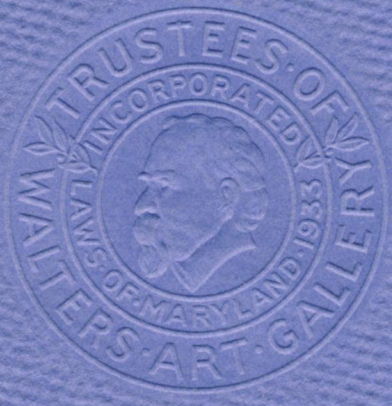
THE JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY



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BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

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VOLUME XVII

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THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOL. XVII 1954

(*The* JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY *is indexed in* "ART INDEX")

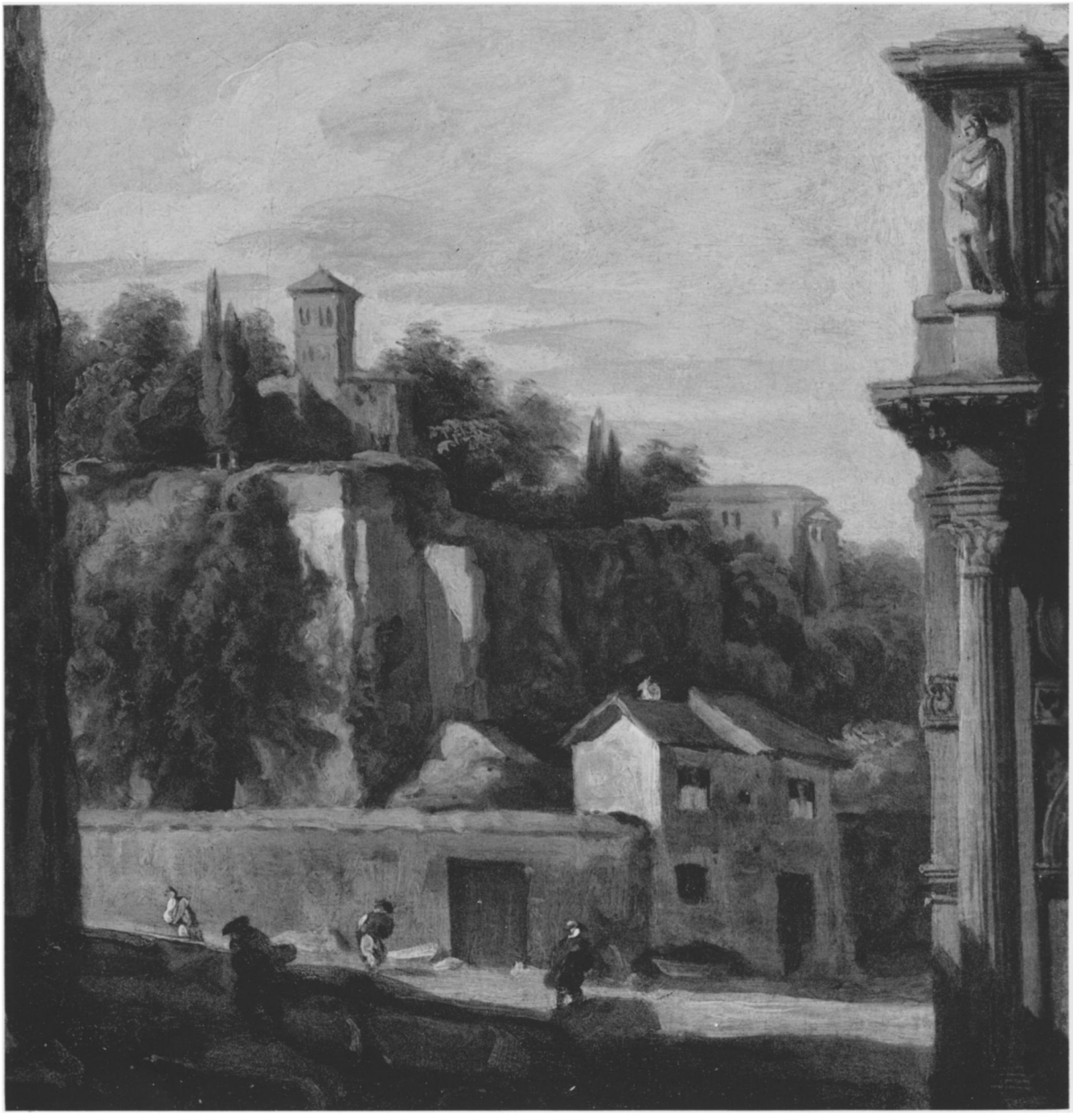

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

GIOVANNI PAOLO PANINI

The Esquiline Hill (*detail of figure 4*)

TWO ROMAN VEDUTE BY PANINI IN THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

BY RICHARD PAUL WUNDER

Harvard University

IT IS A GENERAL HABIT to associate the name of Panini with compositions showing classical ruins arranged according to the artist's fancy. However, two paintings which exhibit another far more pleasing side of Panini have been recently acquired by the Walters Art Gallery.[1] They show carefully and accurately rendered views of Rome, views chosen in order to emphasize Rome's classical heritage. But in them the artist goes beyond merely setting down the scene at hand, for in such works as these we have a feeling of sunshine and atmosphere, a pleinairistic quality which was to become such a concern with the nineteenth-century landscape painters of France, but which was also evident, to a somewhat less degree, in the works of the Venetian topographical painters of Panini's own day. In Piranesi's engravings, too, we feel the warmth of a Roman summer's day, but Piranesi was apt to be sullen and foreboding, moods never encountered in Panini's works.

Giovanni Paolo Panini[2] (1691/2-1764) was born in Piacenza, the city next in importance to the capital in the Farnese-held duchy of Parma. We know nothing about his early years, save that he may have studied for a time with the Bibiena, Ferdinando and his brother, Francesco, then leaders of the world's most distinguished family of stage and theater-set designers. This connection seems likely, for if the young Giovanni Paolo wanted to learn perspective painting he need go only a few miles south to Parma, or a few more to Bologna, where in both cities the prolific Bibiena family held the reins in this branch of art. Because Panini soon distinguished himself as a master of perspective painting, this early association with the Bibiena seems entirely plausible. At about the age of twenty-seven, Panini made the inevitable journey to Rome. There, he entered the shop of the mediocre eclectic painter, Benedetto Luti, from whom he is presumed to have learned figure painting. Probably at this time he was also taking lessons in landscape painting from his near contemporary, Andrea Locatelli, whose art followed in the manner of Salvator Rosa's. But he also must have studied—or at least admired—the works of the topographical painters of Rome, the Gaspari, Viviano Codazzi and Gaspar van Witel (Italianized to Vanvitelli), the Dutchman, active also in Venice, who was then at the

[1] *View of the Forum* (No. 2366), 32⅞ x 53 inches; and *The Colosseum and Arch of Constantine* (No. 2367), 32⅞ x 53 inches. Both are oil on canvas and are signed "I. P. PANINI ROMÆ 1747."

[2] Since Panini always signed his works with the single *"n"* there seems no reason to follow the orthography adopted by his son, Francesco Pannini, and used by subsequent writers.

FIGURE 2

WALTERS ART GALLERY

GIOVANNI PAOLO PANINI

View of the Roman Forum

height of his powers and Rome's leading *vedute* painter.

Quick to absorb what these artists, minor masters in their own right, had to offer, Panini was not long in making his own artistic personality felt. His demand was immediate as a decorator and painter of "classical-landscapes-with-ruins" compositions, which were in such vogue at that time. His earliest commissions came from Cardinal Patrizi, himself a Parmesian, and from Elizabetta Farnese, who, in 1714, had become the second wife of Philip V of Spain. Their patronage, together with the high quality of his work, quickly spread Panini's fame abroad. He was admitted to membership in the Academy of St. Luke, and not long afterwards was appointed Principal of that august body. The French Academy (which shortly before had reorganized after a period of dangerous decline) appointed him Professor of Perspective, and showered him with commissions to design and record the many festivals held in Rome, much to the disgruntlement of the native members. It is probable that these commissions stimulated Panini to turn his attention from mere *capriccio* painting and concentrate more and more on the purer forms of landscape painting. Nicolas Vleughels,[3] Director of the French Academy in Rome from 1725 to 1737, was one of the first to urge the Academicians to go out into the Campagna and sketch from nature, and not to rely entirely upon theory and studio adjuncts when composing a picture in which passages of landscape were to be included. Of this same school of thought was Charles Natoire, Vleughels' successor, and, upon his own retirement in 1775, Natoire went to live out the rest of his days at Castel Gandolfo in the Alban Hills, in order that he might devote all his time to sketching and painting the Italian scene. Thus was inaugurated an interest in landscape, which was to be brought to its highest degree of perfection by the French artists of the generation following Natoire's—and Panini's—own.

Panini's concern with landscape painting confronted him with the various problems attendant upon the two main trends of the time: the *veduta ideata* and the *veduta presa dal luogo*.[4] How was he to make one distinct from the other, yet keep both within the bounds of probability? What familiar monuments could he thus draw upon, and how were they to be placed so as to produce a harmonious unity and not give the impression of clutter? These concerns seemed particularly indigenous to the Italian landscapists of the period, though not necessarily to only the Venetians, as has been commonly thought to be the case.

The Walters Gallery paintings magnificently illustrate these problems. They are obviously intended as companion pictures, yet one, showing the Roman Forum, is a *veduta presa dal luogo*, while the other, in which the Colosseum and the Arch of Constantine form the main compositional elements, is a *veduta ideata*. In the first picture (fig. 2) the view is taken from the side of the Capitoline Hill, looking down the Via Sacra which runs the full length of the Forum. In Panini's day, before any serious excavation had been undertaken, the Forum was still known as the "Campo Vaccino" since it was even then in use as a grazing field for Roman cattle. In the left foreground we get a glimpse of the side of the Arch of Septimius Severus, and just beyond can be seen the corner of the Curia, made over into a small church. Half way

[3] In 1724 Panini married Vleughels' sister-in-law, thereby binding even closer his connection with the French circle in Rome.

[4] The *vedute ideata* are distinguished from the *vedute presa dal luogo* (views taken on the spot) by virtue of the fact that the latter are usually quite accurate records of the scene at hand, whereas the former show changes, distortions and additions to the scene at the whim of the artist as he composed his works, and for that reason fall under the category of the *capriccio*.

down along the left side is a portico, the most evident remains of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, over which loom the three vaulted chambers of the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine. In the far distance, beyond the romanesque tower of Sta. Francesca Romana, rise the upper walls of the Colosseum. The Arch of Titus closes in the far end of the "Campo Vaccino" and along the right side runs the wall with its gate (now unfortunately demolished) of the Farnese Gardens on the Palatine Hill. Closer in the right foreground are the three columns and fragment of entablature of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, and closing in the right foreground portion of the composition is the portico of the Temple of Saturn. Curiously enough, the Column of Phocas in the center middle distance is shown overthrown. Perhaps the artist felt that it obstructed the view.[5] Beyond, in the center of the clearing is the fountain and water trough established in the sixteenth century and finally removed to the Piazza del Quirinale on Monte Cavallo in 1816. It is possible that the camera obscura was used as a basis for working out this composition.[6] Even so, it does not hinder the satisfactory impression which the scene conveys to the spectator. By comparison, a photograph (fig. 3), taken in 1860 or before, shows the degree of accuracy which the Panini painting exhibits.

The companion picture (fig. 4) is far more subtle a *veduta*. At first glance, the scene would appear to be convincing. We see the Colosseum in the left middle distance and the Arch of Constantine at the right, with the Meta Sudens[7] before it. Beyond rise the Esquiline and Palatine Hills, with the Via del Trionfi running in between. But if the composition is studied more carefully, it is to be noticed that the Esquiline is quite apparent, whereas in reality, from the position where the spectator is presumed to be standing, it would be entirely hidden behind the Colosseum. Too, the Colosseum itself has been turned around so that the remaining upper walls can give to the edifice the appearance of greater completeness. At the extreme left the obelisk of the Piazza S. Giovanni in Laterano and the cupola of the Lateran Palace come into view. Although hidden today by modern structures, this view must have been entirely possible at the time the picture was painted. Included in the left foreground is a great marble urn, probably of Greek workmanship, known as the "Borghese Vase",[8] against which leans an unidentifiable battered classical torso, while to the right is a fragment of a Roman relief, possibly suggested by a sarcophagus frieze or by one of the reliefs either of the Arch of Titus or the Arch of Constantine. In other words, here we have gathered the most telling symbols of Rome's decay, her noble architectural remains, which overshadow bits of crumbling masonry

[5] Dedicated in 608 A.D., the Column of Phocas was the last monument erected in the Forum, and although it was never overthrown, its base was soon buried in the debris with which the Forum was filled from the beginning of the Middle Ages.

In the very similar engraved view of 1773 by Volpato, after the drawing by Francesco Pannini, the Column of Phocas is shown standing, though, naturally, its base is not visible.

[6] Hellmuth Fritzsche discusses [in *Bernardo Belotto genannt Canaletto* (Burg a. M., 1936), pp. 151-98] the degree with which the eighteenth-century topographical painters were dependent upon the camera obscura. In certain other *vedute* there is no doubt but that Panini employed this mechanical device as a basis for "setting" the composition. In the case of the Walters Art Gallery picture he may have used it for this purpose, and then slightly changed the positions of the various buildings in order to regulate his composition for aesthetic purposes. It is of archaeological interest to note that the small churches and other buildings at the right side of the Forum have all been swept away in the interest of modern excavation. This was done in the mid-nineteenth century, and most unfortunately, they were not properly photographed or measured before being thus destroyed. Hence, even more than an early photograph, Panini's accurately rendered view is of particular historical importance.

[7] The Meta Sudens, originally a fountain which marked the geographical center of Rome, by the eighteenth century had decayed to a mere mound of rubble, and remained as such until it was entirely removed by Mussolini, so that Fascist troops could march in unbroken file beneath the Arch of Constantine. The spot is marked today by a plaque set in the pavement.

[8] The Borghese collection of marbles ranked as one of the finest in Rome. Many of the best pieces, including this one, were purchased from Camillo Borghese by Napoleon, and are today in the Louvre.

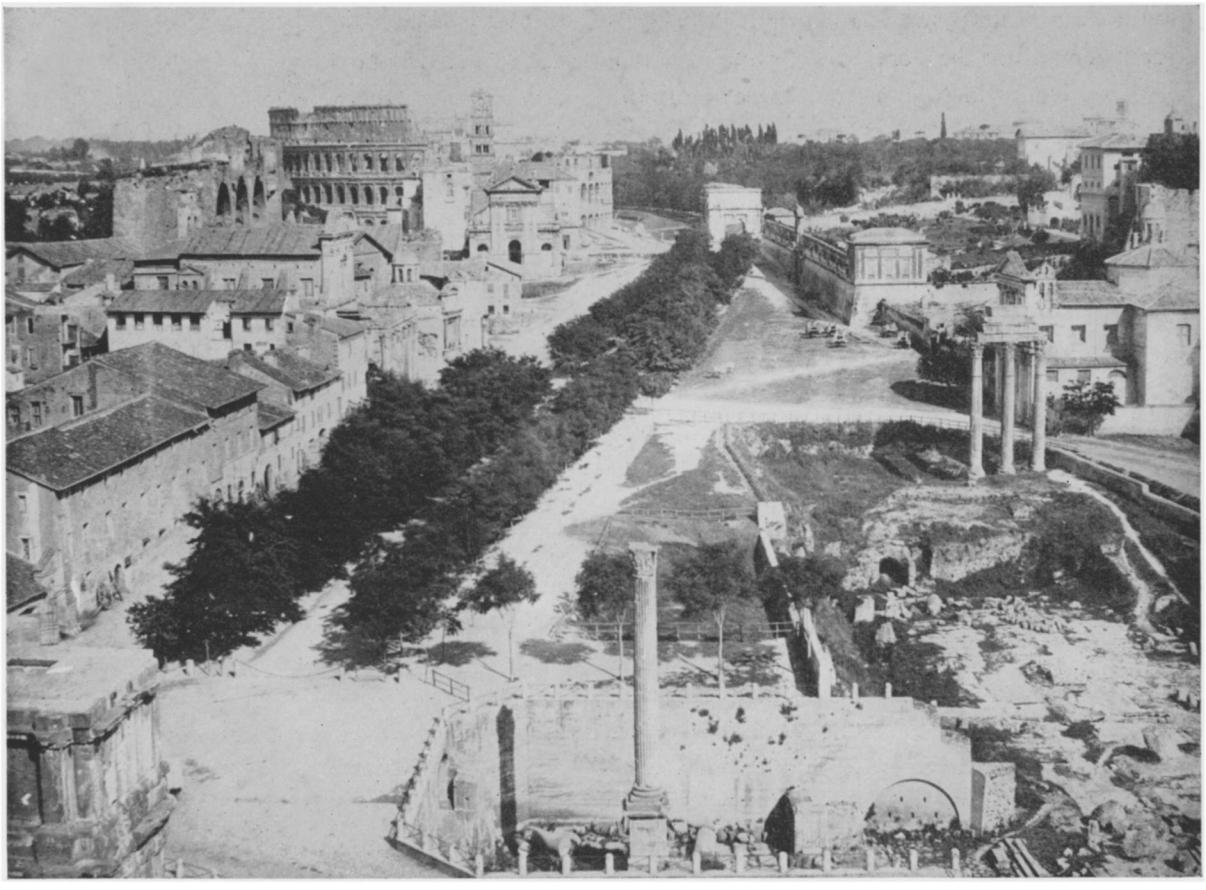

FIGURE 3 CAMBRIDGE, MASS., FOGG MUSEUM OF ART

The Roman Forum (photograph taken ca. 1860 or earlier)

and sculpture, all set in the beautiful landscape of a Rome of less grand age.

Quite often Panini painted such pairs of compositions, the one being a *veduta presa dal luogo*, while the other was decidedly a *veduta ideata*. In this way he satisfied the demands of the foreign visitor, who was eager to take home with him some mementoes of the most important monuments seen during his sojourn in the Eternal City, all compressed into one or two pleasing compositions. Canaletto and Marieschi could provide him with similar souvenirs of the Venetian scene, and by contrast, Panini's inventions formed a distinctly different variety, though within the same *milieu*. A great many such paintings have come down to us, and it is most fortunate that a number of pairs have been kept together, thereby facilitating our study of this phenomenon.[9] For instance, in the corresponding example in the Detroit Institute of Arts (fig. 5), the view is taken from a somewhat different angle. However, it too is a *veduta*

[9] Similar pairs are in the Detroit Institute of Arts (28⅞ x 53 inches; signed and dated 1735), and in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (29 x 39 inches; signed and dated 1740, of a set of four). A painting by Panini showing a similar view of the Forum was last known on the New York art market (33¼ x 44¾ inches; signed and dated 1747), and another is on deposit from the Louvre in the Palais des Papes, Avignon (26 1/16 x 39 3/8 inches; unsigned). There exist more than twenty other versions of the *Colosseum and Arch of Constantine* motif by Panini.

FIGURE 4

WALTERS ART GALLERY

GIOVANNI PAOLO PANINI

The Colosseum and Arch of Constantine

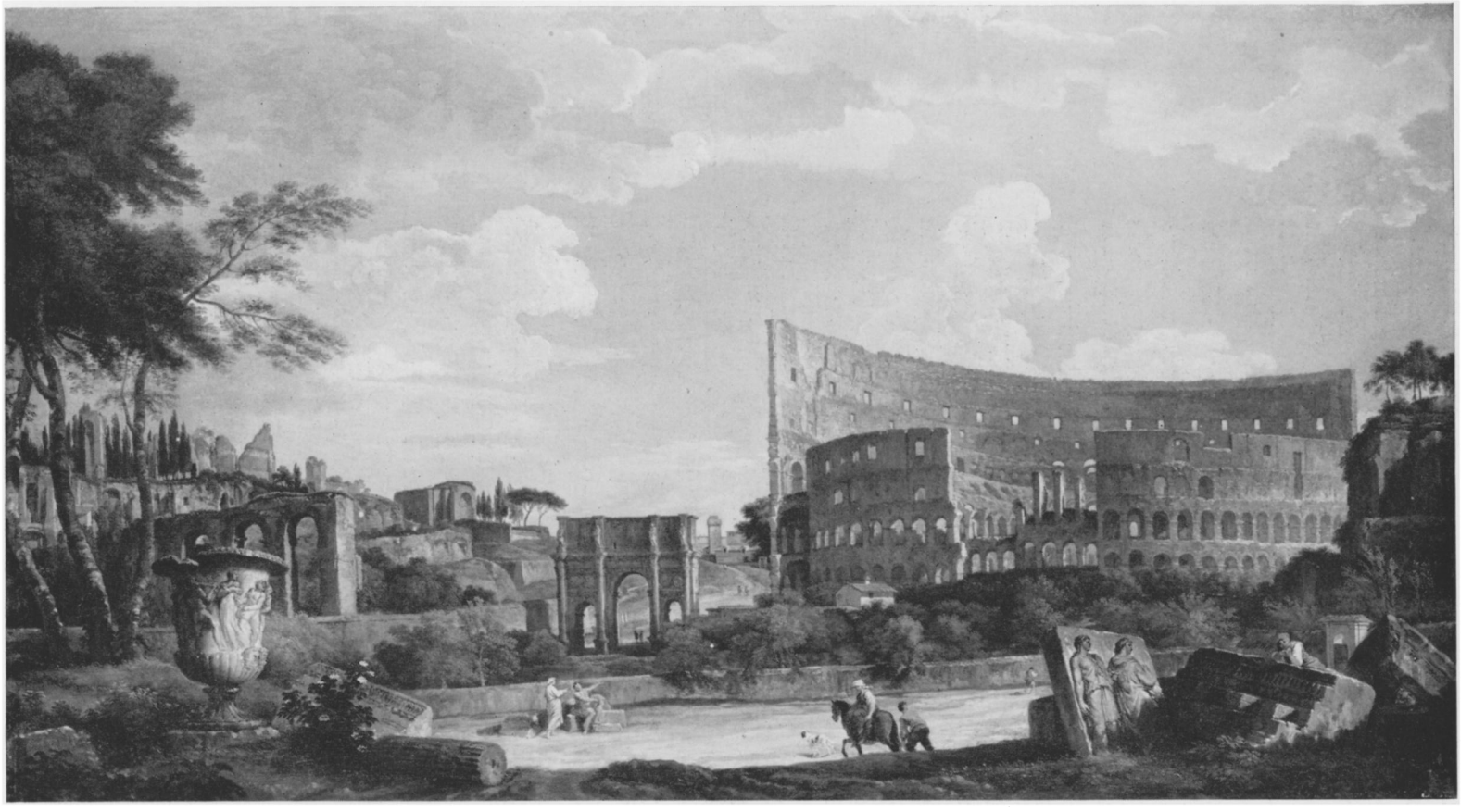

FIGURE 5

DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

GIOVANNI PAOLO PANINI

The Colosseum and Arch of Constantine

ideata: the Colosseum has been "spread open" disproportionately, and the "Borghese Vase" and relief are again included in the foreground. A similar picture in Dublin shows the statue of the "Borghese Warrior" (now also in the Louvre) in place of the urn, and in the right foreground are fragments of a cornice frieze and entablature belonging to the Temple of the Sun (actually to be found lying in the Colonna Gardens, and famous for being one of the largest single blocks of Roman architectural masonry ever cut). On the horizon line in the center of the composition rises the Pyramid of Caius Cestius, another one of Panini's favorite devices which he includes in all his paintings of similar type.

One further comparison must be made, with the painting now in the Naples Museum.[10] This work comes closer than any other version to the Walters Art Gallery picture showing the Colosseum and the Arch of Constantine. A close study reveals, however, that the Naples picture must be the earlier. In it the perspective of the elliptically-shaped amphitheater is less convincing. Too, the delineation of the architecture, particularly of the Arch of Constantine, is more harshly painted, and the distant hills rise more sharply and are rendered less atmospherically. Finally, the placement of the figures is not so pleasing as in the Walters Gallery example. Nevertheless, the Naples picture is decidedly not a shop work, the whole being too well executed. Panini's shop pictures are relatively easy to distinguish from those painted by the master himself, and to the artist's own hand most certainly belongs the Naples picture, even though it is not signed (a rare occurance with Panini's own works). We cannot trace its provenance before 1818, so that it is impossible to tell whether or not it was still in the artist's studio at the time that the Walters painting was executed. Perhaps the patron who ordered our version saw the Naples picture and requested a duplicate made for himself. He might, as well, have selected the desired composition from a finished drawing retained by the artist for such purposes. In any case, in the Walters Gallery painting is revealed a more mature handling of the brush, so that in its over-all effect it is a more pleasing work of art.

A few words must now be said in explanation of the history of these Walters paintings. Unlike so many pictures which come into American collections, we are able to trace practically the entire history of these two canvases by Panini. They have come directly from the Tyrwhitt-Drake family, of Shardeloes, Amersham, Buckinghamshire, England. Documents relating to the family have recently been published[11] which throw some light on the circumstances surrounding the acquisition of these paintings by a member of the Drake family. Of the history of the family and its seat, Mr. Eland writes, "The name of Shardeloes which was attached to the manor and to the house standing on it came from a mere life-interest held by Adam de Shardeslowe at the beginning of the fourteenth century."[12] Later, the estate came to Francis Drake, of Esher (not be be confused with the eminent English navigator, Sir Francis Drake, of Tavistock), through marriage to Joan, daughter of William Tothill in 1602. Our interest in Shardeloes begins, however, with William Drake (1723-1796), who rebuilt Shardeloes after his marriage in 1747 to Elizabeth Raworth. Their son, Thomas (1749-1810), took the name of Tyrwhitt in 1760 upon inheriting Stainfield and St. Donat's, and then that of Tyrwhitt-Drake in 1795. His great-

[10] Inventory No. 83764 (38⅜ x 52½ inches; unsigned). Photo: Alinari No. 33991 [also reprod. in Voss, *Die Malerei des Barock in Rom* (Berlin, 1924), p. 389].

