THE JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

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Laura F. Delano and 'Samson' in 1952

LAURA F. DELANO

August 23, 1886 – January 27, 1972

On January 27, 1972, the Walters Art Gallery lost one of its warmest and most faithful friends with the death of Miss Laura Franklin Delano, who for the past twenty-eight years had been a member of its Board of Trustees. Miss Delano was born in 1886, the fourth of the seven children of Warren Delano and Jennie Walters, the only sister of Henry Walters, the Gallery's founder. The Delano children grew up in New York at the family estate of 'Steen Valetje' on the Hudson at Red Hook, just a few miles north of their Roosevelt cousins at Hyde Park, with whom they were always closely allied.

At the age of fourteen, Laura had her first opportunity to travel to Europe, a very exciting five-month Grand Tour with her elder sister Ellen (Mrs. Frederick B. Adams) on 'Uncle Harry' Walters' yacht, the 'Narada'. She had been well schooled for the trip with a course in the history of art and architecture, and her photo albums attest her interest in the monuments that she found in England, Scandinavia, Greece, Italy, and Russia. On that trip the 'Narada' carried the family to St. Petersburg, where Laura snapped the Czar's yacht lying in the harbor. The elder members of the family visited the famous jeweler, Carl Fabergé, and in his shop purchased a number of items, including a parasol handle for each of the ladies of the family.

In 1902 Laura was sent to school in Europe, and had further opportunity to travel, this time down the Dalmatian coast. Her father took her on an extended tour of America one year, and with her sister Jean they visited Yellowstone and the site of the Panama Canal. Later trips included a second tour on the 'Narada' to Greece and Constantinople, and one across the Alps in a coach.

With the beginning of the First World War, the European trips came to an end, and Laura turned her attention to other activities, including gardening in which she remained interested all her life. In the 1920's, however, began the era of raising pure bred dogs, which became her passion. She came by it naturally as her father had raised both horses and dogs, and given her a love for Irish setters. Her Knocknagree Kennels at Rhinebeck, New York, produced some of the great champion setters of this country. Claudeen Girl of Knocknagree, Kerry Boy and a dozen others became the prize dogs of their day. Miss Delano similarly became noted not only as a breeder, but also known as a show judge both in this country and Canada, a role in which she excelled until recently. In the later years of the kennels she introduced long-haired dachshunds and gained further reknown for Knocknagree.

In 1919 Miss Delano helped to found the 'Rhinebeck Shop', an extensive women's exchange in Rhinebeck. Her friend, the artist Olin Dows, painted murals in the shop, which became an unusually productive center of its type, employing the skills of many people and disseminating the hand-made goods most successfully until the eve of the Second World War.

During the long years of the war, her cousin Franklin Roosevelt often 'escaped' to Laura's house just a few miles from Hyde Park where he would not be surrounded with officialdom. She was famous for her rum punch, which he enjoyed, but she once made the mistake of serving it to Roosevelt's guest, Winston Churchill, who, being a traditional British naval officer, thought it fit only for the crew.

Miss Delano was elected to the Board of her 'Uncle Harry's' Gallery in 1944. As she had known Henry Walters in his collecting years, she served as a link between the Trustees and the collection itself, offering insight and information on certain aspects of its history. Her own special areas of interest were jewelry, miniature painting, and oriental jades, and she encouraged the Gallery in these fields, as well as enriching it with her own Fabergé parasol handle, bought on the famous trip of 1900. She attended nearly every meeting in spite of the difficulty of traveling from Rhinebeck, and on one occasion arrived in the rain quite soaked. When someone remarked that she did not have an umbrella, she quipped, 'How could I, when I gave you the handle!'

Laura Delano's benefactions to the Gallery were many and continuous, but for her understanding and advice, she will be remembered and missed.

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Entombment
(Sixth scene of the Passion Altar)

A FLEMISH ALTAR MADE FOR FRANCE

By RICHARD H. RANDALL, JR.

The Walters Art Gallery

One of the more interesting facets of a work of art is its history and the role it has played in the centuries through which it has passed. But histories are often lost or separated from an object, either by accident or intent, and a century later become extremely hard, if not impossible, to reconstruct. So it has been for sixty years that scholars and visitors to the Walters Art Gallery have puzzled over the lack of information on the origin of the large carved Flemish altarpiece of the Passion of Christ, which has been located in the center of the Gallery on the main staircase (fig. 4).[1]

The altarpiece has conventionally been attributed to a Flemish atelier on the basis of its style, and dated in the late fifteenth century. The only hint of its former history is a copy of a printed prospectus, written in English by a French dealer, praising the qualities of the retable, and remarking that there was no equal to it in the museums of France. The object is of such importance and magnificence that several generations of scholars have sought further facts about its past. David Rosen, of the Walters Art Gallery Conservation Department, undertook its cleaning and restoration over a seven-year period and it was installed in its refurbished state in 1947.

A fortunate series of circumstances has led recently to the discovery of the history and original location of the altarpiece. The mayor of a small French town was seeking the long-lost altarpiece from the local church, a Belgian scholar was searching for the present owner of a carved altar which had been published in the nineteenth century as being in a well-known collection, and the Gallery was investigating the origin of its altarpiece.[2] All of these paths crossed at the same moment in history, and the parts of the story fell into place.

In November 1482, Jean d'Estouteville, seigneur of Blainville and Torcy, Grand Master of the Crossbowmen of France, and a member of an important Norman family, expressed his intention to build a collegiate church on land near his château in Blainville, outside of Rouen, and to endow it in perpetuity. His action was endorsed by the king, Louis XI, but it was only under Charles VII that appropriate blessings were received from the Archbishop of Rouen, Robert de Croixmare, who approved the act of donation in 1489. Jean d'Estouteville set aside two acres of land and began work on the church immediately, and within three years, on September 29, 1492, it was dedicated to St. Michael.[3]

The church stands in the town of Blainville-Crevon in a small green valley just twenty miles northeast of Rouen (figs. 2, 3). As one approaches it over the hills, the spire of the collegiate church rises above the cluster of houses, while beyond it on a bluff is the site of the former château of the Estouteville family. The church itself is of hard grey frit or sandstone, spotted with flint, and its original slate-sheathed tower dominates the steep slate roof. The plan of the building is cruciform with large traceried windows in the nave and apse and, at the

[1] Inv. no. 61.57. H. 7 ft. 7½ in. × W. 11 ft. 9½ in. (2.33 × 3.63 m.). David Rosen, 'The Preservation of Wood Sculpture', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. XIII–XIV, 1950–51, pp. 44–71; Richard H. Randall, Jr., 'The Medieval Artist and Industrialized Art', *Apollo*, vol. LXXXIV, no. 58, December 1966, pp. 19–21.

[2] I am indebted for much knowledge of the town, the *collégiale* of Blainville-Crevon, and the Estouteville family to M. Xavier Le Bertre, mayor of Blainville-Crevon. Dr. Hans Nieudorp of Louvain has been most generous with information which will form part of his dissertation on the subject of Flemish altarpieces exported to France.

[3] F. Bouquet, *Les sires et le château de Blainville*, Rouen (Cagniard), 1863.

FIGURE 2

The Collegiate Church of Blainville-Crevon, Normandy

main entrance, a tall porch surmounted by a pierced, late gothic railing. The tower is of compelling aspect and represents a once frequent Norman type, of which most other examples have burned or been changed over the centuries. From the square base of the tower rises a pyramidal roof from which projects an octagonal turret with a crown of pointed arches. An octagonal spire soars above this, completing the complicated geometric rhythm.

The interior of the building was carried out with great care and consistency in its fittings. The principal stained-glass windows, sculpture, choir stalls, and architectural stonework are all of the period of the dedication, in the last decade of the fifteenth century. There is a half-octagonal apse flooded with light from the tall traceried windows, set with contemporary stained glass. A Crucifixion fills the central light, flanked by bishop saints on the left and St. John the Baptist and St. Christopher on the right. There is a pleasant brightness in the interior from the light color of the sandstone walls, which contrast with the dark wood of the two small banks of choir stalls and reflect light on the stonework detail, including the arms of Estouteville set as the keystone in one of the quadripartite vaults. Above the original gothic altar which has now disappeared, and beneath the Crucifixion window, stood the carved altarpiece of the Walters Art Gallery from the time of its installation until the year 1833.[4]

In 1833 it was decided to modernize and improve the *collégiale* of Blainville-Crevon which had come to serve the local parish after the village church fell into disrepair in the eighteenth century. As was the habit of the time, the *jubé* or choir screen, which separated the choir and priests from the parishioners in the nave, was removed. The Blainville *jubé* was undoubtedly of carved wood, as there are no signs of architectural change in the building. Probably it was erected by the same workmen who produced the fine choir stalls with their amusing misericords,

FIGURE 3

The Façade of the Collegiate Church of Blainville-Crevon

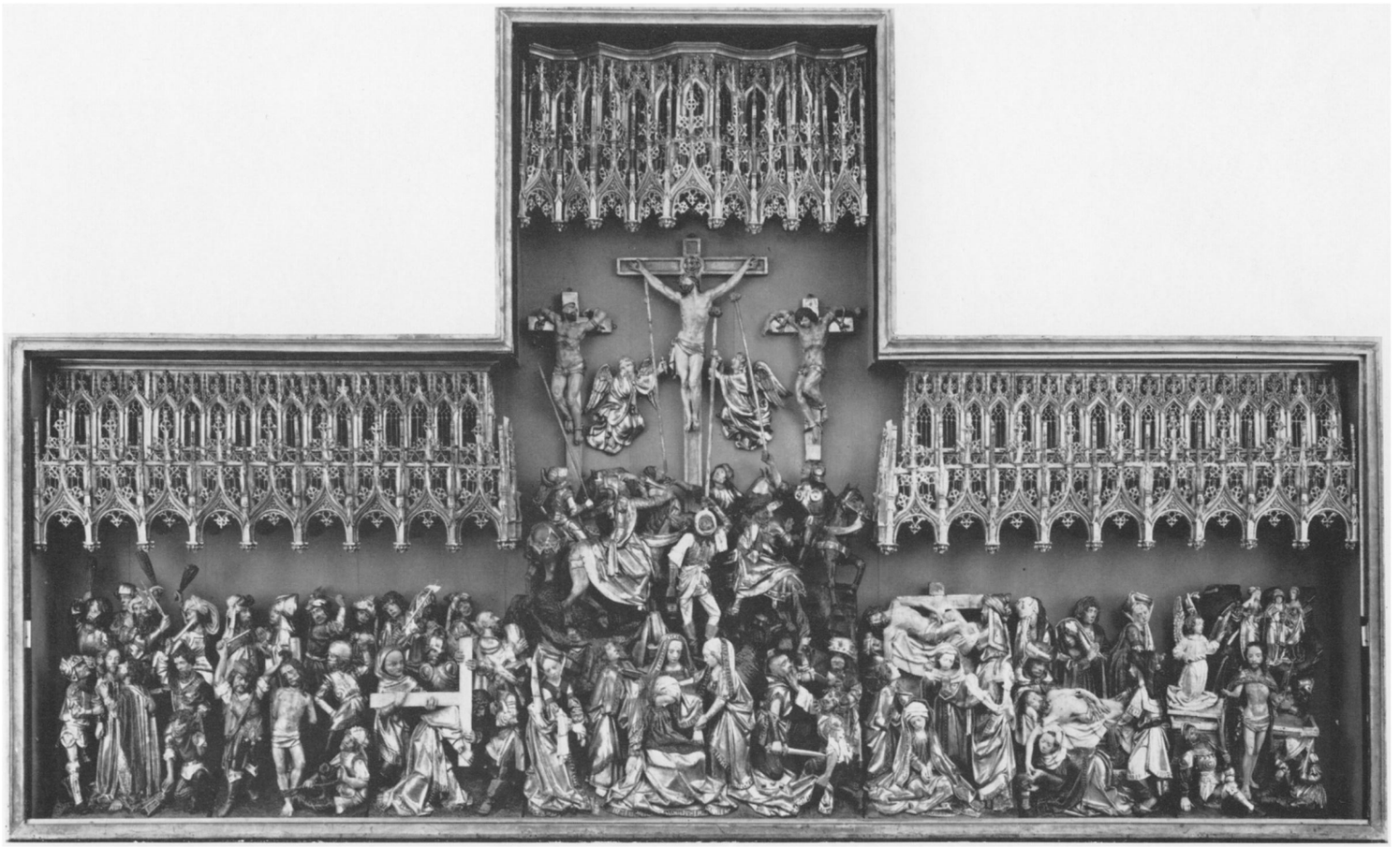


FIGURE 4

The Passion Altar

WALTERS ART GALLERY

which are still *in situ*. The great retable above the altar, now in the Walters Art Gallery, was disposed of in the same year to the local painter, Eustache Hyacinthe Langlois. The original altar, on which it stood, was also removed and replaced at the time with a neo-gothic altar table of dark oak, which still remains in the church.

Hyacinthe Langlois died in 1837 and the Blainville-Crevon altarpiece passed to an important local collector, Monsieur Bataille de Bellegarde of Rouen, from whose collection it was lent to the exhibition of art and archaeology at Rouen in 1861.[5] It came to the attention of the art historian Alfred Darcel at that time, and it was mentioned by a number of authors in the latter years of the nineteenth century.[6] In the year 1910, the heirs of Monsieur de Bellegarde sold his collection at public auction,[7] but the altarpiece was not included in the catalogue. It was acquired, probably by private sale, by the art dealer Jacques Seligmann of Paris. It was Seligmann, as it turns out, who published the brochure on the altarpiece hoping that it might be acquired by a French museum. It happened, however, that it was purchased in 1911 by Henry Walters for his collection in Baltimore.

The lands of Jean d'Estouteville in Normandy lay between the Somme and the Seine rivers, and his seat at Blainville-Crevon was in the southern part within twenty miles of the Seine. It was along this great artery that the Walters altarpiece would have traveled at the time of its original commission after arriving at Le Havre from Flanders. The majority of exported works of art, particularly those of large scale, are most often to be found along the watercourses of Europe. Columns and sculptures of black Tournai stone, for instance, can be traced in churches down the neighboring rivers of Belgium and Germany, and a font of that material traveled as far as Winchester in England.[8] Flemish altarpieces similarly followed the trade routes along the waterways and are to be found today scattered about Europe in Portugal, Spain, Italy, France, Germany, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and the island of Malta. These numerous works suggest the vast size of the sculpture industry and the widespread distribution of its products across the face of Europe. They represent only a fraction of what was originally created, and in certain countries, such as England, Holland, and Belgium, where the religious wars caused vast destruction, the percentage is small indeed.

Those Flemish altarpieces exported to Sweden comprise the group that has been most carefully studied, and they divide into two general types, coming respectively from the two chief centers of production, Antwerp and Brussels.[9] Many of those of Brussels workmanship in Sweden are from the shop of Jan Borman and his son, Pasquier, suggesting that certain shops specialized in the export trade and may have worked specifically for an area where they had obtained an entrée to the business. The retables exported to France have to date been studied less than some of the other groups, and they reveal interesting differences from Flemish exports to other shores.

Along the rivers of western France lie a number of churches decorated with altarpieces in the Flemish style. A number of them relate to one another and repeat the architectural form and program of the Blainville-Crevon altarpiece. The overall shape of most of the retables in France is given by the long, rectangular box frames with a raised central section, forming an inverted T. There are some smaller examples with three scenes, one on either side of a larger central scene, and a number of larger Passion altars of seven scenes, where six smaller groups flank the Crucifixion. The simple T-form can also be found in some of the great altars surviving in the Low Countries, such as those of St. Dymphna at Gheel,[10] St. Leonard at

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 37, note 2.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 37–8.

[6] M. A. Darcel, *L'exposition d'art et d'archéologie de Rouen*, Rouen, 1861; *idem*, *L'architecture et la construction dans l'ouest*, June 1900; Abbé Cochet, *Répertoire archéologique de département de la Seine-Inférieure*, Paris, 1871, col. 272.

[7] Collections de M. de Bellegarde, Hôtel des Ventes de Rouen, December 12–17, 1910.

[8] Arthur Gardner, *English Medieval Sculpture*, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press), 1951, fig. 111; Laurence Stone, *Sculpture in Britain; The Middle Ages*, London (Penguin Books), 1955, pl. 68.

[9] Johnny Roosval, *Schnitzaltäre in Schwedischen Kirchen und Museen aus der Werkstaat des Brüsseler Bildschnitzers Jan Bormann*, Strassburg (Heitz), 1903; and Comte de Borchgrave d'Altena, *Les Retables brabançons conservés en Suède*, Brussels (Lesigne), 1948.

[10] J. van Herck, *Het Passie-Retabel van Geel*, Antwerp, 1951; R.-A. d'Hulst, 'Le "Maître de la Vue de Ste.-Gudule" et les retables de la Passion de Geel et de Strengnäs II', *Bruxelles au XVme siècle*, Brussels, 1953, plate opp. p. 146.

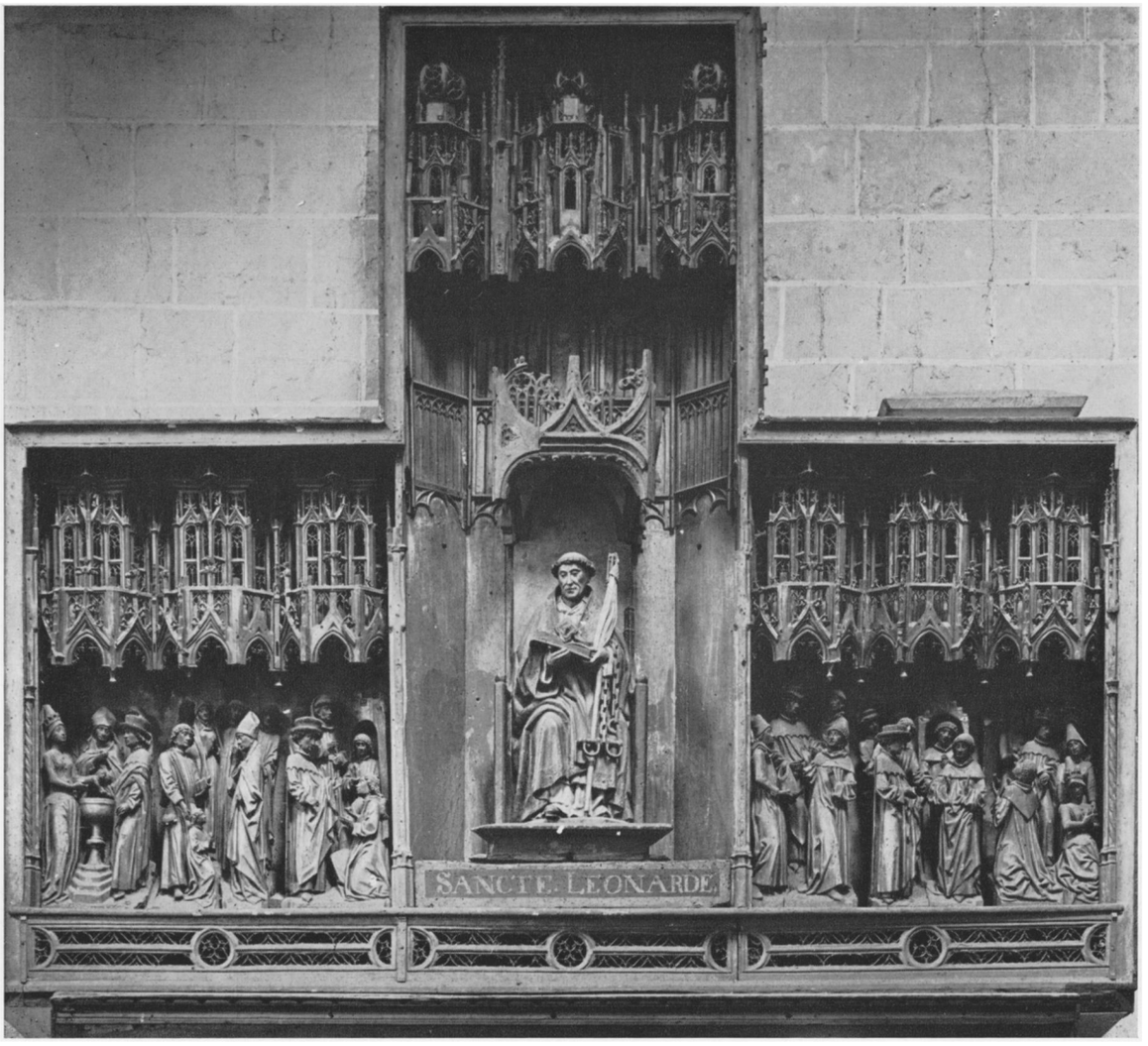


FIGURE 5 LÉAU, ST. LEONARD

Altarpiece of the Life of St. Leonard

Léau (fig. 5),[11] and that in the collection of Count Maurin de Nahuys.[12] But lavish forms of box frames were also popular in the north and are found in Brussels productions, such as the altar of Claude de Villa in Brussels[13] or that of the Cathedral of Güstrow in Mecklenburg.[14] The altarpieces of Antwerp usually tend toward architectural complexity with a series of late gothic profiles, curves, and counter curves in their enframements.

One of those altarpieces found in France which relates closely to the Walters-Blainville-Crevon retable is that in the Church of Ambierle (Loire) (fig. 6). It is of fine quality, both in its sculptural

[11] Theodore Müller, *Sculpture in the Netherlands, Germany, France, and Spain, 1400 to 1500*, London (Penguin Books), 1966, pl. 109 b.

[12] Joseph Destrée, 'Sculpture brabançonne au moyen age', *Annales de la société d'archéologie de Bruxelles*, vol. IX, 1895, p. 404, fig. 42.

