. Three of them represent lions, while four are lionesses, and are very similar to the example now in the Walters Art Gallery. They were found in Tomb Two at Qustul, in which were also found two silver ewers of the type generally dated in the fifth or sixth centuries and pottery of Type Six, which by comparison with discoveries from other sites, also is dated in the same period.⁵ Thus, on the basis of the other material in Tomb Two, the bronze protomes may be assigned to those centuries as well. This is probably as close as we can come to giving a date for them at the present time.

Most of the material in the tombs at Ballana and Qustul is thought to have been imported from Egypt. I know of no other bronzes exactly like these that have been found in Egypt, but on other grounds a Coptic origin is suggested for the Walters bronze. Dr. Kitzinger has pointed out the use of the protome in Coptic art. One can make even closer comparisons. There are protomes in Coptic sculpture which represent cat-like animals leaping off into space that are almost identical with our bronze, and which, moreover, present the same convention of representing the skin by a series of gouges.⁶

¹ No. 54.2353. Length 0.126.

² *Part Two of the Notable Art Collection of the Late Joseph Brummer* (New York, May 11-14, 1949), lot 291.

³ See E. Kitzinger, *The Horse and Lion Tapestry at Dumbarton Oaks* in *The Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. 3 (Cambridge, U.S.A., 1946), with an excellent discussion of protomes (pp. 24ff.).

⁴ W. B. Emery and L. P. Kirwan, *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul* (Cairo, 1937), pl. 107 and pp. 32 and 381.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 30 and 388-9.

⁶ Cf. G. Duthuit, *La sculpture copte* (Paris, 1931), pl. XX c, and pl. XXI a.

There are a number of sculptures of this sort among those of the fifth century from Ahnas.⁷ Also, among the Coptic bronze incense burners showing a lion devouring a wild boar, the skin is rendered by the same convention.⁸ These comparisons suggest that, in addition to its resemblance to the protomes found at Qustul near Egypt, and thought to have been imported from Egypt, the Walters bronze ornament seems closely connected both stylistically and technically with Coptic sculptures in Egypt and with bronzes which are definitely Coptic. These related objects have been assigned, all on entirely different grounds, to a fifth or sixth century date. The sculptures from Ahnas with which it relates most closely are considered fifth century. The bronze incense burners, which compare in technical details are somewhat more stylized than our protome and are probably of the late fifth or of the sixth century.⁹ Thus, it seems probable that the Walters bronze was made in Coptic Egypt in the fifth century.

Emery and Kirwan suggest that the seven similar ornaments found at Qustul were perhaps made for the poles on biers. The type was not new,¹⁰ and the presence of the ring on the Walters example seems to indicate an ornament for a chariot rather than for a bier. There are other pieces which have a considerable resemblance

to the Walters ornament not only in type but stylistically, which are without much question of this late date. Two of them with the protomes of a hippopotamus suggest an Egyptian origin, not only on the basis of stylistic comparison with the present one, but also because of subject matter.¹¹ Thus, we have another group of Coptic bronzes which were exported over the Mediterranean world, very much as were the Coptic bronze patera found in many European graves of the same period.¹²

FIREARMS CARVED BY H. N.

(continued from page 63.)

lock rifle. The stock is richly carved and inlaid with open-work designs in steel. The rear half of the barrel and the lock are inlaid with silver cherubs and foliage.

26. Prince Starhemberg-Eferding Collection—Wheellock gun carved by H.N. Similar in workmanship to number 18.

27. Vienna, Salzer Sale, March 29-31, 1933, lot. 388—Carved wheellock gun.

LA DAME AUX CAMÉLIAS

(continued from page 77.)

It may have been written to Tony, since it refers to her horse. It is wholly unknown to any of her many biographers. It is the only known letter of love by one who surely knew "tout ce que cette passion a de doux et de terrible." Its passage through the auction room parallels and proves the truth to life of one of the moving incidents of Dumas' great novel. It is a heart-stirring link with a once living figure whose life was beautified as Manon's was created, by a momentary flash of genius, and who, as thus transfigured, will remain pitied and loved by countless generations of enthralled readers of the book which has given her immortality.

⁷ E. Kitzinger, *Notes on Early Coptic Sculpture* in *Archaeologia*, LXXXVII (1937), pp. 181ff. See pl. LXXI, figs. 4 and 5 and p. 189.

⁸ M. C. Ross, *A Group of Coptic Incense Burners* in *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLVI (1942), pp. 10f., fig. 1.

⁹ Ross, *op cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁰ See E. Gabrici, *La Quadriga di Ercolano* in *Bollettino d'Arte* (June, 1907), p. 10, fig. 9.

¹¹ E. von Mercklin, *Wagenschmuck aus der Römischen Kaiserzeit* in *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, XLVIII (1933), fig. 46, p. 127, and H. Burg, *Minor Arts of Early Periods* (1939), no. 38 (this bronze was until recently on the New York Art Market). See also *Berichte der Provinzial-museen zu Bonn und Trier* (Bonn, 1922), pl. VIII, fig. 1.

¹² Further study may relate stylistically similar bronzes made for other purposes, such as a knife handle found in France, see M. Voltaire, *Bronzes Figurés du Musée de Saumur* in *Revue Archéologique*, X (1919), p. 290, no. 465.