[11] G. Eland (ed. by), *Shardeloes Papers of the 17th and 18th centuries* (Oxford, 1947).

[12] *Ibid.*, p. viii.

great-grandson, Captain Thomas Tyrwhitt-Drake, is today head of the family and master of Shardeloes.

In 1743 William Drake, accompanied by his tutor, went on his Grand Tour (this same tutor also took William Drake the younger on his Grand Tour in 1769). We know something about the elder Drake's personality at this time through the writings of an anonymous contemporary traveller, who describes him as "one of the most sprightly, agreeable, and amiable persons living,"[13] and adds that Drake painted a conversation piece in which he and his travelling companions (including the unknown writer) appear. Unfortunately, this picture cannot be traced.

Drake began rebuilding Shardeloes in 1747, and in 1759 the decorative details, particularly those of the finest room, the library, were entrusted to the young Robert Adam, who had returned only the year before from his tour of Italy and Dalmatia. The work was completed in 1766.[14] Although the Panini paintings are not mentioned specifically in Mr. Eland's book,[15] it is presumed that they were ordered by the elder Drake, either at the time of his Roman sojurn or during his rebuilding of Shardeloes. There is the possibility, of course, that they may have been bought by the younger Drake in 1769. In any case, these two paintings exemplify perfectly the sort of memento which was in such demand with the English traveller during the eighteenth century, and help to explain further Panini's great popularity outside Italy.

Like so many of Panini's pictures which have come down to us, these two are in an excellent state of preservation. If we are to take a detail passage (fig. 1) it is easy to see the fluidity of the handling of the paint, and a technique for the rendering of light and atmosphere to which Corot had nothing to add during his early Italian period. Not only do they show us the physical condition of eighteenth-century Rome, but they also reveal the verve and sparkle of which Rome's foremost landscape painter was capable. Panini has left a large and varied artistic legacy, but these two paintings demonstrate his highest degree of artistic craftsmanship.

[13] *Letters from a Young Painter,* Vol. I, p. 140, dated 7 November 1744 (as quoted in *Shardeloes Papers,* p. 69).

[14] Fine photographs, showing the Adam decorations, can be found in Arthur Bolton's article on Shardeloes in the English *Country Life,* for 5 July 1913, pp. 18-26.

[15] A portion of the one showing the Forum can be seen in a photograph of one of the rooms at Shardeloes, reproduced in *Shardeloes Papers,* between pp. 20 and 21.

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Assumption of the Virgin

SEVEN MEDIEVAL ENGLISH ALABASTER CARVINGS IN THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

BY W. L. HILDBURGH

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

THE ALABASTER, which from about the middle of the fourteenth century served for approximately two hundred years the important English alabaster industry as material, is a semi-translucent variety of gypsum, being a hydrous sulphate of lime. It would seem to have been obtained mainly from the quarries near Tutbury, in Staffordshire, or from others at Chellaston Hill, near Derby. It was used in architecture at Tutbury about 1160; and at Hanbury is a tomb-effigy of a knight of about 1280. The industrial exploitation of the English alabaster, mainly for the production of small panels ("tables," *i.e.* tablets) as components of altarpieces, appears to have begun between about 1340 and 1350 as an outgrowth of the work of the tomb-carvers. Its products are still to be seen in many churches in Europe: in France, in Spain, in Italy, in Germany, in Denmark, and in Iceland. That they must, before their wholesale and widespread destruction as a result of the English Reformation, have existed in quantity in England is witnessed by much documentary evidence. Until just over a century ago the English origin of these alabaster carvings appears to have been completely forgotten; and even then it would seem in England to have been only tentatively credited to them, while on the Continent they continued until after the beginning of the present century to be variously attributed—but on mere guesswork—to a number of Continental regions. Within the last sixty years, however, there has been brought forward an overwhelming mass of testimony as to their manufacture in medieval England, and, especially since about 1910, much has been published in some half-dozen languages concerning the English alabastermen's carvings.[1]

Professor Prior in his general introduction, "The Sculpture of Alabaster Tables," to the Illustrated Catalogue of the Society of Antiquaries' 1910 Alabaster Exhibition, grouped the carvings—panels and isolated images seldom more than three and one-half feet in height—with which we are here concerned, broadly into a sequence of four "Classes,"[2] to each of which he provisionally assigned an approximate period, now accepted as reasonably correct. "Class I" covered from 1340 to 1380; "Class II,"

[1] For some good general accounts, see E. S. Prior and A. Gardner, *Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England* (Cambridge, 1912); Society of Antiquaries of London, *Catalogue of the Exhibition English Medieval Alabaster Work, 1910* (London, 1913); E. Maclagan, *An English Alabaster Altarpiece in the Victoria and Albert Museum* in *Burlington Magazine,* XXXVI (1920), pp. 53 ff.; C. F. Pitman, *Reflections on Nottingham Alabaster Carving* in *Connoisseur,* CXXXIII (1954), pp. 217 ff. Much of the remaining relevant literature deals with special aspects of the alabaster industry or objects—whether particular altarpieces or more or less isolated carvings—as separate subjects for study.

[2] Society of Antiquaries, *op. cit.,* pp. 24 ff.

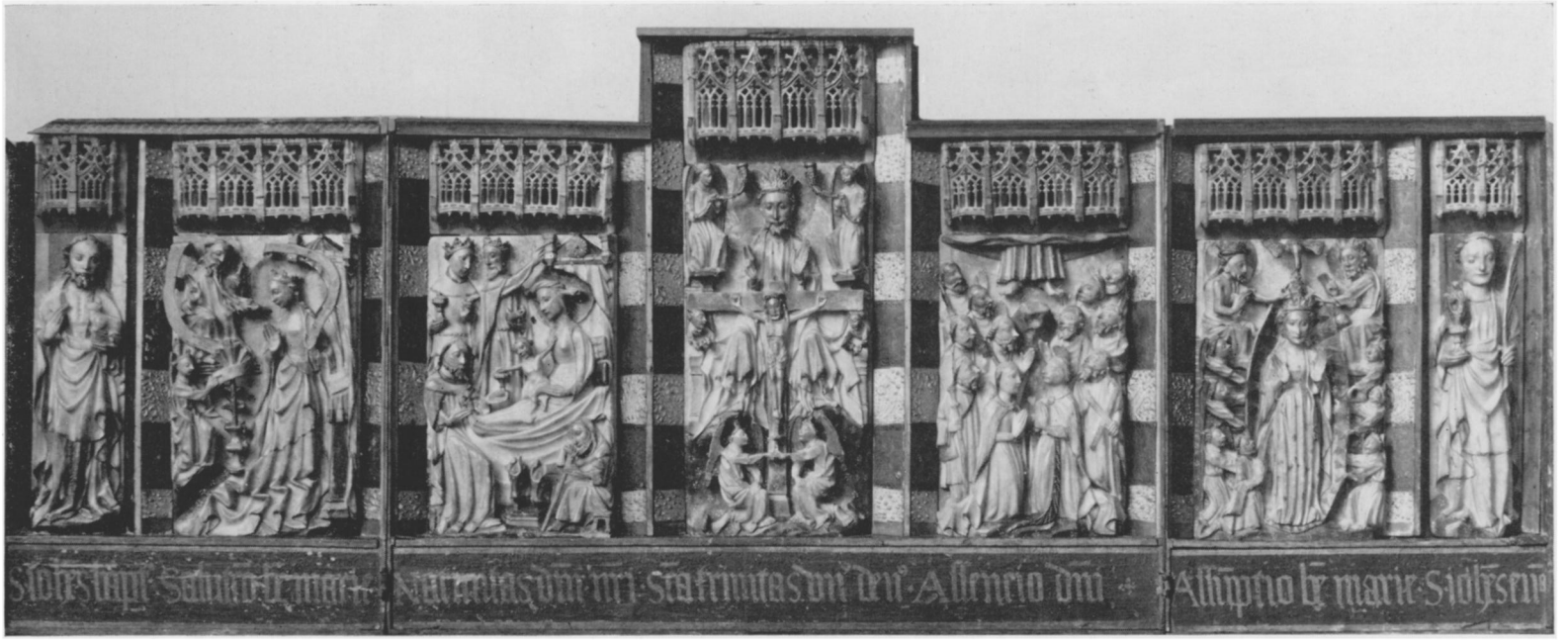

FIGURE 2

LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

Altarpiece

(Courtesy Victoria and Albert Museum)

1380 to 1420; "Class III," 1420 to 1460; and "Class IV," 1460 to the end of the industry. That the production did indeed begin at a date not far from 1340 has been shown in a recent study.[3] On the other hand, we cannot say authoritatively how long the industry, then decadent as a result of over-commercialization, continued to carve in Gothic style—whether it was, as we may well surmise, destroyed by the conditions of the English Reformation, or if some other circumstance brought about its end before that catastrophic blow to England's artistic heritage. While we have curiously little information about just where the industry was carried on, it would seem fairly certain that Nottingham was the sole seat of the production throughout "Class I" and that it continued to be so until well into "Class II";[4] and it seems very probable that there was a considerable trade at York. There are records also of "alabastermen"—whose precise relations, whether artistic or no more than commercial we do not know—at Norwich, Bristol, Lincoln, and Burton-on-Trent.

A very large proportion of the tables were made for mounting in altarpieces, of which a very considerable number, complete or at least virtually intact, still survive. With "Class II" we begin to get an approximation to a standardized size—about 16x10½ inches—for the tables composing such altarpieces, which was commonly (though by no means invariably) adhered to until the end of the English industry. Most of the altarpieces produced commercially —that is, not to meet special orders—would seem to have represented either scenes of the "Passion of Our Lord," or else the "Five Joys of Our Lady." Those "Five Joys" were the "Annunciation," the "Nativity," the "Resurrection," the "Ascension of Our Lord," and the "Assumption of Our Lady"; sometimes the "Adoration of the Magi Kings" and the "Coronation of Our Lady" were added, or the "Adoration" was combined with the "Nativity" and/or the "Coronation" combined with the "Assumption"; and sometimes the central "Resurrection" was replaced by some other subject, *e.g.* that of God the Father supporting the Cross to which the Savior is nailed. At each end of such a series of tables was one, half the normal width, on which was an image of a saint holding his (or her) emblem or in some characteristic attitude. The tables of "Class I" had simple straight top edges; those of "Class II" had their upper edges embattled; those of "Class III" and of "Class IV" had straight upper edges, but were surmounted by separate headings carved with little gables or traceried windows. In an altarpiece a number of tables, surmounted by their headings, were aligned together on a painted framework, as, for example, in the Victoria and Albert Museum's altarpiece of the "Five Joys"[5] reproduced in figure 2.[6] That altarpiece is of modest size; there were many others of more than seven panels, sometimes arranged in more than one tier. Besides altarpieces of the "Joys" and of the "Passion of Our Lord," there were ones illustrating the story of the Virgin Mary or that of some favorite saint. It should be noted that the subjects of the English alabaster tables are all drawn from the New Testament or from the Apocryphal Gospels—none from the Old Testament—or are associable with the histories or the legends of the Christian saints, or are concerned (as, for example, in representations of the "Seven Sacraments") with Christian doctrine.

[3] W. L. Hildburgh, *English Alabaster Tables of about the Third Quarter of the Fourteenth Century* in *Art Bulletin*, XXXII (1950), pp. 8 f., 20.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[5] Maclagan, *op. cit.*

[6] From an official negative, by courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Annunciation

The Walters Art Gallery is fortunate in possessing seven medieval English alabaster panels (figs. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10) from altarpieces presumably similar to the one reproduced in figure 2; the seventh (fig. 11) more probably was made not as part of a reredos, but rather for setting up alone or as part of a tomb. Three of the tables (figs. 1, 3, 6) certainly were elements of the same altarpiece; in style and in dimensions they closely resemble each other, and each has an identificatory mark, "X," scratched on its back. The table of St. John (fig. 7), although so closely similar in style as to indicate that it probably was carved in the same workshop, is slightly taller and lacks the identificatory "X," and presumably comes from another but analogous altarpiece. While these four and the two "Nativity" tables (figs. 4, 10) are of common subjects and in general conform to the usual presentations of their themes, they embody certain details which are worth noting in correlating them with other English alabasters and also because it is possible that they may perhaps be of some help in deciphering the history, as yet all too obscure, of the English alabaster industry.

The "Annunciation," the "Resurrection," and the "Assumption," acquired together, so resemble each other in style and in handling as to suggest not only that they came from the same workshop, but that they were carved by the same hand. At one time in the Château de Bruniquel, and later belonging to Mme. Ouvrier de Villyby, at the auction of whose collection (Paris, 23 December, 1926) they passed to the Paris dealer Schutz, they went from him to the Walters collection. As has been mentioned, the St. John table is so like them as to suggest that, even though seemingly from a somewhat less practised hand, it was made in the same workshop. The "Annunciation" was the first of the scenic panels in its altarpiece; then came a combined "Nativity" and "Adoration of the Kings" very like the one reproduced in figure 5[7], which is a table belonging to Stonyhurst College. This is of the same height and virtually the same width (15¾x9¾ inches) as our "Annunciation," and so similar to it in style[8] that originally it may well have stood next to it. Because of the way in which the table has been mounted after a breakage, it is now impracticable, Father Chadwick, S.J., of Stonyhurst has kindly informed me, to see if there is an identificatory mark on its back. Then followed, as the central

[7] Reproduced by courtesy of Stonyhurst College.

[8] For a detailed description, including the coloring, *cf.* Society of Antiquaries, *op. cit.*, no. 22.

panel, the somewhat taller "Resurrection"; then an "Ascension of our Lord," presumably iconographically similar to the one in the altarpiece of figure 2; and finally the "Assumption." Preceding the "Annunciation" was a half-width table, probably with an image of St. John Baptist; and following the "Assumption" one correspondingly with an image of St. John Evangelist. Over each of the seven tables was a detachable traceried heading. Complete, our altarpiece must have been much like the one shown in figure 2, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, except that in the latter there is a "Trinity" (so-called, even though there is no Dove) instead of our "Resurrection," and a combined "Assumption" and "Coronation" in place of our simple "Assumption."

In the "Annunciation"[9] (fig. 3), Mary, wearing a coronet, kneels before a desk set beneath a turretted canopy, on which lies the book she has been reading; she turns towards Gabriel who, half-kneeling, reverently speaks his message. Above Gabriel, who has a cross on his headdress to mark his Archangelic status, is a half-figure of God the Father showing above a structure painted with "clouds"[10] symbolizing Heaven, His right hand raised in benediction and in His left the World, while in His breath the Holy Spirit in the form of a Dove descends towards the Virgin. Beside Him is a half-figure of an angel, whose open hands are lifted in adoration. From the conventional water-pot between Gabriel and Our Lady rises a tall lily-plant carrying three blooms, round whose stem winds a scroll (originally painted with words of the Salutation), held at its lower end by Gabriel's left hand while his right points to its

FIGURE 5 STONYHURST COLLEGE

Nativity and Adoration

message. The design is filled with symbolism and its arrangement shows—as do the arrangements of the subjects on the two tables which here companion it—the admirable decorative patterning which the English alabaster-carvers, essentially mere craftsmen, attained through unnumbered repetitions of a particular subject within a space of virtually fixed proportions.

In the case of the present subject we are able to trace the development of the design, step by step, from a simple form in tables of "Class I"[11] with no more than Mary, crownless and seated, Gabriel holding his scroll arching above her and with the invariable potted lily-plant, through embattled tables of "Class II" retain-

[9] No. 27.309. 15⅞ x 10¼ in. (40.2 x 26 cm.).

[10] *Cf.* Hildburgh, *English Alabaster Carvings as Records of the Medieval Religious Drama* in *Archaeologia,* XCIII (1949), pp. 67 f.

[11] Hildburgh, in *Art Bulletin,* XXXII, figs. 15, 11, 12.

FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Nativity and Adoration

ing the same pattern but having their figures more animated,[12] and the exceptionally beautiful "Annunciation with Christ Crucified on the Lily Plant," in the Victoria and Albert Museum,[13] to designs like that of the present "Annunciation" table; and then beyond to tables such as, for example, one in the Victoria and Albert Museum, crowded and over-elaborated but clearly of the same lineage.[14] Even in the "Class I" tables Gabriel, as in our table and in the tables of "Class II," kneels on a sort of support apart from the ground; in some presumably later "Class III" tables this support merges with the ground.

A number of the minor details in our "Annunciation" table are worth noticing, as helping to relate it and its companion tables in time and in craftsmanship with other tables presumably carved in the same workshop (or, perhaps, group of local workshops). Among these are: the desk, whose upper part is covered with a cloth and within which there may be seen, through an opening in its side, several books; also the little turrets, paralleled on the canopy in the "Nativity" of figure 5, reminiscent of the analogous little turrets at the extremities of the battlementing of some "Class II" tables,[15] and the peculiar angular wings of Gabriel and of the angel in Heaven (on these, *cf. infra*); the painted flowers, consisting of a red dot encircled by five or six smaller white dots, characteristic of (but by no means exclusive to) English alabaster tables; and the analogously characteristic gesso enrichment, consisting of a large dot encircled by five smaller ones, of the formerly gilded background. Common to this table and its two companions (figs. 1, 6), the St. John, and the two "Nativity" tables (figs. 4, 10) is the representing of the eyes by simple rounded protuberances, upon which details were added in paint—a characteristic feature normally present in a very large proportion of English alabaster tables, from the earliest to the latest.

After the "Annunciation" came a "Nativity" (combined with an "Adoration") similar in pattern to the one shown in figure 5—which, as observed *supra*, might well have formed part of the reredos. That pattern was one which, with only

[12] *Ibid.*, fig. 29 and p. 12.

[13] *Ibid.*, fig. 16 and p. 17; *Archaeologia*, LXXIV (1925), pp. 203 ff.

[14] Hildburgh, in *Folk-Lore*, XLIV (1933), fig. 5; *idem*, in *Folk-Lore*, LX (1949), fig. 4. In this, as in some other "Annunciation" tables, the place of the Dove of our table is taken by an Infant carrying a Cross.

[15] *E.g.*, a "Resurrection" and an "Ascension," both from the same reredos of the "Five Joys," in the Copenhagen National Museum; *cf.* P. Nelson, *English Alabasters of the Embattled Type* in *Archaeological Journal*, LXXV (1918), pls. XXV and X, 2 and pp. 332 f.

minor changes in the attitudes and the details of the figures, and in their placing, appears (as in the tables of figs. 4, 10) in a predominant number of the "Nativity" tables of "Class III" and "Class IV."[16] The table of figure 5 is typical in combining the "Nativity" with the "Adoration of the Kings"—two subjects which, in media other than English alabaster, are more often separately shown.[17] Our Lady, reclining in bed, holds the Infant Christ Who with His hand touches the golden vessel offered by a King kneeling with his crown in his left hand; beyond the bed are two other Kings, one of them beardless, the other pointing with his left hand[18] to the Star, shown, as very commonly in the alabaster tables, on the canopy above the bed; Joseph, an old man holding a crutch-staff, sits asleep beside the bed,[19] and by him are the heads of the Ox and the Ass, animals which should always be present in "Nativity" scenes.[20]

Next to the combined "Nativity" and "Adoration" stood the tall central "Resurrection"[21] (fig. 6), corresponding to the (so-called) "Trinity" of the Victoria and Albert Museum's altarpiece. In general composition the table follows

FIGURE 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Resurrection

the pattern of virtually all the alabastermen's "Resurrection" tables—Our Lord at the center, a convoluted ring, presumably (when details were added in paint) representing the Crown of Thorns, or conceivably the linen torse[21a] round His head and pennoned cross-staff in His hand, steps from a tomb-chest around which are three or four armed soldiers, all but one of them asleep, sometimes with one or two angels in the background. Tables of the subject are common, for not only was the "Resurrec-

[16] For a discussion of the development in English alabaster tables of this type, see Hildburgh, in *Antiquaries Journal,* III (1923), pp. 29-34; and *idem,* in *Archaeologia,* XCIII, pp. 57-61.

[17] Opinion varied as to whether the Magi arrived thirteen days after the birth or two years.

[18] More often it is the right; compare fig. 2.

[19] *Cf.* Hildburgh, in *Archaeologia,* XCIII, p. 60.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 58, n. 3.

[21] No. 27.308. 19¾ x 11 in. (50 x 27 cm.).

[21a] Between 1239 and 1240 the Crown of Thorns began to be represented in pictures in the form of the ring-shaped bundle of rushes bound by a spiral tie, brought to Paris and accepted as the original Crown; and for about sixty years representations of the sort continued in use. These then changed gradually, at first the spiral tie tightening so that the rushes tended to bulge instead of lying flat, while later on the tie was thickened until the fillet became a cable of two cords of equal thickness. Then the thorns were represented as points on the thick cords; but soon this form changed to plaited stems with long protruding points. *Cf.* Dom Ethelbert Horne in *Downside Review,* LIII (1935), pp. 48 ff. I think that the form resembling two thick cords might well have suggested to a carver that it was a twisted cloth he was representing.

tion of our Lord" one of the "Five Joys," but it was of fundamental importance in the story of His Passion. In the present table are a number of features which make it worth examination in some detail. Most notable—although, so far as I recall, common to virtually all presentations of the Resurrection in English alabaster—is that Christ as He steps from the sepulchre, His hand raised in benediction, places His foot on a soldier. That particular feature, present also in much other English medieval art, curiously is extremely rare outside of England. Not only does it appear in English representational art, but also in an English mystery-play of the Resurrection. On several occasions I have discussed in some detail possible reasons for this curious anomaly.[22] It may be observed here that the tomb—as commonly in art, a sarcophagus and not the sepulchre of the Gospel accounts—is open, and that it is indeed the Risen Body, not an incorporeal spirit, which steps from it. The sleeping soldier seated in front of the tomb-chest rests on a small projection having the air of a special seat and, darker than the ground about it, in figure 6 might well be taken for an addition to the sarcophagus; its green coloring indicates, however, that it is meant to represent part of the greensward. Similar seat-like projections may be observed in a number of other alabaster "Resurrection" tables, and it would be tempting to think that they—including some which are well clear of the ground[23]—derive from stage properties. I am much more inclined, nevertheless, to regard them as gradually evolved by the alabastermen themselves from the little grassy mounds, often exaggerated in height in order to balance the composition, on which the soldiers sit, for there would be no difficulty in segregating a series of "Resurrection" tables illustrating all the steps in the transition from flowery greensward to appropriate protuberances from the sarcophagus itself.

Other of the table's features worthy of remark are the pulpit-like structures, adorned with representations of clouds, in which stand the adoring angels, perhaps deriving from the "Pulpits for the Angels" used in presentations of the mystery-plays;[24] the unusual form of the plant in relief in the foreground; the several kinds of painted foliage; and the characteristic little flowers composed of a central dot with smaller white dots round it.

Following the "Resurrection" table must have come one of the "Ascension," pretty certainly of the same pattern as the one in the Victoria and Albert Museum's reredos—a pattern used even in tables of "Class I" and continued at least into late tables of "Class III," and perhaps into "Class IV." In it the Apostles accompanied by Mary are grouped round a conventional "mountain," well above which rise the Savior's feet and the lower part of His garment, as He disappears into a cloud.[25]

Immediately after the "Ascension" table came its present companion, the "Assumption of Our Lady"[26] (fig. 1). While in general pattern it parallels a very considerable number of "Assumption" tables, it is a more than usually delightful example of the English alabastermen's feeling for design. Our Lady, as yet crownless, stands with her hands uplifted and open against a great aureole carved in relief and with rays painted on it which is held by angels—two kneeling on the ground and two at each side flying—with an angel at the summit holding

[22] *Archaeologia,* XCIII, pp. 90 ff.; Hildburgh, *Iconographical Peculiarities in English Medieval Alabaster Carvings* in *Folk-Lore,* XLIV (1933), pp. 37 ff.; *idem, Folk-Lore,* XLVIII (1937), pp. 95 ff.

[23] I have seen two in which there are two projecting seats just below the upper border of the tomb-chest.

[24] On these, *cf.* Hildburgh, in *Archaeologia,* XCIII, p. 67.

[25] On English alabaster representations—including some of other forms—of the "Ascension," *ibid.,* pp. 63 ff.

[26] No. 27.8. 15¾ x 10 5/16 in. (40 x 26.3 cm.).

the crown with which the Deity is about to invest her; at her right kneels St. Thomas, in his hands the girdle fallen as assurance that it was her body itself which had ascended. As I have remarked elsewhere,[27] there appear to be some reasons for thinking that representations in relief of the nimbus, such as we have here, may—however inspired by cognate representations in paintings—perhaps be associable with stage-properties of the English mystery-plays; and, further,[28] that wings with thickened edges, like those of the supporting angels, suggest wings of cardboard or of cloth with a rim of stouter material to hold them in shape. The outspread wings, as well, are unusual in form, resembling bats' wings rather than, as in a number of other alabaster tables, those of birds; and extending from their edges they have an exaggerated form of the little curved spine, not uncommon in tables as marking the separation of the covert feathers from the primaries, mentioned by Prior[29] as characteristic of "Subsection 2" of his "Class III," and probably datable about 1440-1480, or even later. Above but well away from our Lady's head, the crown is held by an angel with folded wings—a feature so unusual (I recall no other instance of it in English alabaster)[30] that I am inclined to think it either an iconographical error of the carver or a concession on his part to artistic elegance. In the "Assumption" table—actually it is an "Assumption" combined with a "Coronation"—of the reredos reproduced in figure 2, which in many ways resembles our table, Our Lady wears a crown touched by all Three Persons of the Trinity. A similar arrangement appears in many other "Assumption" tables, although more often there is no crowning, but only a half-figure of

FIGURE 7 WALTERS ART GALLERY

St. John Evangelist

[27] *Archaeologia,* XCIII, p. 66.