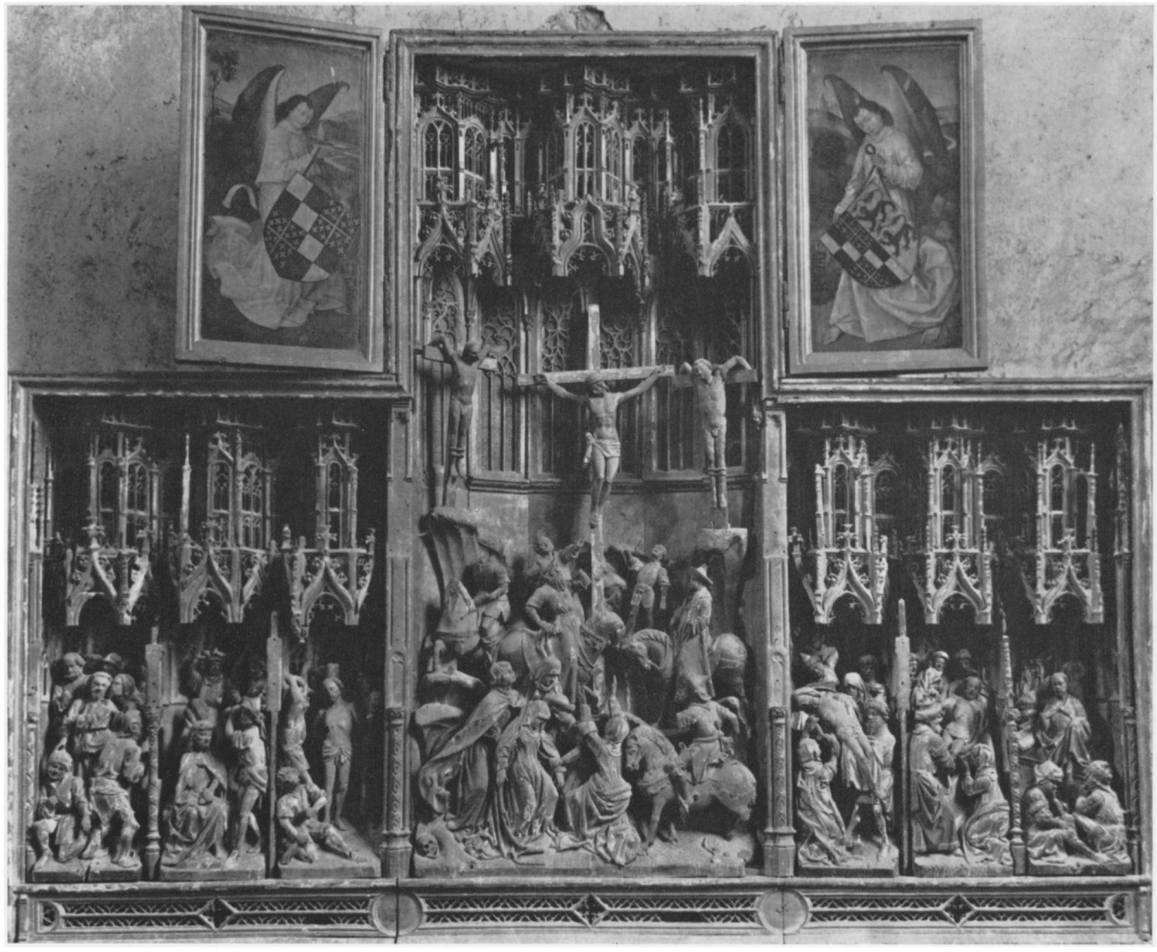


FIGURE 6 AMBIERLE, PRIORY CHURCH

Altarpiece of the Passion

ensemble and its painted wings, which have been attributed to a Burgundian artist.[15] The Ambierle altarpiece can be dated by inscription, either 1466 or 1476, though the latter date seems more probable. Its sculptural groups are rather tall and set close to one another, divided only by small colonnettes, unlike the greater division given by the architectural niches of the majority of Flemish altars. A comparable arrangement with similarly-tall blocks of sculpture is to be seen in the altar piece of St. Leonard at Léau (fig. 5), where there is no subdivision between the scenes. In both instances the three baldachins of pierced tracery above each scene are conjoined, so that they read as a continuous element. This treatment of the tracery is common to a number of the retables exported to France, and suggests a common or related origin.

The altarpiece of St. Leonard at Léau is known by documents to be from the workshop of Arnould

[13] Müller, *op. cit.*, plate 111a.

[14] Ingeborg Michailoff, 'Der Altar von Jan Borman in der Pfarrkirche in Güstrow und seine Widerherstellung', *Denkmalpflege in Mecklenburg, Jahrbuch 1951/52*, Dresden (Sachsenverlag), 1952, pp. 157–72.

[15] Jacques Dupont, 'Le retable d'Ambierle', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, series 6, vol. 20, December 1938, pp. 277–88; Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–5, pl. 111b.

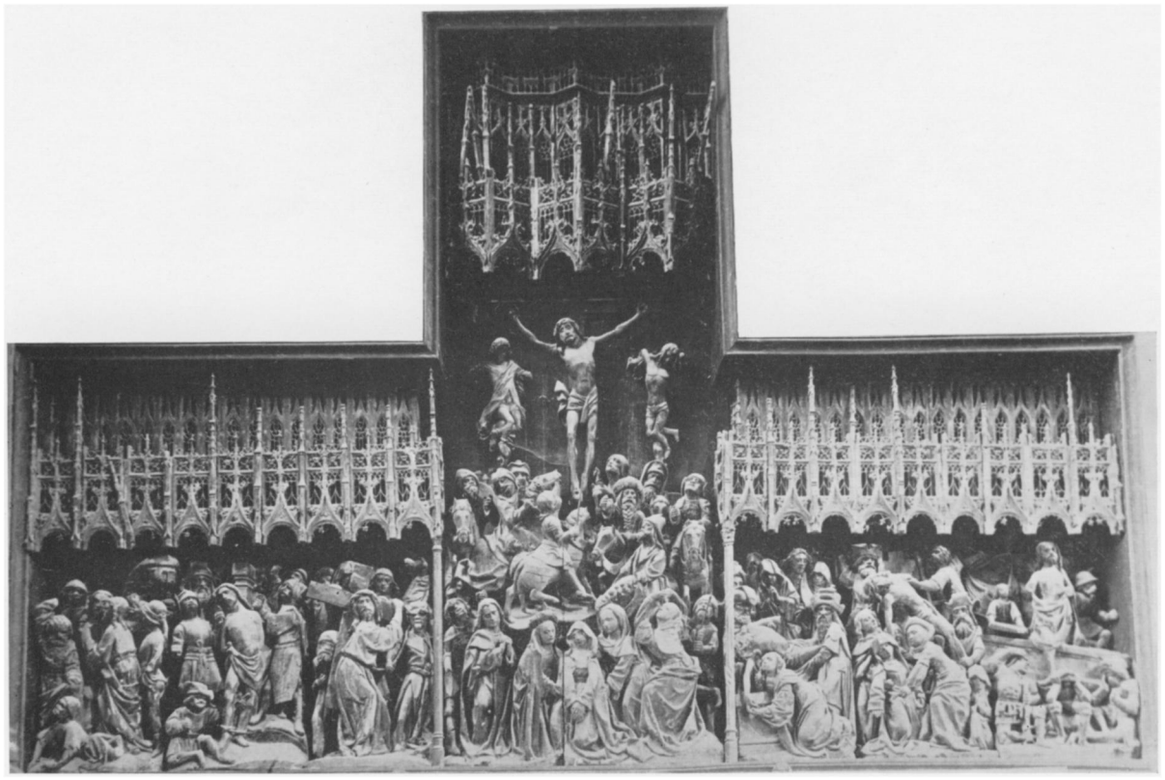


FIGURE 7 VETHEUIL, PARISH CHURCH

Altarpiece of the Passion

de Diest, who is recorded as working in Brussels.[16] It can be dated in the year 1479 or close in time to the production of the related Ambierle altarpiece. Another example with common features in France is the altar of the Death of the Virgin at Ternant (Nievre), datable by its donor panels between 1446 and 1454.[17] Here the inverted T-form of the altarpiece is employed again and triple baldachins of gilded tracery are placed above the scenes. One small colonnette on each side divides the flanking scenes from the central Death of the Virgin. A similar arrangement is to be seen in the Passion altar from Vetheuil (Seine et Oise) with its continuous sections of pierced tracery over the smaller scenes at the side (fig. 7). The placement of a single column at the end of a series of arches so as to set the central scene apart recalls the earlier use of the same device by Jacques de Baerze about 1395 in his great altarpiece for the Chartreuse de Champmol, now in the Dijon Museum.[18]

The pierced tracery of Vetheuil is composed of three contiguous projecting baldachins and relates to the type at Léau and Ambierle. Two smaller altarpieces of the Infancy of Christ also show the same concept of conjoined baldachins and a single columnar division setting off the central scene. One

[16] Detroit Institute of Arts, *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization*, catalogue of the exhibition 'Masterpieces of Flemish Art: Van Eyck to Bosch', Detroit, 1960, no. 73.

[17] René Journet, 'Deux retables de quinzième siècle à Ternant (Nièvre)', *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon*, vol. XLIX, Paris (Société d'édition 'Les Belles Lettres'), 1963, pp. 5–17, pls. 1–6.

[18] Müller, *op. cit.*, pls. 15b and 16.

[19] Destrée, *op. cit.*, p. 404, fig. 42.

[20] D'Hulst, *op. cit.*, unnumbered plates.

[21] While the form is similar to the Walters altarpiece, the figures are puppetlike and the architectural detail suggests a date in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Joseph Braun, *Der Christliche Altar*, Munich (Koch), 1924, pl. 258b.

FIGURE 8 ROUEN, MUSÉE DÉPARTEMENTAL

Altarpiece of the Infancy of Christ

of these, that of Count Maurin de Nahuys,[19] is in Belgium and bears a Brussels guild mark. The other was exported to France and is to be seen in the Musée Départemental at Rouen (fig. 8). The wings of the Rouen altarpiece are, incidentally, closely related to the wings on the altarpieces of St. Dymphna at Gheel and the second and smaller Passion retable at Strängnäs Cathedral, Sweden, which have been attributed to the Master of St. Gudule, a Brussels painter.[20]

The Walters-Blainville-Crevon altarpiece has a continuous expanse of tracery on each side without any colonnettes, as does the example at Airion (Oise), which is of the early sixteenth century and very coarse in quality.[21] The Airion retable is probably a French copy of the period, though it does not

FIGURE 9

WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Deposition
(Fifth Scene of the Passion Altar)

seem to follow any of the surviving Flemish examples precisely. Another sixteenth-century version is that found at Marissel (Oise) where there has been a return both to the tall format of the scenes and the use of colonnettes in between.[22]

The usual setting of the individual scenes in a Flemish altarpiece is a small architectural niche with the floor tilted so that the figures can be more clearly arranged and seen. The backgrounds of the half-octagonal spaces are conventionally composed of perpendicular gothic wall-tracery, which is gilded to set off the polychromed figures. In the examples in France, there is a suppression of the architectural form of the niche. Only in the altarpiece at Ambierle is there any use of the perpendicular striation in the background, and it disappears completely in the retables of Vetheuil, Blainville-Crevon, Marissel, and Airion. The smaller altars, at Ternant (Death of the Virgin), Rouen, and the Count de Nahuys collection, incorporate architectural elements, not as part of the background, which is plain, but as elements of the scenes themselves.

The consistency of the T-shape and architectural details of the altarpieces in France and their relation to those of St. Leonard at Léau and of the Count de Nahuys, both of Brussels origin, suggest that an atelier, like that of Arnould de Diest or a related shop in Brussels, may have been primary in the export of such retables to France.

The problem of attribution of Flemish altarpieces depends not so much on lack of signatures or marks on many of the surviving examples, but on the complication of the workshop tradition and the many hands that were employed on each of these productions. Altars with the marks of the same workshop, such as those of St. George in the Musée du Cinquantenaire[23] and Güstrow Cathedral, both by Jan Borman of Brussels, are tremendously varied in style and in the general principles of construction.

In the Blainville-Crevon example a number of details reveal industrialized procedures that made such production possible. The most obvious is that of reusing models that existed in the workshop, and were frequently copied, adopted, and altered to fit into new scenes. There are three instances of using the same model twice in the Walters Art Gallery altarpiece. The most apparent figure is the standing St. John with his curly head thrown back as he looks up at the cross in the central scene and at the body of Christ in the Deposition (figs. 13, 9). The angle of the figure has been slightly altered, one or two folds of drapery at the waist changed, and the borders of the robe painted differently. The second instance of the use of the same model is the figure, probably intended for Nicodemus, who stands at the upper right corner of the Deposition. He wears a large turban which falls to his shoulders, and his bearded face is seen in pure profile. He is repeated verbatim in the next scene, the Entombment, where one can now see his entire body and the carver has added an extra loop of drapery to the turban (figs. 9, 1).

The use of the Veronica figure twice is less obvious. She stands in the lower left corner of the Crucifixion scene, wringing her hands and staring into space (fig. 13). She is handsomely accoutered in a stylish, pointed hat with a fall of white drapery and a short-sleeved bodice with pointed collar over her puffed blouse. In the reuse of the same model in the Entombment scene, the carver has made various changes (fig. 1). In the second instance she stands at the upper right in the second tier of figures so that only the upper portion of her body can be seen. The hat, face, posture, and gesture of the hands are repeated, but the white drapery of the hat has been attached differently and now falls over her left shoulder. Her costume has changed to a round-necked dress, though the same short sleeves and puffed blouse can be seen. The painter of the figure has disguised the similarity by a pattern of brocade which gives an entirely different effect from the gilded dress she wears in the Crucifixion scene.

Such reuse of figures, scenes, and groups has been noted in the Dutch pipe-clay sculptures earlier in the century, and must have been a normal procedure in any large workshop production.[24] There are other minor instances in the Walters altarpiece, such as the screaming face with the undershot jaw of the soldier attacked by Peter in the Arrest scene. The same face is carved again at a different angle and used for one of the three soldiers gaming for Christ's

[22] Of inverted T-shape with very tall blocks used for the scenes, allowing for a double tier of scenes in the central division. Braun, *op. cit.*, pl. 258a.

[23] Comte de Borchgrave d'Altena, *Le Retable de Saint Georges de Jan Borman*, Brussels (Dupriez), 1957.

[24] Jaap Leeuwenberg, 'Een nieuw facet aan de Utrecthse beeldhouwkunst V', *Oud Holland*, vol. LXXVII, part 2, 1962, pp. 79–100.

FIGURE 10 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Flagellation
(*Second Scene of the Passion Altar*)

FIGURE 11 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Resurrection
(Seventh Scene of the Passion Altar)

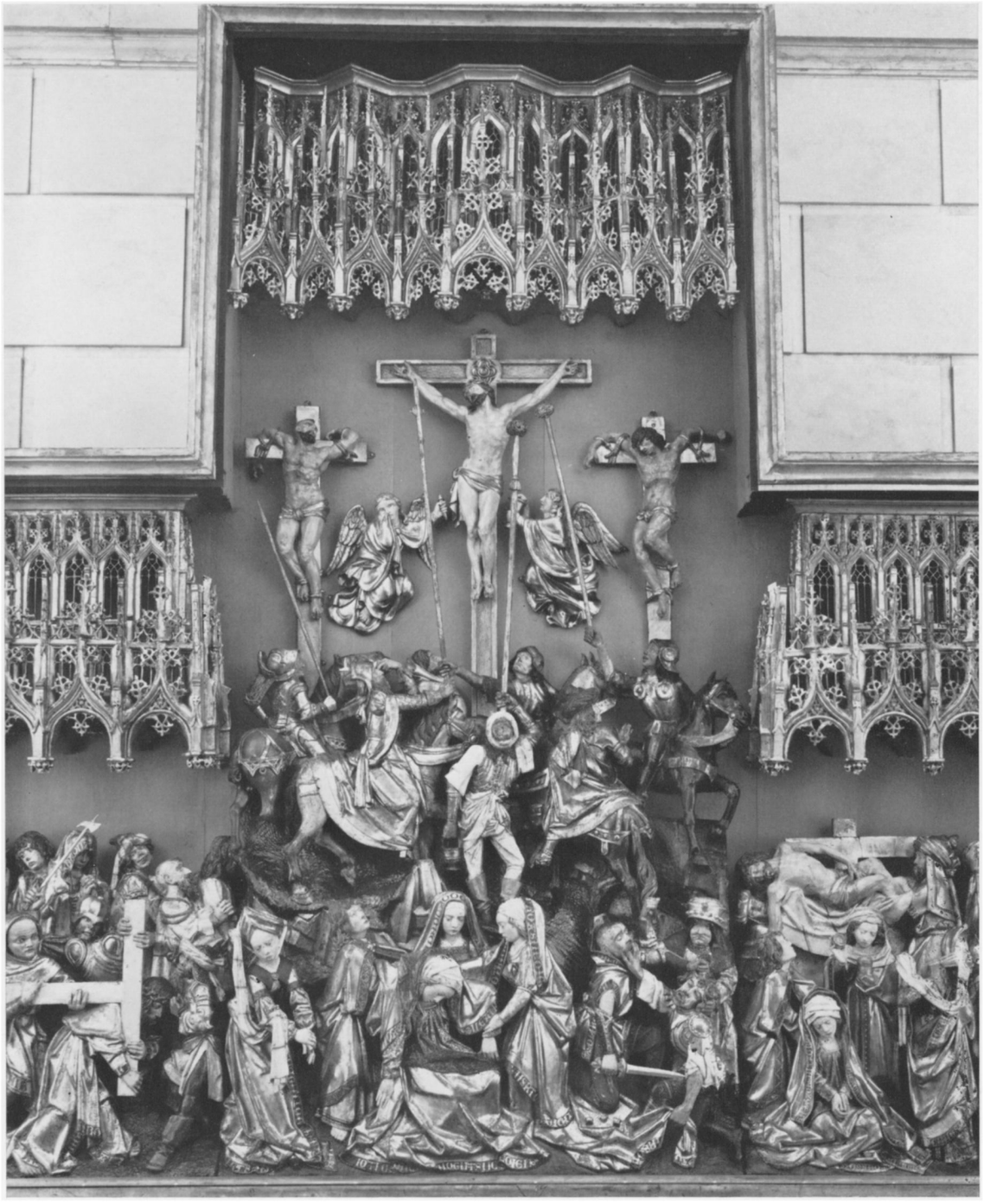


FIGURE 12 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Crucifixion
(Central Scene of the Passion Altar)

FIGURE 13 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Figures at the Foot of the Cross
(Separate Block from the Central Scene)

garments (figs. 14, 13). The facility of the carvers in changing a bit of drapery here and there to disguise their tricks is not surprising.

The reuse of models draws one's attention to another unusual feature in the Walters altarpiece. The sculptors have purposefully tried to make the characters of the drama readily recognizable, by repeating their costumes and other characteristics in succeeding scenes. John, for instance, is shown with curly brown hair and a very youthful face, and is recognizable in the four scenes where he appears. The Virgin is similarly recognizable by her golden mantle with its inscribed borders, which falls away revealing her turban when she faints in the central scenes. Nicodemus has already been pointed out as a repeat of his turbaned profile, and the Magdalen is shown with a white headcloth and her ointment jar in the two scenes where she is represented (figs. 9, 19). The most striking example, however, is Veronica who appears in three successive scenes (figs. 1, 9, 13). In the Deposition she has turned toward the cross, her pointed hat, long fall of drapery, and other details being readily recognizable from the back.

In the figure of Christ there is also an attempt to be consistent, and in the Flagellation one sees Him clearly as brown haired and with a double point to His beard (fig. 10). This is repeated in the Carrying of the Cross, the Deposition, and the Entombment (figs. 16, 9, 1). In the Crucifixion the figure is a seventeenth-century replacement and will be discussed later. The Christ in the Arrest scene and in the Resurrection, however, is of a different type suggesting the two are the work of a second carver. For in those two scenes Christ has dark brown, almost black hair, and His beard has only one point (figs. 14, 11).

While the Christ figures show that there were two hands at work, one must be cautious about generalizations on the actual working methods of the atelier. For instance, it is difficult to conclude that one hand did all the work on a single block. In the

FIGURE 14 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Arrest of Christ
(First Scene of the Passion Altar)

FIGURE 15 BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

MASTER I A M OF ZWOLLE

Engraving: The Arrest of Christ

Arrest group, the yelling soldier attacked by St. Peter has already been pointed out as a variant of the soldier dicing for the garments of Christ. Since the latter soldier and the other figures at the foot of the cross can be identified as the work of the carver of the brown-bearded Christ, the group of the Arrest appears to have been worked on by both artists. The relationship of the two yelling figures is further emphasized by the fact that each is having his hair pulled. Apparently the atelier had a predilection for hair pulling, as one sees it also in the Flagellation scene, where the torturer on the left holds Christ's hair, and again in the Carrying of the Cross. There the soldier preceding Christ turns back and grasps His hair, a most unusual detail.

The complication of the workshops can be partially understood from their basic guild organization. There were carpenters who made the altar frames (*bacmakere*), those who carved the tracery and fretwork (*metselriesnydere*), the sculptors of the figures

FIGURE 16 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Carrying of the Cross
(Third Scene of the Passion Altar)

(*beeldsnydere*), those who gilded and painted textile patterns on the groups (*stoffeerdere*), and finally the painters who supplied the wings (*scildere*). In large shops, like that of Jan Borman, there would have been many assistants and apprentices in each trade, as well as the masters, presumably.

The composition of the scenes in the Walters altarpiece is consistently squarish in format and differs from the more common arrangement in Flemish altarpieces. The usual compositional build-up on the tilted floor plane of each scene creates a gradual recession into space. The groups have a variety of outline, but the figures toward the rear of Brussels and Antwerp altars are usually so arranged as to be emphasized by the linear gold rhythms of the niches. The Blainville-Crevon altarpiece, on the other hand, is composed of groups brought to a square composition, by dividing each scene into two rows of figures. This applies to five of the small scenes, and caused the artists to resort to a change of scale only in the Resurrection, where the three holy women are seen in the distance. In the central scene of the Crucifixion, of course, the second tier of horsemen is physically separated from the front row of figures (figs. 12, 13).

This compositional device of two tiers of figures gives a crowded and busy effect to the entire altarpiece and attains, without the use of an architectural background, the same excitement of gold and movement achieved at Strängnäs or Gheel by more complex means. Such large altarpieces were in most instances located far from the view of the parishioners and caused their effect largely through the play of gold and color.

In the first three scenes of the Blainville-Crevon altarpiece the squaring of the groups has caused the introduction of more figures than are usual and has allowed the carvers to include certain extra episodes. There are nine figures in the Arrest, with four soldiers in the upper tier. In the Flagellation the composition allows for the inclusion of Pilate talking to the high priest, Caiaphas, as well as two extra torturers. In the Way of the Cross, St. John and the Virgin fill the upper left, while a guard and the two thieves fill the other portion of the background. When he comes to the central groups, the master of the Blainville-Crevon altarpiece maintains the rectilinear lines of the lower and upper compositions. This can be most clearly seen when the block of lower figures is separated from the horsemen, who also occupy a rectangle of space.

The cross is used as the upper border of the Deposition scene, making it the most geometrically closed rectangle, while the Entombment, which follows, is the most open with only the three heads of the mourners in the upper tier. In the final scene of the Resurrection, landscape was introduced to carry out both the compositional format and to solve the problem of placing the three Marys at a distance. The only other landscape elements in the entire altar are the rocks of Calvary beneath the feet of the horses.