[28] *Ibid.,* p. 67.

[29] Society of Antiquaries, *Illustrated Catalogue,* p. 41.

[30] An "Assumption" table, presumably rather later in date, having a triple crown held by two angels above Our Lady's head, was in the hands of a Toulouse antiquities-dealer about a quarter of a century ago; I do not know its present whereabouts. Another is in the collection of Mr. George Douglas of Brooklyn, New York.

FIGURE 8 VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

St. John Baptist

the Deity, His hands open and raised, immediately over her head, with an angel at each side. Traces survive in the table's background of the usual groups of little knobs of gesso; and the earth is starred with the usual conventional flowers represented by groups of dots.

The image-panel of St. John the Divine,[31] shown in figure 7, in style so resembles the three tables with which we have been above concerned that we may be reasonably certain that all four were carved in the same workshop and at about the same time; indeed, were it not for its slightly greater height—16 7/8 inches against the 15 7/8 inches and 15 3/4 inches of the two comparable tables—we might well believe it to have served as the terminal table of their reredos. For a time in the Victor Gay collection, and recorded in a line-engraving in that scholar's *Glossaire archéologique*,[32] s.v. "*Albâtre*," it was sold at Paris when his collection was dispersed on March 23, 1909, and in 1911 was bought from a London dealer for the Walters collection. The saint, standing, holds in his right hand a book representing his writings, on which rests his symbol, an eagle;[33] in his left hand is the palm-branch which, brought by an angel to the Virgin Mary's death-bed, he carried before her as she was taken to be buried. The image is very like one in the Museum at Douai,[34] attributed by Prior to about 1450, holding the emblematic palm-branch in the right hand and the book in the left. Also in the Douai museum is the companion St. John Baptist, very like the one in the Victoria and Albert Museum's reredos, wearing his camel-skin,

[31] No. 27.310. 16 7/8 x 5 1/2 in. (43 x 14 cm.).

[32] Vol. I (Paris, 1887). Gay did not suspect that its origin was English.

[33] The corresponding St. John of the Victoria and Albert Museum's reredos holds the poisoned cup from which a dragon emerges.

[34] Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, fig. 561; Society of Antiquaries, *Illustrated Catalogue*, fig. 3.

holding in his left hand a book (or box) on which kneels the Lamb of God to which he points with his right hand. The Douai "Baptist" is so close to the Risen Christ of the Walters "Resurrection" as to serve as further indication that it and its companion "Evangelist" as well were carved in the same atelier. Very similar to the Douai "Baptist" is an isolated one (fig. 8),[35] in the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. A. 64-1946), which also looks to have been carved in that same atelier, though by a different hand.

The table[36] reproduced in figure 4 combines the "Nativity" with the "Adoration" in nearly the way in which they are combined in the Stonyhurst table reproduced in figure 5. There are, however, despite the general similarities, so many small differences between the two tables that we can say hardly more than that they follow the same prototype. Thus, the Virgin's coronet in figure 5 is here replaced by a flattened headdress analogous to the one of the same subject in the Victoria and Albert Museum's reredos (fig. 2), and resembling one in an "Adoration" table very similar to our present one, in the British Museum.[37] Furthermore, the execution of the carving is considerably less refined than that in the tables of our figures 1,3,6; its decadence suggests that the table was made somewhat later than those tables. At the foot of the table someone has scratched "LUCA DELLA ROBBIA" in the soft stone.

An "Adoration" table (fig. 9) in the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. A.98-1946)[38] closely follows the same arrangement, except in that the Child stands facing the King who is offering his gift and touches it with both hands, instead of being seated and turning towards him, and that the sleeping Joseph has his back to the Kings.

FIGURE 9 VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

Nativity and Adoration

Figure 10 reproduces another "Adoration,"[39] also somewhat crudely carved. In general pattern it much resembles the corresponding table of the Victoria and Albert Museum's altarpiece (fig. 2), which similarly is reversed from the more usual presentation of the subject, but the Ox and the Ass due to appear in "Nativity" scenes are absent. The Child is unclothed, as in a number of other "Adoration" tables (including the Victoria and Albert Museum's altar-

[35] Reproduced by courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[36] No. 27.10. 15 15/16 x 9⅞ in. (40.5 x 25.1 cm.).

[37] Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, fig. 559; attributed to "c. 1480." In error, this table depicts four Kings instead of the traditional three.

[38] Reproduced by courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[39] No. 27.9. 16¼ x 10⅞ in. (41.3 x 27.6 cm.).

piece, in which, also, His legs are crossed). It is interesting to observe the resemblance between the Virgin's head and coronet in this table and the same details in our "Annunciation" table (fig. 3); a similarly resemblant head and coronet appear in a "Nativity" and "Adoration" table shown in the 1910 Alabaster Exhibition,[40] which also has its Child unclothed. The short ribbon-scroll to the central figure's left retains faint traces of a painted inscription—presumably one referring to the Star to which he points.

The seventh alabaster panel,[41] reproduced in figure 11, differs from the six above discussed in not having served as an element of an altarpiece; more probably it either was at one end of a tomb-chest or stood isolated against a wall. Its only recorded history is that in the second decade of the present century it was sold as Spanish by a firm of antiquities-dealers who were accustomed to collect much of their stock in Spain, and so, conceivably, may have been brought by them from that country.[42] The central portion is occupied by a large image, in *mezzo-rilievo*, of the Trinity within a mandorla whose inner frame is ornamented with little squarish flowers in relief. The Father's feet rest on a three-banded arc of a circle, presumably representing the world as His footstool,[43] within which is a small heater-shaped shield whose traces of painting suggest heraldic arms. It would seem possible that the slab was carved in England to satisfy an order from Spain; the fine alabaster "Trinity," English in iconography as well as in material, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts,[44] has on its base two shields of much the same shape as the one on our slab, which doubtless bore the painted arms of two little donors kneeling beside the image—who, since the carving was long in Spain before it was taken to America, we may well suppose to have been Spaniards. At the foot of the Cross are, as signs of Calvary, some bones and a cavity in which is a skull. In the slab's corners are the Four Symbols of the Evangelists, each holding an appropriate ribbon-scroll: clockwise, the

FIGURE 10 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Nativity and Adoration

[40] Society of Antiquaries, *op. cit.*, no. 28. The arrangement in this is like the one in our figs. 4 and 5; not reversed as in fig. 10.

[41] No. 27.307. 27⅞ x 20¾ x 7 in. (70.1 x 52.7 x 17.9 cm.).

[42] A very considerable number of reredos-tables and flat-backed images carved by the English alabastermen have come from or been reported in Spain; *cf.* Hildburgh, . . . *some Assembled Notes on English Alabaster Carvings in Spain* in *Antiquaries Journal,* XXIV (1944), pp. 27-37.

[43] Isaiah, LXVI:1; Acts, VII:49; Matthew, V:35. Although the banding suggests the possibility that the intention was to represent a rainbow, I do not recall any authority for such an interpretation.

[44] *Burlington Magazine,* LIII (1928), pp. 263 (plate), 265; Hildburgh, in *Folk-Lore,* XLIV (1933), fig. 8.

FIGURE 11 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Trinity with Symbols of the Evangelists

FIGURE 12 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Orb of the World
(Detail of Trinity. Actual size)

Eagle, the Man, the Lion, and the Ox.[45] The Father's eyes are carved (not, as in the tables with which we have had to do, mere rounded protuberances to be painted with details); His beard is cut square; His hair waves in the usual way at either side of His face; and in His left hand he holds a symbolization of the World (fig. 12), for which I do not recall any exact parallel—a rounded object whose upper half has been cut back to show waves, representing the Oceans, out of which rise tower-like objects which I take to represent the three Continents. Worth observing are the Eagle's squared tail, the Lion's face and mane and bushy tail, the Ox's odd face and tail ending in an oversized tuft, and the exceptional shape of the upper edges of all the wings.

The sculpture of the slab resembles in a number of ways that of a stone slab now on the north wall of the chancel of the Church of St. Mary the Less at Durham,[46] to an extent that suggests a possible relationship of some kind between the two objects. The Durham carving has been attributed by Prior to about 1250; the present one looks to be well over a century later in date. The general similarities between the two slabs are interesting because in the fourteenth century there were in Durham Cathedral Church some very important English alabaster works: images given in 1341-47, in 1372 a work of marble and alabaster, and in 1380 work called "La Reredos," and splendid tombs.[47]

For comparison, it is worth mentioning that a number of fonts having panels analogous in form to the slab of our figure 11 have been illustrated by Prior and Gardner. One,[48] of about 1400, embodies a panel whose design much resembles the design of our slab, including a frame

[45] Two large tables representing the "Trinity" with the Four Symbols are in the Victoria and Albert Museum. One [*Antiquaries Journal*, III (1923), pl. VII; *Folk-Lore, loc. cit.*, fig. 9], which is without the Dove but has in the same situation a napkin containing souls, has its Symbols in the same order as on our slab; the other (unpublished) has the Dove, flanking figures of our Lady and St. John, censing angels, and the Symbols in the order Man, Eagle, Lion, Ox.

[46] Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, fig. 265.

[47] *Cf.* W. H. St. John Hope, in Society of Antiquaries, *Illustrated Catalogue*, pp. 3 f.

[48] Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, fig. 502.

[49] *Ibid.*, fig. 544.

adorned with analogous little flowers in relief. Very similar little flowers ornament the alabaster Foljambe monument, datable about 1375, at Bakewell.[49]

The back of the slab (fig. 13) has been preliminarily treated, presumably with an intention of fashioning a carving like the one now adorning the front, but the craftsman soon abandoned his task, leaving the lower end of his ellipse too far to the right of the slab in its present dimensions, and the upper left side of the ellipse now far short of where its upper end would have to come. These abnormalities suggest that originally the slab was both taller and broader, and that, having been found too large for the situation it was intended to occupy, it was cut down and the original reverse utilized to receive the image. Such a proceeding would appear more likely than that the craftsman—who doubtless drew his median lines before laying out so symmetrical a design—should have made the grave error of placing the lower end of his ellipse far to the right of where it properly belonged.

FIGURE 13 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Back of Slab with Trinity

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

JAN SOREAU

Still-life of Fruit and Flowers

NOTES ON A STILL-LIFE BY JAN SOREAU

BY EDWARD S. KING

The Walters Art Gallery

THE STILL-LIFE (fig. 1), to which some measure of investigation is given here, is one of the many paintings in the Walters collection which have perforce awaited an opportune moment for their study, or, as is most welcome in a situation where problems of attribution abound, a happy circumstance which would at least reveal who 'did' it.[1] The suggestion was made by the Netherlands Art Institute at The Hague, in reviewing photographs of the Gallery's Northern paintings not long ago, that this was the work of Jan Soreau, or perhaps Peter Binoit. A glance into R. Warner's *Dutch and Flemish Fruit and Flower Painters* made the attribution to the former self-evident. Warner illustrates four of Soreau's works, one of which, a painting of 1638 in the Mechlenburgishes Landesmuseum at Schwerin —the only signed and dated work by Soreau recorded—has the identical blue-and-white bowl with the same (hybrid) raspberries and leaf arrangement as the Walters' panel.[2] Two of the other works illustrated by Warner were in the T. W. H. Ward collection of Dutch and Flemish still-life pictures, most of which was bequeathed to the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford University. One of the two, however, was not included in the bequest.[3] The other (fig. 2) shows a blue-and-white bowl with raspberries and a glass holding flowers which are similar in type to the corresponding objects in the Walters picture.[4] It will be noted that the baskets of grapes in these two pictures are much alike. Exactly the same basket and grapes, bowl of raspberries, glass, and peaches and plums in a blue-and-white bowl seen in the Ashmolean picture are repeated in the fourth of Soreau's paintings illustrated by Warner, in the Kunsthalle at Hamburg.[5] Only the design on the larger bowl, the flowers in the glass, and the positions of the smaller bowl, the glass, cherries, strawberries and blossoms strewn about on the inclined shelf and the fly differ. Even the delicately rendered Hunters butterfly appears in the same spot in both pictures. A sixth still-life by Soreau, which recently came on the New York art market (fig.

[1] Cat. no. 37.1902. Panel, 19¼ x 25⅜ in. Acquired by Henry Walters in 1902 with the purchase of the Massarenti collection, Rome; see E. van Esbroeck, *Catalogue du Musée au Palais Accoramboni* (Rome, 1897), no. 542, as Fiammingo, 1540-1596 (*sic*).

[2] Inv. no. 653. Copper, 15¾ x 22½ in. Illustrated in Ralph Warner, *Dutch and Flemish Fruit and Flower Painters of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries* (London, 1928), pl. 97a. The signature as it appears in an indifferent photograph looks as though it *may* have been repainted.

[3] Warner, *op. cit.*, pl. 97b. Panel, 14⅜ x 19⅜ in. This work probably was sold by W. T. H. Ward.

[4] *Ashmolean Museum, Catalogue of the Collection of Dutch and Flemish Still-life Pictures Bequeathed by Daisy Linda Ward* (Oxford, 1950), no. 70. Panel, 22 x 35¼ in. Hereinafter referred to under the name of J. G. van Gelder, author of the introduction. Warner, *op. cit.*, pl. 97c.

[5] No. 170. Warner, *op. cit.*, pl. 97d. Panel, 23½ x 33⅜ in.

FIGURE 2 ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD UNIVERSITY

JAN SOREAU

Still-life of Fruit and Flowers

3), again shows the identical bowl of raspberries and glass holding flowers, in the same relative positions, as in the Walters composition.[6] Six other works by Soreau are listed as being at Stockholm, Speyer and in various private collections, but these were not available for this inquiry.[7]

Repetition of the same elements in different compositions, a fairly recurrent practice in the history of painting, was particularly natural in the painting of seventeenth-century still-life where the artist, who usually owned certain favored objects, was as much concerned with new combinations as with new material. Clearly, Soreau may be regarded as one of the more noticeable exponents of this habit. In this he was quite in keeping with the practice of his times, for, as has often been pointed out, still-life paintings during the first half of the century were as a rule copied not directly from nature but from carefully executed watercolor studies and drawings, so that identical objects, being taken from the same source, appear again and again in successive pictures, though usually in different arrangements.[8] Indeed, the painting itself could serve toward the formation of another composition and, furthermore, the elements could be largely repeated from memory, so fixed in the mind does the rendering of certain objects become.

[6] Panel, 17¼ x 24¼ in.

[7] P. de Boer (dealer), *De Helsche en de Fluweelen Brueghel, Tentoonstelling,* The Hague, Feb. 10-March 26, 1934, pp. 27, 64-65. The names of the private collections are not given, nor are any of the works referred to illustrated.

[8] Van Gelder, *op. cit.,* pp. 12-13, 20. *Cf.* Warner, *op. cit.,* pls. 21a,b, 51c, 60a, 83d, 102b.

FIGURE 3 DAVID M. KOESTER GALLERY, NEW YORK

JAN SOREAU

Still-life of Fruit and Flowers

The made-up character of the Walters painting, for example, as distinct from a composition deriving directly from nature in a single view—an approach which became more established in the second half of the century[9]—is demonstrated by its contents. The elements are: a basket of green Niagara and dull-red Tokay grapes, red (sour?) cherries, hazel-nuts and currants; a beetle, butterfly, and the bowl of raspberries; a glass holding the following flowers (*pace* the true horticulturalist): tulips, roses, narcissus, yellow violets, violas, blue-bells, daffodils, anemone, columbine, hepatica, lilies-of-the-valley and forget-me-nots, a spray of which lies on the shelf. The picture is essentially one of spring flowers and autumn fruits, wherein the roses and cherries allude to summer and the hazel-nuts suggest winter storage. However, there seems no reason to construe the work as an allegory of the four seasons; rather it suggests a simple delight in bringing together certain familiar blooms and fruits of the growing year.

The several blue-and-white bowls pictured by Soreau have a certain interest in the study of Chinese ceramics and their dissemination. These vessels have been referred to the reign of Wan-li

[9] Van Gelder, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

(1572-1619)[10] and they are, specifically, export wares of that time. Such cup-shaped bowls as the two holding raspberries, besides being of a coarser facture and more summary in the manner of their decorative designs, in keeping with the character of export porcelains, seem usually to be proportionately deeper and narrower than the related blue-and-white bowls which the Chinese made for their own use.[11] One of these bowls employed by Soreau is decorated with alternating panels of deer, in which one beast looks forward and the other backward over its shoulder, having curious oval bodies and long, stilt-like, delicately curving legs, reversed in white against blue foliage (figs. 1 and 3). The pattern on the other similarly shaped bowl consists of panels containing (on the visible portion) sprays of peonies and peaches, painted in blue against the white ground, separated by fillets with leaf clusters and hanging from a loop-and-dot device above (fig. 2).[12] The highly stylized deer motif derives from the more naturalistic animals seen in similar poses so frequently found on late Ming blue-and-white wares.[13] While few examples of the motif have emerged in the course of this research, the evidence indicates that it was common enough among the mass-produced export wares. The only duplicate pattern noted on a bowl like Soreau's, but somewhat wider and shallower, occurs in the remarkable collection of the arts of the Far East in the Princesshof Museum at Leeuwarden. Such bowls belong to the large group of blue-and-white wares which the seventeenth-century Dutch called *kraakporselein* ('carrack porcelain') from the Portuguese *caraques* or cargo vessels from which these wares were first obtained, and which are said to have been virtually the only Ming porcelains that the Dutch importers could get.[14] Another but less conventionalized example of the motif occurs on a bowl like the Leeuwarden one which is in the collection of Chinese porcelains (now in the Archaeological Museum at Tehran) that Shah Abbas the Great presented to the shrine of his ancestor, the Shaikh Safi, at Ardebil on its dedication in 1611.[15] A third instance, with less attenuated deer in blue on a stained white ground, appears on a small jar of this period also at Leeuwarden, which is said to be one of the commonest Chinese ceramic types found in the Dutch East Indies.[16] A much less stylized example of the motif decorates the center medallion of a plate in the Royal Ottoman Museum at Constantinople, a Wan-li piece manufactured at Ching-tê Chên for export to Persia.[17] No other specimens of the motif appear in the several hundreds of seventeenth-century still-life paintings containing Far Eastern porcelains which have been reviewed by the writer.

Nor have any precise analogies been found in paintings for the shallow bowl with floral panels (fig. 2), which Soreau repeated in his still-life at Hamburg, although its pattern must have

[10] Van Gelder, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

[11] *E.g.*, E. Zimmerman, *Chinesisches Porzellan* (Leipzig, 1923), II, pl. 60, above. The bowls made for domestic use seem also generally to have had plain, not foliated rims.

[12] For the hanging fillet device, *cf.*, Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 68, below.

[13] See reference to J. A. Pope in note 16. The deer motif probably was derived from the "Hundred Deer" design of the late Ming period; *cf.* R. L. Hobson, *Chinese Pottery and Porcelain* (London and New York, 1915), II, p. 243.

[14] Nanne Ottema, *De Praktijk van het Porcelein Verzamelaen,* handbook of the Chinese porcelain in the Princesshof Museum, Leeuwarden (Amsterdam, 1953), pl. 96 (second row from top, center), pp. 138, 165.

[15] This specimen was called to my attention by Mr. J. A. Pope, who has a photograph of it. I am indebted to Mr. Pope for enlightening me on this subject generally, including the preceding reference; see his *Letter from the Near East,* in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,* XIII (1950), p. 561. On p. 558 the year of dedication of the Shrine at Ardebil is given as 1612; Mr. Pope latterly advises that the correct date is 1611.

[16] J. A. Pope, *The Princesshof Museum in Leeuwarden,* in *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America,* V (1951), p. 36, pl. VIIIb.

[17] F. Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 67, below, p. 17, and I, p. 209. See, further, p. 37 and pl. 58a in Sir Harry Garner, *Oriental Blue and White* (London, 1954), a publication which came to notice while this article was in press.

been a very common decoration for such blue-and-white export objects. Blue-and-white bowls of this shape with differing floral panels occur in a still-life by Georg Flegel (1563-1638), in one (with unfoliated rim) by Louise Moillon (1611-1696), and, a larger specimen, in a work of 1644 by Abraham van Beyeren.[18] Otherwise, the several hundred paintings referred to have no examples of the type to offer. The Princesshof Museum has examples of the general sort among its 'carrack porcelains', some with alternating panels of deer and floral sprays, and others are included among the export pieces in the Porcelain Collection at Dresden.[19]

The large blue-and-white fruit bowls which figure in four of Soreau's paintings (*cf.*, figs. 2 and 3) are ubiquitous still-life accessories of his century and no attempt will be made here to consider the rather extensive ceramic subject which they constitute. The majority of them have the look of Wan-li exports and examples of a character similar to Soreau's also occur among the 'carrack porcelains' at Leeuwarden.[20] The student of ceramics, to paraphrase Hobson, may find "many precious hints" to his purpose among these and other representations of Chinese wares in still-life paintings.[21] His studies will be both simplified and complicated by the reappearance of the same object in different positions in a given painter's work.[22] [In view of the extensive trade which the Dutch carried on with Japan from 1641 and even earlier, one may wonder why Japanese wares, and especially those of Imari type, are so sparsely represented in Dutch and cognate still-life painting, if, indeed, they are represented at all.][23]

If the little Chinese bowls pictured by Soreau turn out to be something of a rarity in seventeenth-century Northern painting, the glasses that hold the flowers appear to be quite as much so, even though they must have been common utensils of daily use. One of these glasses (the same one is seen in both figures 1 and 3) may be described as a prunted beaker of two zones with plain bands and but slightly flaring sides. A larger glass of two zones with the same thorn-shaped prunts and simple bands appears in a flower painting of 1619 by Ambrosius Bosschaert, the Elder (ca. 1565-1621), but here the upper zone swells out to give the glass the shape of an incipient roemer.[24] Two-zoned beakers with impressed 'strawberry' prunts like that in Soreau's picture at Oxford (fig. 2), but with more flare to the sides and with ornamented bands, are seen, *inter alia*, in works by Jan Brueghel, the Elder (1568-1625), and Balthasar van der Ast (before 1590- after 1656), the latter

[18] Flegel: R.-A. d'Hulst, in *Bulletin, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts,* Brussels, II, No. 3 (1953), p. 118, fig. 3 (Paris art market). Moillon: Warner, *op. cit.,* pl. 69a (Grenoble Museum); see also pl. 68a (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). Van Beyeren: *Burlington Magazine,* XCIII (1951), supplement, pl. VIII (M. Knoedler & Co., New York).

[19] Princesshof Museum: Ottema, *op. cit.,* pl. 96. Dresden: Zimmerman, *op. cit.,* II, pl. 68, below, and, similar in type to van Beyeren's example, pl. 69, above.

[20] *Cf.* the decoration of the two shallow bowls or dishes in Ottema, *op. cit.,* pl. 96, top row. Soreau's bowl in the Ashmolean picture (fig. 2 in the text) includes a praying mantis, perhaps an unusual motiff.

[21] Hobson, *op. cit.,* II, pl. 73. For Delft versions of Wan-li blue-and-white, see C. H. de Jonge, *Oud-Nederlandsche Majolica en Delftsch Aardewerk* (Amsterdam, 1947), pp. 196-203, figs. 170-177. In this connection see, *e.g.,* the dishes in the paintings by Bosschaert [I. Bergström, *Hollandskt Stillebenmaleri under 1600-Talet* (Göteborg, 1947), fig. 44] and Pieter Gallis (van Gelder, *op. cit.,* no. 28). *Cf.* Zimmerman, *op. cit.,* I, pl. 211 and note 811. The picture by Hulsdonck with a Wan-li bowl of a type similar to Soreau's in our figure 3 that is illustrated in Warner, pl. 48d, is now in the collection of Mrs. L. Henkel Haass, Detroit; see Bergström, *op. cit.,* fig. 73. *Cf., inter alia,* the types depicted by Floris van Schooten (1617); Bergström, pl. II.

[22] Van Gelder, *op. cit.,* p. 20, notes that Willem Kalf repeated the same blue-and-white bowl in no less than sixteen of his pictures; see *ibid.,* pl. 39.

[23] The usual date given for the beginning of importation of Japanese porcelain into Holland is 1641, when the Dutch established themselves on the island of Deshima, off Nagasaki. F. W. Hudig, in his *Delfter Fayence* (Berlin, 1929), p. 52, points out, however, that the Dutch owned a factory in Japan as early as 1611. The same author notes, *loc. cit.,* that in 1664 a shipment of 45,000 pieces of porcelain was received in Holland from Japan. Regarding Dutch imitations of Imari, see *e.g., ibid.,* fig. 134 and p. 187.

[24] Bergström, *op. cit.,* pl. I; *cf.* also *ibid.,* figs. 50, 51, and *Connaissance des Arts,* March 15, 1953, no. 15, p. 14. Regarding the elder Bosschaert's correct dates, see A. Bredius, in *Oud Holland,* XXXI (1913), pp. 138-139.

work dated 1622.[25] The two similar and relatively simple forms of glasses used by Soreau are most unusual and perhaps unique in still-life painting. Curiously, too, these forms are not represented in the leading reference works on the history of glasses, although specimens presumably exist and may have been noted somewhere in the literature on the subject. The related forms pictured by Brueghel and Bosschaert seem largely to disappear from painting toward the end of their generation, about 1625. The still simpler beer glass and passglas,[26] on the other hand, continue to be represented well into the second half of the century, along with the numberless large-bowled roemers, goblets and flutes.