The flattened effect of the consistent two-tier composition is in keeping with the architectural simplicity of the gilded canopies above the scenes. As at Vetheuil and the altar of the Death of the Virgin at Ternant, a decorative, rather than an architectural, effect was achieved.

The scenes of the Passion in the Blainville-Crevon altarpiece follow the general pattern of those from other shops with a mixture of influence from Roger van der Weyden and from earlier Netherlandish painting and sculpture. The most prominent influence is that of Roger whose designs were actually copied in sculpture in such Deposition groups as those in the Detroit Institute of Arts and the Walters Art Gallery, based on Roger's great composition of the Descent from the Cross in the Prado.[25] However, there are much earlier ideas from the van Eycks and the Master of Flémalle which were still prevalent, as well as a host of variations by minor followers like Vrancke van der Stockt and the Master of St. Gudule.

In the Arrest of Christ, for instance, the usual composition is reversed, and Peter, who is conventionally on the left, is placed on the right, about to strike the soldier (fig. 14). The posture of the kneeling soldier is seen in many compositions, but Peter is most often shown after having struck his blow and with Christ restoring the ear. Peter's rarer pose with upraised arm is to be found in Memling's large Passion of Christ in the Galleria Sabauda in Turin,

[25] Robert Koch, 'Two Sculpture Groups after Rogier's "Descent from the Cross" in the Escorial', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. XI, 1948, pp. 39–43; Lucie van Caster-Guiette, 'Réminiscences Rogériennes dans la sculpture brabançonne', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art offerts au Professeur Jacques Lavalleye*, Louvain, 1970, pls. LXXVIII, LXXX, and LXXXI.

FIGURE 17 WALTERS ART GALLERY

St. Veronica at the Foot of the Cross
(Detail of the Central Scene)

though Peter is there placed as usual on the left side.[26] The contortion of the soldier was particularly enjoyed and studied by Dirc Bouts in a number of variations.[27] The closest parallel, both in feeling and in detail, is in a print of the Arrest by Master I A M of Zwolle[28] where the open-mouthed scream of the soldier on the ground and the details of the arresting soldier show great similarity (fig. 15). The helmet with its pointed bowl and ear defenses, the vicious facial expression, and the body armor of the soldier are all closely related in spirit.

The Flagellation (fig. 10) is notable for the handsome treatment of the contraposto of Christ's nude body and the elegance of His chief tormentor. The scene is closely paralleled by an altar wing painted by the Master of St. Gudule, the present location of which is unknown.[29] The posture of Christ is nearly identical, as is the pose of the seated man. The position and elegance of the torturer are similar, though the costume details are different.

The scene of the Carrying of the Cross, on the other hand, has no exact parallel (fig. 16). The position of the cross, parallel to the ground, goes back to the painting of Jan van Eyck,[30] and is to be found in carved versions in various exported altars, such as those of Vasteras, Villberga, and Güstrow.[31] But in all of these examples, a soldier turns before Christ and delivers a blow. In the Walters scene, a soldier pulls Christ's hair, while the very large figure of Simon of Cyrene helps Christ with the cross. Both those features are unusual, and the position of Christ on the far side of the cross is rare. It can be seen in the large Antwerp altar in Petrikirche, Dortmund[32] and the conception of the figures is reflected in an engraving. Israel van Meckenem's 'Road to Calvary' shows Simon in a similar cowl, and there are parallels with both the figure of Christ and with the ugly peasant soldier with his broad face and soft hat who turns to face Christ.[33] Memling in the Passion cycle in the Galleria Sabauda also portrays Simon in prominent scale

[26] Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Leyden (Sijthoff), 1967–71, vol. VIa, pl. 86.
[27] *Ibid.*, vol. III, pls. 34, 35.
[28] Max Lehrs, *Late Gothic Engravings of Germany and the Netherlands*, New York (Dover), 1969, no. 487.
[29] Friedländer, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, pl. 108, supplement 121.
[30] *Ibid.*, vol. I, pl. 65.
[31] Roosval, *op. cit.*, pls. 16, 17, 18.
[32] Braun, *op. cit.*, pl. 277.
[33] Lehrs, *op. cit.*, no. 611.

FIGURE 18 PARIS, LOUVRE MUSEUM
DIRC BOUTS
The Magdalen
(Detail from the 'Deposition of Christ')

and with bald head and cowl.[34]

The episodes of the central Crucifixion are composed somewhat differently from other altarpieces. While the group of horsemen is rather usual, and some parallels can be seen at Ambierle and in other works, there are differences that are quite original such as the upper horseman on the right moving outward away from the cross. The standing figure of the turbaned soldier who is seen from the rear, clasping the bucket and offering the sponge, is paralleled by the Turkish type with a long pigtail in Güstrow, Vasteras, and Villberga.[35] In these examples, however, the figure is lost in the crowd. Here the soldier becomes a focal point of the scene with his white sleeves, buff pants, and white, circular turban.

The figures at the foot of Calvary divide into three compositions. Veronica stands by herself at the left in a classic gesture which goes back to Rogerian ideas (fig. 17), but is more closely paralleled in the gesture of the Magdalen by Dirc Bouts in the Lamentation in the Louvre (fig. 18) and its copies in Frankfurt and Amsterdam.[36] Not only is the gesture similar, but the elegance of the headdress, the falling white drapery on her right shoulder, and the doll-like countenance are quite close to Bouts' conception. The central group of John and the holy women with the fainting Virgin was a subject much used and rather conventionalized by the Antwerp carvers. The St. John looking upwards and holding the Virgin, who swoons with her arm falling straight to the ground, is to be found in three-figure groups largely of Antwerp origin, one of which is in the Berlin Museum.[37] The drapery and position of the Virgin's left arm, as well as the change from one to two women, find no exact parallel in other carved altars. The third group of the three soldiers fighting is a rare scene in Flemish art but often found in German works. It is, however, perfectly within the taste for the contorted faces and gestures of the workshop of the Blainville-Crevon altarpiece.

The details of the Deposition from the Cross descend basically from a type that exists in several

[34] See above note 26.
[35] See above note 31.
[36] Friedländer, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pls. 8, 9.
[37] Theodore Demmler, *Die Bildwerke in Holz, Stein, und Ton gross Plastik*, Berlin, 1930, no. 8092.

painted versions by Colijn de Coter.[38] In the paintings, Christ's body fills the picture plane diagonally, while only the heads and upper bodies of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus are seen. The Virgin, supported by John, faints in the foreground. This group can be seen at Vetheuil and in an earlier version at Ambierle. The Blainville-Crevon master has altered the composition, by placing the body of Christ across the top of the group, more in the conventional position for the Entombment. This allows for a division of the upper and lower registers and gives ample space for the lovely figure of the mourning Virgin. John stands looking up at the left, the Magdalen in the center with the ointment jar, and Veronica at the right (fig. 9).

The Entombment is a more standard version, though the graceful figure of the Magdalen on her knees is unusually fine (fig. 1). The weeping Mary drying her tears is typically Rogerian and the Virgin and John behind the tomb are seen continuously in Flemish art from the time of the Master of Flémalle.[39] The Entombment of the Güstrow altarpiece is close in iconography, including a kneeling Magdalen, but totally different in the treatment and arrangement of the figures.[40] Rather closer in composition is the scene in the Ternant altarpiece of the Passion, where the kneeling Magdalen kisses Christ's hand.[41]

The Resurrection is usually shown in Flemish painting and sculpture with Christ stepping from the tomb. He normally carries the banner of victory in His left hand and blesses with His right hand. The present group varies in both respects, since Christ is standing before the tomb without the banner and is displaying His wounds, in the guise of the Man of Sorrows (fig. 11). Various details suggest a mixture of sources. The costume of the figure, for instance, clad in a loin cloth and mantle, is found rarely, but can be seen in a print by the Master E.S., and its copy by the Master of the Banderoles.[42] Christ's standing posture beside the tomb is seen in Dirc Bouts' Deposition altar in the Capilla Real in Granada, as is the angel standing on the lid of the tomb.[43] The displaying of the wounds, rather than blessing and holding the banner of victory, is paralleled by the figure of Christ as a Man of Sorrows in the painted wings of the altarpieces of Gheel and Strängnäs Cathedral.[44] Both of these panels show Christ in Heaven, not blessing or showing the wound of the lance, but displaying His pierced hands, as in the Walters Resurrection scene. The wings are the work of a Brussels atelier, and have been attributed to the Master of St. Gudule.

The use of crowded, blocky figure groups without intercolumniations allowed the carvers of the Blainville-Crevon altarpiece to achieve an unusual effect. The normal arrangement of enclosed niches in Antwerp and Brussels altars caused the carvers to compose each scene as an artistic entity. There is little lateral or diagonal motion to be found in the compositions, and the altars as a whole break up into independent scenes. This can be observed in such examples as the St. George altar of Jan Borman or any of the Antwerp altars.[45] In the Blainville-Crevon altarpiece, however, each group has been composed so that the action moves toward the central scene and then recedes from it in two strong diagonal lines (fig. 4). The motion is expressed through the controlled height of the figures as well as emphasized by the whites and flesh colors in the polychromy. On the left side of the altar the major diagonal passes across the rising heads of the two soldiers and Christ in the Flagellation scene, and is carried on by the large head of Simon, the top of the cross and the white garments of the two thieves in the Carrying of the Cross. Below this main directional line, the entire composition of the left-side scenes breaks down into calculated triangles.

The central Crucifixion rises from the stable triangular group of the fainting Virgin and the holy women, with verticals at either side in Veronica and the soldiers. The figures are so arranged that three vertical lines are established which culminate in the spears of the horsemen.

On the right side of the altarpiece there is a clear descent of the diagonal through the body of Christ

[38] Friedländer, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, pl. 93.
[39] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pl. 141.
[40] Roosval, *op. cit.*, fig. 24.
[41] Journet, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–37, pls. 7, 13.
[42] Lehrs, *op. cit.*, no. 336.
[43] Friedländer, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pl. 6.
[44] D'Hulst, *op. cit.*, pl. opp. p. 146, and unnumbered plates.
[45] Jean de Bosschère, *La sculpture anversoise aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, Brussels (van Oest), 1909; Comte de Borchgrave d'Altena, 'Notes pour servir à l'étude des retables anversois', *Bulletin des musées royaux d'art et d'histoire*, 4th series, vols. XXIX, XXX, 1957, 1958.

in the first two scenes, and the gilded sarcophagus in the Resurrection. Again each block of figures is carefully composed of triangles and the action is turned back toward the cross by the glances and the positioning of the figures.

The question of the possible replacement of the frame of the altarpiece when the figures of the crucified were restored in the seventeenth century has often been considered. However, the purposeful composing of the groups to read along carefully calculated diagonal lines suggests that the basic form of the altarpiece is unchanged. The three crosses with Christ and the two thieves, as well as the two flying angels between them are replacements which must have been supplied in the seventeenth century. At that time the entire altar must have been regilded, since the color of the gilding conforms to that of the angels and the crosses throughout. The patterns of garments and the lettering of the borders of the robes, however, must have closely followed the original painting as they are completely consistent with other works of the late fifteenth century. The method of painting the fabrics by overlaying a design on the gilt ground is typical of fifteenth and sixteenth-century procedure, and may be seen for instance in the Saluces Altar in Brussels and other examples.[46] But to return to the figures of the crucified, they must be replacements of local Rouenais origin of the mid-seventeenth century and are modeled in the baroque manner of that date. The angels of the same date, on the other hand, are archaistic, and while the attempt was made to reflect fifteenth-century drapery patterns, their seventeenth-century character may be discerned.

The half-octagonal apse of the collegiate church of Blainville-Crevon terminates in an end wall which is precisely the width of the box frame of the altarpiece. The painted wings with which the altar must have been supplied are unhappily lacking, and apparently were already lost at the time of the sale of the altar in 1833. When open, they would have been parallel to the 45° side walls of the half-octagonal apse. The wings were perhaps removed at the time of the seventeenth-century restoration or lost even earlier. Presumably they would have represented two earlier scenes of the Passion cycle at the left, perhaps the Last Supper and Gethsemane, and on the right, two of the appearances of Christ. There may also have been donor panels of Jean d'Estouteville and his wife, Françoise de la Rochefoucauld, or of their coats of arms in the upper wings in the manner of those at Ambierle.[47] Signs on the case show changes in the placement of the hinges over the years, and may coincide to the damage the altarpiece sustained in the sixteenth or seventeenth century before it required repair and the replacement of the crucified figures in the central scene.

In the Gallery's restoration of the altarpiece, a number of details were clarified. The baldachins had been strengthened, at the time of the seventeenth-century refurbishing, with a molding of that date around the top of each. The tracery, somewhat damaged, was repaired and regilded during the restoration of 1940–47, and the interior of the canopies and altar case were repainted.

At this time the figural groups were immersed in the wax tank used for wood conservation. The paint that remains on the figures is old, at least seventeenth century in date. It appears, as I pointed out earlier, that the entire altar was regilded in the seventeenth century. The scenes at either end retain most of their original paint, for instance, all the faces, and the dark blue robe of Judas in the Arrest, and all the flesh tints, the white of the angel's robe and the costumes of the three Marys in the Resurrection. In the other scenes a single layer of paint was left on flesh tones and costumes, though it is not always certain whether this is original; much of it may have been retouched at the time of the repair of the altar in the seventeenth century.

The date of the altarpiece can perhaps be determined by the activities of Jean d'Estouteville. When his act of donation was approved by the Archbishop of Rouen in 1489, Jean d'Estouteville spared no time in undertaking the construction of the church. The finely detailed structure was completed and dedicated within three years. Its architectural stonework is of extremely good quality and includes a fine ogee-headed doorway in the choir with undercut leafage in the spandrel, as well as a very rich lavabo in the apse. The stained glass appears to date

[46] Agnes Ballestrem, 'Un témoin de la conception polychrome des retables Bruxellois au début du XVIe siècle', *Bulletin, Institut royal du patrimoine artistique*, vol. X, 1967/68, pp. 36–45.

[47] See above note 15.

from the last decade of the fifteenth century, as do the carved choir stalls and other details. In the act of donation, Jean d'Estouteville stated his intention to supply '*livres, calices, et aornements*' to the *collégiale*, and due to his known devoutness and his executive abilities, it is most probable that the church was supplied as he desired at the time of its dedication. The Archbishop of Rouen, Robert de Croixmare, celebrated mass in the private chapel of the château of Blainville on September 29, 1492, and received the act of donation of the *collégiale*, which was dedicated to St. Michael on that date. There is a strong possibility that the retable, which was the major ornament of the high altar, was in place at the time of the dedication. Equally important to the date of the altarpiece is the fact that within two years, on September 11, 1494, Jean d'Estouteville died, and the *collégiale* of Blainville-Crevon lost its founder and patron. His heir was the fifth son of a brother, Robert d'Estouteville, and the fortunes of the family waned. Within two generations, the family line had died out. It seems highly likely therefore that the altarpiece was placed in the church by Jean d'Estouteville in accordance with his stated wishes, before his death, and in time for the dedication in 1492.

The date is also partially affirmed by the costume details of the altarpiece. The large amount of late gothic armor is interesting in this regard. There are at least five types of breastplate, some fluted, some with overlapping plates, some of simple one-piece form. The helmets include sallets, with and without visors, a *chapel-de-fer*, a closed helmet, three simple pot helmets, and a casque with a falling visor. The most fantastic elements are the breastplate of the tomb guard, embossed with spirals, and the casque with pointed ear defenses in the Arrest scene. Parallels to both the latter can be found frequently in late fifteenth-century prints and a very similar helmet in the engraving by the Master I A M of Zwolle (fig. 15). The armor, in general, shows a rather thorough understanding of the plates, buckles, and normal details of such defenses. The backplates of the horseman with a wooden tilting shield on the left of the Crucifixion and that of the man offering the sponge are very carefully detailed, for instance, and are typical of the late fifteenth century.

The majority of the other costumes are robes, turbans, and the paraphernalia usual in the religious paintings of Roger van der Weyden, Dirc Bouts, and their contemporaries. The most exaggerated hat is that of Veronica, which can be paralleled in a manuscript of Christine de Pisan as early as 1461.[48] The boots, and shoes of the soldiers, and the slippers of Nicodemus can be found commonly in late fifteenth-century prints, particularly those of Alart du Hameel of Louvain, whose turning horses bear a close relationship to those in the altarpiece.[49] Similarly, the brocades worn by the Virgin, the holy women, and the torturer in the Flagellation are seen in contemporary paintings by Vrancke van der Stockt and the Master of St. Gudule.[50] There seems no single detail which would contradict the probable date of 1492 of the dedication, or of 1494, that of the death date of Jean d'Estouteville, at the latest.

The location of the workshop which produced the Blainville-Crevon altarpiece is a more difficult question. We have already seen that the inverted T-shape of the altarpiece was to be found in the Low Countries—as in the works at Léau, and the collection of the Count de Nahuys, for instance—and in those examples there is a relationship in the continuous tracery. The closest parallels, however, are those found at Airion, Vetheuil, Ambierle, and the museum at Rouen in altarpieces either exported to France or copied from Flemish models. The Nahuys altarpiece bears the Brussels mark, while that of St. Leonard at Léau is attributed by documents to Arnould de Diest who is known to have worked in Brussels. Both the simple inverted T-shape altarpieces and the works grouped around the Léau altar have generally been thought to be of Brussels origin.

Details within the altarpiece suggest that the workshop of the Walters altarpiece has drawn on a variety of artistic sources, ranging from motifs that were still current from the Master of Flémalle and Roger van der Weyden of the early fifteenth century, to others by Dirc Bouts, Alart du Hameel, and the Master I A M of Zwolle of the second half of the century, that is, from sources as widely spread as Tournai and upper Holland. The fact that both

[48] In Christine de Pisan's *Epitre d'Othea* by Jean Mielot, 1461, in Millia Davenport, *The Book of Costume*, New York (Crown), 1948, p. 328, fig. 863.
[49] Lehrs, *op. cit.*, nos. 490, 491.
[50] Friedländer, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pls. 108–10, 140.

FIGURE 19 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Veronica Annointing Christ
(Detail of the Entombment Scene)

Bouts and Hameel worked in Louvain probably has no bearing on the origin of the altar, but with the dearth of information on centers which produced such works, it is impossible to define the role of such important artistic communities at Louvain itself. There are certain features, such as the group of the fainting Virgin at the foot of the cross, which have their closest parallels in Antwerp productions, and suggest that the workshop may have included carvers trained in Antwerp or who were aware of the Antwerp models. On the other hand, the very close relationship of the painted Flagellation scene by the Master of St. Gudule to the Walters altarpiece, again returns one's thoughts to Brussels and to the many other Brussels-like details. The shape of the box frame, the relation of the tall scenes without intercolumniations to the work of Arnould de Diest, and the iconography, all point significantly to Brussels. In view of the current lack of knowledge of other centers in Brabant, it seems that a tentative attribution to a Brussels workshop is at this time the most promising.

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

RAIMUNDO DE MADRAZO Y GARRETA
Coming Out of Church

A CONTEMPORARY GENRE PAINTING BY RAIMUNDO DE MADRAZO Y GARRETA

By WILLIAM R. JOHNSTON
The Walters Art Gallery

'Coming Out of Church'[1] by the Spanish painter, Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta (1841–1920), illustrates the emergence of *plein-air* painting in Spanish art in the 1870's. The picture, executed before 1875, is of historical interest as an example of the influence of Mariano Fortuny on Madrazo during his practically undocumented early years in France (fig. 1).

The painting was acquired for William T. Walters at the Robert L. Cutting sale in New York in 1892.[2] As early as 1875 it was recorded as belonging to the American expatriate, William H. Stewart, a patron of Spanish artists of the period.[3] Stewart, while refining his collection in his quest for works of 'careful finish and much detail'[4] evidently disposed of the picture, probably selling it directly to the New

FIGURE 2 LOCATION UNKNOWN

MARIANO FORTUNY Y MARSAL

Sortie de la procession, par un temps de pluie, de l'église de Santa-Cruz, à Madrid
Reproduced from De Sousa Freitas sale catalogue, 1938

Yorker, Robert L. Cutting, who was forming a collection modeled after that of Stewart.[5]

In this attractive, vibrantly colored genre painting Madrazo portrayed parishioners departing from church on a rainy evening. Two ladies descending the church steps are set apart by their demeanor and fashionable attire from the other participants in the scene—beggars, elderly women and a street urchin. On the right, a priest is seen hastening towards the doorway. The artist has displayed in the rather contrived contrasts of the brightly colored costumes of the figures and in the suggestion of glistening rain-slick surfaces, the dramatic sense of color and technical virtuosity for

[1] Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 37.48, oil on canvas, H. 25¼ in.; W. 39⅜ in. (0.641 × 1.5 m.). Signed at lower left: *R. Madrazo*. The picture has also been titled 'Une Sortie de Vêpres' (Earl Shinn [Edward Strahan, pseud.], *The Art Treasures of America*, Philadelphia, 1879, II, pp. 34–5) and 'Vespers' (David Hannay, 'Madrazo, the Spanish Painter', *The Magazine of Art*, New York, 1884, pp. 10–14).

[2] *Catalogue of Modern Oil Paintings belonging to the Estate of Robert L. Cutting*, Fifth Avenue Art Galleries, New York, March 22, 1892, no. 85.

[3] Lucy H. Hooper listed the painting as belonging to W. H. Stewart in 'Private American Art Galleries in Paris', *The Art Journal*, London, 1875, p. 284. Stewart's collection is discussed in W. R. Johnston, 'W. H. Stewart, The American Patron of Mariano Fortuny', *Gazette des beaux-arts*, March, 1971, pp. 183–8.

[4] Stewart's taste is cited in A. Hoeber, 'The Pictures of a Famous Collector', *Harper's Weekly*, New York, January 1, 1898, p. 6. The American's practice of refining his collection is mentioned by Martin Rico in *Recuerdos de mi vida*, Madrid, 1906, pp. 122–3. Stewart probably disposed of 'Coming Out of Church' after he had acquired 'Departure from the Masked Ball' and 'Woman and Parrot' (William H. Stewart sale, American Art Galleries, New York, 1898, nos. 120 and 26).

[5] See foreword to R. L. Cutting sale catalogue, *op. cit.*

FIGURE 3 LOCATION UNKNOWN

RAIMUNDO DE MADRAZO Y GARRETA
Departure from the Masked Ball
Reproduced from A. E. Bergerat, 'Les chefs-d'œuvre d'art . . .', 1878, facing p. 42

which he was noted.[6]

With the exception of the years 1861–78 which he spent in Paris, Madrazo's career can readily be traced, having been published in numerous reviews.[7] He represented the third generation of a dynasty of Spanish artists founded by José de Madrazo y Agudo, court painter to Carlos IV.[8] Raimundo was born in 1841 in Rome, where his father Federico de Madrazo y Kuntz lived for two years,[9] and passed his youth in Madrid, training under his father and at the Academia de San Fernando. At the age of fourteen he accompanied his father to France for the Exposition Universelle of 1855. Six years later, Raimundo removed to Paris to enroll in the École des Beaux-Arts and in the studio of Léon Cogniet, the classicist and master of such once fashionable painters as P. A. Cot, T. Robert-Fleury, and J. L. E. Meissonier. His early years in Paris were

[6] Madrazo's technical brilliancy is discussed at length in J. C. Van Dyke, 'Two Private Collections in Paris', *The Art Review*, December, 1887, II, no. 4, p. 64.

[7] Reviews of Madrazo's work include: Auguste Emile Bergerat, *Les chefs-d'œuvre d'art à l'exposition universelle*, Paris, 1878, pp. 43–7; Charles Duval, *Les beaux-arts à l'exposition universelle de 1878*, Meaux, 1878, pp. 66–8; Louis Gonse, *L'art moderne à l'exposition de 1878*, Paris, 1879, pp. 204–9; Earl Shinn [Edward Strahan, pseud.], *The Chefs-de'Oeuvre d'Art*, Philadelphia, 1879, pp. 87–9; Eugène Montrosier, *Les artistes modernes*, Paris, 1881, vol. 1, pp. 96–8; David Hannay *op. cit.*, Eugène Montrosier, *Grands peintres français et étrangers*, Paris, 1886, pp. 353–68; Lena Cooper, 'A Spanish Painter in America', *Munsey's Magazine*, New York, January 1899, XX, pp. 561–7; 'A Prince of Art Visits the United States', *Harper's Weekly*, New York, 1902, p. 592.

[8] Members of the dynasty included Raimundo's grandfather, José Madrazo y Agudo (1781–1859); his father, Federico Madrazo y Kuntz (1815–94); his uncles, Juan de Madrazo y Kuntz (1827–80) and Luis de Madrazo y Kuntz (1825–97); his brother, Ricardo de Madrazo y Garreta (1852–1917), and his son, Federico Carlos de Madrazo y Hahn (1875–1935). The family is discussed in Bernardino de Pantorba, *Los Madrazos*, Barcelona, 1947.

[9] Mariano de Madrazo, *Federico de Madrazo*, Madrid, 1921, p. 12.

spent in relative obscurity except when he received a commission from María Cristina of Bourbon to execute a ceiling decoration for her *hôtel* on the Champs-Elysées.[10]

The Exposition Universelle of 1878 marked the turning-point in Raimundo's career; not only was it an unprecedented success for Spanish painting in general, but it was a personal triumph for Madrazo himself. The critics acclaimed the Spanish department as being second only to that of the French in originality[11] and Madrazo received a first-class medal and was appointed a knight of the Legion of Honor. He was represented in this exhibition by fourteen paintings including five portraits, a decorative panel, several little landscapes and a major genre picture, 'Departure from the Masked Ball', which was to remain his most celebrated work.[12] It depicted some revellers in a motley assortment of costumes departing at dawn from a Paris *hôtel* and was painted with the gradations in light, the variety of detail and careful finish reminiscent of the art of J. L. Gérôme (fig. 3).[13]

The three succeeding decades were financially if not esthetically rewarding for Madrazo. He gradually abandoned large-scale genre scenes substituting in their stead a series of sentimental, rather repetitious paintings of costumed female models engaged in such activities as reading or playing musical instruments.[14] Portraiture became a mainstay for his later years. He painted his sitters 'not as they look but as he sees them'.[15] Evidently Madrazo's vision was sufficiently flattering for many of the wealthiest American women of the era to seek his services. To meet their demands he crossed the ocean on several occasions visiting Buenos Aires, Baltimore and New York en route.[16] At the age of seventy-nine, he died in his home at Versailles after a decade of inactivity.

Returning to the hiatus in Madrazo's recorded career, the seventeen years in France between his arrival and the Exposition Universelle of 1878, only the occasional dated painting, several recorded titles of pictures, and a few secondary biographical references provide clues as to his activities. Martin Rico, for example, recalled accompanying Madrazo to museums and galleries shortly after his arrival in Paris in the early sixties.[17] A sketch belonging to The Hispanic Society of America entitled 'Recuerdo de la Capilla del Alcazar de Sevilla' and dated 1868 indicates that the artist occasionally returned to his homeland.[18] In Charles Davillier's biography of Mariano Fortuny y Marsal, Madrazo is frequently mentioned in association with the Spanish artists residing in Paris and their patron, W. H. Stewart.[19] Only twice did Davillier mention Madrazo leaving the French capital, once in the spring of 1872 when he joined his brother-in-law Mariano Fortuny in Seville,[20] and again, two years later, when he probably visited Venice with Martin Rico.[21] Even during the Franco-Prussian War Madrazo remained in France, serving, as Stewart noted, in the American Ambulance Corps.[22]

His years in France prior to the Exposition

[10] A sketch possibly for this ceiling decoration, 'The Allegory of the Cortes of 1834', is preserved in The Hispanic Society of America, no. A199. The *hôtel* on the Champs-Elysées has since been destroyed.

[11] Lucy H. Hooper, 'The Pictures at the Paris Exhibition, III, Spanish Section', *The Art Journal*, New York, 1878, pp. 316–18.

[12] Louis Gonse, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

[13] See William H. Stewart sale catalogue, *op. cit.*, no. 120, oil on canvas, H. 27½ in.; W. 46 in.

[14] The most notable exception to this sequence was 'Masquerade Ball', a view of a ball at the Ritz Hotel, Paris, which Madrazo painted in 1909 for Judge and Mrs. Elbert H. Gary (see *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXXII, no. 7, July 1937, pp. 166–7, fig. 2).

[15] 'Picture Sales and Shows', *New York Times*, Jan. 26, 1897, p. 6.

[16] For lists of Madrazo's American sitters refer to 'A Prince of Art Visits the United States', *Harper's Weekly*, New York, May 1902, p. 592 and Lena Cooper, *op. cit.* Madrazo visited New York in January 1897, established a studio at the Kurtz Building on Madison Square and exhibited his pictures at Oehme's Gallery (*New York Times*, January 25, 1897, p. 7 and January 26, 1897, p. 6). In 1898 he returned to America and occupied the studio of Charles Dana Gibson, the cousin of his patron, Mrs. Robert L. Cutting (Lena Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 564). Thereafter, he returned almost annually to the United States. In 1902, he stopped in Baltimore and exhibited his paintings in Bendann Galleries while he was traveling from Buenos Aires to New York (*Harper's Weekly*, New York, May 1902, p. 592).

[17] Rico tentatively recalled touring Paris with Madrazo in 1859, an untimely date since the latter was still in Spain (Elizabeth Du Gué Trapier, *Martin Rico y Ortega*, New York, 1937, pp. 3–4).

[18] The Hispanic Society of America, no. A212.

[19] Baron Charles Davillier, *Fortuny, sa vie, son œuvre, sa correspondance*, Paris 1875. Hereafter, referred to as Davillier, 1875.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 124.

[22] William H. Stewart, 'Reminiscences and Notes', published in Baron Charles Davillier, *Life of Fortuny*, Philadelphia, 1885, p. 210.

FIGURE 4 LOCATION UNKNOWN

RAIMUNDO DE MADRAZO Y GARRETA

Santa Maria della Pace, Roma

Reproduced from E. Shinn, 'The Art Treasures in America', 1879, II, facing p. 137

Universelle may well have constituted the most productive phase of Madrazo's career. By 1878, Eugène Montrosier observed, the artist was already known to a number of Parisian collectors[23] and in America alone there were over thirty-five of his paintings, as cited by Earl Shinn.[24] The latter's list was varied in nature including genre pictures of Spanish and gypsy subjects, conversation pieces with quasi-rococo settings and costumes, as well as a few contemporary scenes treated in a realistic manner. In the last category were Madrazo's church subjects: 'Coming Out of Church', now in the Walters Art Gallery, 'Santa Maria della Pace, Roma', which belonged to Alexander Brown of Philadelphia[25] (fig. 4) and, in the collection of T. R. Butler of New York, 'Selling Rosaries in Front of a Spanish Church'[26] (fig. 5, here reproduced as a line drawing). A variant on the last, 'Interior of a Church', dedicated to M. De Goyena of Seville, is recorded in the files of The Hispanic Society of America as being the property of Sr. Abelardo Linares of Madrid. To embellish these church pictures Madrazo resorted to the rather obvious device of making clear distinctions in the social class, age and costume of the figures portrayed.

The failure to exhibit, rather than a lack of

[23] Eugène Montrosier, *Grands peintres français et étrangers*, Paris, 1886, p. 361.

[24] Earl Shinn [Edward Strahan, pseud.], *The Art Treasures of America*, Philadelphia, 1879, *Edition de luxe*, vols. I–III.

[25] *Ibid.*, II, facing p. 137, illus., H. 2 ft.; W. 3½ ft.

[26] *Ibid.*, III, p. 115, illus.

[27] *Idem, The Chefs-d'Œuvre d'Art of the International Exhibition, 1878*, Philadelphia, 1879, p. 88, and [Auguste] Emile Bergerat, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[28] Mariano Fortuny labored under his contract with Goupil et Cie, through much of his career.

[29] In William T. Walters' collection of watercolors and drawings devoted to the subject of prayer there were many such subjects.

[30] Fortuny's reputation in Paris was established when 'La Vicaria' was ecstatically reviewed by Théophile Gautier in *Journal officiel*, May 19, 1870 (see Davillier, 1875, pp. 55–6).

[31] Davillier, 1875, p. 42.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

FIGURE 5 LOCATION UNKNOWN

RAIMUNDO DE MADRAZO Y GARRETA
Selling Rosaries in Front of a Spanish Church
Reproduced from E. Shinn, 'The Art Treasures in America', 1879, III, p. 115

activity on Madrazo's part, apparently accounted for the scarcity of public notices pertaining to his work in the interval between his arrival in France and the Exposition Universelle. It has been suggested that Madrazo magnanimously refused to submit his pictures to exhibitions during this period lest he detract from the fame of his brother-in-law, Mariano Fortuny.[27] Since the latter also did not participate in any salons, a more plausible explanation might be that Madrazo, like several of his colleagues, had signed a contract with Goupil giving the French dealer exclusive rights to the sale of his pictures.[28]

The subject matter of 'Coming Out of Church' was not entirely novel; in fact, watercolorists from northern Europe had portrayed similar subjects while visiting the Catholic countries of the south from the beginning of the nineteenth century.[29] Within Madrazo's immediate circle Mariano Fortuny had won momentary renown for pictures involving churches when his 'La Vicaria' (fig. 6) was exhibited in Paris at Goupil et Cie. in the spring of 1870.[30] This dramatic *tour-de-force*, illustrating Molière's theme 'Le mariage inégal', had occupied Fortuny intermittently since the autumn of 1867 when he had visited a parish church in Madrid prior to his own marriage.[31] In preparation for this picture, the Catalan artist sketched a number of churches in Madrid and Rome[32] and employed as models for the principal figures, the painter Meissonier and Madrazo's sisters Cecilia and Isabel.[33]

'La Vicaria' was rendered in the trappings of the late eighteenth century, but Fortuny periodically reverted to contemporary genre painting. In the winter of 1869 he gave to his patron, Stewart, a drawing of himself and Raimundo's brother, Ricardo, crossing the Champs-Elysées in the rain as they proceeded to the wedding of Martin Rico.[34] Also dating from about the time of his marriage was

FIGURE 6 BARCELONA, MUSEO D'ARTE MODERNO

MARIANO FORTUNY Y MARSAL
La Vicaria

'Sortie de la procession, par un temps de pluie, de l'église de Santa-Cruz, à Madrid' (fig. 2) which was acquired by Paul Demidoff at the auction of Fortuny's estate in 1875,[35] and last noted at the sale of the property of Sr. J. E. De Sousa Freitas in 1938 when it was erroneously described as a Venetian scene.[36] Depicted is a procession of clerics bearing a cross followed by laymen sheltered by umbrellas outside a church on a rainy day. A seller of images to the left of the building's entrance and an elderly woman huddled on the steps to the right are comparable to the beggar-women in Madrazo's 'Coming Out of Church' (fig. 1).

The two paintings of church scenes (figs. 1, 2) bear sufficient resemblances in subject matter, scale and proportion to suggest that they were in some way related. Fortuny and Madrazo might have met as early as 1860[37] and they were undoubtedly acquainted by the time of Fortuny's marriage to Cecilia de Madrazo late in 1867.[38] Thereafter, they frequently corresponded, and following Fortuny's untimely death in Rome in 1874, Madrazo came to be regarded as his brother-in-law's artistic heir and was even requested to complete several of Fortuny's unfinished paintings.[39] Such an effort at realism as 'Coming Out of Church' constituted what was in fact an isolated incident in Madrazo's production whereas contemporary genre painting was a recurrent phenomenon throughout Fortuny's career.[40] Therefore, it may reasonably be maintained that Fortuny's church scene 'Sortie de la procession . . .' served as the prototype and not *vice versa*, and that Madrazo's picture was produced after the completion of Fortuny's work, that is, in the late sixties and before 1875 when Lucy H. Hooper first recorded it.

A comparison between the two church scenes reveals obvious differences in the artistic objectives of the brothers-in-law. Fortuny presented a sensuous impression of the climatic conditions, while

inherent in Madrazo's picture is his preoccupation with descriptive details—distinctions in the figures' social strata, ages and costumes. There is a note of artifice in the peculiarly transparent atmosphere of 'Coming Out of Church' and in the manner in which its figures are posed against the wall of the church.

In retrospect, Raimundo de Madrazo was an artist of technical excellence, but of limited inventive powers. The Baltimore picture was both one of his most ambitious ventures in contemporary genre painting as well as one of his most obvious digressions on a Fortunyesque theme. When deprived of the stimulus of his more gifted brother-in-law, Madrazo abandoned such efforts, turning instead to costume pieces and portraiture which he executed with remarkable facility. 'Coming Out of Church' remains, however, a tantalizing indication of a direction Spanish painters might have followed in the 1870's had Fortuny lived and set a precedent for his compatriots by pursuing his own realist tendencies.

[35] *Atelier de Fortuny*, Sale catalogue, Paris, 1875, p. 23, no. 33, 'Sortie de la procession, par un temps de pluie, de l'église de Santa-Cruz, à Madrid', H. 0.64 m.; W. 1.03 m.; 20,000 fr.

[36] *Early Masters, XIX Century Art, Comprising The Collection of Sr. J. E. De Sousa Freitas, Washington, D.C. . .*, American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, Inc., 1938, p. 20, no. 31, 'An Interrupted Procession', H. 25 in.; W. $38\frac{1}{2}$ in.

[37] Fortuny became acquainted with Raimundo de Madrazo's father, Federico, in Madrid in 1860 (Davillier, 1875, p. 21).

[38] Madrazo and Fortuny, however, could not have worked together on the murals for Queen María Cristina's *hôtel* on the Champs-Elysées in the early sixties as was erroneously noted by Earl Shinn (*The Chefs-d'Œuvre d'Art*, 1879, p. 88) and [Auguste] Emile Bergerat (*Les chefs-d'œuvre d'art à l'exposition*, 1878, p. 45). Madrazo's contribution was painted *in situ*, whereas Fortuny produced his wall decoration in his studio in the via Flaminia in Rome (Davillier, 1875, pp. 37–8).

[39] Madrazo inserted the figures of Cecilia and his father in Fortuny's 'Jardin de la casa de Fortuny' (*Museo del Prado, catalogo de la pinturas*, Madrid, 1963, p. 218, no. 2613). Madrazo, however, rejected Stewart's request that he finish 'The Alberca Court, Alhambra', (Raimundo de Madrazo, 'A Few Notes on the Works of Fortuny included in the Collection of the late W. H. Stewart', W. H. Stewart sale catalogue, New York, 1898).

[40] Joaquim Ciervo in *El arte y el vivir de Fortuny*, Barcelona, n.d., illustrates a number of examples of contemporary genre painting by Fortuny including 'Atrio de la iglesia de San Ginés, Madrid' of 1869 (?) pl. 48, 'Los contrastes de la vida', (1871?), pl. 71, and 'Carnaval de Roma, San Carlo al Corso' of 1874, pl. 97.

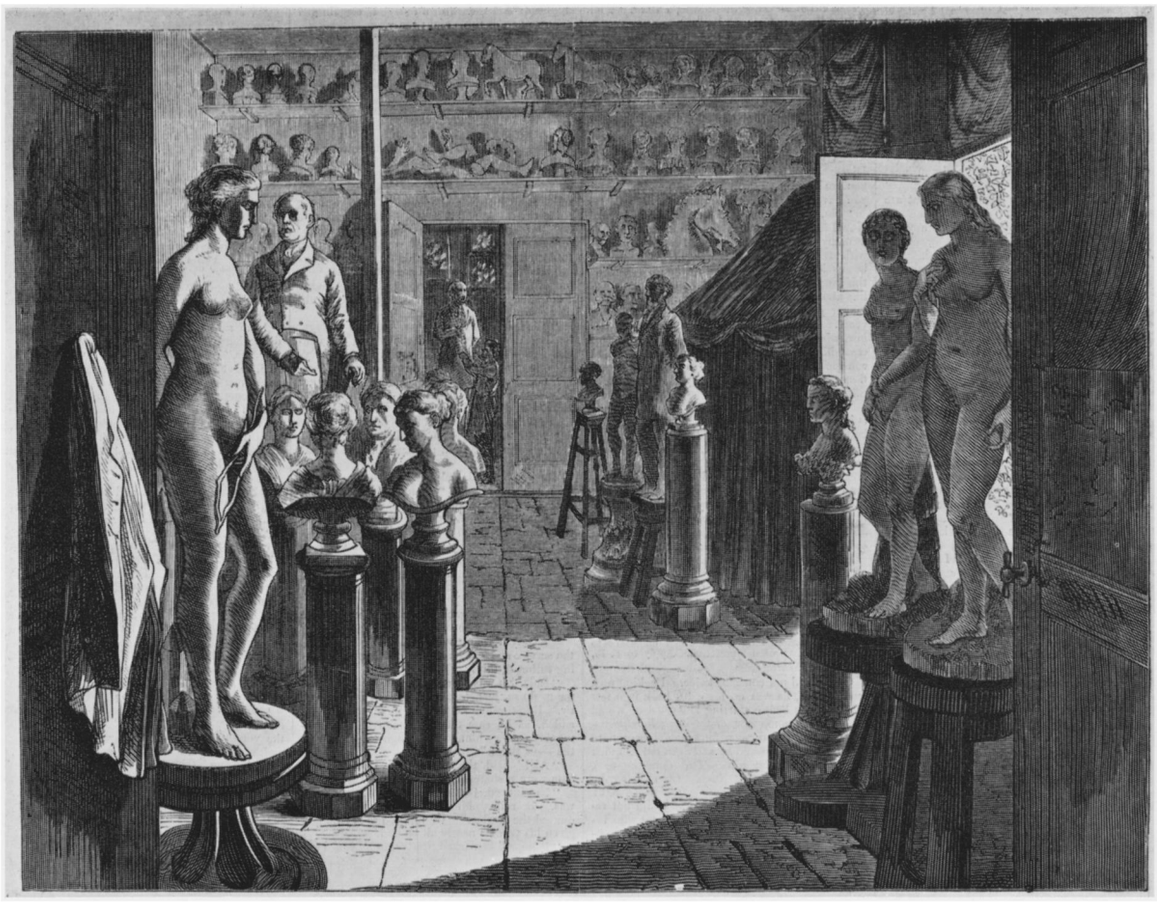


FIGURE 1 *The Studio of Hiram Powers*
Photograph of a woodcut, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

AN AMERICAN ABROAD: VISITS TO SCULPTORS' STUDIOS IN THE 1860's

By LILIAN M. C. RANDALL
Baltimore, Maryland

In the second half of the nineteenth century, visits to artists' studios ranked high on the list of cultural 'musts' for Americans on the Grand Tour. Featured in reputable guide books of the 1850's like the series of Rollo's *Tour in Europe* and George Hillard's *Six Months in Italy*, the pursuit of art in this fashion was given further impetus by entertaining accounts of artists, studios, and patrons in works such as Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Marble Faun* (1860) and Samuel Clemens' *The Innocents Abroad* (1869). For the artist, the benefit derived from such contacts with potential patrons is self-evident. As

for the visitor, this means of exposure to contemporary art was certainly a pleasant and elevating experience. Made to feel welcome to browse freely among the wares displayed, he was under no obligation to make a purchase unless the spirit moved him (fig. 1). Any questions, including matters of price, could often be discussed directly with the artist-host.

Aside from well-known accounts like Hawthorne's, journals of less famous 'venerable excursionists' (to borrow Clemens' term) occasionally give further insight into the nature of these encounters.[1] To be examined here are pertinent entries in the diary of a prosperous Baltimore merchant, Frank Frick (1828–1910). An avid traveler, he went abroad for extended sojourns ranging from five months to a year and a half no fewer than twenty times between 1860 and 1909, returning home from his last trip only a year before his death at the age of eighty-two. He was a devotee of the arts, especially of opera, and an enthusiastic sightseer. In a six-volume 'Traveller's Diary' he recorded in considerable detail his impressions of the rich sights and sounds experienced on his worldwide travels which took him from the European continent, his usual destination, to the Far East.[2] It is quite apparent that Frick's curiosity and desire to see all there was to see were keenest on his first three trips, undertaken in 1860, 1864, and 1866–67. Since he did not go abroad again until 1887, this series of exposures to European culture served as a basic training ground with visits to artists' studios playing a more vital role than was to be the case in his later years. As time went on, Frick's innate predilection for music came to the fore, gradually displacing his pursuit of the visual arts.

Frick's first excursion abroad in 1860 may well have been inspired by his devoted friend from early school days, George A. Lucas (1824–1909), who had taken up permanent residence in Paris three years before. Thoughts of the impending termination of his bachelorhood the following year may also have provided an incentive for the 1860 trip. At any rate, Frick arrived in Paris on May 13 and hastened to Lucas' apartment at 13, rue de Ponthieu where he was to ' "bunk", here and elsewhere, for some time to come.' There ensued an enchanting week of day-long walks around Paris. General sightseeing was punctuated by studio visits to Paul Seignac, Hugues Merle, and others in order to discuss business matters which Lucas was transacting on behalf of the Baltimore art patron, William T. Walters. At the end of the week the two friends embarked on a two-month tour of southern France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Holland, and Belgium.