The basket of grapes recalls that the fruit- or flower-filled basket is among the oldest and most enduring of still-life subjects, extending from Roman times until today,[27] and that in the long tradition Caravaggio's surpassing picture in the Ambrosiana at Milan must be one of the most magnificent examples ever painted. While the subject occurs throughout the seventeenth century, it seems to be more frequent in the first half than in the second, when it becomes merely an item in an elaborate baroque composition. In the early part of the century it is the dominant feature of the picture in which it appears. Most typical, as well as most charming, of the early examples are the flower baskets of Jan Brueghel, the Elder, whose manner of presenting the subject was continued as late as 1660 by Jan van Kessel.[28] Brueghel, too, is well known for his repetitions of elements and arrangements, and his son Jan, the Younger, and others repeated him. His basket and glass of flowers (this glass also is of unusual design), illustrated here (fig. 4),[29] has many points in common with another of his works exhibited at Amsterdam in 1934 by P. de Boer and the latter,[30] in turn, is almost identical with the basket of flowers in the collection of Miss Adelaide Milton de Groot, which is possibly the work of the younger Brueghel.[31] The composition seen in figure 4 is so markedly similar to the Walters painting by Soreau (fig. 1) that one is inclined to believe that he was directly influenced by the widely traveled and much imitated Fleming. That Sorreau was acquainted with the work of Jacob van Hulsdonck (1582-1647), who spent his student days at Middelburg—"the first example of a Flemish still-life painter to receive his training in Holland"[32]—later going to Antwerp (1608), is plausible, as Professor van Gelder remarks, from the similar effects of their rendering of dewdrops and cherries.[33] A still more specific similarity occurs between Soreau's pewter plate of plums and peaches (fig. 3) and the same features in a work by Hulsdonck, which are so alike that, save for a slight difference in the arrangement of the fruit, both subjects would be supposed to have been done after the same

[25] Brueghel: de Boer, *op. cit.*, no. 275, illus. p. 39. Van der Ast: Bergström, *op. cit.*, fig. 54. The banquet still-life labelled as Flemish school in the de Boer exhibition (no. 349, illus. p. 41) is given to Jan Brueghel, the Elder, by Warner, *op. cit.*, pl. 17d.

[26] Regarding the migration of glass forms, see the six-zoned beaker or passglas of *ca.* 1615 made by the Venetian glassmaker Antonio Miotti while in business at Middelburg, Holland, illustrated in W. A. Thorpe, *English Glass* (London, 1935), pl. XV c, p. 121, n. 3. Such vessels were called "beare glasses" in England, where Miotti continued his profession in London from 1619.

[27] For ancient and modern examples, see, *e.g.*, C. Sterling, *La nature morte de l'antiquité à nos jours* (Paris, 1952), pls. 5, 6 and 109, 111, and the American (Maryland) primitive example, *ca.* 1835, in the Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch Collection of the National Gallery, Washington, D. C., illustrated in *Art in America,* XLII, no. 2 (1954), p. 219.

[28] Signed and dated; de Boer, *op. cit.*, no. 291, illus. p. 41.

[29] De Boer, *op. cit.*, no. 272, illus. p. 38. Signed and dated, 1617 or 1618 (?). Panel, 21⅞ x 35⅞ in.

[30] De Boer, *op. cit.*, no. 271, illus. p. 44. Panel, 19¼ x 25¼ in.

[31] Now on loan to the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn. Panel, 18¾ x 26 in. This work is attributed to Jan Brueghel, the Younger (1601-1678), in the *Wadsworth Atheneum Bulletin,* second series, no. 41, May-Sept., 1953, p. 1. As is well known, the works of father and son are at times virtually indistinguishable.

[32] H. Gerson, *Ausbreitung und Nachwirkung der höllandischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Haarlem, 1942), p. 34.

[33] Van Gelder, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

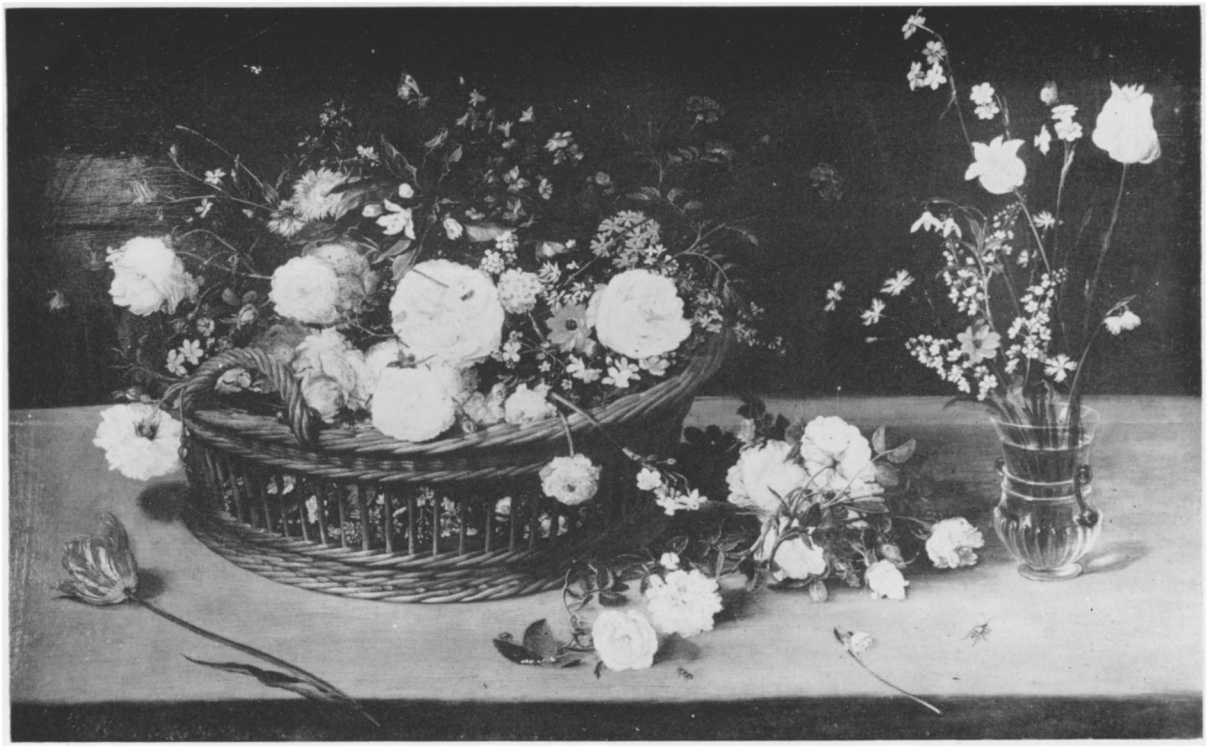

FIGURE 4 P. DE BOER, AMSTERDAM

JAN BRUEGHEL, THE ELDER

Still-life of Flowers

model, as might almost be said also of the Brueghel-like roses in the two works.[34]

These specific analogies between Soreau's manner and those of Brueghel and Hulsdonck introduce the matter of the general style of Northern still-life painting in the early seventeenth century and that of Soreau's particular place within this very ramose development.

As explained by Sterling and others, this 'primitive' style—*la nature morte internationale de type archaïque*—is a congeries of related styles of mixed character resulting in large part from the presence of Flemish painters of the reformed faith in Holland, whither they had fled among the many thousands of refugees to escape the religious persecutions of the Spanish in the late sixteenth century, and whence with Dutch fellow-sufferers many pushed on again, eastward and southward, spreading the style over much of Europe. Arising out of the still-life of religious and allegorical pictures of the earlier sixteenth century, and in its more conservative aspects a continuation of the Eyckian tradition, the immediate origins of this first style of independent still-life painting can not be demonstrated save in the most fragmentary way, owing to a lack of surviving examples, nor can it be said with certainty, for the same reason, whether its creation was due more to Flemish or Dutch initiative.[35] Its leading characteristics are a pre-

[34] Warner, *op. cit.*, pl. 48c. The cluster of two red cherries and the hazel-nuts are exact echoes of these elements in the Walters painting by Soreau.

[35] Sterling, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 43, 44, 51. Gerson, *op. cit.*, p. 8, notes the estimate that more than 600,000 Flemish refugees fled to Holland. H. Haug, *Sebastian Stoskopff*, in *Trois siècles d'art alsacien, 1648-1948 (Archives alsaciennes d'histoire de l'art*, Strasbourg-Paris, 1948), p. 46.

ference for horizontal compositions in which the elements are spread out on a shelf or table at more or less equal intervals; uniform lighting which emphasizes the distinctness and separateness of details; and local colors which likewise serve to accentuate the singleness of the individual object. The general effect of the composition thus tends to be somewhat static and rigid, but enjoyable now as in its own day for its very precision and clarity and, at times, its almost astringent quality. In Soreau's case the contrast between the thin paint film and glass-like smoothness of the grapes, cherries and currants, indicating a predilection for the blending brush, and the heavier, opaque paint of the flowers is so marked as to suggest a mixed character of style as seen in technique.

All who are classified generally within this primitive manner do not conform, of course, to so rigorous a formula: it is difficult, for example, to associate the airiness of a Flemish Ambrosius Bosschaert with the archaic probity of a Dutch Floris van Schooten (known dates 1616-1655). The identity of the many-faceted primitive manner becomes clear, however, when compared to the beginning of the baroque development from about 1620 in such painters as Pieter Claesz (1597/98-1661) and Willem Heda (1593-1680/82),[36] with its diagonal arrangements, unity of impression and that suffusion of the natural world in pervading light which became perhaps the greatest Dutch contribution to painting.

Jan Soreau was a member of that rather influential local school, so typical of the *altertümliche Stilleben*, which was established by the refugees from the Spanish war who settled at Frankfurt and nearby Hanau on the Main, and which was of comparable importance to the school of landscape painting likewise developed by refugees from the Netherlands at Frankenthal, some fifty miles to the southwest.[37] Among the former group was Daniel Soreau of Antwerp, probably Jan's father, who arrived at Frankfurt in 1586, to move on three years later to Hanau, when the new section of the city was being built to receive the refugee colony from the West and where he died in 1619. Whereas Daniel Soreau is referred to in the documents only as a merchant, Sandrart, who became his last pupil at the age of twelve in 1618, "praises him to the skies" for his abilities as an architect, which were put to good use in the building of Neu-Hanau, and—although he took up the brush only in his old age—for developing his studies of large figures, portraits (*Contrafäten*) and still-life (*stilstehenden Sachen*) so far that he easily surpassed all other masters of the region.[38] Unfortunately, none of the elder Soreau's works remain; otherwise we should know rather more about the character of transplanted Flemish still-life painting in the early seventeenth century. Something of his style may be reflected in the work of his pupils and colleagues at Frankfurt and Hanau, but the diversity in their manners makes surmise uncertain.

Of Jan Soreau there is only mention that he was in Hanau between 1620 and 1638. Besides his father, both Georg Flegel and Peter Binoit are his conjectured teachers.[39] Flegel, the "first German painter of [independent] still-life," who was born in 1563 at Olmütz in Moravia, went to Frankfurt in 1594, where he died in 1638.[40]

[36] Sterling, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46. For Claesz. and Heda, see Bergström, *op. cit.*, p. 120 ff.

[37] Gerson, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 84, 260.

[38] Joachim von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie*, A. R. Peltzer ed. (Munich, 1925), p. 164. Sandrart refers in the following section to Daniel Soreau's son, Peter. An idyllic landscape, somewhat reminiscent of Elsheimer, within a wreath of flowers signed by Peter Soreau is in the Wadsworth Atheneum (Acc. no. 1921.357). The flowers appear to be rendered in a manner analogous to those of his presumed brother, Jan, which is to say after the Brueghel fashion. On Daniel and Peter Soreau, see further W. K. Zülch, *Frankfurter Künstler, 1223-1700* (Frankfurt a/M, 1935), pp. 408-409, 540.

[39] H. Haug, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[40] Sandrart, *op. cit.*, p. 164; Zülch, *op. cit.*, p. 443; R.-A. d'Hulst, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-124.

Binoit "of Cologne" probably came originally from Antwerp and was in Frankfurt between 1611 and 1624 or 1626.[41] The styles of these two painters would seem to bracket Soreau's well enough, as it includes something of Flegel's hardness and isolation of objects and something of Binoit's greater breadth in the vein of Brueghel and Bosschaert.[42] Also painting in the latter fashion was Flegel's pupil, Jacob Marrel (1613/14–1681), who was living in Frankfurt between 1620 and 1624—and who is interesting for his activities as an art dealer as well as an artist.[43] There seems to be a real similarity in the manner of painting flowers and grapes between Soreau and Sebastian Stoskopff (1587-1657), who was apprenticed to Daniel Soreau at Hanau about 1615 and took over the studio on the death of his teacher in 1619, completing some of his unfinished pictures.[44] Stoskopff, who developed his style along very individual lines, was born in the Protestant community of Strassburg and spent most of the 1620's and some time between 1630 and 1641 in Paris, possibly enough in the Quartier Saint-Germain-des-Prés among the colony of Walloon (*Welsch-Niderland*) and North Netherland painters whose manner in interaction with native taste produced the French version of *la nature morte de type archaïque*. Among the French, the archaism of Louise Moillon (1611-1696), which she continued as late as the 1670's, and the simple elegance of Jacques Linard (*ca.* 1600-1645) on the Brueghel pattern, again encompass in kind the style of Soreau.[45]

Although his ingenuous if less severe separation of parts and hardness of certain elements are akin, *inter alia*, to these traits in the Haarlem banquet-painters,[46] his taste in arranging the composition seems to be clearly affiliated with the Brueghel, Bosschaert, van der Ast point-of-view, a tendency that one would expect from his father's Flemish background.[47] Jan Soreau's own manner is distinct and individual among the many variations of the exceedingly mixed early seventeenth-century style, of which it is a modest, engaging and most representative expression. Photographs do not permit close comparison of his technique with the execution of other painters, but here, too, his rendering of flowers suggests the full brush of Brueghel.

[41] Zülch, *op. cit.*, pp. 521-522.

[42] Binoit: de Boer, *op. cit.*, no. 241, illus. p. 36 (with monogram). See also, *ibid.*, *Tentoonstelling van oude Schilderijen*, Rotterdam, 27 March, 1951, no. 6, illus. I am not acquainted with Binoit's five flower paintings in the Darmstadt Painting Collection [Thieme u. Becker, IV (1910), p. 42]. Flegel: Haug, *op. cit.*

[43] Zülch, *op. cit.*, pp. 537-540. Marrel returned to Frankfurt in 1651 . . . "where he sold at a dear sum paintings bought at a moderate cost in Holland, although they were only copies (!)." His estate included works by "Flegel, van Dyck, Sandrart, Titian," etc. *Cf.* Gerson, *op. cit.*, p. 263; illus., Bergström, fig. 75; de Boer, *op. cit.*, no. 320, p. 43; van Gelder, *op. cit.*, no. 54.

[44] Sandrart, *op. cit.*, p. 182; Haug, *op. cit.* For Stoskopff's flower painting, see Sterling, *op. cit.*, pl. 18; for his rendering of grapes, see H. Haug, *Trois peintres strasbourgeois de natures mortes*, in *La revue des arts*, III (Sept., 1952), fig. 4 (1644). Albrecht Kauw, who resided in Bern from 1640 until his death in 1681, continued the "archaic" manner to the end of his life (*ibid.*, pp. 148-150).

[45] For *Welsch-Niderland*, a term still in use, see Sandrart, *op. cit.*, p. 164. Sterling, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 70. Regarding the Low Country painters in Paris, see Gerson, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 57, 84. Illus., Moillon: Sterling, pl. 46, Warner, *op. cit.*, pls. 68, 69; Linard: Sterling, pl. 47, *Burlington Magazine*, XCV (June, 1953), p. XIX (Paris art market).

[46] N. Gillis, Floris van Dijck, Floris van Schooten, etc.: see Bergström, *op. cit.*, p. 106 ff.

[47] Gerson, *op. cit.*, p. 263: "Bei den Stillebenmaler der älteren Generation wie Georg Flegel, P. Binoit, J. Soreau . . . ist der Zusammenhaug mit den Flamen (A. Bosschaert und J. Brueghel) noch deutlich fühlbar. Schon in der nächsten Generation gewinnen holländische Kräfte einen grösseren Einfluss."

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Suzuri-bako with Mountain Scenery

NOTES ON JAPANESE LACQUERS*

ILLUSTRATED BY EXAMPLES FROM THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

BY MARTHA BOYER

National Museum, Copenhagen

"THE NIGHTINGALE of the Emperor of Japan is poor compared to that of the Emperor of China"—so it is said in one of Hans Christian Andersen's fairy tales. As may be remembered, this passage refers to a message sent from the Japanese court to the Chinese emperor, accompanied by an exquisite but artificial Japanese nightingale "studded with diamonds, rubies and sapphires" and made to compete with a modest Chinese nightingale—grey and common looking—but a real nightingale. Although it is by no means our intention to transform the Danish fairytale writer into an art critic, his story seems in a way to imply something essential in the relationship between Chinese and Japanese art. The great continental country was almost always the originator as compared with the insular empire beyond the ocean. Waves of influence swept over the islands and Chinese civilization inevitably made itself felt within the receiving country through borrowing and appropriation in various degrees and at various times, and even through resistance.

* I wish to acknowledge gratefully the Fellowship from the American Association of University Women which made possible my researches in American collections, and also that from the Municipal Art Society of Baltimore, which aided my researches at the Walters Art Gallery specifically.

[1] Alexander George Moslé, *The Moslé Collection, Descriptive Catalogue* (Leipzig, 1933), II, p. 16.

However, when this is said it cannot be sufficiently emphasized that, after having gone through the various phases of outside influence, a genuine Japanese culture found expression *inter alia* in a highly characteristic and national art—and that to such a degree as to make the Chinese masters in turn interested in taking lessons from their former pupils. This was done either by taking up apprenticeship in the islands, or by calling Japanese artists and artisans to the mainland, or else by encouraging Japanese envoys coming to China to bring with them the much desired artistic products of their own country. In conformity with the passage we have quoted from "The Nightingale," we know for certain that choice pieces were sent from the Japanese court to China.[1]

In the field of our present subject—Japanese lacquer works—we have the clearest evidence of how a once imported craft gradually came to be perfectly mastered and completely dominated by native artists. It is a conspicuous triumph. But a long development had to be passed through before this final artistic issue was reached. It was only after having served entirely practical purposes that the lacquer work became purely decorative. Nothing seems more Japanese than the lacquers. Their very technique demands the

highest degree of minuteness and a profound and intimate feeling for the material itself—qualities in which the Japanese seem to be especially gifted. In addition, a long tradition of craftsmanship, a strict division of labor, and the very fact that the profession is passed down from father to son through generations were contributing factors to the unsurpassed skill of the Japanese in this industry.

It is still uncertain whether the lacquer tree, *Rhus vernicifera*, is native to Japan or not. However that may be, it is well known that when the quality of its sap, *urushi*, was first recognized, imperial decrees were issued to promote the cultivation of the tree. From the very beginning of the eighth century A.D. we learn that "each farmer employing six hands and over should, during the ensuing five years, plant eighty lacquer trees on his grounds; those employing four hands, seventy trees; and those employing three hands, forty trees."[2] Similar decrees are heard of later on, and often specially productive provinces were asked to pay their annual taxes in lacquer.[3] There was much demand for the *urushi*, and the great consumers of it up to the Fujiwara period (897-1185) were the temples.

Only a few of the remarkable qualities of the lacquer shall be mentioned here. The sap itself is a greyish or yellowish glutinous substance which turns black when exposed to air. Furthermore, the lacquer dries only when kept under a certain degree of humidity, and its highly admired mirror-like surface, *rō-iro*, can be achieved only by thorough polishing. Attention should also be called to the facility with which the *urushi* absorbs and mixes with other materials.

The technical process is most exacting and demands the utmost care. It is impossible to enter into details here, but to give a slight impression of what is needed to assure a good piece of work, it should be pointed out that some thirty layers of lacquer have to be applied to the object under treatment. This, however, is not simply a matter of putting one layer on top of the other, for each of them requires a sufficiently long time to dry properly—which for the best pieces is considered to be several weeks. Moreover, each layer is submitted to a careful polishing, of which the final one is done with fine pulverized charcoal, with whetstone, and with calcined deer-horn mixed with vegetable oil.

As long as *urushi* was used for utilitarian purposes only, there can hardly have been a question of anything but the crude sap, *Ki-urushi*. Its air-tightening quality made it adaptable for sealing up boxes and coffins,[4] while its conserving power protected innumerable things from decay: not only everyday wooden household utensils but also the warrior's equipment of leather armor, composite bows, and swords.[5] However, as time went on, the *urushi* was steadily developed and improved by numerous newly invented techniques and it finally acquired the reputation of being one of the most prominent Japanese media of art expression. For as already mentioned, the Japanese seem to take into consideration neither time nor labor when concerned with turning out a good piece of work. Moreover there has always been a tendency among Orientals to inject into their arts their characteristic attitude toward life and nature. In fact, an identification of the artisan or artist with his subject was demanded in order to obtain a satisfactory result.[6] This certainly holds true for the essentially miniature art of the lacquerers, whose productions from their very limitation of scale

[2] J. J. Quin, *The Lacquer Industry of Japan* in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (Yokohama), IX, p. 20.

[3] *Histoire de l'Art du Japon. Ouvrage Impériale du Japon à l'Exposition Universelle de Paris* (1900), p. 122.

[4] Moslé, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[5] Stewart Dick, *Arts and Crafts of Old Japan* (London, 1906), p. 124.

[6] Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Introduction to the Art of Eastern Asia* (1932), p. 13.

are imbued with all the intimacy so pronounced in the Japanese scenery itself.

At an early period state control was practised over the arts and crafts in Japan,[7] and as far back as the last centuries before Christ there are references to an Imperial Lacquer Department.[8] However, it is not until the middle of the seventh century A.D. that we get more detailed and reliable data on the industry. By this time, a new department was established to take care of the manufacturing of lacquer works,[9] and the *urushi* was applied, so to speak, to all kinds of articles. It was even most useful in producing a certain required stiffness in the ceremonial headdresses then in vogue.[10] About half a century later we hear for the first time of red lacquer. Other colors were soon added, and lacquer fabrication entered its full development. Naturally, the emergence of various colors gave birth to prescriptions as to their use. So, for instance, the red color was restricted to the use of the highest ranking people only, while the black distinguished their attendants. As late as the sixteenth century these laws were still observed, and honored guests always had their food served on red lacquer dishes.[11]

But besides adopting various pigments in the lacquer works, other materials also were introduced. Fine pieces of mother-of-pearl, *aogai*, and other sea shells were responsible for arabesque-like mosiac patterns, while gold and silver gradually transformed the whole industry into a predominantly metallic craft. All decoration was originally flat so as not to interfere with the functional purpose of the object itself. The development of the gold lacquer works known as *makié* is most significant in this respect. The first gold lacquers to make their appearance were executed by gold-dust painting and were called *makkinro*. A box, *kago*, said to have belonged to Shōtoku Taishi (574-622 A.D.) and meant for holding the shoulder garment, *kesa*, of the Buddhist priests, still bears witness to this technique, as well as a sword dating from the eighth century.[12] Both pieces are now preserved in Shōsōin, the imperial repository founded at Nara in the eighth century A.D.

The next step was the *makié* proper, in which the gold dust is sprinkled over the lacquer surface. The exact date for its first appearance seems obscure, but in the Sketch Book of Lady Sei Shōnagon, which was written during the years 991 to 1000, we presumably make acquaintance with its use. In a brief passage we read that the Empress was seated near a lacquered brazier sprinkled with inlaid gold.[13]

Gold becomes more and more prominent, and needless to say, the prosperous and elegant era of Fujiwara (897-1185) made great use of its brilliant effect. The refined taste of that period knew exactly to what extent to employ it, without ever giving way to the sumptuous abuse too frequent in later times. Also, the now ripened awareness of the Japanese people of themselves as an independent nation becomes reflected in their arts. Everything takes on a national character which expresses itself best in the harmonious blending of a very decorative conception with an equally naturalistic one. The *Yamato-é*, the purely Japanese school of painting, emerged. Its nationalistic trend saturated everything. In literature the distinguished authoress, Murasaki Shikibu, has, in her classical *Genji Monogatari*, left a most remarkable testimony of this now almost dreamlike period. It is of interest to recall here because so many art motifs have been taken from this famous tale. All of them give evidence

[7] Seiroku Noma in *Kokka*, Tokyo, no. 637 (Dec. 1943).
[8] Quin, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
[9] Moslé, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
[10] J. J. Rein, *The Industries of Japan* (London, 1889), p. 374.
[11] Moslé, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
[12] Quin, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
[13] *The Sketch Book of the Lady Sei Shōnagon.* Translated from the Japanese by Nobuko Kobayashi (London, 1930), p. 27.

FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Saucer with Legend of Lady Murasaki

of the sentimental and affected conception of life, which found expression in the one word *awaré*, meaning "emotion of tender affection in which there is both passion and sympathy."[14]

A small, red, highly polished lacquer saucer in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 2)[15] shows a well-known design of Lady Murasaki herself seated on a platform above the clouds, with her writing table and ink-box in front of her. This motif refers, of course, to the story that Murasaki Shikibu composed her *Monogatari* at Ishiyama in a single night in the light of the full moon, while seated on a balcony in mid-air, with Biwa Lake as her inspiration.[16] The design is executed in *taka-makié* (raised gold) with brownish shades, in *hira-makié* (flat gold), and in the rubbed-down technique of *togidashi* in gold and dull red. Gold and silver foils are applied.

Several other lacquer works in the collection of the Walters Art Gallery give ample evidence of the popularity which these subjects from the *Genji* tale still maintain. Only two other popular motifs from the same source can be mentioned here. One shows the transportation vehicle of the ladies and gentlemen of the court—the "Court Carriage" or *Goshu garuma*. On one side of the *inrō*, or medicine case made up of five compartments, this design is reproduced in what might be called a classical way, with the carriage standing deserted in the midst of vine foliage (fig. 3).[17] The bamboo blind is lowered and everything breathes the most perfect peace and harmony. Only the inner silken drapery is gently stirred by a light breeze. The carriage is delineated in silver and gold *togidashi* on a black background with fine gold *nashiji* ("aventurine"), while applied gold foils and pieces of mother-of-pearl finish the decoration. As has been said about a similar motif, it reveals "a very romantic treatment of a romantic design."[18] Perhaps it is the most often repeated of all designs.

The other motif also is one met with over

FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Inrō with Design of Court Carriage

and over again in the repertory of designs. It refers to the writing-practice, *te-narai*, which has been explained as a typical phenomenon of the time to keep up social intercourse.[19] Just as mere suggestion is the rule of all pictorial arts in the Far East, so the written letter's or rather "poem's essence lay in what it did not say," but "in what it subtly suggested."[20] Sometimes the poem was delivered attached to branches of flowers in accordance with the season of the year and also with the mood of its content. This method of bringing a message is shown in the design of the circular box with convex cover and body, illustrated in figure 4.[21] On a background of red polished lacquer with gold *nashiji*, three oblong strips of poem papers, *tanzaku*, are attached to a branch of cherry blossoms. The design is in *hira-makié* with one poem-letter rendered partly in black. Through this arboreal symbol a vernal tone immediately suggests itself, either with reference to the early season or to the cheerful content of the letter itself.

In connection with poem-writing, mention should also be made of a new invention of this time: the interpolation of Chinese and Japanese written characters as decorative elements in the design. In general this usage is known as *ashidé*, but, in fact, three different

FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Box with Design of Poems attached to Cherry-blossoms

kinds of writing are comprised, namely *ashidé*, *utayé*, and *midzudé*. Each one has its principal function in rendering, for instance, the reed swaying in the wind, a winding stream, and a poem proper. Also something of the mood of the design in question could be read through these ideographs.[22] But as in the case of all inventions, this particular one of introducing calligraphy into the pictorial arts had its forerunner, and it has been pointed out that the mannerism of the eighth-century artisans in depicting birds along the sea-shore by just one single, unbroken stroke was not far from the "whimsical schematization" of *ashidé* of the Fujiwara Japanese artists.[23]

But to follow the further development in the *makié* field, we must proceed to the Kamakura period (1185-1392) with its fierce and roaring warriors. The gentle and intricate court life of Fujiwara was overthrown, and a new era started with the final triumph of the Minamoto family over the defeated Taira. To begin with,

[14] Masaharu Anesaki, *Art, Life and Nature in Japan* (Boston, 1933), p. 65.

[15] 67.212. Diam. 4¼ in. (.108 m).

[16] Alexander F. Otto and Theodore S. Holbrook, *Mythological Japan or The Symbolisms of Mythology in Relation to Japanese Art* (Philadelphia, 1902), p. 35.

[17] 67.201. H. 2 1/16 in.; w. 2¼ in.; d. ⅞ in. (.068 x .057 x .022 m).

[18] Helen C. Gunsaulus, *Japanese Textiles*. Privately printed for the Japan Society of New York (1941), p. 48.

[19] Murasaki Shikibu, *The Bridge of Dreams*, translated by Arthur Waley (London, 1932), p. 277, note.

[20] Laurence Binyon, *The Spirit of Man in Asian Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), p. 155.

[21] 67.169. H. 1 3/16 in.; d. 3⅜ in. (.045 x .085 m).

[22] Moslé, *op. cit., p.* 24.

[23] Alexander C. Soper, *The Rise of Yamato-é* in *The Art Bulletin*, XXIV (1942), p. 357.

everything now takes on a very palpable and present-minded character in the strongest contrast to the former vague and abstract manner of expression. Gradually the *makié* develops into two different forms. One retains the smooth surface decoration, the *hira-makié*, while the other emphasizes the *makié* by building it up in relief so as not only to be seen, but more properly to be felt. The *taka-makié* stage of gold lacquer has thus been reached, although it is far from being fully developed.

Another technique even more vigorous—almost crude—that was introduced at this period is the *Kamakura-bori*. Perhaps it is best to treat it as an offshoot of the art of sculpture, and as such it merits admiration. That it is proper to estimate it from this point of view is supported by the fact that one of the first Japanese to work in *Kamakura-bori* was a grandson of the famous twelfth-century sculptor, Unkei.[24] But its very technique of wood-carving, although covered up by layers of black and red lacquer, does not harmonize too well with the delicacy which was the intention of most of the lacquer products. It seems tempting and analogous to draw a parallel with the Chinese *Chün* ware of the Sung epoch (960-1279). This clumsy and rather unattractive product was meant for household use, and for that it was fitted. Exactly the same is the case with the *Kamakura-bori* manufactures. First of all they were intended to serve in the household, for which their durability was beyond question. It should be added that the technique seems to have had its prototype on the Chinese mainland as far back as the T'ang period (618-906).[25]

In contrast to a general trend toward promoting rather heavy technical devices, the designs of the period show a preference for nature's most delicate features. Floral decorations combined with birds and insects are the fashion, and it has even been suggested that the *kiku*, the chrysanthemum, gained its great popularity in this epoch.[26] In general, the honor of gaining popularity is apt to be both ephemeral and dubious, but in this case the fame became everlasting and even took form in the imperial *mon*, crest. "Fenced-in" chrysanthemums were especially a favorite theme and this motif was repeated over and over again through the ages right up to the present day. Thus, the handy box illustrated in figure 5[27] shows how it was interpreted by a nineteenth-century artist. Here the flowers are executed in *hira-makié* with brownish shades on a ground of *nashiji* in gold.

Mention must be made of still another delicate feature which seems somewhat out of harmony with a period which was in many ways coarse. However, it should be recalled that military glory is won on the battle-field and not at home, and as soon as times are settled none is more eager than the warrior to indulge in unaccustomed luxury—even to the excess of effeminate ruin. The Kamakura period is no exception to this rule. At this time the application of small pieces of *kirikane*, "cut gold," glued onto the object in question was a subtle way of giving glittering life to the surface decoration. The gold foil was cut with bamboo knives so as to avoid the magnetism produced by metal instruments, and every single piece of gold was laid in most delicate patterns, almost as if a spiderweb were drawn over the design. One

[24] V. F. Weber, *Ko-ji Ho-ten, Dictionnaire à l'usage des amateurs . . . d'objets d'art japonais et chinois* (Paris, 1923), I.

[25] William Anderson, *The Pictorial Arts of Japan* (Boston and New York, 1886), I, p. 40; Edward F. Strange, *Catalogue of Chinese Lacquer.* Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1925), p. 3.

[26] Anonymous manuscript, Metropolitan Museum of Art Library, New York.

[27] 67.318. $6\frac{11}{16}$ in. x $6\frac{15}{16}$ in. x $8\frac{13}{16}$ in. (.170 x .174 x .223 m).

[28] Rájendralála Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa,* I, p. 98: After Maskelyne's *Report of Jewelry and Precious Stone in the French Exhibition of 1886* (Calcutta, 1875).

[29] Kenji Toda, *Japanese Scroll-Painting* (Chicago, 1935), p. 38.

FIGURE 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Box with Design of "Fenced-in" Chrysanthemums

cannot help thinking of the gold filigree products of the Indian silversmiths, in which children only are employed to manipulate the delicate wire-work.[28] Certainly no clumsy handling could be allowed in the *kirikane*. Perhaps the process is best known from Buddhist paintings, where it was used as early as the eleventh century, but it came to characterize this style of painting especially during the succeeding two centuries.[29] An exact date for the use of *kirikane* in the lacquer industry can hardly be given. Surviving lacquer material from the Kamakura

period is scarce, only about ten examples having been cited.[30] It seems probable that a technique so much in favor in contemporary painting should have found its way into the lacquers either simultaneously or at least slightly later.

FIGURE 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Inrō with Design of Japanese Archer

However, such an authority as Kojiro Tomita believes that it did not appear until the following Ashikaga period, which he dates 1336-1583. Our dating of the Kamakura period up till 1392 overlaps his Ashikaga period, so we may nevertheless be justified in treating the *kirikane* under the heading of Kamakura.

It cannot be denied that, although some progress was made, this period on the whole was not a stimulating one for the lacquer industry. Too great uncertainty did not provide the necessary protection or patronage for the workers, so as to enable them to turn out masterpieces. The period is notable as predominantly a belligerent one. This is reflected in many of the more modern lacquer works, where the almost legendary skill of the warriors is especially celebrated.

Again we can find this illustrated in the large lacquer collection at hand. Thus an *inrō* (fig. 6)[31] is decorated on both sides with a continuous design from a well-known event which occurred in 1336 A.D. It refers to the famous archer, Homma Magoshirō, who, while engaged in a battle, saw a sea-gull with a fish in its claws flying toward the enemy's boats. Shouting to the enemy that he must be tired of inaction, the archer shot down the bird so that it landed upon the deck of one of the boats, and urged his enemy to cook it, so as to occupy himself a little.[32] Only the side of the *inrō* with the archer mounted on his horse and shooting his arrow is shown in our illustration. The design is rendered in *taka-makié* and *togidashi* of gold and with touches of red and with applied gold foil and mother-of-pearl. It appears on an all-over groundwork of *rō-iro* with *mura-nashiji* (uneven *nashiji*) and *fundame* (powder ground) in gold.

The succeeding period, the Ashikaga (1392-1568), became *par excellence* the golden age for all the arts of Japan. For the lacquer industry it meant full development of many of the techniques which had been employed in preceeding periods, more or less on an experimental basis. This holds true, for instance, of the *taka-makié*

[30] Kojiro Tomita, *The Museum Collection of Japanese Gold Lacquer and an Important Recent Accession* in *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,* XXIV (1926), p. 43.

[31] 67.364. 3½ in. x ⅞ in. x 2⅛ in. (.088 x .022 x .053 m).

[32] W. H. Edmunds, *Pointers and Clues to the Subjects of Chinese and Japanese Art* (London, 1934), p. 568.

and *nashiji*, both of which now reached a stage not easily surpassed in later times.

Above all, however, the period is marked for its close relations with China. From here the Buddhist sect of silent meditation, the Zen, was introduced as early as the twelfth century and it had appealed strongly to the Kamakura warriors. Now it permeated all aspects of life and gave rise to new cults. Consequently it became indirectly responsible for the paraphernalia to be used in these cults. The *cha-no-yu*, tea-ceremony, dates from this time and is an illustration of the degree to which a new cult could influence its surroundings. First of all, the framework for the tea-meetings was set by the tea-room itself with all its minute and intricate arrangements. Next, the size of the *kakemono*, hanging picture, was restricted to a much narrower shape than hitherto in order to make it fit into the *tokonoma*, the ornamental recess of the room. Furthermore, the *cha-ire*, tea-caddy, gave new stimulus to the ceramic industry, as did the lacquered utensils to the lacquer industry. For it must be remembered that the mere experience of holding a beautiful object between one's hands was in itself sufficient to promote the deepest contemplation. The most perfect and sublime harmony were required of the surroundings so that it would be transferred to the individuals attending. From beginning to end, simplicity was the final goal. It was sought for and found in nature and it became the true exponent of art and of life itself.

Chinese Sung painters were setting the tone with their ink monochromes, and once again the Japanese artists proved themselves diligent enough to study the foreign models without copying them slavishly. Moreover, although nature was the common source, the inspiration of the scenery was certainly not the same in the two empires. Towering mountains with precipitous crevices and tumultuous rivers were the inspiration which gave strength to the southern Chinese artists, whereas rounded mountains with soft, curving lines and smoothly winding streams conveyed delicacy to the Japanese masters.

The time for reproducing whole landscapes in the *urushi* material was now at hand. Painters such as Nōami and Geiami (both fifteenth century), and Sōami (fifteenth to sixteenth century), to mention only a few, originated the designs, while the *nushiya* or *nurimono-shi*, the workmen, were responsible for applying the different layers of the sap to the piece in question, and that in such a way as to guarantee its unrivalled quality. Finally, the *maki-shi*, the gold-lacquer masters, were concerned with handling the technical embellishments so as to give artistic emphasis to the design.[33]

The landscape decorations especially required every technical subtlety to depict the scenery in all its caprices of light and shadow. Far-distant mountains were hidden in the great void of misty unreality by the aid of various kinds of *togidashi*, while nearby rocky features were rendered as geological massives in *taka-makié* with characteristic fissures procured by applied *hirame* and *kirikane*.

Again an illustrative example is present in the *suzuri-bako*, ink-box, shown in figure 1.[34] This nineteenth-century interpretation of the theme aims to reflect the greatness and infinity of nature. The distance in time and space is marked by the interplay between half-hidden mountains in the background and very tangible rocky boulders in the foreground. Horizontal cloud layers, contorted trees, in addition to birds and animals, act as links to keep the whole composition together. The technique used for the design proper is *taka-makié* with *hirame* and *togidashi*,

[33] Shinji Yabuta, *Nurimono* (Toyko), p. 4.

[34] 67.123. 2 3/16 in. x 8 5/16 in. x 9 9/16 in. (.055 x .210 x .243 m).

FIGURE 7 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Box with Carved Spirals

whereas *nashiji* is employed for the background. All is in gold with brownish shades. Besides the merely pictorial qualities of the design, a symbolical meaning also is expressed. So, for instance, the fragrant *prunus*, the green bamboo, and the everlasting pine are emblematic of longevity, and the pair of flying cranes as well as the long-tailed turtles imply wishes for marital bliss.

The Japanese *makié*-lacquers—so lavishly employed at this time by the Shōguns—achieved great fame in China. Every attempt was made to appropriate the technique to Chinese use and continental artisans set off to study in the Japanese work-shops. But all in vain. The Chinese never came to excel in this completely Japanese specialty.

Perhaps one may mention the *Kinkaku-ji*, Golden Pavilion, erected in Kyōto for the Ashikaga Shōgun Yoshimitsu (1368-1394) as evidence of the extent to which gold lacquer was favored at this time. Most of this structure, with its columns, doors, ceilings, and floors, was decorated with gold dust. A luxurious setting was created for equally extravagant furnishings. This, however, was only the beginning of the magnificence, and not till the time of the Shōgun Yoshimassa (1443-1473) was the climax of all this splendor reached. Together with the Chinese Emperor, Hui-tsung (1101-1125), Yoshimassa has been described as having dedicated "wealth and power to art without regard to . . . personal dignity and the national welfare."[35] He can justly be considered the one who gave the true impetus to the tea-ceremony, *cha-no-yu*, and at the same time to the applied fine arts also. Among these the lacquer industry enjoyed his special attention, and it is well known that the most outstanding lacquer-artists of the time worked in the closest contact with him to satisfy his orders.[36]

Although the Japanese were and always remained unrivalled in their gold lacquers, the Chinese had, on the other hand, their own specialities in which they were unquestionably the masters. Thus, their carved lacquers were greatly admired by the Japanese and—it should be noted—in time skilfully copied also. From the catalogue of Yoshimassa's collections we learn that several Chinese carved lacquers entered the possession of this patron of art. Descriptions are given of boxes for incense, perfume, cakes, etc., and various techniques are described. The *guri* works composed of layers of different colored lacquers are most renowned and perhaps easiest to recognize with their characteristic spiral design of V-shaped section. A small red-lacquered perfume-box in the Walters collection executed in this so-called *guri* style is reproduced in figure 7.[37] Also the

[35] Anesaki, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
[36] Quin, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
[37] 67.103. H. 1 5/16 in. x d. 3¼ in. (.033 x .082 m).

well-known *tsui-shu* and *tsui-koku*, red and black carved lacquers respectively, were held in great esteem. In fact, the Japanese *Kamakura-bori* already mentioned were mere imitations of the *tsui-shu*.

Through this interchange of Japanese and Chinese techniques and their productions the close contact between the two countries is demonstrated throughout this period. But once again events interfered with the constant pursuit of excessive luxury. A change set in abruptly, interrupting the competition in refinement among the ruling classes. Reaction called forth a new and vigorous time, which, however, in no way showed itself devoid of brilliance, although of a much more sumptuous character than hitherto known. The transitional era of Momoyama (1582-1600) has now been reached.

A new ruler of peasant origin, the vigorous Hideyoshi (1582-1598) took over power so decisively as to be called the Napoleon of Japan by later historians.[38] Keeping in mind Hideyoshi's rustic descent is essential to an understanding of the art of this time. For by and large, there was now a tendency to coarseness which transformed the arts into the showpieces of pageantry. Even though it cannot be denied that the effect obtained was often striking and of a certain profundity, only too often the results reveal elegant and decorative artistry without the sincerity of true masterpieces.

Most conspicuous in this production are perhaps the many gorgeous screens and sliding panels for the palaces. Birds and flowers are depicted in colorful play on glittering backgrounds of gold. Such screens remind us of one of Hideyoshi's last extravagant garden-parties at which they served as a dazzling decoration to frame the passage-way from the host's palace to his garden.[39]

The *suzuri-bako* reproduced in figure 8[40] gives us some idea of this fashionable style as reflected in the nineteenth century. The design on the cover of this specimen is unquestionably derived from the decorative screen paintings of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The very subject treated—a gold pheasant and a maple tree near a winding stream with low growth of reeds—reflects one of the favorite themes of late Momoyama. Attention should be called to the five characters inserted in our decoration. They illustrate a new element of the Ashikaga period which has previously been mentioned.

The execution of the design is in *hira-makié* of both gold and silver, in *mura-nashiji* and *hirame* of gold, and in *togidashi* of various shades of gold and brown. A touch of red is added to the tuft of the pheasant and silver is worked in relief to make the characters distinct, while highly polished black lacquer creates the background. Within the ink-box are writing brushes, a stiletto, and a knife with case; all have handles lacquered and decorated in gold. A *suzuri*, inkstone, and a silver *mizuire*, water-holder, complete the writing implements. The interior of the box is covered with a design of various kinds of feathers rendered in *togidashi* of gold, red and brownish colors and with inlaid mother-of-pearl for the peacock feathers.

As mentioned, the Momoyama was a transitional era which paved the way for the succeeding Tokugawa period (1600-1868). It is not surprising therefore that the new era was largely felt as a continuation of former times. At least that seems to have been the case in the years under the rule of Ieyasu (1603-1616). Contacts with Westerners had already been established under Hideyoshi and had resulted in the first persecution of Christians in 1587.

[38] Anesaki, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 134.
[40] 67.75. 2⅛ x 8¼ x 8⅞ in. (.053 x .209 x .225 m).

FIGURE 8 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Suzuri-bako with Pheasant beside a Stream

The second one followed the death of Ieyasu, and a steadily growing opposition to foreigners led finally to the exclusion of all except the Dutch merchants, who were kept—as it has been expressed—in virtual year-round imprisonment.[41] More and more, the Japanese came to indulge in nationalism and in complete isolation. The government even went so far as to prohibit Japanese from leaving their native soil and barred those Japanese abroad from returning to their homeland.

This policy of seclusion is touched upon here because it had the most revolutionary effect upon the arts. A completely new genre was initiated by the fact that inspiration had now to be derived from a life restricted within narrow confines. But distractions were found, and they were largely at hand in the "Floating World" of Edo. The gay Yoshiwara quarter especially was famous for its celebrated beauties, who were an inexhaustible inspiration for the rising popular school of *Ukiyo-é*, "Pictures of the Floating World."[42]

To give a slight idea of this art made expressly to appeal to the masses, a lacquer box in the Walters collection again may be used as an illustration of the late nineteenth century's conception of this noisy and bustling life (fig. 9).[43] It should perhaps be emphasized that the merit of this product lies more in its entertaining character than in its artistic value. The design is a shopping scene where the two persons seated in the half-open building seem to be bargaining, while passersby throng the street. Rich polychrome *togidashi* and *fundame* in gold are the media in which the design is executed. A signature in gold and red reads "Ogawa Shomin of Tōkyō."

The Tokugawa period with almost three hundred years of uninterrupted peace inevitably provided very favorable conditions for the lacquer industry. In fact, many consider this era unsurpassed in its productions in this field. The wealthy and dominant merchant class increased their patronage of the lacquer workers and their ever multiplying orders meant economic security for the latter. Gold and silver glittered on the very fashionable *inrō* and also on many types of furniture, such as cabinets, chests of drawers, writing-desks, picnic-sets, etc.

It is precisely at this time that the entire lacquer industry seems to become a metallic craft —so much in fact that the products have been compared with chased and engraved metal—although never possessing the hard aspect of the latter.[44] Hand in hand with this increasing demand for lacquer ware went an ever more popular taste in design. Crests were added to the decoration and became a prominent feature.

The most brilliant period of the whole Tokugawa era is known as Genroku. It lasted only for about sixteen years (1688-1703), but can boast of counting Ogata Kōrin (ca. 1661-1716) among its most celebrated artists. By building upon and developing the style of Honami Kōetsu (1557-1637) Kōrin succeeded in establishing a completely new trend in the lacquer industry. An impressionistic style with an almost startling freedom from tradition emerged with his works. So strong was this new influence that designs composed explicitly to be rendered in lacquer now were often taken over by the painters and influenced their work conspicuously. To emphasize the bold and vigorous designs, ample use was made of heavy materials for inlay in the *urushi*, as for instance lead, tin, shell, and fragments of polychrome pottery. Surprising results were often obtained, although the manipulation

[41] Edwin O. Reischauer, *Japan, Past and Present* (New York, 1951), p. 91.

[42] Chie Hirano, *The Making of Japanese Prints and the History of the Ukiyo-é*, p. 8, reprinted from *Kiyonaga, A Study of his Life and Works* (Boston, 1939).

[43] 67.162. 15/16 in. x 6¾ in. x 7⅞ in. (.023 x .171 x .193 m).

[44] U. A. Casal, *Japan News-Week* (September 13, 1941).

FIGURE 9

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Box with Shopping Scene

of these elements demanded the most faultless judgment in order not to fail artistically.

A small cylindrical jar in the Walters Art Gallery's possession is attributed to Kōrin and may be taken as an example of his more elegant works (fig. 10).[45] It has an allover decoration of peonies in *kira-makié* on a gold *fundame* ground and with foliage of applied mother-of-pearl with the veins in gold. The interior also is covered with gold *fundame* on which is a design in *hira-makié* of the conventionalized curves of a stream. It should be added that the gold has the somewhat dull but warm and rich glow so characteristic of many of Kōrin's works. On the bottom of the jar his signature can be read.

As we approach the Meiji period or the Restoration (1868-1912) little more is to be said about the lacquer industry. Times were unfavorable for the fine arts. The demand for products certainly did not decline at all. On the contrary, it could be said that precisely because of the tremendous demand the various crafts underwent a most disastrous change. Increasing industrialism and commercialism had no time for works of quality and for aesthetic value. Everything seemed to turn against the formerly flourishing arts. To demonstrate how much modern life in its various aspects is in contradiction to old and traditional ways of working in the *urushi* material, only one example shall be mentioned here.

It concerns the tool employed for tracing the detailed design on the *urushi* surface, namely the brush of rat's fur which had to be made of hair from the sides of the animal. However, as a consequence of sanitary modern living quarters, the rats were forced more and more to fight their way through narrow escapes, whereby they rubbed off the precious side fur.[46] Although only one single hair was required to make the brush, the material became very scarce and hard to get hold of. This is not related here as a curiosity, but to emphasize that at its best the *urushi* art took everything into consideration and never compromised in any respect. The productions of former times which we now admire so highly were the result of the most painstaking processes.

FIGURE 10 WALTERS ART GALLERY

KORIN

Jar with Peony Design

[45] 67.322. H. 2⅞ in.; d. 2⅞ in. (.072 x .072 m).

[46] Jiro Harada, lecture given at The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, December 1953.

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Marble Head of Pan (right side)
From a Roman Copy of a Hellenistic Group

SOME REPRESENTATIONS OF THE GREEK PAN

BY DOROTHY KENT HILL

The Walters Art Gallery

PAN, THE DEITY of the Arcadian hills, has been a favorite with modern devotees of mythology almost since the day when he ceased to be worshipped in his original rustic shrines. Several recent studies have thrown light upon the lore of this god[1] and this seems an auspicious moment to add to the available material some unpublished items in the Walters Art Gallery.

From first to last, the standard Pan had a bearded face, sometimes with a touch of the bestial, a body human from the waist up, a tail, and the legs and feet of a goat. His usual attributes are the syrinx (pipes) and the throwing stick, called the *pedum* or *langobolum*. Frequently he is nude, but he may carry or wear the skin of a deer or goat. There are countless variations on this theme and at the present moment it is barely possible to recognize a progression of beliefs and practices.