Of particular interest here are two visits in Rome to the studios of American sculptors, one of whom was an acquaintance from Baltimore, William Henry Rinehart (1825–74). Having been launched in his career by an ex-officio committee of Baltimoreans headed by William Walters, Rinehart had settled in Rome in the fall of 1858. When Lucas and Frick called on him in June 1860, he was well established and had executed a considerable number of important official and private commissions. The three dined together and then proceeded to Rinehart's studio where Frick noted: 'June 4 . . . Statue of "Indian" excellent. Model for bust of W. T. Walters.'[3]

Two days later a visit to Randolph Rogers (1825–92) is recorded by Frick. The day had begun inauspiciously with an 8 A.M. visit to the police station to attempt to recover Lucas' pistol, 'a small "plaything for a boy",' which had apparently been confiscated. It was 'Seized as revolutionary, plomber'd and sent to Paris.' As an antidote to this unpleasant experience, the two friends went to 'Visit ... Rogers, to see his Bronze doors for the Capitol at Washington. Also Rinehart and other artists.' The doors here referred to have an interesting history. Their conception had been inspired by news of Thomas Crawford's commission for the bronze doors for

[1] Cf., for example, Dr. S. Osgood's enthusiastic report, 'American Artists in Italy', *Harper's Magazine*, XLI, August 1870, pp. 420–5.

[2] The diary is preserved in the George Peabody Branch of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore.

[3] M. Ross and A. Rutledge, *A Catalogue of the Work of William Henry Rinehart*, Baltimore, 1948, no. 21, 'Indian Girl', pl. IX, listed as being in the collection of H. Greenway Albert, Tombstone, Arizona. The bust of W. T. Walters (*ibid.*, no. 146, pl. XXIX) is cited in Rinehart's account book for 1866–67 (p. 115). A marble and four bronze replicas are in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, and an enlarged copy in bronze stands in a niche over the main entrance door of the Gallery. Rinehart's account book is in the Peabody Institute Library, Baltimore.

FIGURE 2 WASHINGTON, THE CAPITOL

RANDOLPH ROGERS

Columbus Doors

Bronze doors, East Entrance, Rotunda

the new Senate wing. Upon hearing of this, Rogers, on May 24, 1855 submitted a proposal and sketch for the doors to the Rotunda entrance at an estimated cost of $10,000. His boldness was rewarded, for on the next day, 'with a promptness that seems unbelievable today', the thirty-year-old sculptor's project was approved by the Secretary of War.[4] When Frick and Lucas saw them, the doors must have been nearly finished. The decoration consisted of eight panels depicting scenes from the life of Columbus (fig. 2). Framed by statuettes and portrait heads of contemporary figures, the entire scheme was modeled after Ghiberti's doors for the Baptistery in Florence. The ensemble was cast in Munich in 1861 and installed the following year at the entrance to the hall leading from the Rotunda to the House.

A final pertinent entry from Frick's diary from 1860 records his visit to Barye's studio upon his return to Paris. He was obviously in a buying mood. Three days before, on July 30, he had acquired a dozen paintings in ateliers and at auction and, following Lucas' method, he entered in his diary the names of the artists, the subjects, and prices paid.[5] From Barye he bought five bronzes: 'Lion and Snake', 'Horse Attacked by a Lion', and 'Centaur and Lapithae' [Lapith] at 150 francs each (about $30) as well as two small horses for 50 francs.[6] 'It was delightful to have seen the artists at work on the pictures purchased in Paris and to have watched Barye as he put the finishing touch of his Chisel on the Bronzes.' Although Frick was not an avid collector himself, he was astute enough to follow Walters and Lucas in their appreciation of Barye's work long before it gained widespread recognition and was therefore still available at bargain prices.

FIGURE 3 BALTIMORE, MUNICIPAL MUSEUM
WILLIAM HENRY RINEHART
Elizabeth Frick Power

In contrast to the 1860 trip, no mention is made of similar encounters with artists during Frick's second tour abroad from May to October 1864. Accompanied by his wife and sister-in-law (Fannie and Minna Lurman), he devoted most of his time to escorting them on various errands and excursions. During their stay in Paris in September he managed

[4] W. Craven, *Sculpture in America*, New York, 1968, p. 314. An interesting sidelight to be noted here in passing is that on Rinehart's death in 1874 Randolph Rogers rented one of the nine rooms of his studio, paying 499.87 lire for six months' rent from January to June 1875, plus 86 lire for a stove. These facts are recorded in W. H. Herriman's financial accounts of Rinehart's estate preserved in the George Peabody Branch of the Enoch Pratt Free Library.

[5] 'July 30—Early about to conclude some transactions with Artists with the following result, all said and done:

Ziem	Venice Midday	Frcs 600
Anastasi	Winter in Holland	350
	Moonlight	350
Lemmens	Duck and Rabbits	250
	Vegetables	100
Devaux	Children feeding birds	200
Dargelon	Boy stealing apples	150
Duverger	Grave scene, Woman and Child	250
Moulinet	Boy and Dog	150
Schenck	Sheperd [*sic*] and Sheep	1000
	Sheep drinking	500

Who can resist temptation—"Mea culpa," "Mea maxima culpa".'

[6] All these works, which date from the early 1830's except for the 'Centaur and Lapith' produced about a decade later, are also represented in the collections of both William T. Walters and George Lucas. The latter collection, on loan to the Baltimore Museum of Art from the Maryland Institute, lacks only the 'two small horses' which probably refer to bronzes measuring $5\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{7}{8}$ inches. See the exhibition catalogue, *The George A. Lucas Collection*, Baltimore Museum of Art, 1965, pp. 69–80. For further factual data, see G. Benge, *The Sculpture of Antoine-Louis Barye in American Collections*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa (unpub.), 1969.

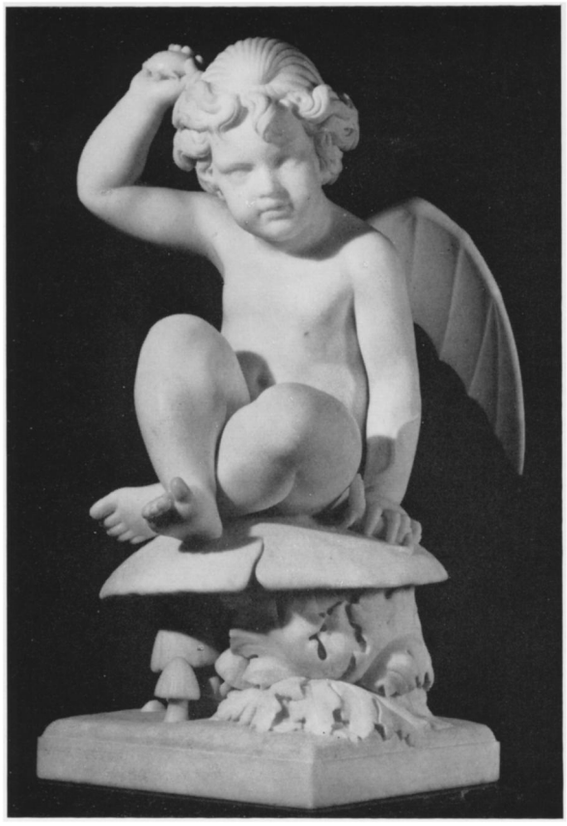


FIGURE 4 NATIONAL COLLECTION OF FINE ARTS, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

HARRIET GOODHUE HOSMER
Puck

to escape occasionally to 'take refuge with Geo. Lucas' (Sept. 18) for quiet breakfasts, walks, and gallery visits.[7]

Two years later in the course of an extended trip across the continent Frick once more sought out sculptors in Rome, Florence, and Paris. Traveling on this occasion with his wife and maiden sister, 'Aunt Mary', he embarked on the *Ville de Paris* early in December on what was to be a rough, stormy voyage scarcely conducive to improving his health which was one of the main reasons for undertaking the trip. Landing in Brest at 6 A.M. 'with everything wet . . . I await examination of the luggage in the dampest or "damn'dest" place I ever saw. A shed with a clay floor, about the consistency of putty. "Horrible" say all.' An all-night train ride to Paris and a two-hour 'detention' at the station at dawn led to a 'nervous chill and headache, and a generally reactionary breakdown' which was soon cured by sleep and doses of brandy prescribed by an old Baltimore friend, Dr. Thomas Buckler. In fact, already the next day Frick felt so much better that despite pouring rain he set out to look up George Lucas whom he found 'down with Rheumatism' (Dec. 14, 1866).

After five days of foul weather, the Fricks left Paris in search of sun and warmth. Recovering their equilibrium in the south of France, Sicily, and southern Italy, they arrived in Rome on March 27 and were met at the station by 'Rinehart (the sculptor)'. An explanatory footnote, revealing Frick's expectation that his journal might eventually be of interest to a future generation, identifies Rinehart as 'a stone-cutter's apprentice (Bevan and Baughman). Was sent to Rome by some friends, and the first work from his Studio was a bust of my sister, Mrs. Wm Power, for which he was paid $400' (fig. 3). One of three marble busts listed in Rinehart's account book for 1858, it was presented to the Municipal Museum of the City of Baltimore (generally referred to as the Peale Museum) by a descendant, Miss Susan Frick.[8] It is interesting to note that the two other busts mentioned in the account book for 1858 were also executed for Baltimoreans. One was a portrait bust of Benjamin Franklin commissioned by the industrialist, Hugh Sisson;[9] the other was of the prominent merchant and banker, Robert Garrett.[10] Rinehart had only set up his studio in Rome in September 1858 but despite the difficulties inevitably contingent thereto was evidently working on these three busts before the end of the year.

During Frick's four-week sojourn in Rome in the

[7] A notable breakfast at Lucas' with William T. Walters present took place September 2: '12 M . . . Sumptious, talk of War Matters until 5 P.M., rare fashion of spending the day at the Breakfast Table.' The conversation must have been extraordinarily interesting to keep three such indefatigable individuals seated at the table for that length of time.

[8] Ross and Rutledge, *op. cit.*, p. 62, no. 121, pl. XXIV.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 51, no. 72: 'a Caffieri-type bust', location unknown. For Rinehart's bust of Hugh Sisson see *ibid.*, p. 65, no. 136.

[10] This bust 'is said to have been Rinehart's first portrait commission and to have been made from a death mask. The first head had to be destroyed because of imperfections; this is a second cutting.' *Ibid.*, p. 52, no. 77, cited as being in the collection of Robert Garrett, 'Attica', Baltimore, Md.

FIGURE 5 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

RANDOLPH ROGERS

Nydia

Gift of James Douglas, 1899

spring of 1867 he called three times on Rinehart in his studio, observing after his first visit: 'I find much pleasure in his work.'[11] Evidently, he also found pleasure in the other's company:

April 7—Lovely morning—with Rinehart (W. H.) to Chr. Church of Maria degli Angeli to see Domenichino's picture of St. Sebastian and at 11:35 a.m. take the train for Frascati . . . We proceed at once to mount the hill past the Aldobrandini to Tusculum and linger about the Citadel and the ancient Theatre. Quite perfectly preserved. We have a day of genuine Roman atmosphere and the views from every point are ravishing, especially of the 'Eternal City beyond the Campagna' —Leaving the summit take a late lunch at a Wayside inn. Young kid, and a litre of native wine (for ten cents). A day of exquisite impressions and dreamy conversation. 5 p.m. train back to Rome, leave Rinehart and retire with thoughts suggested by the Excursion—all agreeable!

The day before, perhaps in anticipation of this Sunday outing with Rinehart, Frick had made the rounds of several studios of other American sculptors working in Rome:

. . . to Story's Studio—his Cleopatra, Medea, Lybian [Sibyl], Delilah—all from the same Nubian woman with heavy lips. Rinehart's subjects, though chosen from a field of limited education, display much more feeling and sentiment . . . then to Rogers Studio—his Nydia is a painful subject and not very popular and his famous doors for the Capitol at Washington are but copies of those in Florence—Thence, to Miss Hosmer's who we had the pleasure of meeting. She asked if we admired her baby, meaning her large statuette of Puck, etc.—She also said she had another, 'A very large baby' which she could not yet exhibit, meaning her Lincoln Monument. Alas! that his pot-house stories should be given a monument to carry them to posterity.

Elucidating briefly these comments of Frick's, his reaction to the works of William Wetmore Story (1819–95) presages the opinion generally held by historians of nineteenth-century American sculpture. The figures referred to above, which date from between 1858 and 1867, enjoyed international renown in their day although, as is evident from Frick's perceptive comment, not everyone shared the general enthusiasm.[12]

His critical evaluation of the two Randolph Rogers pieces also reflects an independent judgment. Since its creation in 1853 'Nydia, the Blind Girl of Pompeii' (fig. 5) had been hailed as a great achievement. Clearly, the piece touched a most receptive chord in the nineteenth-century psyche and 'something like one hundred replicas were sold over the following decades. A visitor to Rogers' studio once saw seven Nydias "all in a row, all listening, all groping, and seven marble-cutters at work cutting them out".'[13] It was fortunate that Frick, who found even a single example painful, was spared this sevenfold sight which conjures up fantastic visions like Snow White and the seven dwarfs or 'pretty maids all in a row'. Frick's deprecatory remark about the 'famous doors for the Capitol', which he had seen nearly completed during his first visit to Rogers' studio in 1860, reiterates his antipathy for the sculptor's work.

In contrast, he apparently took great delight in meeting the renownedly eccentric Harriet Hosmer (1830–1908), 'the most eminent member of that strange sisterhood of American lady sculptors who at one time settled upon the seven hills in a white marmorean flock.'[14] Her conversation with Frick evidently redounded with references to her 'babies', as she was wont to call her creations. In her correspondence, the Puck mentioned by Frick, for example, is also alluded to in the same vein as 'my son' or the 'devil-born god-child'.[15] This was one of her most lucrative pieces since its 'birth' in the mid-1850's (fig. 4). Some fifty marble replicas were sold in her lifetime for about one thousand dollars each to a far-ranging clientele which included no less a personage than the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII). In 1896 Miss Hosmer recalled that he bought the statue on one of his first visits to the continent when he 'came to my studio and . . . was quite taken with Puck, and nothing would do but he must buy it. Afterwards General Ellis . . . told me the Prince was not allowed to make any pur-

[11] March 29, April 2, April 19. Painstaking erasures and corrections by Frick show that he had as much difficulty, at least at first, in spelling Rinehart's name as had Lucas, who in his diaries alternates between Rhinehart, Rhineheart, and other variations. The Lucas diaries, which span the years 1853 to 1909, are presently in the Walters Art Gallery and are in the process of being published.

[12] Craven, *Sculpture in America*, pp. 275–80.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 313–14.

[14] Henry James, *William Wetmore Story and His Friends*, Boston, 1903, I, p. 257.

[15] C. Carr, *Harriet Hosmer, Letters and Memories*, New York, 1912, pp. 76, 78.

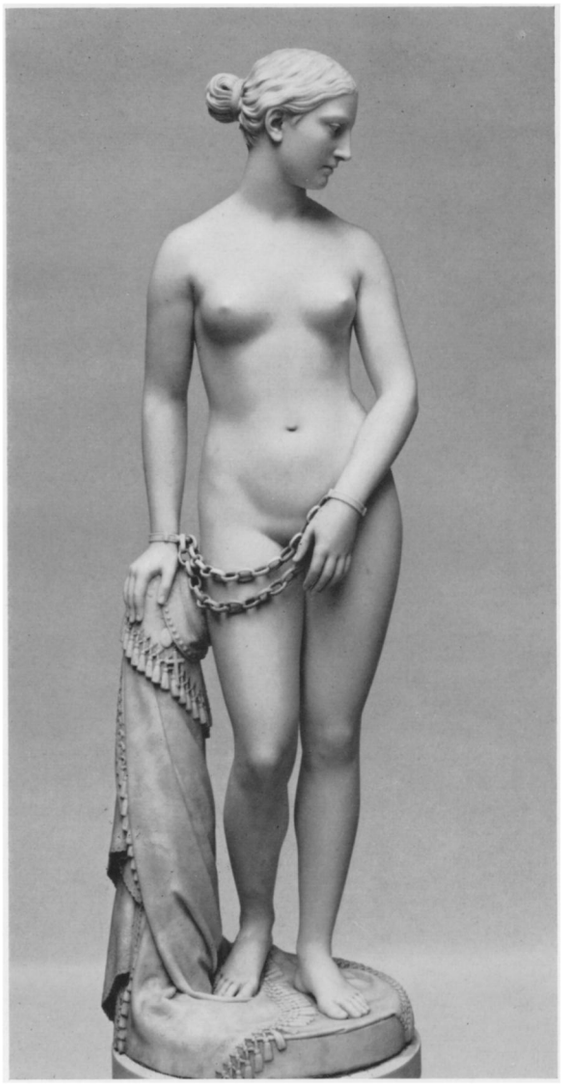


FIGURE 6 WASHINGTON, CORCORAN GALLERY OF ART
HIRAM POWERS
The Greek Slave

chases on this trip except with his own pocket-money, so that the Puck came out of his pin-money'.[16] Another admirer of the thirty-two-inch high imp was Nathaniel Hawthorne who found it and its companion-piece, 'Will o' the Wisp', 'very pretty and fanciful'.[17]

The 'very large baby' mentioned in Frick's diary quote refers to Harriet Hosmer's entry in the competition for the design of a memorial monument to Lincoln in Springfield, Illinois, which she was just then about to submit. In a letter dated only a month after Frick's visit she wrote that she intended to send her projected design to London for a reaction from people whose opinion she respected. A year later, with the final decision still pending, Miss Hosmer expressed fears that her youth and sex might be held against her by the judges.[18] Eventually the prize went to Larkin Goldsmith Mead who was five years her junior so in this respect, at least, her fears were unfounded. Located in Oak Ridge Cemetery and virtually unknown today, the statue of Lincoln was judged by Mead's contemporary, Lorado Taft, as 'by no means a bad statue' but, 'the figure is commonplace' and 'The essence of greatness is not in it.'[19] Since Hosmer's model remained unfinished, there is no way of gauging the comparative worth of her project. She had conceived a very complex scheme of grandiose proportions whose crowning glory was to have been a classical temple containing a sarcophagus with the inscription: 'A. L., Martyr Pres., U.S., Emancipator of four millions of men and preserver of the American Union.'[20] A far cry from Frick's conception of the teller of 'pot-house stories'!

Completing his four-week stay in Rome toward the end of April 1867, Frick headed north preparatory to his eventual sailing date out of Brest on May 25. In Florence he stopped by the studio of Hiram Powers (1805–73) where he found his 'Greek Slave' and 'Il Penseroso', 'his best works, and charming—He spoke most highly of Rinehart' (fig. 6). It is noteworthy that Frick used the word 'charming' to describe these two works whose forthright nudity would not have elicited such a reaction a generation earlier. Powers himself had expressed concern about the moral probity of the

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 344.

[17] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Passages from French and Italian Note-Books*, Boston, 1872, II, p. 231. An earlier impression, about a year before (April 1858), describes the Puck as 'doubtless full of fun' (I, p. 157). Miss Hosmer and her studio are also engagingly characterized in this work.

[18] Carr, *op. cit.*, p. 226. See also pp. 227–9, 265–6 and a reprint of the sculptress' detailed scheme in Appendix C, pp. 368–9.

[19] Lorado Taft, *The History of American Sculpture*, New York, 1903, p. 239. Ironically, Mead left for Italy never to return immediately upon receiving this $200,000 commission, the largest ever awarded for a memorial. The completed project was put in place only in 1883, by which time 'American taste had already outgrown it.'

[20] See Carr, *op. cit.*, Appendix C.

nude in art in the early 1840's,[21] shortly before the celebrated tour of his 'Greek Slave' through the United States from 1847 on. Forestalling outraged protests to his ingenious scheme, which ultimately netted $23,000, the sculptor prepared an explanatory statement to be presented in the various cities where the statue was exhibited. Statements were obtained from local ministers to reinforce Powers' message that the 'Greek Slave' symbolized the martyrdom of Christian virtue brutally mistreated at the hands of pagan Turks. A contemporary report suggests that some viewers seem to have been persuaded to abandon all lascivious thoughts and gazed on the sensuous nude in a 'pure' spirit of worship:

> Men take off their hats; ladies seat themselves silently, and almost unconsciously; and usually it is minutes before a word is uttered. All conversation is in a hushed tone, and everybody looks serious on departing.[22]

No doubt the novelty of the experience was such as to leave the viewer speechless regardless of any possible aesthetic impact.[23]

The other work by Powers mentioned by Frick, 'Il Penseroso', is in all likelihood a less spectacular nude female figure entitled 'La Penserosa' executed about 1856 for Mr. James Lenox of New York City. This piece may have inspired the marble bust of an ideal head, 'Penserosa', executed about 1865 by Rinehart whom Powers held in high regard.[24]

Frick headed for Paris to spend the remaining two weeks of his stay. Incapacitated for the first few days by an annoying 'lame foot', he made up for lost time by active sightseeing, opera visits, and a side trip to Bordeaux to see relatives of his wife. Also during this time he made three visits to Barye's studio:

> May 11—. . . Barye's Studio. Bronzes the finest I have ever seen, especially the Grand Centaur. Not represented in the Exposition [Universelle].[25]

> May 14—. . . to Barye's Studio and purchase a Bronze Frcs 250 'Arab spearing a Tiger' for Riggin Buckler. Also the same group more complete for Mary [Frick], a present from Mrs. Henry Tiffany (*a present*)—500 frs.[26]

A final visit to Barye's studio on May 24, the day before the Fricks sailed from Brest, is briefly noted in passing.

As chance would have it, a fellow-passenger on the S.S. *Laurent* was William T. Walters with whom there seems to have been no exchange of words worth noting in Frick's diary. Upon concluding his voyage, Frick expressed his pleasure at returning home, as always at the end of his journeys. At five dollars a day, which he carefully specified covered all but personal expenses traveling first-class, the 1866–67 trip had certainly been a good investment even though the improvement of Frick's health was not quite as great as he had hoped.[27]

With the return to Baltimore in June 1867 an important chapter in Frick's life had come to an end. Henceforth on successive trips abroad, which resumed in 1887, he concentrated on outstanding musical performances, regularly attending the festivals in Dresden and Bayreuth. Visits to museums and special exhibitions (but not to ateliers) continued, more out of a sense of duty than from a deep-seated appreciation of the works of art themselves. There is no question, however, that the direct contact with artists in their studios during his first trips to Europe in the 1860's had afforded Frick great pleasure. In old age he and George Lucas often reminisced about the 'good old days' of their camaraderie, regretting the fact that 'Paris is no longer the charming city it was when he came in 1857 and when we were first there together in 1860. "The Empire was then in its Zenith".'[28] Neither Frick nor Lucas was fully able to accept the revolutionary changes wrought by the Impressionists. The new artistic ideology was a far cry from the comfortable, familiar world of Rinehart, Rogers, Story, Hosmer, Powers, and Barye.

[21] See C. E. Lester, *Conversations with Powers in His Studio at Florence*, vol. I of *The Artist, the Merchant, and the Statesman of the Age of the Medici, and of Our Own Times*, New York, 1845, I, pp. 85–8. I am grateful to Elizabeth Gardner for her help in obtaining the photograph reproduced in fig. 1.

[22] *Union Magazine*, October, 1847. For detailed accounts of the display of the 'Greek Slave' in America, see Craven, *Sculpture in America*, pp. 116–19 and A. T. Gardner, *Yankee Stonecutters*, New York, 1945, pp. 29–31. The latter termed the statue the 'artistic sensation of the age'. See also W. H. Gerdts, 'Marble and Nudity,' *Art in America*, May–June 1971, pp. 60–7.

[23] Nathaniel Hawthorne's reactions to nude female statuary are of interest here. Speaking of Canova's 'Pauline', Bonaparte's sister, 'represented with but little drapery . . . The statue does not afford pleasure in the contemplation' (*op. cit.*, I, p. 176). Of another sculptor's 'Eve' he writes of 'her wreath of fig-leaves lying across her poor nudity; comely in some points, but with a frightful volume of thighs and calves. I do not altogether see the necessity of ever sculpturing another nakedness. Man is no longer a naked animal; his clothes are as natural to him as his skin, and sculptors have no more right to undress him than to flay him' (*ibid.*, p. 179). The same sentiment underlies a passage in *The Marble Faun*, first published in 1869, in which a sculptress named Miriam expresses her views to a colleague, Kenyon (a thinly disguised impersonation of William Wetmore Story), prior to viewing his 'Cleopatra' (Story's famous 'Cleopatra' dates from 1858). Seen from a mid-twentieth-century vantage point, rife with controversial reactions toward public displays of nudity, the passage is of sufficient interest to warrant quoting in full:

> 'My new statue!' said Kenyon . . . 'here it is, under this veil.' 'Not a nude figure, I hope', observed Miriam. 'Every young sculptor seems to think that he must give the world some specimen of indecorous womanhood, and call it Eve, Venus, a Nymph, or any name that may apologize for a lack of decent clothing. I am weary, even more than I am ashamed, of seeing such things. Nowadays people are as good as born in their clothes, and there is practically not a nude human being in existence. An artist, therefore, . . . cannot sculpture nudity with a pure heart, if only he is compelled to steal guilty glimpses at hired models. The marble inevitably loses its chastity under such circumstances. An old Greek sculptor, no doubt, found his models in the open sunshine, and among pure and princely maidens, and thus the nude statues of antiquity are as modest as violets, and sufficiently draped in their own beauty. But as for Mr. Gibson's [the English sculptor, John Gibson] colored Venuses (stained, I believe, with tobacco juice), and all other nudities of today, I really do not understand what they have to say to this generation, and would be glad to see as many heaps of quicklime in their stead. (*The Marble Faun*, Boston, 1888, p. 149).

Cf. Kenneth Clark's discussion of Victorian prudery in reference to Powers' 'Captive Slave' in *The Nude: A Study of Ideal Art*, London, 1956, p. 149.

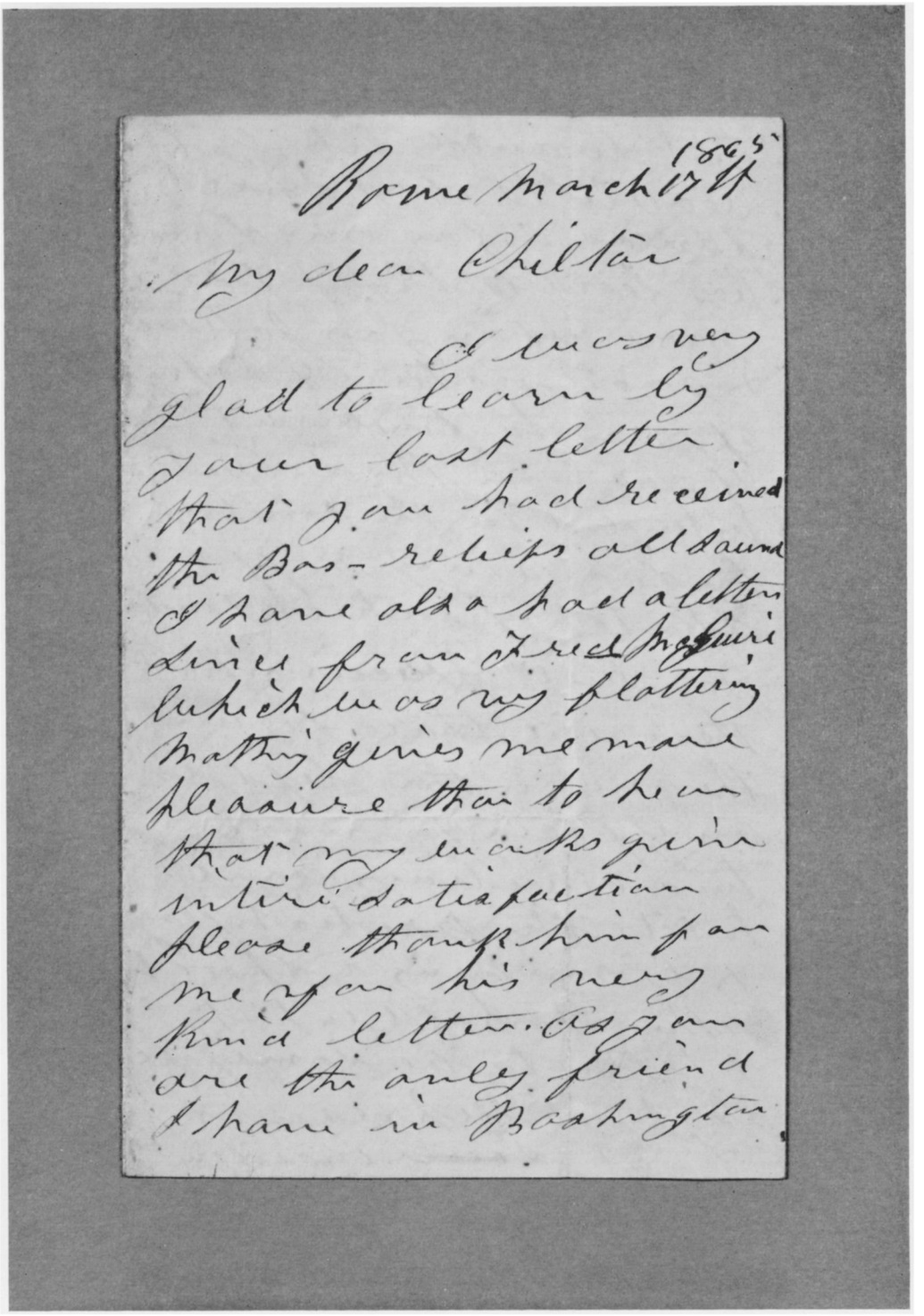
[24] Ross and Rutledge, *op. cit.*, p. 31, no. 30, pl. XXX.

[25] For the bronzes he *did* exhibit at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1867, Barye was awarded a '*grande médaille d'or*'. Frick came away from a visit to the *Exposition* with a 'sort of mental indigestion created by the labyrinth of objects and the motley crowd . . .' ('Traveller's Diary', May 12, 1867). The elliptical layout of the exhibitions, based on practicality rather than beauty, is discussed by Charles Blanc, *Les artistes de mon temps*, Paris, 1876, pp. 405 ff. For a description of Barye's studio, see E. Guillaume, *Catalogue des oeuvres de Barye*, Paris, 1889, pp. 15 ff.

[26] Riggin Buckler (1831–84), a doctor in Baltimore and brother of Dr. Thomas Buckler who treated Frank Frick upon his arrival in Paris in December 1866. Mary Frick was Frank Frick's sister while Mrs. Henry Tiffany, who lived in Baltimore since her marriage in 1840, was the sister of ex-Governor Robert Milligan McLane, minister to France from 1884 to 1888. His career is outlined by H. E. Buchholz. *Governors of Maryland*, Baltimore, 1908, pp. 228–34.

[27] This is apparent from Frick's diary entry *en route* home (June 1, 1867): 'Six months today since I left home in search of health. It yet remains to be seen with what result. It may come later.'

[28] 'A Traveller's Diary', VI, May 8, 1909.



Rome March 1865

My dear Chilton

I was very glad to learn by your last letter that you had received the Bas-reliefs all sound & have also had a letter from Fred McGuire which was very flattering Nothing gives me more pleasure than to learn that my works give entire satisfaction please thank him for me upon his very kind letter. As you are the only friend I have in Washington

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Letter from William H. Rinehart to Robert S. Chilton
Gift of Thomas B. Brumbaugh

A RECENTLY DISCOVERED LETTER OF WILLIAM HENRY RINEHART

By THOMAS B. BRUMBAUGH

Vanderbilt University

William Henry Rinehart (1825–74) was the worthy subject of a pioneering monograph on an American sculptor of the nineteenth century. William S. Rusk's study,[1] published in 1939, not only told the story of an ambitious stonecutter from Union Bridge, Maryland, who rose to fame and fortune in those ancient capitals of art, Florence and Rome, but more importantly it paid tribute to one of the genuinely creative artists of the period. Rusk's objective appraisal of Rinehart and his work was to be, furthermore, a cornerstone for the construction of a responsible history of American sculpture. The Rinehart exhibition at the Walters Art Gallery in 1948, marked by *A Catalogue of the Work of William Henry Rinehart*,[2] helped to reinforce the growing conviction that Rinehart is one of the most interesting mid-nineteenth-century sculptors working in the classical tradition.

Needless to say, we are interested in the discovery of any new autographic evidence of Rinehart. In spite of devoted research, his biographer and the cataloguers of his sculpture located only his studio and account books, and some thirty surviving letters.[3] Those precious records, full of specifications and details of sculptural projects, reveal very clearly the practical man at his work. Nearly half of the letters were written to William T. Walters, his great Baltimore patron, while the next largest group of a dozen was sent to the painter, Francis B. Mayer, another Baltimore friend. A few others to Captain (later General) Montgomery C. Meigs, regarding work on United States Capitol projects, a family letter to his sister-in-law, Mrs. Daniel Rinehart, one to a patron, J. W. Paine of Troy, New York, and the following letter to a friend, Robert S. Chilton, of Washington, D.C., here reproduced for the first time (fig. 1), constitute the meager but important legacy.[4]

In the following transcription, peculiarities of spelling, paragraphing and syntax have been retained. A few punctuation marks have been inserted where they were obviously intended. Hopefully, we may sense here something of the individuality and homely style of the man.

[1] William Sener Rusk, *William Henry Rinehart, Sculptor*, Baltimore, 1939.

[2] Marvin Chauncey Ross and Anna Wells Rutledge, *A Catalogue of the Work of William Henry Rinehart, Maryland Sculptor, 1825–1874*, Baltimore, 1948.

[3] Ross and Rutledge, *op. cit.*, p. 17. The letters from Rinehart to Mrs. Daniel Rinehart and William T. Walters are quoted in Rusk, *op. cit.*, pp. 31–45.

[4] The letter under discussion has recently been given to the Walters Art Gallery by the author of this article, Thomas B. Brumbaugh of Vanderbilt University, who discovered it in trade.

Rome, March 17th 1865

My dear Chilton

I was very glad to learn by your last letter that you had received the Bas-reliefs all sound. I have also had a letter since from Fred McGuire which was very flattering. Nothing gives me more pleasure than to learn that my works give intire satisfaction. Please thank him for me for his very kind letter. As you are the only friend I have in Washington that would likely to be able to do a small favour for me, I must beg leave to trespass once more upon your patience & good nature & ask of you to find out if you can, the subject intended in the panel of the door, a very ruff sketch of which I inclose.[5] You will percieve that there are three figures the one on the left is an officer & the other two civilians. One holds the British flag & is makeing a speech & the other hold what I take to be some paper. That it represents some incident which happened in South Carolina I am certain but canot find out what. All the other palets are plain & easily decipered. If you will go (or get some one to do it for you) to the Secretary of the Interior, you perhaps can find out for me. He must have Crawford's original letter explaining the whole door. As the door is now drawing to a close I shall be in want of it in a fiew months & if you can attend to it soon I will be under eternal obligations to you.

Walters has gone home & taken his family. Art is unusually dull this season among the Americans. People donot like the high exchange. I am buisy upon commissions of last year & will be until autumn. My principal work is a monumental figure for the grave of Mrs. Walters. I have also on hand a large chimney piece for an Irishman. My best respects to Mrs. Chilton, Bertha & the rest of the family & believe me truely

Yours

Wm H Rinehart

Please let me hear from you as soon as possible. Remember me to McGuire.

The letter seems to suggest that Rinehart was out of touch with the powers in Washington. The city was still in a state of turmoil, what with the recent end of the Civil War, and, considering the slowness of the mails, the letter must have been delivered about the time of Lincoln's assassination. The sculptor was writing to a minor clerk in the State Department, Robert S. Chilton, 'the only friend I have in Washington that would likely be able to do a small favour for me'.[6] Rinehart had 'trespassed' before upon his 'patience and good nature', we learn. Although Chilton was descended from a distinguished family who had settled in the Washington area in the seventeenth century, his influence there was probably minimal; his financial situation, however, allowed him to purchase 'Bas-reliefs' from the artist. These may have been marble copies of the popular 'Morning' and 'Evening', modeled about 1855.[7]

Frederick B. McGuire, mentioned at the beginning and the end of the letter, seems to have been the brother of James Clark McGuire, who owned a furniture business on D Street in Washington, and whose bust by Rinehart, modeled in Rome in 1864, is now in the collection of the Corcoran Gallery.[8] The 'monumental figure for the grave of Mrs. Walters', mentioned in the last paragraph, was ordered by William T. Walters in 1865, and was the artist's first important commission in bronze. A Grecian-style female figure, it now stands on the Walters family lot in Greenmount Cemetery, Baltimore (fig. 2). The plaster model for the work, listed in the studio inventory as 'Girl Strewing Flowers Monumental figure life size', was placed in the Walters Art Gallery in 1969 on indefinite loan from the Peabody Institute.[9] The 'large chimney piece for an Irishman', was commissioned in 1864 by Henry L. Puxley of Castletown, County Cork. It was decorated with a frieze and bas-reliefs of children, but seems to be no longer in existence as the Puxley House, 'Dunbay', was burned in the Irish troubles of 1922.[10]

Probably the most interesting aspect of Rinehart's letter is the casual manner in which he investigates the iconography of the doors to the House entrance of the United States Capitol, just 'as the door is . . . drawing to a close'. Thomas Crawford had designed both the Senate and House doors, making clay sketches for them between 1855 and his death in 1857, but in 1861 his widow turned

[5] Unfortunately not preserved with the letter.

[6] Robert S. Chilton lived at 308 Delaware Ave. in 1865. His son, William Chilton (1843–1926), was a landscape painter of local reputation. I am grateful to Miss Sue Shivers, Chief, Washingtoniana Div., The Public Library, Washington, D.C., for her help with a number of identifications.

[7] Ross and Rutledge, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–9, find eleven pairs listed in Rinehart's studio book, but Chilton is not listed among the owners. The usual price for the pair was eighty English pounds.

[8] Ross and Rutledge, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[9] Ross and Rutledge, *op. cit.*, p. 37. At the same time 'Winter', a bas-relief in plaster and the bust of Mrs. John Valentine Hall, items 43b and 82b in the Ross-Rutledge catalogue, were also presented by the Peabody Institue to the Gallery on indefinite loan.

[10] Ross and Rutledge, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

FIGURE 2

BALTIMORE, GREENMOUNT CEMETERY

WILLIAM RINEHART

Walters family grave monument

FIGURE 3 WASHINGTON, THE CAPITOL

THOMAS CRAWFORD and WILLIAM RINEHART

Bronze doors, East Entrance, House Wing

over the entire project to Rinehart who faithfully developed the original designs (fig. 3). Crawford's protracted suffering with what proved to be a fatal eye infection, made his last projects scarcely more than frantic exercises. But not until 1865 did Rinehart seek to understand the motivation of the figures in the panel, which depicted the 'Presentation of the Flag and Medal to General Nathaniel Greene, 1781'.[11] Crawford's original letter of July 10, 1855 to Captain Meigs 'explaining the whole door' is still preserved in the files of the office of the Capitol architect.[12]

No doubt something of the almost naïve quality of the doors comes from the reworking of Crawford's partially realized ideas, but Rinehart's conscientious attention to detail and finish in their execution would seem to be another factor. Rinehart brought the project to completion in 1867, when the full-size plaster model was shipped from Leghorn, and he must surely be given more credit for it than the nineteenth-century sources usually allow in their pious eulogies of Crawford. When the model arrived in Washington, it was stored in the Capitol crypt and remained there until 1903. Appropriations were finally made to have it cast by the Melzar H. Mosman foundry of Chicopee, Massachusetts, and the installation took place in 1905.[13]

[11] Identified as such in *Compilation of Works of Art and Other Objects in the United States Capitol*, House document no. 362, Washington, 1965, pp. 372–3. We are further told that 'This panel shows General Greene receiving a medal and flag after the Battle of Eutaw Springs on September 8, 1781 for expelling the British from South Carolina'.

[12] Charles E. Fairman (*Art and Artists of the Capitol of the United States of America*, Washington, 1927, p. 479) identified the scene as the 'presentation of flag to Gen. William Moultrie for his defense of Sullivans Island, Charleston Harbor, June 28, 1776'. However, as Robert L. Gale (*Thomas Crawford, American Sculptor*, Pittsburgh, 1964, p. 223, note 188) pointed out, it may be that Fairman was in error. Rinehart's query does suggest that in the intervening years between 1855 and 1865 (the date of Rinehart's letter) some confusion had already arisen as to what was intended.

[13] Fairman, *op. cit.*, p. 479. The history of the commission and execution of these doors is related, and documented with letters from Crawford, Rinehart and others in Fairman's book *passim*.

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

INNOCENZO DA IMOLA

SS. Dominic and Matthias; SS. Paul, John the Baptist and Jerome

TWO FRAGMENTS BY INNOCENZO DA IMOLA

By FEDERICO ZERI

Rome

Two panels in the Walters Art Gallery,[1] published here for the first time (fig. 1), are evidently fragments cut from a much larger painting. It is possible that the work was dismembered not for commercial reasons but because of extensive damage suffered by the wooden support. In fact, the two Walters fragments were cut in such an arbitrary fashion that two of the six saints originally represented were irreparably mutilated. On the left of the right-hand panel there still remains about half of the figure cut off by the new edge. In the left-hand panel a vast repainted zone above and to the right indicates that here, too, there must have been a portion of a figure which was subsequently destroyed, and the loss disguised by extending the background sky.[2] Despite this alteration, it is precisely the left-hand fragment which points to the large altarpiece to which the panels belonged.

Our two pieces have traditionally been given to Innocenzo da Imola, an attribution confirmed by all the stylistic characteristics.[3] The identification of the two figures on the left-hand fragment as St. Dominic and St. Matthias (a saint, very rarely pictured, but here unquestionably revealed by the attributes of the book, the axe, and the martyr's palm), establishes, I would say automatically, that these two panels are to be linked with an altarpiece executed by Innocenzo for a church at Bologna—an altarpiece of which there has been no trace for approximately a century.

The painting in question was formerly on the great altar of the Church of San Mattia, Bologna, located in Strada Sant' Isaia, and was repeatedly mentioned in literature from 1560 to 1850.[4] As one gathers from the numerous, if at times imprecise descriptions, the lower part of the painting represented SS. Dominic, Matthias (confused by some writers with Matthew), Peter, Paul, John the Evangelist and Jerome. Five still appear in the two Baltimore fragments—that is, Dominic and Matthias at the left and, at the right, John and Jerome, with Paul reduced to less than half. The figure of Peter, who must have been represented in the left-hand fragment, has been completely

[1] Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 37.697 A and B. Wood; each panel $61\frac{3}{4} \times 19$ in. (154.9 × 48.2 cm.). Provenance: Marquess Filippo Marignoli, Rome and Spoleto (until 1898); Marquess Francesco Marignoli (1898–1899); Don Marcello Massarenti, Rome (1899–1902); acquired by Henry Walters in 1902.

[2] Radiographs show that the original panel was cut away up to about six inches from the right-hand edge and along the shoulder of St. Matthias. Two new pieces of wood were then inserted and painted to cover the loss.

[3] See the Massarenti Catalogue, Supplement, 1900, no. 12, as Innocenzo da Imola; Walters Catalogues [1909, 1922, 1929], no. 697, as Innocenzo da Imola.

[4] P. Lamo, *Graticola di Bologna*, 1560, 1844 edit., pp. 26 f.; A. Masini, *Bologna perlustrata*, 1650, p. 500; G. C. Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice*, 1678, I, p. 148; [G. P. Cavazzoni Zanotti?], *Le Pitture di Bologna*, 1706, p. 141; *Pitture, sculture ed architetture . . . della città di Bologna*, 1782, p. 103; G. Piacenza, in F. Baldinucci, *Notizie de'Professori di disegno da Cimabue in qua*, 1813, III, p. 141; G. Bianconi, *Guida del forestiere per la città de Bologna . . .*, 1825, p. 99; A. Bolognini Armorini, *Vite dei pittori ed artefici bolognesi*, 1841, part I, p. 95; *Guida del forestiere per la città di Bologna*, 1844, p. 55.

destroyed.

While the altarpiece, as stated above, was executed by Innocenzo for the great altar of the Church of San Mattia, it remained there only until 1585 when the building was reconstructed. After the consecration of 1588, the painting was moved to a side altar originally under the patronage of the Maranini family, and the main altar received a new work by Tommaso Laureti. The last mention that we have of the Innocenzo altarpiece is in 1850, when Gualandi describes the Church of San Mattia in a state of abandon and almost always closed.[5]

During the nearly three centuries in which the painting was visible in its entirety, many writers described its general aspect. Above the six saints, including the church's titular saint, Matthias, was a representation of the Madonna, with the Child standing on clouds in the act of blessing, and with angels also; in the apex appeared the Eternal Father. This upper portion was reduced to fragments in the nineteenth century, but it is possible for me to present here what is left of the main section, although I do not know its present location. It is a panel arched on the top, representing the Virgin on clouds, crowned by two angels and with the Child nearby, standing and blessing (fig. 2). This painting last appeared in New York, in the sale of the Noorian collection.[6] Previously, and that is, until 1922, it was owned by Henry Walters,[7] who purchased it with the Massarenti collection in 1902, together with the two fragments illustrated here; all three of the paintings were in the collections of the Marchesi Marignoli, of Rome and Spoleto.[8]

To reconstitute the work, therefore, we have only to find, presuming that it still exists, the figure of God the Father originally at the top of the altarpiece. As far as the predella is concerned, it has been known for some time, having been part of the famous collection of Richard von Kaufmann in Berlin somewhere between 1889 and 1917;[9] today the predella is dispersed among various collections,[10] and we reproduce here only the four elements whose present whereabouts are known (figs. 3, 4, 5, 6).