Our figure 2 is from the wax impression of an agate scaraboid which was acquired for this museum when the collection of Sir Arthur Evans was dispersed in New York in 1942.[2] The flat, front surface is 3/4 in. (.02 m) tall and 11/16 in. (.018 m) wide, the back slightly larger in both dimensions and the maximum thickness is 3/8 in. (.009 m). The material is brown and white, three bands of brown and two of white, their boundaries curving from top to bottom. The striation causes a color contrast so startling as to make the original gem difficult to study and it forces one to work from the impression. The condition is good, but a large piece has been fractured from the bottom of the gem, destroying the foot and groundline, and the edge is chipped elsewhere.

Already Pan has been humanized. Carved in intaglio, his tall, youthful figure is in near front view. On a groundline, bearing the weight on the right leg, while the left is relaxed with the knee pushed forward, he stands erect turning his head toward the syrinx in his extended right hand (I give directions from the impression). The body is well modelled with the de-

[1] R. Herbig, *Pan. Der griechische Bocksgott* (Frankfurt am Main, 1949); F. Brommer, *Pan im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* in *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft,* XV (1949-1950), pp. 5-42. See also the detailed study of two well known bronzes in K. A. Neugebauer, *Katalog der statuarischen Bronzen in Antiquarium. Band II. Die griechischen Bronzen der klassischen Zeit und des Hellenismus* (Berlin, 1951), pp. 25 ff., no. 16 and pp. 43 f., no. 32; also various references to the new Pan from Olympia, E. Kunze, *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Olympia,* 1940-41, (Arch. Inst. d. d. Reiches) IV, (1944), pp. 138 ff., pls. 53f., and *Neue Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst aus Olympia* (Munich, 1948), p. 32, nos. 79-80; *109 Winckelmannsprogramm der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1953), p. 20 and note 72. See also K. Schefold, *Orient, Hellas und Rom* (Bern, 1949) p. 65, pl. 8, 1. Most recently, D. M. Robinson, *American Journal of Archaeology,* LIX (1954), p. 24, no. 5, pl. 14, figs. 15-17.

[2] Walters Art Gallery, no. 42.1338. (Arthur Evans) *An Illustrative Selection of Greek and Greco-Roman Gems to which is added a Minoan and Proto-Hellenic Series* (Oxford, 1938), p. 13, no. 54 (not illustrated). Pierced vertically.

tails of the torso clear and the shoulder and arm carefully graded, but the extended hand is rather sketchily rendered. The head is large, with hair combed back and a protrusion on the back of the head looks as if there were knotted long hair. Because the head approaches the edge of the gem at a point of damage, it is difficult to make out the details at the top. Actually, the deepest part is a drilled hole in the center, just above the ear; there are horizontal hairs before and behind this depression and two very tiny horns rise almost like hairs from the forehead.

The syrinx, now slightly damaged, has four vertical lines indicating pipes and two cross bars and eight drilled dots showing the ends of the pipes. The left hand hangs by Pan's side and is enveloped in the drapery which winds about the forearm and upper arm and falls in a mass to the ground. Below the arm, the drapery speedily dwindles into three lines, a group of drilled dots at the end of the outermost line and single dots along and between the others. Everything to the left of the legs belongs together and forms the draped skin of the roe, Pan's favorite garment. I cannot perceive a trace of the rocky landscape which Evans mentions in his catalogue, nor of the throwing stick which he imagined. The central line could, indeed, be so interpreted, but it is better explained as the medial line and tail of the skin, with one group of dots forming the foot, the other dots indicating the dappling of the roe deer.[3]

Evans dated this gem in the fourth century B.C. and this date is plausible. As was pointed out by Neugebauer, the humanized Pan was already well established by the fifth century.[4] A statuary type of the rustic god, repeated frequently in copies, has been attributed to Polykleitos and it is a completely human figure on which one must search for the tiny horns that distinguish Pan.[5] As far as typology is concerned, then, our Pan could have been made at any time during or after the Polykleitan era. A general freedom of treatment inclines me toward a slightly later date,[6] and actually the gem cutting lacks that marvellously fluid surface of Classical gems of the greatest period. I believe that this gem was carved as late as Evans says, in the fourth century B.C., but it might be even later. In any case, it continues a fifth-century type of Pan.

Our next representation, important for the Hellenistic tradition of Pan, is at first sight a more conventional one, the familiar goat-legged seated version (figs. 3-5).[7] It is a bronze statuette, acquired by the Walters Art Gallery in 1953. In its present state it is just under 3 inches tall (.076 m). Missing are the tips of the horns, the right arm and hand, the attribute in the left hand, and both feet.

FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Pan with Syrinx and Drapery
Wax Impression from an Agate Gem
4th century B.C. (?)

The pose is difficult to understand. The under part has been cut out, leaving two surfaces which meet at right angles, one surface being a continuation of the plane of the feet. Since these

[3] See the way the ends of the skin fly and curl in Herbig, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII, 3.

[4] Neugebauer, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[5] Copies in Leiden, British Museum, Stockholm and several museums in Rome. See Brommer in *Marburger Jahrbuch*, XV, p. 30; Herbig, *op. cit.*, p. 58; p. 91, note 159 a (references).

[6] For the proportions, compare the fourth-century terra-cotta plaque of a humanized Pan, bearded: *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1939), col. 593, fig. 4.

[7] Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.2380. Acquired 1953.

surfaces have the same patination as the rest of the statuette, it must be assumed that the cutting is original and indicates the original mounting. If the figure is placed on the ninety-degree angle of a triangular block, it balances perfectly, and the legs rest naturally on the surface of the block. That is the position shown in figure 3. It is true that in this case the body bends far forward, and some might prefer to mount it with the back more nearly upright. Then the figure is unbalanced and even the added weight of the

FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Bronze Statuette of Pan
Greek. Hellenistic Period

legs and the feet would not restore equilibrium to the statuette. I therefore believe that the pose I have chosen is correct.

The surface is generally a dull, dark brown. In various areas, especially where there has been splitting, there is dark red patina to which there adheres a certain amount of brilliant green. Corrosion has destroyed much of the surface. Careful study helps one to restore this surface

FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Bronze Statuette of Pan (back)

in imagination, for mild corrosion accentuates protrusions that already existed and, in places where the damage has progressed further, the originally raised parts have altogether vanished, sluffing off and leaving depressions in reverse of the former raised areas. Some deep, rather narrow tooled lines have been almost closed by bubbling corrosion but can be recognized in every case.

With these facts about the condition in mind, we proceed to the description of the statuette. Pan sits with his goat's knees bent and his ankles drawn up close to his body, his left foot crossed over his right. He leans forward somewhat and his upper arms extend sidewise from the shoulders making the upper part of the body heavy in proportion to the lower. He turns his head a little toward his right. His garment is a skin, neither the skin of a roe deer nor of a goat, for the feet have claws, one conspicuous in

FIGURE 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Bronze Statuette of Pan (enlarged detail)

front. Presumably it is the skin of a panther, such as was worn by satyrs so frequently. In fact, Pan here looks much like a satyr, being distinguished by not much but his horns.

On the back (fig. 4) the two edges of the draped skin fold outward, like the borders of a cloak, and fullness shows itself in delicate V's of folds in the center, deepest just below the neck. The garment contracts at the seat and the tail, marked with cross lines, starts just above the bottom of the statuette, while the hind paws curl around to reappear in relief against Pan's hips, the one on the right being the clearer. Into this lowermost part of the animal skin the curious cutting for the mounting of the statuette, noted above, was made. On the right front (figs. 3, 5) just below the better preserved of the two tied animal legs, the figure is in mint condition and one observes the original fine modelling of the nude, where shoulder, chest, hip and the boundary of the soft part of the abdomen are accurate and clearly defined. The goat's legs are patternized; an incised line dividing the thighs from the calves against which they press is adopted as the quill of a feather from which there diverge two rows of incised lines to indicate the hair on the upper and lower leg.

The head was once very beautiful (fig. 5). The eyes have dot pupils with an upward gaze and they are overshadowed by heavy brows, above which there is a knotted forehead separated by a deep line from the nose. The very small mouth with its parted lips is framed by great sweeping moustaches which merge with the long weedy beard. This beard is parted in the center and ripples down in fine lines, terminating in two thin wisps on the chest. Huge, pointed ears rise straight up beside the face. The head is bound by a concealed band about which the hair above and behind the ears is tightly rolled, while the hair of the center back falls loosely over it. From the crown, the hair diverges in waves, each wave made by a single stroke of a curved chisel or gouge. Across the forehead there is a studied confusion of hair, divided into great lumps, the largest of which was at the center. Horns rise straight, then bend back and they are diagonally cross-hatched for their entire length. Their tips are now lost.

The head turned slightly and inclined toward the now vanished right hand, but the eyes were not focused on this hand. It is to the left hand that we must look for light on the meaning of the composition, and even the left is not very informative. It was clenched, with the thumb toward Pan's head and the palm down. The three outer fingers remain, and they gripped a small object. The possibilities are that the fist held something small, or that it was empty with the thumb pointing toward the head, or that the thumb turned in and was gripped by the fingers. The hands are too widely spaced to have held both ends of a syrinx of proportionate

size, yet a syrinx is the attribute one would expect a seated Pan to hold, judging from a number of near replicas reflecting a single famous Hellenistic group of Pan and the nymphs.[8] Possibly our Pan had a syrinx in his right hand, holding it away from his lips, not playing but beating time with his clenched left fist as a preliminary. Or he may have simply held the syrinx and had a throwing stick in his left hand. Still another possibility is that he was playing not the syrinx but the double flute which, by confusion with the satyrs, artists were known to give into his hands.[9] In any case, the likely interpretation is that he was Pan the musician and belonged in a group with the nymphs.[10]

But the common Hellenistic Pan among the nymphs had a head of another type, or, rather several types of head, all different from ours, all with well trimmed beards, none with a winding beard. The mask of Pan on the recently discovered silver kantharos from Stevensweert, dated by its inscription to the second century B.C.,[11] is much more like our Pan than any of the statues. It has the same tufts of hair above the forehead, the same cross marks on the horns, the plastic pupil of the eyes once again, the small mouth framed by swirling moustache and beard, and the same rippling to a beard which again fades rather than ends on the chest. There is the difference, however, that the beard is not parted. The parting occurs, along with features which really are not un-Panlike, on a portrait of Socrates, generally attributed to Lysippus.[12] One sees something like this beard on a Marsyas statue of Hellenistic date.[13] The hair, long and rolled on a band, falling thence over the band in wisps, is paralleled by a couple of hermaphrodites of Hellenistic origin.[14]

These parallels point toward a Hellenistic date for our Pan, and the curious red patination was remarked by Neugebauer as characteristic of bronzes from Egypt of the Hellenistic Greek period. Our Pan does not belong to the school which Neugebauer was reconstructing at that time[15] and to which I have since attempted to add one piece (a negro in the Walters collection).[16] This group was dated by Neugebauer at the very end of the Hellenistic era, really at the beginning of Roman rule. Our bronze Pan I would also assign to Egypt, as a unique, minor creation by a Hellenistic artist whose date I will not fix, but who must have lived between the time of Alexander and of Neugebauer's sculptors.

Now this Pan, and those we have been discussing, all have quite human faces, with only traces of caricature. Those Hellenistic creations which were copied frequently by Roman artists had faces distorted by enlarging the mouth and narrowing the jaw until there was more than a little of a goat's expression. Our third item is of this kind.

[8] Herbig, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 f., p. 88, notes 111, 112. Add *American Journal of Archaeology,* XLII (1938), p. 364, fig. 2.

[9] Herbig, *op. cit.*, p. 83, note 36.

[10] A Hellenistic bronze group has, with considerable probability, been reassembled in the Louvre, using, among other members, the maenads, De Ridder, *Bronzes du Louvre,* I (Paris 1913), pl. 33, nos. 392 and 393.

[11] L. Brom, *De Kantharos van Stevensweert* (Amsterdam, 1951) pl. 3, and *The Stevensweert Kantharos* (The Hague, 1952), pl. 6; *Monuments Piot,* XLVI (1952), pl. VIII.

[12] N. Süsserott, *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jahrhunderts vor Christus,* (Frankfurt am Main, 1938), pl. 35, 4; K. Schefold, *Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker* (Basel, 1943), pp. 84 f. One might also compare some of the details of the Hellenistic portrait of Epicurus, *ibid.*, pp. 118 f.

[13] In Istambul. A. W. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture* (New York, 1927), pl. 29.

[14] M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1955), p. 146, figs. 623, 625; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pl. 40; Louvre, Editions Tel, *Encyclopédie photographique,* III, p. 231.

[15] Neugebauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 78 ff., 85 f., and *Schumacher-Festschrift* (Mainz, 1930), pp. 233-237.

[16] *American Journal of Archaeology,* LVII (1953), pp. 265-7, pl. 75.

FIGURE 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Marble Head of Pan (front)
From a Roman Copy of Hellenistic Group

It is a small, marble head, broken from a statue (figs. 1, 6, 7).[17] The marble is white, fine grained, with dull finish. There is a little brownish encrustation. The head tips back from the neck and the face is abnormally narrow and crooked, with the right cheekbone prominent but the left repressed; the face is decidedly undershot, with the lower jaw projecting far beyond the upper, and the mouth is crooked, large, and wide open. Above this startling mouth are a nose with hump on the ridge, a wrinkled forehead and deep set eyes with slanting brows; in fact, the whole upper part of the face seems to diverge in a star formation from the bridge of the nose. The brows were freely hatched to suggest tufts of hair. A pair of small horns lies flat on top of the head, marked by cross striations. The ears are long, pointed, and inhuman, the left more conspicuously bestial than the right. The hair is shaken into short, tousled locks. There is a sort of depressed straight line across the back of the neck, with the hair swelling out above as well as below. On the left side and all across the back, the loose curls are very short, blowing in various directions, all expressed in extremely low relief. On the right side, the relief gradually becomes higher to the point just behind the right ear where the hair stands way out, each curl separated from the next by drilling (fig. 7). Across the forehead the curls are very close and tight, each one being undercut by a drilled hole started both from the back and from the front; a few additional holes are scattered behind this front double row. These holes are a striking feature of the head, but one should realize that not all of them were conspicuous before general breakage in the area. Drill holes also render the nostrils and undercut the tongue, and some drilling is visible in the midst of the locks of the beard which is now badly broken but seems to have been long, irregularly curled and wild. Combined with this treatment of the longer parts of the beard is delicate relief carving of the short hairs of the beard on the cheeks.

I think the head belongs to an otherwise vanished group of Pan extracting a thorn from the sole of a satyr's foot. The knotted brows would then indicate his concentration on his task. Several such groups are known, not identical. A handsome creation in the Vatican has Pan seated

[17] Walters Art Gallery, no. 23.128. Purchased 1925. Greatest length, from horns to end of beard, 5¾ in.; length of face, 3¾ in.; from broken neck to horns, 5½ in. Fine grained white marble, with small crystals. Surface brown with muddy deposit and root marks. Head was mounted before the identification of the type; it should tip farther back.

FIGURE 7 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Marble Head of Pan (left side)
From a Roman Copy of a Hellenistic Group

on his left foreleg with his right leg stretched forward, operating on the right foot of a satyr who is in an agonized pose, facing him, sprawled on eneven ground only slightly elevated, supporting his weight on his left elbow.[18] A variant was found in the excavations at Ostia: a satyr seated upright on a rock, extending his left foot to a relatively small Pan.[19] A further variant comes from Pompeii; the roles are reversed and the satyr works on Pan's horned hoof, which would be invulnerable to thorns.[20] There is still another version, several times repeated, at its most complete in the Louvre;[21] in this case, the satyr sits upright facing the audience and crosses his left leg over his right in order to present the sole to a tiny Pan who sits on the ground at his right. In the Louvre example the Pan head is quite different from ours.

It is the Vatican and Ostia groups which are important for our purpose, for, in spite of the differences between them, the heads are very like each other and like our detached Pan head, and, if one may judge from photographs only, all three tip the head back and bend the neck more or less to the left. On the Ostia example I see very clearly a double row of drilled holes across the front of the hair and on the Vatican example unmistakably similar to our Pan are the few drilled holes of the beard and the hair on the right side, this hair being in high relief as on the right side of the Walters Pan head.

These Pan and satyr groups are unifacial, belonging to a class that has deliberately abandoned the Hellenistic three-dimensional composition scheme.[22] In this peculiarity lies the explanation of the assymetry of the Walters head and the varying depth of the hair relief. The view in figure 1 is by far the most pleasing, for in it the foreshortening of the face operates to advantage, no drill holes disfigure the mouth, and the hair is in realistically thick locks. Therefore, it seems likely that our Pan head comes from a group posed as in the Vatican, with the figures in strict profile and with Pan's right side toward the spectator. But the open mouth distinguishes this head from any such group so far known.

For a set of works of art so varied, it is not possible to establish an exact chronology and an exact typological development. There are several renderings of the Louvre type, leading one to suppose that there was a famous original for this group copied by the pointing system. It is, moreover, more multifacial than the other renderings and, as Calza observed, closer to the single figure extracting a thorn from his own foot, a thoroughly Hellenistic composition. Possibly, then, the first Pan and satyr group was made during the first century B.C., based on the single Hellenistic figure. It was followed by some variations, like the Ostia group, before very long, that is, in Krahmer's dating, by the Augustan period at the latest. Before the destruction of Pompeii in 79 A.D. the type was

[18] Visconti, *Museo Pio-Clementino,* I (1782), pl. 48; C. Clarac, *Musée de sculpture antique et moderne* (1826-53), pl. 726; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine,* I (1930), p. 412, 5; Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (1897-1909), III, pp. 1447 f., fig. 19; *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,* Phil. Hist. Klasse (1927), pl. IV; Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age,* fig. 635; Helbig and Amelung, *Führer durch die öffentlich Sammlungen klassischer Alterthümer in Rom* (ed. 3, 1912) I, p. 336; Herbig, *op. cit.,* p. 31, fig. 5.

[19] G. Calza, *Notizie degli Scavi* (1931), p. 525, fig. 7; Bieber, *op. cit.,* fig. 633; G. Calza, *La Necropoli nell'Isola Sacra* (1940), pp. 238 f., fig. 137; R. Calza, *Il Museo Ostiense* (1947), p. 39, fig. on p. 39.

[20] From the "Casa di Lucrezio." Not illustrated. First mentioned, *Bulletino dell'Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica* (1847), p. 133; frequently discussed in connection with the others (see notes 17-19), most recently by Bieber, *op. cit.,* p. 148 and note 97.

[21] Louvre: Bieber, *op. cit.,* fig. 634; Clarac, *op. cit.,* pl. 297; Reinach, *op. cit.,* I, 150, 2; Herbig, *op. cit.,* pl. XIII; Vatican: G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculpture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano* (Vatican City, 1937), pp. 91 f., no. 183, pl. LXVII and (head of satyr) p. 87, no. 177, pl. XXXVI; Leningrad: O. Waldhauer, *Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1936), II, no. 150; Reinach, *op. cit.,* III, 39, I and III, 39, 4; G. von Kieseritzky, *Sculptures antiques de l'Ermitage* (1901), p. 122, no. 266 and p. 8, no. 15; Arles: Reinach, *op. cit.,* III, 21, 3.

[22] On this subject see especially G. Krahmer, *Die einansichtige Gruppe und die späthellenistische Kunst,* in *Nachrichten - Göttingen* (1927), pp. 53-91.

being changed even more, to produce the reversed roles of satyr and Pan in the Pompeii group. As for the date of carving the extant pieces, the Ostia group was called Hadrianic by Calza and one version of the Louvre group was called Antonine by Kaschinitz-Weinberg, who dated even later a satyr head from a similar group. The others, so far as I know, have not been dated. For the Walters head, both Hadrianic and Antonine seem too late. I suggest that the group of which it is the sole surviving fragment is not later than the Trajanic period, and possibly earlier. The head conspicuously lacks the slick finish of so many Hadrianic and Antonine works. Several times between the accession of Augustus and the accession of Hadrian, careful work with dull finish became modish. To one of these periods, Trajanic or earlier, I would assign the head.

The third item is as important as the others for an understanding of the Greek Pan. It shows the whimsical conception of the latest Greek artists as it was taken over by the Romans. The group to which it belonged surely decked a Roman home. The Roman joy in such groups might never have been satisfied without the latest development of Hellenistic fancy, the Pan in kindly, useful service. This Pan of latest times takes his place beside the very human Pan of the earlier gem and the musical Pan of the middle Hellenistic age as documentary evidence of the ever fertile Greek imagination.

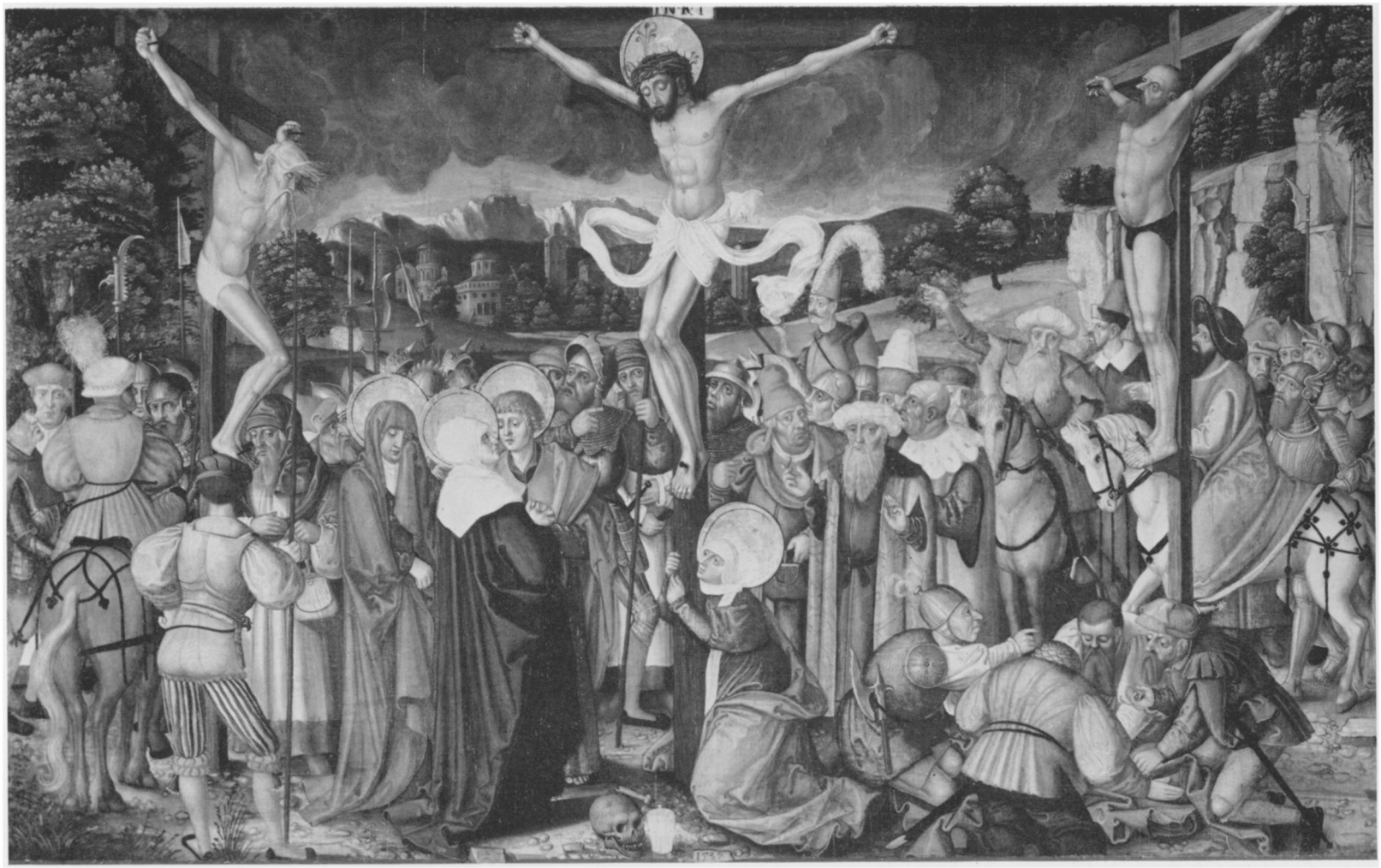

FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

PETER GAERTNER

Crucifixion

A RELIGIOUS PAINTING BY PETER GAERTNER IN THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

BY PAUL WESCHER

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AT A TIME WHEN ART historical knowledge is expanding in all directions, it seems strange that very few new names of German painters of the renaissance period have been added to those known half a century ago. Yet, the knowledge of the works of art has increased greatly. Among the painters rediscovered in recent years, Peter Gaertner is, like most of them, not of outstanding stature, as Germany did not produce any great painters in this late period.

Gaertner has been known hitherto only as a portrait painter. Coming from Nuremberg, he was engaged by the princes of Pfalz-Neuburg, particularly by the Count Palatine Otto Heinrich, the builder of the castle of Heidelberg. A number of oil portraits—most of them from the old ducal Bavarian collections and now dispersed in various Bavarian galleries like the National Museum of Munich, the Schleissheim and Burghausen Galleries—and a series of pen and gouache portraits from a sketchbook once at the castle of Dessau and scattered in the art market in 1927, first led Ernst Buchner to the present identification of Gaertner.[1]

There were at least four portraits by Gaertner of Count Palatine Otto Heinrich, one dated 1537 when the count was thirty-six years old, two of his wife Susanna and one of each his brothers Wolfgang (fig. 3) and Philipp. Furthermore there were the portraits of his relatives and relatives through marriage, like Frederik I of the Pfalz, Frederik II of Simmern and his wife Maria (fig. 2), a princess of Brandenburg, Duke George the Rich of Bavaria-Landshut, Margrave Christoph II of Baden (Augsburg Gallery) and finally the group portraits of the family of Count Palatine John II of Sponheim (dated 1532) and of the family of Duke William IV of Bavaria (dated 1534). Two preparatory studies for the latter picture, the gouache portraits of Duke William and his wife Jacobäa, a princess of Baden, are now in the collection of drawings in the Louvre, purchased in 1928 from the Dessau sketchbook.[2] Some of the oil portraits were signed with the initials P G and a so-called "speaking" trade mark, a spade, as the sign for Gaertner (meaning gardener).[3] In their general style they recall particularly the portraiture of Bartel Beham, then

[1] See Thieme-Becker, *Künstler Lexikon,* vol. XXXVII, p. 441 and the quoted literature, particularly E. Buchner in *Pantheon,* II (1928), p. 365.