Now that the altarpiece of San Mattia is thus 're-composed', we might note that it was signed and dated. There is, on the lower right-hand corner of the fragment with the Virgin and Child, a small label with an inscription which, to judge from the photograph, has all the characteristics of authenticity: *Innocentius franchutius Imole/nsis faciebat M D XXX IIII.* But only a direct examination could ascertain if this is the original inscription and if it is still in its original position. It could have been transferred from another part of the painting. In fact, it seems improbable that the signature and date were originally in the upper part of the large altarpiece, and it is therefore likely that the wooden portion beneath the small label was sawed from a lower part and inserted at the bottom of the principal fragment when the work was dismembered.

The painting thus reconstructed, one can reaffirm that Innocenzo was tied to an invariable formula that constantly reappears in his religious works, or, at least, in those of his mature period. The formula has a Raphaelesque flavor, in which themes and types taken from Raphael's works executed around 1508 and 1515 are adapted to an academic cliché, slightly archaized by the coloring

[5] M. Gualandi, *Tre giorni a Bologna, o Guida per la città*, 1850, pp. 121 f.

[6] Daniel Z. Noorian collection (sale, American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, New York, March 25–26, 1931, lot 155, as Innocenzo da Imola).

[7] Walters Catalogue [1909], no. 514, listed as 'Virgin and Child Crowned by Angels' by Innocenzo da Imola (56¾ × 38¾ in.).

[8] Massarenti Catalogue, Supplement, 1900, no. 32. This catalogue included the former Marignoli collection bought by Don Marcello Massarenti in that year.

[9] F. Harck, *Archivio storico dell'arte*, II, 1889, pp. 208 f. M. J. Friedländer, *Die Sammlung Richard von Kaufmann* (sale, Cassirer-Helbing, Berlin, December 4, 1917, lot 38).

[10] The present location of the 'Nativity' is not known to me. The 'Presentation in the Temple' is in Bologna, Bottari collection; the 'Christ Disputing in the Temple' is also in Bologna, Schiavina collection. The 'Noli Me Tangere' belongs to the collection of Maestro Molinari Pradelli in Bologna, while the 'Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria' is in the Museum of Art, University of Kansas, at Lawrence, Kansas (inv. no. 58.128). The predella is described with some confusion by Malvasia who mentions it as being composed of five compartments, but gives six subjects, including a 'Christ and the Woman of Samaria'. Later records such as *Pitture, sculture ed architetture* of 1782, Bianconi in 1825, and the *Guida del forestiere* of 1844, report that one of the panels had been removed and substituted with a 'Christ in the House of the Pharisee' by a different and less qualified hand. It would seem, however, that the original predella was composed of five panels, the very same that came into the Richard von Kaufmann collection.

FIGURE 2 LOCATION UNKNOWN

INNOCENZO DA IMOLA

Madonna and Child with Angels

FIGURE 3 BOLOGNA, BOTTARI COLLECTION

INNOCENZO DA IMOLA
Presentation of Christ in the Temple

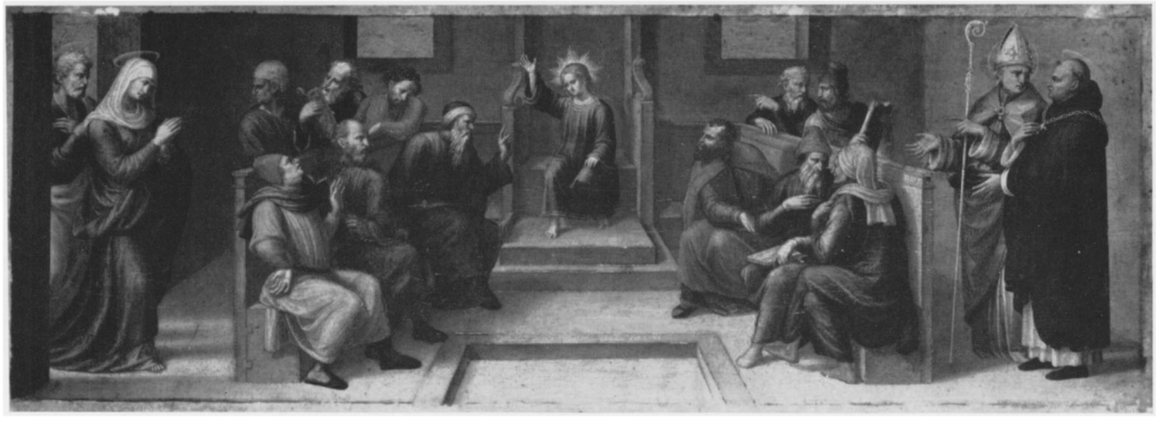


FIGURE 4 BOLOGNA, SCHIAVINA COLLECTION

INNOCENZO DA IMOLA
Christ Disputing in the Temple

and the technique. Lively and gaudy, the colors define the clear forms which are realized with a brushwork no less exacting and pedantic than that of a Florentine artist of fifty years earlier. That we are in the presence of a formula is proven by the fact that at times details are repeated almost exactly; for the left-hand angel crowning the Virgin, Innocenzo employed a cartoon which he used in reverse two years later for the altar of San Giacomo Maggiore in Bologna (1536). Only in the predella (in which, in any case, the scenes of 'Noli Me Tangere' and of the 'Martyrdom of St. Catherine' belong to his workshop), and in a few brief details is his inventive quality realized. For the rest, the limitations remain those of a zealous technician of consummate skill, an impeccable and able executor of the style learned in the workshop of Mariotto Albertinelli.

FIGURE 5 BOLOGNA, MOLINARI PRADELLI COLLECTION

WORKSHOP OF INNOCENZO DA IMOLA

Noli Me Tangere

FIGURE 6 LAWRENCE, UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS MUSEUM OF ART

WORKSHOP OF INNOCENZO DA IMOLA

Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria

FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

GIOVANNI BELLINI AND WORKSHOP
Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints and Donors

A BELLINI PAINTING FROM THE PROCURATIA DI ULTRA, VENICE

AN EXPLORATION OF ITS HISTORY AND TECHNIQUE

By ELISABETH C. G. PACKARD
The Walters Art Gallery

Giambellini's 'Madonna and Child with Saints and Donors' (fig. 1), mentioned by seventeenth and eighteenth-century guide books of Venice as being in the Procuratia di Ultra, came to light in the collection of Henry Walters in 1916.[1] Until Bernard Berenson published the painting in *Venetian Painting in America*,[2] it had been listed as missing for almost ninety years and was known only from an engraving made in 1828 when it was in the Wendelstadt collection (fig. 2). Scholars who worked solely from a knowledge of the engraving had generally attributed the painting to a follower or workshop assistant rather than to the master himself. Nevertheless, a few scholars suggested that Bellini might have had a share in the execution of the work.[3] It was not until 1961, however, that the technical examination and cleaning of the painting was undertaken in the Conservation Department of the

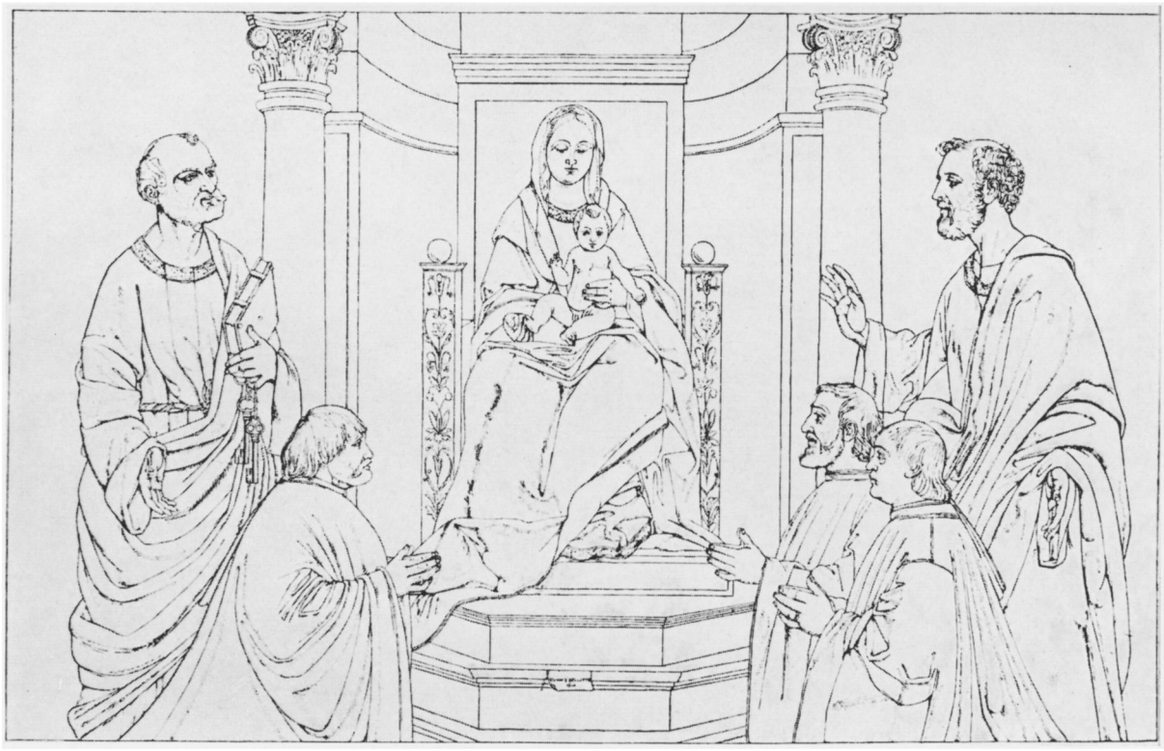


FIGURE 2

Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints and Donors
(Engraving reproduced from Wendelstadt Catalogue, 1828)

Walters Art Gallery in an effort to determine its place in Bellini's oeuvre. This action was prompted by Felton Gibbons who, in the course of preparing an article on Giovanni Bellini and his assistant, Rocco Marconi, recognized certain stylistic peculiarities in our picture which were reminiscent of Marconi's work.[4]

Test cleaning showed that yellowish-brown varnish as well as extensive overpainting had been used to camouflage many alterations and pentimenti (fig. 4). Comparison of the painting with the engraving of 1828, not only drew attention to the disappearance of the cartellino inscribed, 'Ioannus Bellinus 1510', but also to the difference in the steps and in the cornice of the throne. Yet it was not until each section of the composition was succes-

[1] Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 37.446. Canvas (mounted on panel), 36 × 58 in. (91.5 × 150 cm.).

Provenance: Procuratia di Ultra, Venice (1510–around 1797); Baron C. F. Wendelstadt, Frankfurt (Catalogue 1828, no. 15, as Giovanni Bellini, illustrated by engraving by C. Hoff); Wolsey Moreau (by 1868); Raymond Balze (by 1873?). Acquired by Henry Walters from an unknown source shortly before 1916.

The painting is mentioned in the following guide books of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Fra F. Manfredi, *Degnitá Procuratoria di S. Marco di Venetia*, 1602, p. 28; C. Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell' arte*, 1648, von Hadeln ed., 1914, I, p. 71; M. Boschini, *Le ricche minere della pittura veneziana*, 1674, Sestier di S. Marco, p. 73; *idem*, *Descrizione di tutte le pubbliche pitture della città di Venezia e isole circonvincine*, 1733, p. 161; A. M. Zanetti, *Della pittura veneziana e delle opere pubbliche de' veneziani maestri*, 1792, p. 76.

[2] B. Berenson, *Venetian Painting in America*, 1916, pp. 137 ff., fig. 55.

[3] Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in North Italy*, 1871, I, p. 193, note 3; G. Gronau, in *Rassegna d'Arte*, XI, 1911, p. 96, engraving; *idem*, *Spätwerke des Giovanni Bellini*, 1928, pp. 24 f., pl. XXII, engraving; L. Dussler, *Giovanni Bellini*, 1935, pp. 144, 146, 151; *idem*, *Giovanni Bellini*, 1949, p. 62; Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, XVII, 1935, p. 378; C. Gamba, *Giovanni Bellini*, 1937, p. 166, pl. 182; R. Pallucchini, *Giovanni Bellini*, 1959, pp. 106, 156, pl. 217.

[4] F. Gibbons, 'Giovanni Bellini and Rocco Marconi', *Art Bulletin*, XLIV, 1962, pp. 127 f., fig. 6.

FIGURE 3

WALTERS ART GALLERY

GIOVANNI BELLINI AND WORKSHOP

Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints and Donors
(*Composite radiograph*)

FIGURE 4 WALTERS ART GALLERY

GIOVANNI BELLINI AND WORKSHOP
Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints and Donors
(Varnish partially removed in test areas)

sively exposed to x-rays that the extent and significance of the changes were fully realized. By making a composite of twelve x-ray films (fig. 3) we were able to record an unusual pattern of varying densities, thereby unveiling the condition of the painting as well as something of the technique. It was immediately evident that the step of the throne, where the cartellino had been painted, was not original and that the picture had been cut off at both the top and the bottom. Then, as the radiographic study progressed, we were confronted with a number of baffling questions.

1) *Was the painting originally executed on a wooden panel as had been supposed?* Although the support appeared to be a typical Italian panel of poplar wood, constructed of three members with two inset braces on the reverse (fig. 5), x-rays revealed no deterioration of the wood, no worm tunnellings, and no cracks or splits corresponding to the paint losses on the front. Strangely enough, the horizontal joins of the three members, usually vulnerable points, did not correspond to any of the horizontal lines of loss in the ground or paint film which were revealed by the x-rays. During a preliminary examination we had noticed, even through the dark, thick varnish, the imprint of fabric weave in the paint surface. Our first thought had been that this was caused by an intermediate muslin commonly introduced during the transfer of the paint film to a new wooden support. It was observed, however, that a large irregular area comprising most of the composite radiograph disclosed all the characteristics of an original primed fabric. It is a known fact that when priming or ground is brushed on a canvas it accumulates in the interstices of the threads and its thickness is greater in these minute spots than where it is displaced by the threads. In our painting this density pattern, faint as it is, registered in the radiograph and could not be mistaken for a transfer muslin.

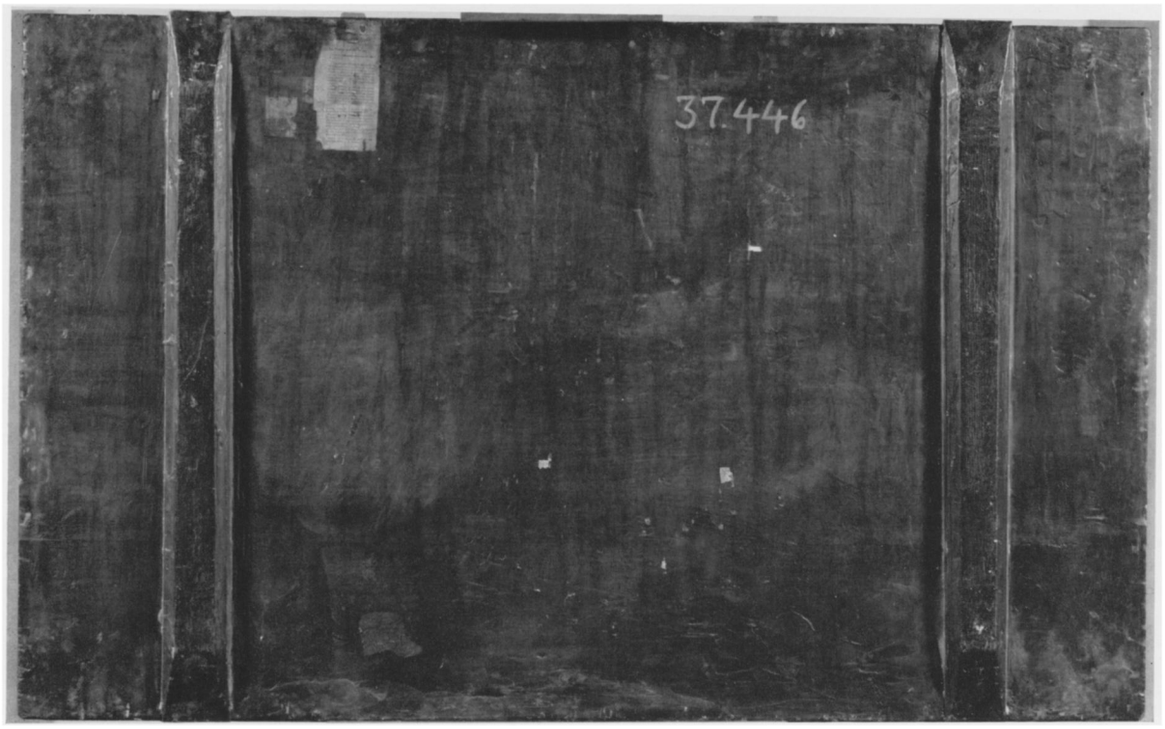


FIGURE 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY

GIOVANNI BELLINI AND WORKSHOP
Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints and Donors
(Reverse of panel)

Furthermore, cross sections of the painting examined under the microscope revealed no secondary ground or adhesive layer customarily applied between the transfer muslin and the new support. By viewing one of the radiographs over an illuminator it was possible to estimate that the canvas was a fine, tabby weave with about twelve to thirteen threads per centimeter. We then proceeded to examine the x-rays of Bellini's 'Feast of the Gods' at the National Gallery in Washington (fig. 6).[5] This provided an opportunity to compare our picture (fig. 7) with a well-known example of Bellini's work on canvas. Both fabrics are seamed and have an almost identical weave and thread count (note the heavier thread at regular intervals). From this we could assume that the original support of the Walters picture was canvas. Perhaps it is well to remember that at this time Venetian secular paintings were often executed on canvas while altarpieces for churches were still painted on wooden panels.

2) *What is the explanation for the two vertical separations which appear in the radiograph to the left and right of the Madonna?* That the painting was originally a single composition on canvas was proven by further study of the composite radiograph. There is a seam in the fabric horizontally traversing the entire picture at a point just below the left hands of the Virgin and Child; the seam is visible except where interrupted by the vertical separations (figs. 3, 7). Obviously the design was painted on this seamed fabric before cutting or folding caused the vertical lines of loss. If this had not been the original canvas, but merely a transfer muslin, there would have been no reason to manoeuver the seam of each section of a new fabric in a straight line across the back of the picture. It seems more likely that the vertical separations

occurred as a result of clumsy attempts to remove the canvas painting in sections from a wall or to adapt it to a different space.[6] The latter possibility may explain the present irregular shape of the original canvas as revealed by the x-rays.

3) *In which areas was the original canvas lost and then pieced in to achieve its present rectangular shape?* In two areas at the top left and right, and one at bottom center where the original primed fabric is missing, fragments of old paintings on canvas of quite dissimilar weave had been used to piece out the missing sections (fig. 3). The addition of these new pieces of cloth further supports our argument that the fragmentary primed canvas visible in the radiograph is original. One would expect an intermediate transfer muslin to extend under the entire picture and to have the same dimensions as the new wood panel. In addition, if the radiograph of the section showing the steps of the throne is turned upside down, it may be noted that this piece not only has a different kind of fabric weave, but also retains the image of a face and an architectural element from another composition (fig. 8). Of course, the capitals of the columns, the projecting cornice and the two lower steps of the throne, all of which are painted on the added patches, are obvious restorations, and these are the main areas found to be altered since the engraving was made in 1828.

4) *How can we explain the great difference in density on the radiograph between the central figures of the composition and the two flanking saints?* Apparently the silhouettes of the enthroned Madonna and the kneeling donors were reserved before the thick paint of the background was applied around them; there is no dense layer of paint between the ground and these figures. (Actually the light patches on the flesh tones of the Madonna and Child are repaint.) Is this method of developing the forms what one would expect of Bellini or his workshop around 1510? After studying a number of other x-rays of Venetian paintings of this period I have come to the conclusion that this was normal procedure—drawing the figures in monochrome and tinting the flesh tones thinly, the draperies and background to be applied in later stages. In the radiograph (fig. 3) the gesso ground and thinly applied flesh tones appear dark for they offer x-rays little resistance. The two saints, however, appear to be painted on top of the dense background (and this is, as we shall see, confirmed by the cross sections of their paint). Instead of registering as dark as the central figures, the saints are even lighter than the background. The heavy pigment base blots out all details of the present figures or any forms which may be underneath, a fact which explains the blankness of St. Peter's face (fig. 9) when compared with the detailed modeling of the Virgin's (fig. 7).[7]

The question now arises if this represents a change of intention on Bellini's part, or the intervention of another painter. Instances of the reworking of paintings by more than one artist are not unknown. For example the 'Feast of the Gods', one of the decorations for Alfonso d'Este's *camerino* in the castle at Ferrara, painted by Bellini about 1514, was worked over later by Titian in an effort to bring it into better harmony with his own canvases in the same room. In his detailed radiographic study of this painting John Walker[8] observes that in Bellini's original lay-out there is no dense paint layer between the primed canvas and the flesh tones of the figures. From this he infers that the figure composition was drawn before the landscape was painted. He also notes that major alterations usually occur where the x-rays show that denser or thicker paint has been brushed over the original design. Some of these passages, it is true, still remain unexplained, but one radiograph detail showing the two nymphs to the right of Pan (fig. 6) will serve to illustrate the difference between Bellini's technique and Titian's manner of reworking. The original squarenecked dress of the nymph with the jar on her head was drastically lowered and her breast completely repainted by Titian. In contrast to the lightness of this passage, the breast of

[5] Widener collection, no. 597; canvas, 67×74 in. (170×188 cm.).

[6] G. Robertson, *Giovanni Bellini*, 1968, pp. 123–4.

[7] We might note here that the slightly lighter area appearing in the upper left corner of the composite radiograph of the Walters painting (fig. 3) is incidental and was apparently caused by paint brushed on in haphazard strokes in modern times, perhaps to cover an error in varnish removal or cleaning. Because x-rays record all the strata of a panel structure, the two wooden braces on the reverse (fig. 5) are represented in the radiograph as two light vertical bands behind the two saints. These bands should not be mistaken for vertical columns.