[2] See L. Demonts, *Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du Nord* (Paris, 1927), vol. I, nr. 196/197, p. 39, pl. 67. Another drawing which represented the brother of the ruling Duke William, Duke Philipp, Bishop of Freising and Naumburg, was sold in 1936 at Christie's in London, with the Henry Oppenheimer collection; see K. T. Parker, *Catalogue,* p. 180, nr. 375.

[3] The "speaking" mark as a signature was common at the time among painters as well as engravers. Hans Schoepfer, for instance, used the sign of a ladle indicating his name (the one who scoops out).

FIGURE 2 DESSAU, CASTLE

PETER GAERTNER

Maria of Brandenburg

the favored portraitist of Duke William of Bavaria and many other princes. It was on the ground of this date that Buchner came to his conclusion that the pictures were the work of Peter Gaertner, after having found documentary evidence of Gaertner's employment as court painter at the castle of Neuberg at the Danube, then the family seat of the princes of Pfalz-Neuburg.[4]

Having known Gaertner as a portrait painter, my attention was drawn several years ago, while visiting the Walters Art Gallery, to a picture of a "Crucifixion" which was signed with the same initials P G and the same mark of a spade and dated 1537, the same year as one of the Otto Heinrich portraits at Burghausen. The "Crucifixion" of this rather small painting (fig. 1)[5] takes place in a pre-alpine landscape and shows in a not too well organized composition a great number of figures filling the foreground. These figures are drawn without observation from real life, after patterns common in provincial art at the time. Only in some strongly modelled heads and in the manner of painting can we retrace certain features of the portraits, while, as a whole, this religious picture looks more archaic in style than the portraits. Yet, the date 1537, clearly written on a tablet underneath the cross, leaves no doubt as to the time of its origin.

To sustain this date further, we may also take notice of the costume of the mustached soldier to the right of Christ, with the long ostrich feather in his cap, as this costume is that of a Turkish soldier of the time and refers to an actual event, namely the Turkish invasion of Austria which was stopped before Vienna in 1529. Philipp, the brother of Count Palatine Ott Heinrich, took part in the defense of Vienna as one of the commanding officers. It is noteworthy in this connection that Ott Heinrich, to commemorate this deed of his brother, ordered nineteen tapestries to be designed by another court painter, Mathias Gerung, in 1543.[6]

The "Crucifixion" in the Walters Art Gallery shows clearly that Gaertner had no part in that development of the German Renaissance which was marked by the works of Hans Burgkmair, Hans Baldung Grien, Joerg Breu the Younger and, from a distance, Hans Holbein the

[4] Buchner never published his findings in extenso, but the documents concerning Gaertner are to be found in an article by H. Rott, *Ott Heinrich und die Kunst* in *Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Heidelberger Schlosses,* vol. V, 1, p. 39.

[5] Oil on panel, 27⅞ x 38⅛ in. (68.8 x 96.8 cm.). No. 37.246.

[6] See F. H. Hofmann, *Ein wiedergefundener Ott Heinrich Teppich* in *Münchner Jahrbuch für bildende Kunst,* VI (1911), p. 73.

FIGURE 3 NEW YORK ART MARKET

PETER GAERTNER

Wolfgang of Pfalz-Neuburg

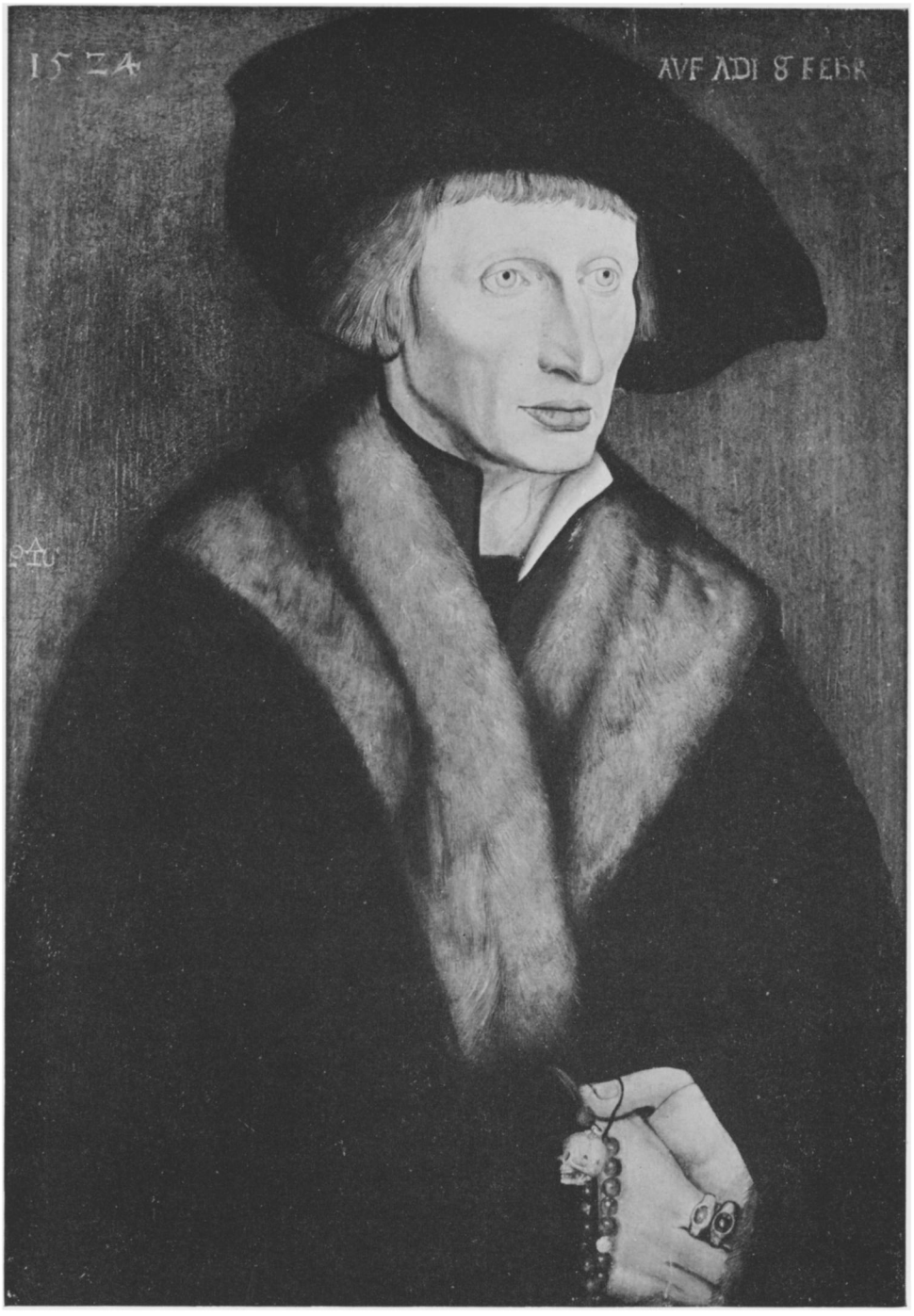

FIGURE 4 RALEIGH, N. C., MUSEUM

PETER GAERTNER

Portrait of a Man

Younger. Gaertner emanated, as the "Crucifixion" evidences, from the gothic tradition which, with many of the minor and some of the important German painters, continued even after renaissance forms had been adopted in German art. But this fact and the complete lack of any renaissance influence indicates, on the other hand, that in 1537 Gaertner was not a young man any longer, and that he must have grown up and started on his career when the gothic tradition was still more prevalent—that is at least within the first two decades of the sixteenth century.

Although the date of Gaertner's birth is unknown, as are all the circumstances of his life prior to his appointment as a court painter, we are fortunately in the possession of one painting which precedes those named above by a decade and thus forms at least one link to the missing earlier work. This is the hitherto unpublished portrait of an elderly man, dated 1524 and signed with the same initials and the spade used in all the later signed pictures. Now at Raleigh, N. C., museum, Dr. Wallerstin had owned it, but Dr. Nagler apparently referred in his *Monogrammisten* to the same picture then to be found in a private collection in Augsburg.[7] This early portrait shows the strong individual character of most of the German gothic portraiture, in a quality compared to which the later court portraits appear rather conventional (fig. 4).

If the retardataire gothic elements of the "Crucifixion" are thus easily explained by the age of the painter, the reasons for the discrepancy in the style between the "Crucifixion" and his contemporary court portraits deserve some further consideration, as they touch upon specific problems of German art of that time.[8] Everyone knows that German painting declined very rapidly around the middle of the century, and this decline coincided with that of the culture of the German cities, the economic causes of which are discussed in my book on the great merchants of the Renaissance (Basel, 1940). As German culture had grown with the guild system and its economic prosperity, which then brought on international trade, German art had been mainly supported by the guilds and the rich citizens up to the time of Dürer's death (1528). The Reformation had disastrous effects upon some of the wealthiest and most industrious cities like Nuremberg and Augsburg, and while the art commissions of guilds and patricians dwindled more and more, the German princes gradually assumed more of the responsibility as art sponsors and engaged court painters. Yet, as the German nobility was a rural nobility which, with few exceptions, never developed a refined taste for art, its members were in no position to substitute exactly for patronage exerted by the guilds or rich citizens before. They were quite satisfied if their court painters executed their portraits well. Thus we see Gaertner, like Jacob Seisenegger, Hans Schoepfer, Hans Wertinger and Hans Muelich occupied in portraying nobility in a fashion then considered elegant. When around the middle of the century all the great creative masters had died, the only branch of painting which survived was this portrait painting.

[7] F. Nagler, *Monogrammisten,* vol. IV, p. 888, no. 2972. Mr. Edward S. King kindly drew my attention to this quotation.

[8] We find, for instance, the same discrepancy between portrait and figure painting in the work of Hans Muelich. His "Crucifixion" in a private collection at Winterthur (signed and dated 1536) and another figure painting in the Marmottan Museum, Paris, look definitely archaic and gothic beside his portraits.

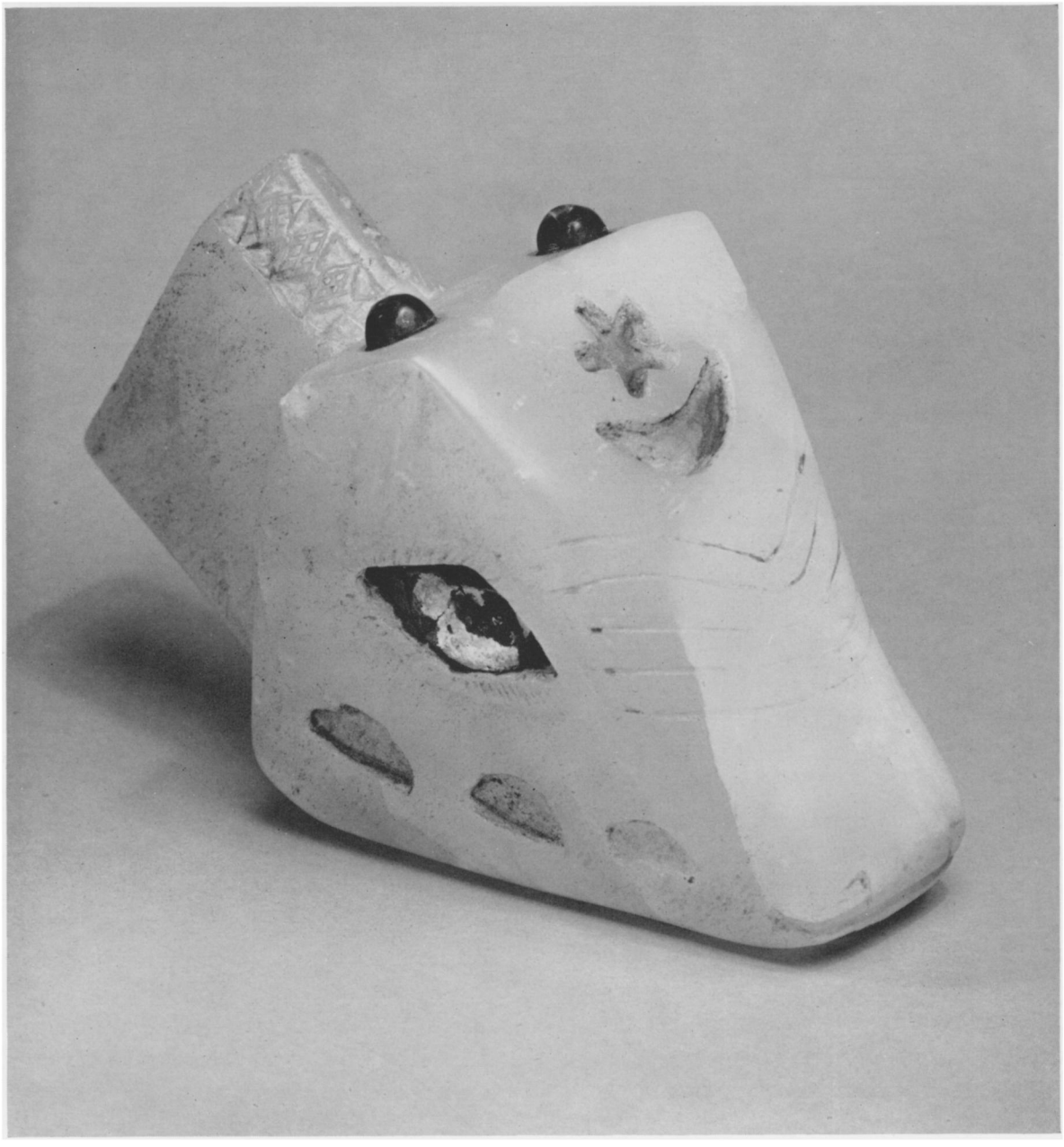

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Alabaster Calf's Head

A SOUTH ARABIAN CARVING OF ALABASTER

BY KARL KATZ

New York City

FOREWORD*

The alabaster carving considered in this paper has been associated with various cultures and chronological periods, but no satisfactory attribution has yet been made. It can be called "Ancient Mesopotamian" and yet it has no analogy to any object within that classification. It has been considered to be "Second Millennium B.C., Iranian," but no parallel within that area has as yet been unearthed. Many other labels have been suggested, but, so far as I know, not one of them has been acceptable.

The past—both remote and the relatively recent—as we know it, certainly is only a fragmentary version of the historical situation. The ultimate aim of archaeologists and historians is to collect at least representative fragments which eventually will approximate in diminutive size the entire picture. Such a goal is far from a reality and there are many missing pieces.

This piece of sculpture, considered in relation to this problem, may then be a unique artistic experiment from a well-documented culture, a creation of a peripheral group whose style is not yet fully recognized, or an art object from an area that up to now has not been seriously investigated.

The present paper attempts to consider this object in the light of these alternatives and is presented as a hypothesis, in the hope that future information will be forthcoming, either as confirmation or clarification.

The point of departure for this study is the classification of the provenance of this object as Arabian, after previously excluding other possibilities.

SOUTH ARABIA is not unlike the "forbidden fruit," possessing unassessed information and therefore tempting research. It has lured adventurer-travelers, epigraphers and archaeologists, and has often frustrated them by its inaccessability. Its importance as the site of a flourishing pre-Islamic civilization with long traditions and as an early Islamic state with close connections to the spiritual center makes the area worthy of careful investigation.

Recently the first organized archaeological expedition briefly penetrated into South Arabia.[1] The digs carried out yielded much material that, when published and analyzed, will no doubt astound all those who have speculated about this significant area.

The South Arabian piece in the Walters Art Gallery merits special consideration because it is unique and certainly a fine work of art (fig. 1). The object is an animal head sculptured in a

* I would like to thank A. Jamme, P.B., A. Fakhry, H. Scott, D. S. Rice, R. Ettinghausen, I. Ben-Dor and D. K. Hill for their helpful opinions; Miss N. Softchin for typing indecipherable notes and Miss E. Whitney for being both a Greek chorus of one and a needed supporter.

[1] Preliminary reports have been appearing in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (BASOR); see no. 119 (1950), pp. 5-15; W. F. Albright, *The Chronology of Ancient South Arabia in the Light of the First Campaign of Excavation in Qataban;* also see succeeding issues. Wendell Phillips, *Qataban and Sheba* (New York, 1955), presents a popular account of this recent archaeological investigation. An Egyptian archaeologist has issued a publication of a South Arabian archaeological exploration: Ahmed Fakhry, *An Archaeological Journey to Yemen* (Cairo, 1951).

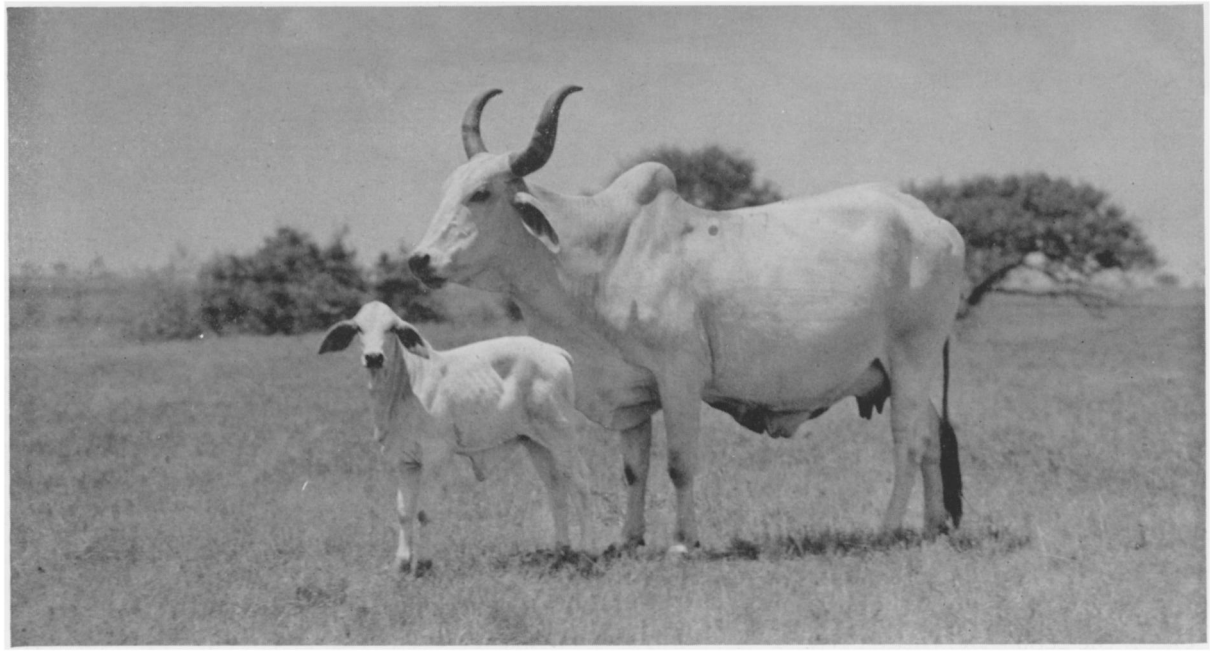

FIGURE 2

Zebu and Calf (Bos Indicus)
(Courtesy American Museum of Natural History)

superior grade of alabaster.[2] It has been in the collection since 1922.

In working on the art of South Arabia we are dealing with a relatively limited selection of objects. With few exceptions, published pre-Islamic material has been discussed merely as epigraphical evidence in context and not as works of art. The predominant materials so far available are inscriptions found on bronze and stone tablets, altars, stelae and natural rocks. The representations most frequently associated with these epigraphical remains are statues of males and females, human heads, animals and animal heads, all of various sizes. There are uninscribed representations of humans, bulls, ibexes, horses and lions, to enumerate but a few. Pottery, coins and jewelry supplement the repertoire. These objects are generally dated from the seventh century B.C. to the sixth century A.D. There are apparent external influences, but until further work is undertaken in analyzing the development of this art, all that can be stated is that there are two sharply defined styles: naturalistic and very highly stylized.

Objects bearing Arabic inscriptions honoring royal personages of Muslim Yemen are almost always not of South Arabian manufacture. These works of art, made primarily for the native Rasūlid sultans, are generally of Egyptian or Syrian origin.[3]

The method of arriving at an attribution in the case of the Walters animal head presents a

[2] Its total length is 14 cm. (*ca.* 5½ in.).

[3] Very little is known about this indigenous Arabian art. Some information exists concerning the architecture of the area. Bookbindings, textiles, metalwork and locks and keys (an unusual regional specialty) have been associated with Yemen's artistic productivity. M. S. Dimand, *Unpublished Metalwork of the Rasūlid Sultans of Yemen* in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, III (1930-31), pp. 229-237. The Rasūlids reigned from 1229-1454 A.D. and had close connections with Egypt and Syria, where much of their art was made. A brass casket published by G. Wiet, *Album du Musée Arab du Caire* (Cairo, 1920), pl. 50, is said to have been made in San'a, the capital of Yemen. Some illuminated manuscripts in both Arabic and Hebrew are the products of local artists.

very interesting problem. Ideally, direct analogies and obvious variants are convincing evidence in establishing the identity of a specific object. That approach in this instance is impossible because in the corpus of published and unpublished material from both pre-Islamic and Islamic South Arabia, I have never found a similar animal head.

Yet a representation of a bovine coming from South Arabia is certainly not strange, in fact, it is completely consistent with the art and culture of that region. Unlike the rest of the Arabian Peninsula, the southwestern portion is in parts a green, fertile land and contains the largest arable area of the entire peninsula. In accounts of South Arabia the cattle culture there is often mentioned.[4] The bulls that are represented on the steatite stamp-seals from Mohenjodaro,[5] the zebu (*Bos indicus*) cattle with crescent-shaped horns, humped back and a large dewlap were introduced in the remote past from India to South Arabia and to East Africa as well (fig. 2). The Walters animal most probably represents the zebu type and its proportions suggest a calf.

Later, in the Islamic period, the cattle culture continued to have prominence. One of the great contributions that Yemen made to the art of the Islamic book was the mastery of leather bookbinding.[6] Early travelers in Islamic Yemen make specific mention of the many tanneries there.[7]

FIGURE 3 PHILADELPHIA, UNIVERSITY MUSEUM
Alabaster Statuette of Ammi-jada du Shukaim

Even today, a talent one might find there would be the "art of writing amulets for sick cows, an important skill in a cattle culture with no veterinarians."[8] The Imam of Yemen through the *zakat al-mawashi* (tax on cows, goats and camels) derives a tidy income[9] and hides are still an im-

[4] Richard H. Sanger, *The Arabian Peninsula* (Cornell University Press, 1954), p. 253.

[5] Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization, The Cambridge History of India,* supplementary volume (Cambridge, 1953), p. 63, pl. XXIII. See also a full-page illustration of the same type of bull, Fakhry, *op. cit.,* pl. LXXXVIII. V. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East* (New York, 1953), p. 143: Susa phase "D" pottery is connected by its decoration with the humped Indian cattle.

[6] Emile Gratzl, *Islamische Bucheinbände* (Leipzig, 1924), pp. 15-20, pls. 11-14.

[7] T. W. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic Book* (Pegasus Press, 1929), pp. 30-31. Al-Hamdāni is the source of this information.

[8] S. Barer, *The Magic Carpet* (New York, 1952), p. 130.

[9] G. E. Heyworth Dunne, *Al-Yemen,* Muslim World Series, no. 5 (Cairo, 1952), p. 26.

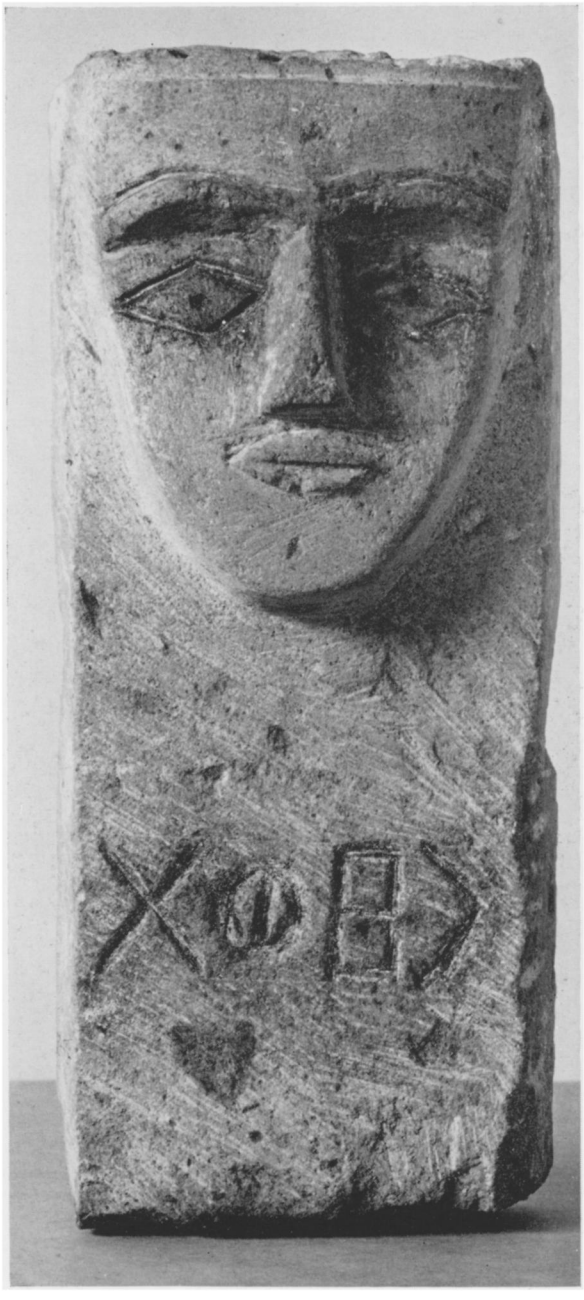

FIGURE 4 PHILADELPHIA, UNIVERSITY MUSEUM
Limestone Stele: Mask of Rudwat

portant export item.[10]

Nor is it surprising that the material of our carving is alabaster. The majority of South Arabian objects that have reached us are of alabaster and we know that it is quarried locally.[11] The immature horns are of agate, a semi-precious stone often used in South Arabian jewelry,[12] and abundant in that area.[13] The eyes are inlaid with bitumen (with traces of white chalky pupils), which is used extensively in the Near East (fig. 3).[14] Whether or not the other depressions on the carving had originally been filled is hard to ascertain, since those places are now clean.

In aspects of its treatment, the head resembles the highly stylized art of pre-Islamic South Arabia. Feature by feature it can be compared to parallels or variants within that art. In a culture where the essential features in the art are highly stylized, the process of creating a work of art is fundamentally a problem of combining the traditional elements. It must be emphasized that the individual details of our alabaster animal can be successfully related to those in pre-Islamic South Arabian art, but as a totality it is unique.

The diamond- or lozenge-shaped eye and the inlay area which is cut perpendicularly into the material are typical of this art (fig. 4).[15] The lozenge is repeated in two other features of the calf's head—once as the ear and again the mane decoration. A peculiar idiosyncracy of the zebu is to drop its ears against its head just behind the eyes. The artist, in his effort to present the animal as he knew it and yet keep the sculpture as simple and contained as possible, represented the ear in this typical, uncomplicated position.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[11] Hugh Scott, *In the High Yemen*, 2nd ed. (London, 1947), p. 125.

[12] Leon Legrain, *In the Land of the Queen of Sheba* in *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXXVIII (1934), p. 337. G. Caton Thompson, *The Tombs and Moon Temple of Hureidha (Hadhramaut)* (London, 1944), beads pp. 96-7; seal pp. 102-3.

[13] H. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

[14] Legrain, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-233. A careful study of the relationship of this art in technique and in style to Sumerian and other ancient near-eastern arts will be discussed by the writer in another article. The attempt to simulate nature by using diverse materials is an important element in near-eastern art.

[15] Legrain, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

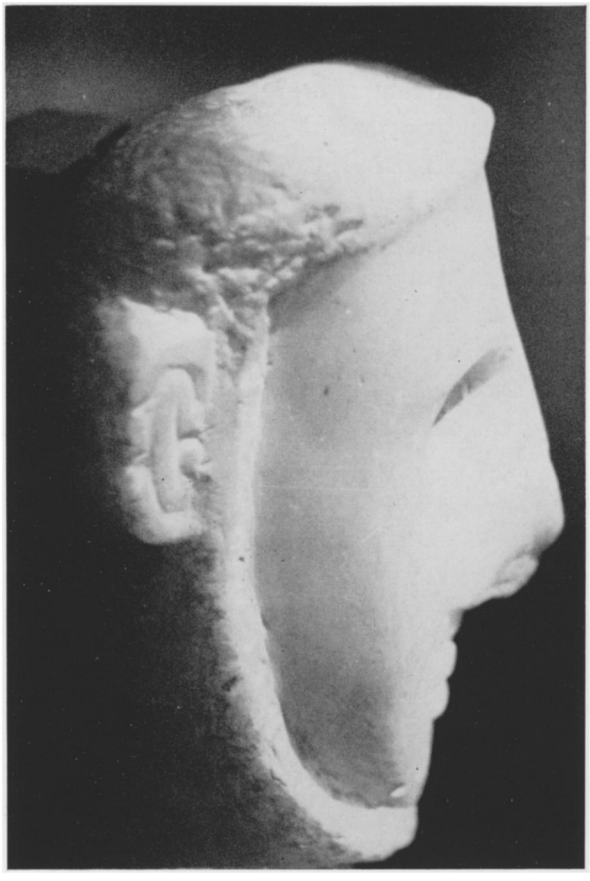

FIGURE 5 NEW YORK, HEERAMANECK COLLECTION

Alabaster Head

This type of ear is not common. It is related, however, to the inner part of the ear in figure 5 and is comparable in treatment and outline to the diamond-shaped mouth in figure 6.

Again, in the ornamental design on the upper part of the calf's neck we find the lozenge pattern. Here the large diamonds are broken up into many smaller diamonds. The shapes, treatment, and technique bear a striking resemblance to South Arabian jewelry. Two incised gems in the Muncherjee collection of South Arabian art provide parallels (fig 7).[16] In G. C. Thompson's publication of her excavations of the Tombs and Moon Temple of Hureidha (Hadhramaut) we find that three of the five altars unearthed are ornamented with cross-hatchings which create lozenge patterns.[17]

The five incised lines on the front of the calf's face can be compared to a bull's head from the

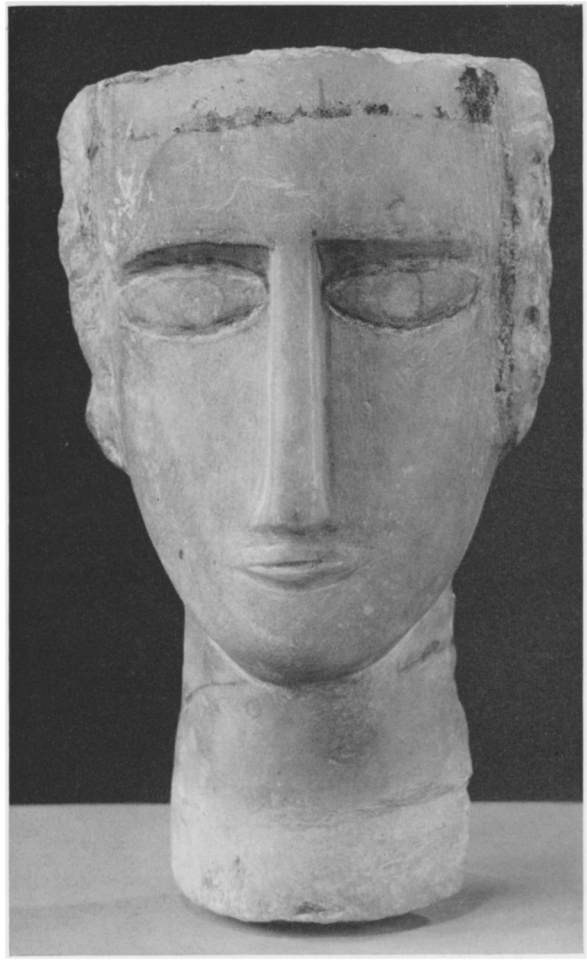

FIGURE 6 PHILADELPHIA, UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

Alabaster Head

[16] Carlo Conti Rossini in *Dedalo,* VII, pp. 727-754, on the Muncherjee Collection in Aden reproduces on p. 753 two gems with this type of design. These were difficult to photograph, and the gold necklace from the same collection, reproduced in our figure 7 after Bossert, *Alt-Syrien,* was the most accessible example.

[17] Thompson, *op. cit.,* pls. XVI, XVII and pp. 49-50.

Hujja excavations,[18] which shows three wrinkles similar in position and style. This particular stylization occurs frequently, but never with five lines (fig. 8). The wrinkles often are brought closer to the mouth. On the Walters piece, as a decorative modification, they are directly in

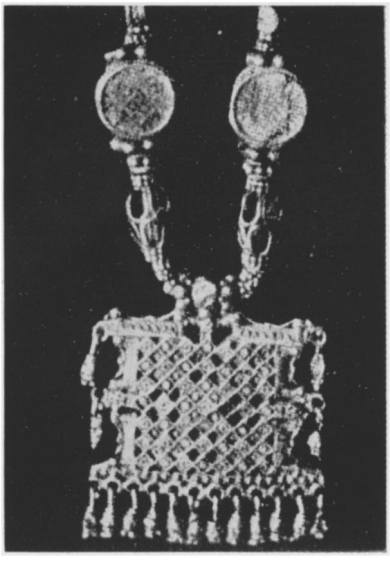

FIGURE 7 ADEN, MUNCHERJEE COLLECTION

Gold Necklace from South Arabia
(after Bossert, Altsyrien)

line with the eyes. The young zebu's mouth is not elaborately articulated, but it resembles a mouth type common to many South Arabian works of art. (See a variant in figure 8.) The dewlap or fold of skin on the zebu's throat is indicated by a rounded ridge.

A peculiar feature of the head is the six semi-circular depressions—three on each side—on the lower part of the jaw. They are cut into the stone in the same manner and to the same depth as all the other recessed areas. They can be explained, I believe, as elaborately articulated teeth. There are Arabian variants of this unique feature, all emphasizing in some way or another the teeth,[19] an interest which is not too general and may indicate a relationship between South Arabian and Hittite or Assyrian art.[20]

The most difficult problem concerning the complex collection of unique aspects of our calf are the two symbols—the five pointed star and

FIGURE 8 VIENNA, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM

Relief with Bull-masks
(after Bossert, Altsyrien)

crescent—displayed so emphatically on the animal's forehead. Their prominence, cultural relevance, and specificity are crucial in determining the chronological placement of this object within the lengthy history of South Arabia.

[18] Carl Rathjens and Hermann von Wissmann, *Vorislamische Altertümer* (Hamburgische Universität Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde) (Hamburg, 1932), p. 114, fig. 76: a bull's head from Bêit Ghofr.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 200, figs. 156-7.

[20] *Cf.* a bronze head of a lion from Shibam, South Arabia, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, which is thought to be Hittite: *Syria,* XXX (1953), pp. 65-71. It can be compared to a lion's head waterspout in Ditlef Nielsen, *Handbuch der Altarabischen Altertumskunde* (Copenhagen, 1927), p. 42, fig. 26; and others in Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie.* Anna Roes, *The Trefoil as a Sacred Emblem* in *Artibus Asiae,* XVII (1954), pp. 61-68, publishes two interesting calf heads. Both have broad, shallow bands running from mouth to ears in a manner suggesting a relationship with the tooth depressions on our object. One has a trefoil on its forehead in a position similar to the star and crescent on the Walters calf.

The pre-Islamic religion of South Arabia was centered in the chief deity, Almaqah (Ilmuqah or Ilumquh), the moon god, represented as a crescent, and his consort, the sun, Shams, represented by a circle or pellet.[21] Venus, "Athtar," the third member, was symbolized by the circle as well. A star divinity was always represented by a circle. The pellet and crescent, or crescent alone, were used most frequently.

The crescent most often used in pre-Islamic South Arabia derives its form more from the horns of the cow or bull[22] than from the crescent as a phase of the moon. In some instances, the bovine horns are shown as if they were a crescent moon.[23] Usually the South Arabian pre-

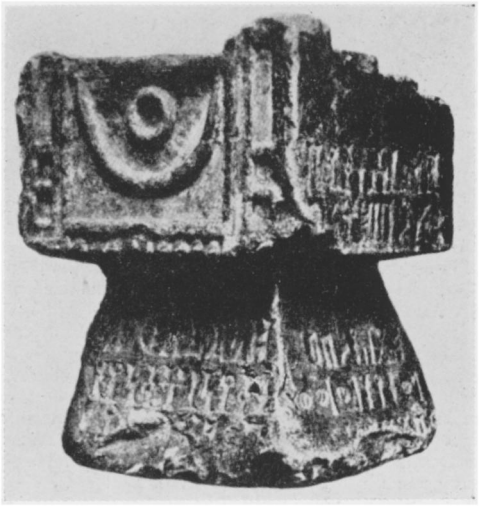

FIGURE 9 FROM YEMEN

Sandstone Altar
(after Bossert, Altsyrien)

Islamic crescent resembles the arc of an ellipse and often does not have pointed or tapering ends (fig. 9). The crescent on our calf's forehead is distinctly not of the "crescent as bovine horns" class.

The second type of crescent is based on the partial moon and resembles an arc of a circle,

FIGURE 10 FROM SHABWA

Altar
(photo, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

with tapering or pointed ends. It is the moon-crescent which appears on the head of the Walters calf. Although there are examples of this type in pre-Islamic South Arabian art, they are quite rare. A moon-crescent with its base (fig. 10)[24] can be compared to a Hittite stele

[21] G. Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes préislamiques* (Louvain, 1951), ch. III: "Arabie méridionale," pp. 25-49—the most valuable up-to-date discussion of pre-Islamic religion.

[22] Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 162-168, esp. p. 166; a discussion of cattle, their symbolism and meaning.

[23] G. F. Hill, *Ancient Coinage of Southern Arabia* in *Proceedings of the British Academy* (London, 1915), coin no. 10.

[24] W. L. Brown and A. F. L. Beeston, *Sculpture and Inscriptions from Shabwa* in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1954), pts. 1-2, pp. 43-62, pl. XXI, fig. 2 (L).

with a crescent and base found at Harran[25] which again in a small measure associates that ancient near-eastern art with South Arabia. In Mesopotamian and Assyrian art the crescent often takes this "moon" form as well.

As I have stated, in pre-Islamic South Arabian art the pellet and crescent are the standard pair of symbols. In fact, in all of near-eastern pre-Islamic art there seem to be no examples of the juxtaposition of the five-pointed star and crescent, similar to the pair of symbols on this piece of sculpture.

The six-pointed star and crescent appear on Sasanian coins.[26] The five-pointed star appears, though rarely, on cylinder-seals[27] and the crescent does quite frequently, but they never are used together. Seven five-pointed stars and a crescent appear on a Graeco-Roman gem from Palestine[28] and probably these symbols were used from the Hellenistic period up to and through Byzantine times.

The coincidence of the crescent with a five-pointed star in pre-Islamic South Arabian art is probably an impossibility. Symbols are endowed with special dogmatic properties and permanence is their virtue. Their meanings are understood in relation to static, inflexible elements. Changes and modifications, therefore, are difficult and most often destructive. Functionless symbols eventually become meaningless decorative elements. I do not believe that these symbols are variations of the canonical pellet and crescent, modifications of the Sasanian type, or the result of Hellenistic-Byzantine influence.

With the advent of Islam the countries that accepted the religion of the Prophet were expected to renounce their pagan pasts (the "Jahiliyah"—period of barbarity).

Yemen became an Islamic state only six years after the Hijra (622 A.D.). Yet that devout Islamic community with its long pagan history retained many links with its pre-Islamic past.[29] Many of its early monuments were standing and remained visible up to and during recent times.[30] Hogarth, Halvéy, Glaser, Doughty, and the other travelers all found many of the inscriptions through the assistance of natives who knew of the existence of those antiquities.

The great tenth-century Yemeni historian, al-Hamdāni, wrote a multi-volumed study of the pre-Islamic antiquities of South Arabia and demonstrated his ability at that time to read and decipher the ancient pre-Islamic epigraphical remains.[31] The ruling house of Zaidi Imam's, Yemen's rulers today, trace their ancestry back to the pre-Islamic Himyartic period.[32] Red ochre, said to have been the Himyarite's official color, is still being used on legal documents and on the modern Yemenite flag for just that reason.[33]

[25] *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten Cilt:* XVII, Sayi: 65 (Ankara, 1953), pp. 1-14, pl. RES 18.

[26] G. C. Miles, *Rare Islamic Coins* in *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* (American Numismatic Society), no. 118 (New York, 1950), pls. I-IV. These are Arab-Sasanian coins. Chosroes II was the last Sasanian ruler of South Arabia before Islam, and his symbol was the six-pointed star and crescent: Ernst Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* (Berlin, 1938), Bd. IX, Heft 2, p. 102.

[27] A. Jeremias, *Handbuch Altorientlischen Geistkultur,* p. 100, figs. 71-2, also fig. 123. The five points symbolized Jupiter, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Saturn. A five-pointed star has been found drawn on a rocky surface associated with South Arabian graffiti. This discovery was made by the epigrapher Dr. A. Jamme in Jebel Sallâh in 1951. This is as yet unpublished and is entry number 309 in his field notebook. The star measures 5.5 cm. in width and 6 cm. in height. This recent information does not alter my opinion. Ancient near-eastern art favored four, six, rarely seven, eight, ten and twelve-pointed stars—in general a predilection for even numbers.

[28] Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (New York, 1953), III, ill. 1204. F. Cumont, *Symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (Paris, 1942), p. 237, figs. 54-59.

[29] Heyworth Dunne, *op. cit.,* p. 4; many other authors allude to this situation.

[30] H. Scott, *op. cit.,* pp. 128, 214-221. In *Hezyôn Teimen* (Travels in Yemen), the narrative written by Haim Habshush (S. D. Goitein, ed., Jerusalem, 1951), Halévy's native guide records pre-Islamic inscriptions in the Great Mosque at San'a, p. 18 and p. 24, and in private houses, p. 19. "Sabaean" letters were thought to have magical properties. For a pre-Islamic column re-used in an Islamic building, see A. Fakhry, *An Archaeological Journey to Yemen,* pl. LI.

[31] Nabih Amin Faris (ed.), *The Antiquities of South Arabia, Eighth Book of Al-Hamdāni's 'Al-Iklil* (Princeton, 1938), pp. 72-3. Book nine dealt with the language.

[32] H. Scott, *op. cit.,* p. 170.

[33] *Ibid.,* p. 173 (official seal) and p. 223 (flag).

The culture, literature, and ancestral heritage of South Arabia have been and are prized possessions of Islamic Yemen.

After the Ottoman Turks captured Constantinople in 1453, that city's emblem, the five-pointed star and moon crescent, was adopted as the official Ottoman-Turk symbol.[34] The Turkish flag today perpetuates that tradition. The Turks invaded Yemen in 1538 and sporadically occupied that country until 1911. Undoubtedly the Yemenis were very familiar with that emblem, which, before the Turks, had appeared very rarely in the Near East and had been restricted to countries much farther north.

During the early phase of the Ottoman occupation, native artistic activity seems to have flourished under the Turks' lenient, unorthodox rule.[35]

The crescent on monuments was not strange to the Islamic South Arabians. They had seen it on the surviving pre-Islamic antiquities. Up to the present day they even have maintained a tradition of putting ibex horns on the roofs of their houses for good luck.[36] The cattle culture which indirectly inspires the use of the crescent shape was always a significant factor in their lives.

The five-petaled rosette was the official emblem of the very important native dynasty of Rasūlid sultans.[37] That motif was used frequently in Yemenite decoration. In outline there is a strong resemblance between the star on our alabaster animal and the Rasūlid rosette.

Thus, the forms of the two Ottoman symbols (actually the pair as a unit) were easily acceptable to the Yemenis. In fact, these symbols were quite close to the old pellet-and-crescent tradition. Assimilating these new more meaningful decorative elements into their native repertoire was simple. They had carried precisely the same two symbols on their Jingling Johnnys in religious and military processions.[38] They had even interpreted the five-pointed star and crescent as an omen of good luck and painted that pair on the walls of their houses. This has been seen recently in the Wâdî Beihan.[39] The flag of modern Yemen was given five five-pointed stars as a symbolic element. Crescents since Turkish times topped mosques in that country.

Artistic traditions are tenaciously maintained in the East and often perpetuate themselves for millennia; even when needs change, traditions and techniques at times are adapted to meet the new demands. Isolation and tradition contribute to the continuation of a static art. These two factors are the very basis of our particular work of art. Through a respect for and superficial acquaintance with pre-Islamic art a unique variant was created. A synthesis of the ancient stylized forms has been combined with an Islamic symbolical element in an original context.

This animal head thus is a recent creation of an ancient style in a new form. This conglomerate of archaic elements with more modern modifications dates probably from the early phase of the Ottoman Turkish occupation of Yemen, the work of an artist who probably

[34] Victoria and Albert Museum, *Brief Guide to Turkish Woven Fabrics* (London, 1950), p. 11. For the adoption and use of the crescent symbol in Islam, see Arménag Sakisian, *Le Croissant comme emblème national et réligieux en Turquie* in *Syria,* XXII (1941), pp. 66-80. The five-pointed star or pentagram was used in early Islamic times, however. This special type of star appears on a bronze coin recently excavated in Susa (1946-49) and probably minted there as well, dating from the Umayyad period (*ca.* 700 A.D.): John Walker, *Some Early Arab and Byzantine-Sasanian Coins from Susa* in *Archaeologica Orientalis,* Memorial Volume in Honor of Ernst Herzfeld (1952), pp. 235-243, pl. XXXII, no. 3.

[35] The writer's thesis for Columbia University corroborates this fact. The finest work in illuminated manuscripts was done during the Turkish rule.

[36] Hugh Scott, *op. cit.,* p. 217.

[37] M. S. Dimand, *op. cit.* in *Metropolitan Museum Studies,* III, pp. 229-30.

[38] Hugh Scott, *op. cit.,* p. 167.

[39] In a personal communication to this writer from Dr. A. Jamme, P.B., the important authority on South Arabian epigraphy and a member of the recent expedition of the American Foundation for the Study of Man, Father Jamme states that he saw these two symbols used as described above.

fashioned this piece of sculpture for some high Muslim official's use.

The function of this charming creation is still unfortunately a mystery. It probably was to be placed and seen in a position similar to that shown in figure 1, and might possibly have been used as a finial. In that case, it may have been attached to the arm of a couch or some other kind of furniture. This object lacks the cubist quality of the ancient stylized approach,[40] and yet bears no resemblance at all to the naturalistic style. It is without precedent and carries no inscription (the few South Arabian fakes are always associated with inscriptions or belong to a recognizable class). In respect to the star and crescent, it is marked with an unquestionably recent motif, consequently it is most improbable that it was intended to be a fraud. It is difficult to formulate a convincing attribution when all the facts are hypothetical and circumstantial, and there is no single analogy to substantiate the final rather tentative conclusion. For its elusiveness as well as for its esthetic merit, this problematic piece is truly exciting.

If some day the present attribution is confirmed then we should look forward with great anticipation to the rest of the material of that isolated culture. If, as a result of its publication it comes to be associated with either a well-documented or a remote, uninvestigated group, then, in any event the satisfaction will be ours. A work of art of such charm, technical merit and iconographic interest should be given its proper place.

[40] There is an interesting relationship between the vertical and cubist South Arabian paleography and the forms employed in the stylized manner.

A STATUE OF THE MADONNA AND CHILD FROM LORRAINE

BY MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS

Los Angeles County Museum

MR. WILLIAM H. FORSYTH of the Metropolitan Museum has done an excellent service in isolating a group of limestone Madonnas from Lorraine and nearby.[1] He states that a study of the sculptural Madonnas in the churches of France is one of the best methods of localizing Gothic sculpture of the fourteenth century and successfully proves his point.

Lorraine in the fourteenth century had political affiliations with France, although partially independent. On the other hand, much of it was included in the archdiocese of Trier. Hence, one would expect to find a mixture of French and German elements. The drapery of the Lorraine statues often recalls French sculpture while the use of the wild rose in the crowns, so typical of Lorraine Madonnas, probably originated in Swabia. It was in fourteenth-century Swabia that the blessed Henry Suso lived and each day placed on the head of the Madonna a wreath of living roses and from there in the early fifteenth century came Stephen Lochner who painted the Madonna in a rose garden. Also characteristic of these Lorraine statues is the belt with rosettes, and the features with wide-set eyes and broad

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Madonna and Child

[1] *Medieval Statues of the Virgin in Lorraine Related in Type to the Saint-Dié Virgin* in *Metropolitan Museum Studies,* V (1936), pp. 235 ff.

foreheads, like the features of the people of Lorraine. The most important group is centered about a Madonna at Saint-Dié that dates toward the end of the fourteenth century.

Forsyth gives a convenient catalogue of the Madonnas known to him, admitting that others will probably be added to the list. This is to be expected and the following may now be added to his catalogue. At Brionne-la-Vielle in Champagne is a standing Madonna and Child[2] that in posture recalls the statue in the Musée de Cluny, Paris,[3] although the rose crown and the belt link it with the Saint-Dié Madonna. A seated Madonna and Child in the Walters Art Gallery[4] (fig. 1) wears the familiar rose crown and the belt with rosettes like the Saint-Dié Madonna. The Christ Child holds a large wild rose as in the statue at Baroville (Aube).[5] The broad forehead and wide-set eyes are again characteristic of Lorraine. To me this sculpture seems closely linked to the Virgin and Child from Chatenois (Voges) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[6]

These two instances merely demonstrate the importance for the study of Gothic sculpture of classification such as that of Forsyth on the Lorraine Madonnas, especially in museums where the provenance of objects often is unrecorded. The Walters Madonna and Child while not equal in beauty to those from the Ile-de-France (and the same might be said of the others from Lorraine) has an honesty and directness that makes its appeal immediately felt.

[2] A photograph may be seen in the Walters Art Gallery.
[3] Forsyth, *op. cit.*, fig. 13.
[4] No. 27.429. H. 20⅝″ (.524 m). Acquired in 1921.
[5] Forsyth, *op. cit.*, p. 238, note 7.
[6] *Ibid.*, fig. 4.