[8] J. Walker, *Bellini and Titian at Ferrara*, London, 1956, Appendix B, pp. 99–102.

FIGURE 6 WASHINGTON, NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

GIOVANNI BELLINI

Feast of the Gods (*detail*)

(*X-ray photograph of nymph with jar on head*)

FIGURE 7

WALTERS ART GALLERY

GIOVANNI BELLINI AND WORKSHOP

Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints and Donors (detail)

(X-ray photograph)

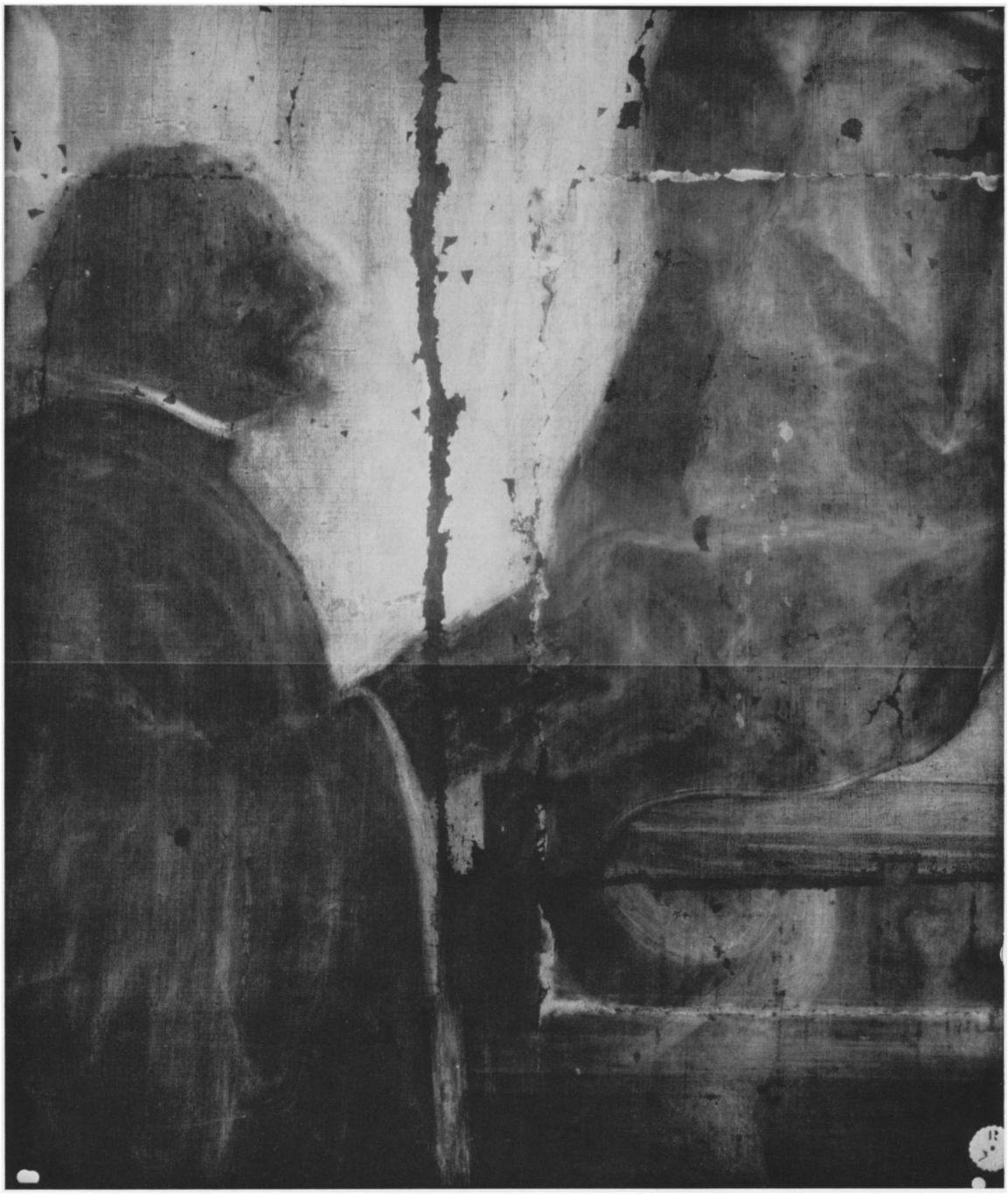


FIGURE 8 WALTERS ART GALLERY

GIOVANNI BELLINI AND WORKSHOP

Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints and Donors (detail)

(If this x-ray photograph is viewed upside down the image of a face is visible at top left)

FIGURE 9 WALTERS ART GALLERY
BELLINI AND WORKSHOP
Madonna and Child Enthroned (detail)
(X-ray photograph of St. Peter)

the nymph with the outstretched hand, which was very little altered, shows as a relatively dark area in the radiograph with Bellini's careful modeling clearly visible. If we compare figure 6 with figure 7, a radiograph detail of the Walters Madonna and Child, we note many similarities in technique. The heads and other flesh areas, which are painted thinly, with brushstrokes blended, produce a weakly contrasting gray tone in the radiographs compared to the dense whiteness of the heavily painted draperies and background.

The following conclusions then were drawn from the radiographic study. The painting, originally on canvas, was altered in size and shape and, at a much later date, mounted on a modern wooden panel. The artist had reserved the figures by laying in the background around them, a technique which was not unusual at this period and for which parallels exist in radiographs of other Venetian paintings of the period. The fact that the two flanking saints were painted on top of the background seemed to suggest that the picture was executed in more than one stage by more than one artist.

Discussions of workshop practices in the studios of Bellini and Titian indicate that unfinished works were not uncommon at the time.[9] The demand for a famous master's creation was so great that he was almost forced into multiple production. There are many references to paintings begun by Bellini and laid aside only to be completed later by assistants.[10] A radiographic study of such paintings would aid substantially in distinguishing between the master's work and later accretions, and might also contribute to our knowledge of his method of laying-in, modeling the forms and applying the paint.

In his discussion of whether Giovanni Bellini's grisaille 'Pieta' in the Uffizi is a finished work or an

FIGURE 10 WALTERS ART GALLERY
BELLINI AND WORKSHOP
Madonna and Child Enthroned (detail)
(Infrared photo showing change in Madonna's shoulder line)

[9] E. Tietze-Conrat, 'An Unpublished Madonna by Giovanni Bellini and the Problem of Replicas in His Shop', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXXIII, 1948, pp. 379–82.
[10] F. Gibbons, 'Practices in Giovanni Bellini's Workshop', *Pantheon*, XXIII, 1965, pp. 146–55. Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 153, note 3, p. 154, note 1.

FIGURE 11 EDINBURGH, NATIONAL GALLERY OF SCOTLAND

CIMA DA CONEGLIANO

Madonna and Child with SS. Andrew and Peter

unusually detailed preparatory drawing for a painting, Robertson[11] cites an unfinished 'Madonna and Child with Saints' by Cima da Conegliano in Edinburgh,[12] where a much more sketchy underdrawing may be observed (fig. 11). Fortunately I had an opportunity to examine this painting by one of Giovanni's contemporaries. The work having escaped completion shows far better than an x-ray how the building up of color proceeded in a series of stages from the first summary drawing on the gesso ground. Although the Cima Madonna is smaller in scale than ours and though there are many differences, it helps us to visualize the Walters picture at a somewhat similar stage of execution, when it was laid aside temporarily in Giovanni Bellini's workshop. The figures of the Edinburgh painting are sketched in, and represent varying degrees of completion: St. Peter at the right is still reserved against the hillside painted around him, whereas St. Andrew at the left has been painted in except for his head. Although the Madonna and Child have been largely completed, her left hand and sections of her blue mantle are unpainted. No color has been applied to the sky at the right where the exposed gesso bears only the brush drawing of a tree. The hill-top town on the left is sketched in, but not colored, and, according to the catalogue, the surrounding sky is believed to be a later addition. In comparing the two works, it is tempting to imagine that our Madonna, the Child and the three procurators had been carried to the same point as were the Madonna and St. Andrew in the Cima painting, while the Walters saints were merely drawn and subsequently were covered when the green background was applied.

Because the Walters picture was a commemorative work and the procurators[13] were eager to see their official portraits adorning one of the rooms of the Procuratia di Ultra, the painting probably did not remain unfinished for too long. The identity of the kneeling donors evidently was not known by Berenson in 1916 but it has since been established that they are the ones named by Manfredi[14] as Tomaso Mocenigo, Luca Zeno and Domenico Trevisano who were appointed *procuratori de ultra* on August 3 and September 4, 1503, and May 4, 1505 respectively. That Tomaso Mocenigo and Domenico Trevisano were still procurators in April 1507 is confirmed by the sixteenth-century diary of Marino Sanudo which lists them as such among the guests at a wedding of the granddaughter of Caterino Cörnaro, Queen of Cyprus.[15]

* * * *

Although at this stage of the technical examination some of the most perplexing questions had been answered, many pentimenti revealed by x-rays and infrared rays in different parts of the picture still demanded explanation. Were these changes made by the original artist who sketched in the figures of the central group and the architectural setting, or were they the work of an assistant who presumably painted the figures of St. Peter and St. Mark and completed this official commission?

An x-ray detail of the Madonna and Child shows a series of interesting alterations which occurred in the design of the back of the throne (fig. 7). Initially the throne was wider than it is at present and was surmounted by a volute decoration instead of by a horizontal cornice. And, though difficult to see in reproduction, x-rays show the presence of a vertical beading about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches outside the present outline of the throne. In the engraving there is still another cornice, which differs from the more flaring one we see on the surface today; neither of the latter cornices is the work of the first artist. The resemblance between the throne which appears in Bellini's altarpiece in the Church of San Zaccaria, Venice and the throne with the volute and beading as disclosed by the x-ray, suggests that this was the

[11] Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 117–18.

[12] National Gallery of Scotland, *Shorter Catalogue*, by Colin Thompson and Hugh Brigstocke, Edinburgh, 1970, p. 13, No. 1190, wood, $22 \times 18\frac{1}{4}$ in. (55.9×46.4 cm.).

[13] F. Gibbons, letter of February 27, 1968: 'The three members of the Procuratia di Ultra had charge of judicial disputes in the area of Venice beyond the Grand Canal while the twin Procuratia di Supra and di Citra took over when disputes developed on the San Marco side of the Canal.'

[14] See note 1.

[15] P. Molmenti, *La Storia di Venezia*, Bergamo, II, p. 517, cites the following from Sanudo, *Diarii*, Venice, 1879–1903, VII, pp. 44–5: 'The desire to celebrate a wedding pompously was stronger than the fear of the decree of the Council of Ten, thus in April 1507 a *Priuli, bandito da Venezia*, married at Mestre a daughter of Giorgio Cornaro, the grandson of the Queen of Cyprus, and many nobles, among which were two procuratori, Tomaso Mocenigo and Domenico Trevisan, attended the wedding.'

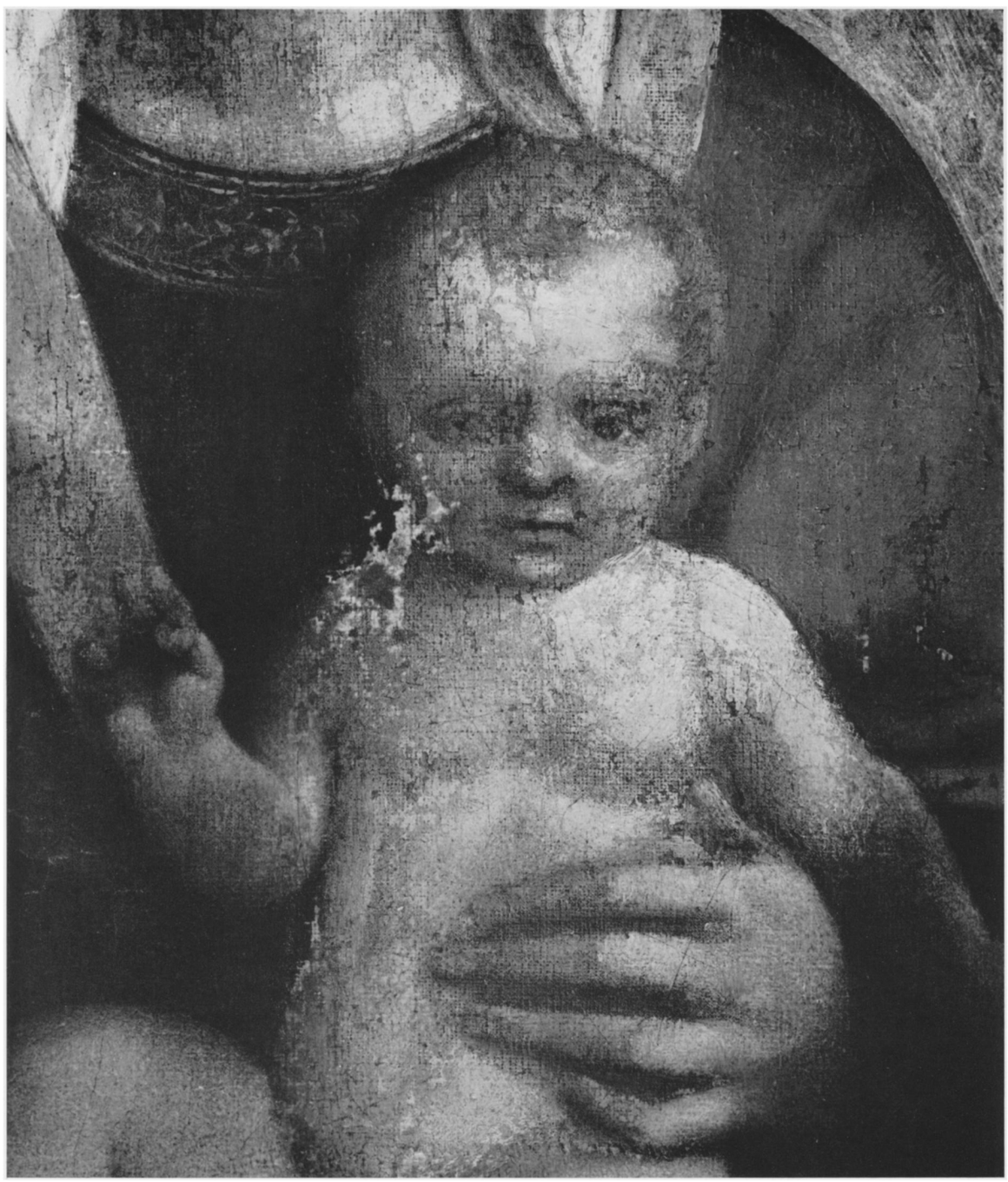


FIGURE 12 WALTERS ART GALLERY

GIOVANNI BELLINI AND WORKSHOP

Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints and Donors (*detail*)

(*Infrared photo showing damage to Child*)

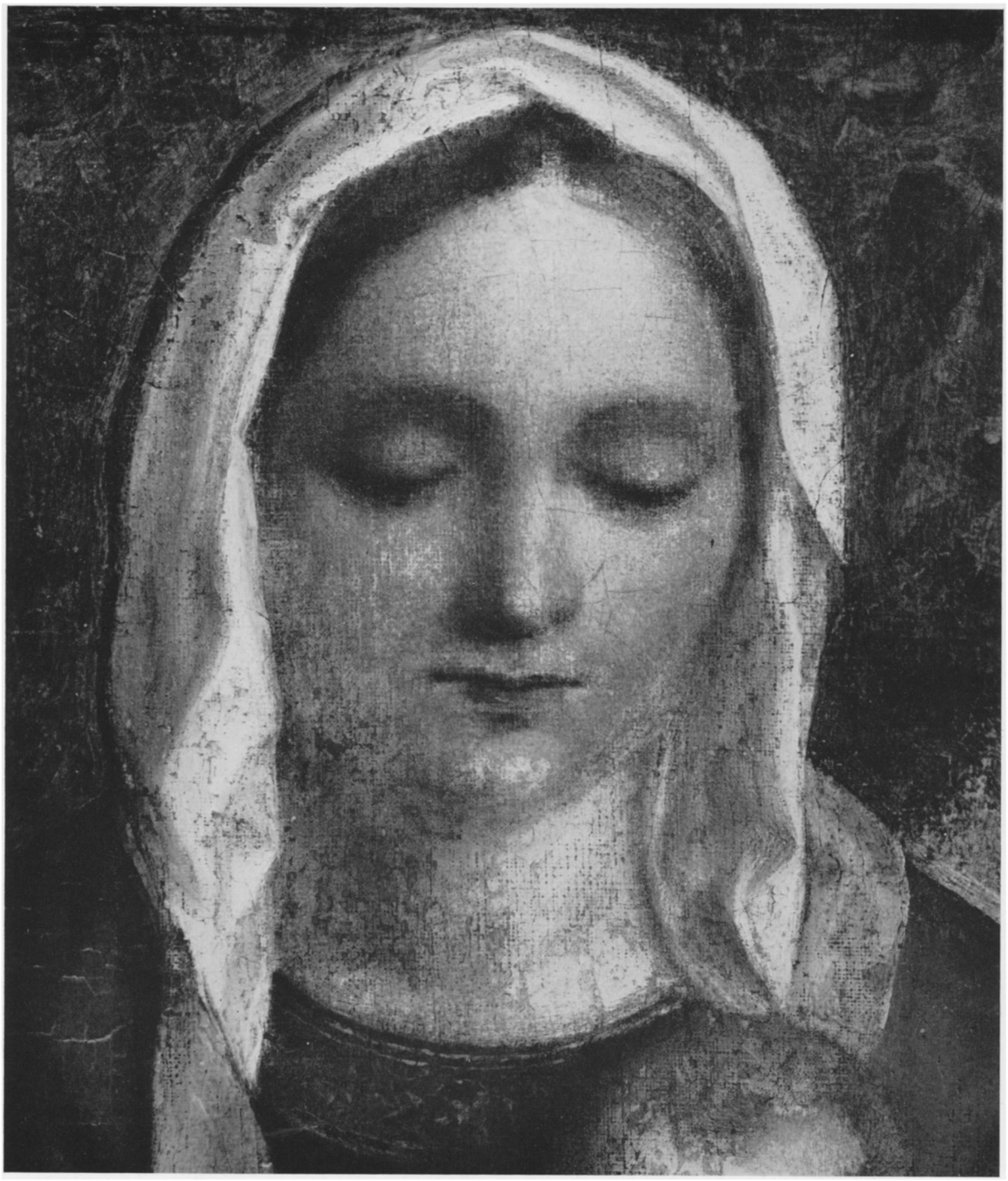


FIGURE 13

WALTERS ART GALLERY

GIOVANNI BELLINI AND WORKSHOP

Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints and Donors (detail)

(Infrared photograph showing modern painted cracks concealing overpainting)

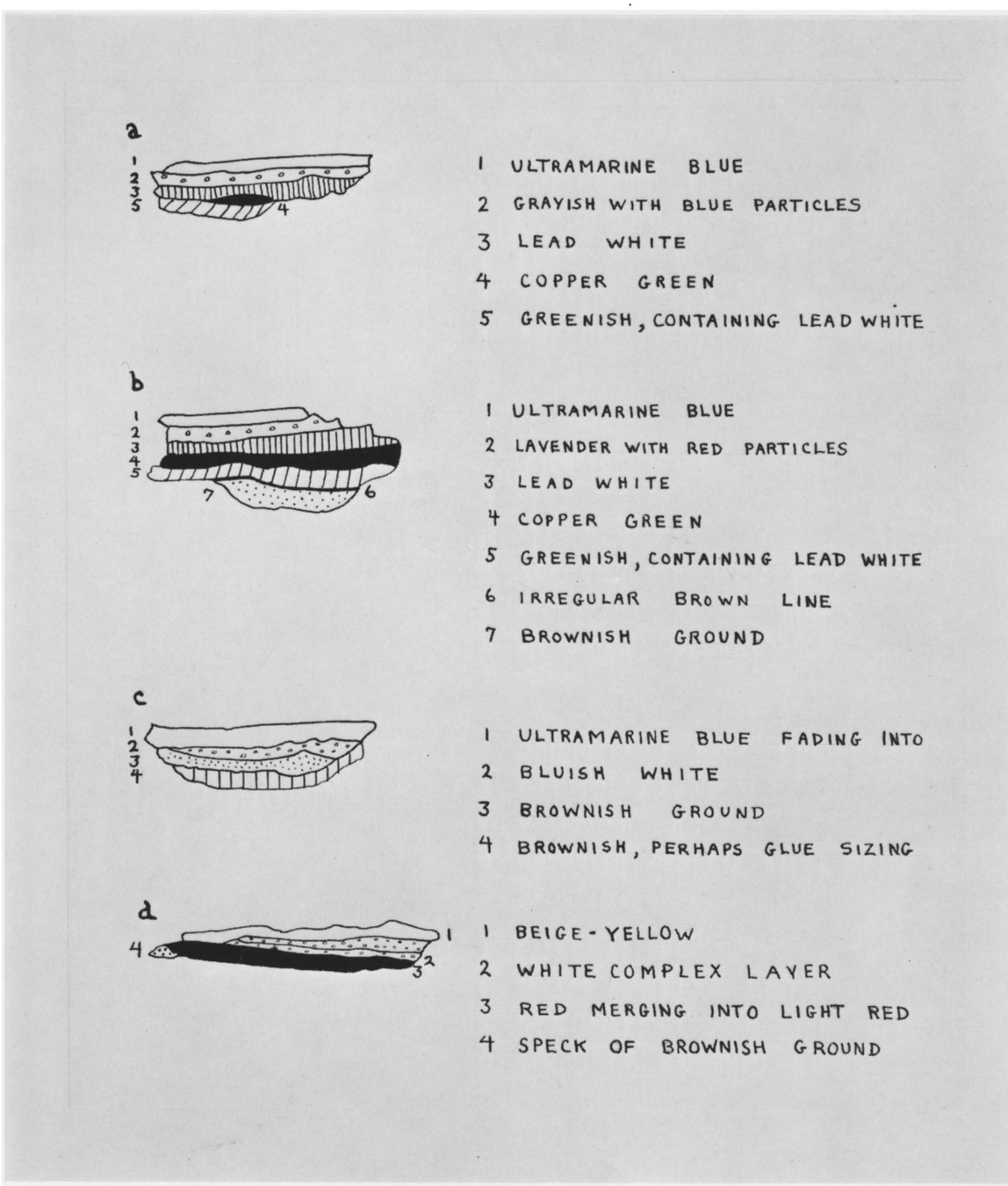


FIGURE 14 a–d **WALTERS ART GALLERY**

Diagrammatic cross sections of paint samples from Walters Bellini (fig. 1)
a) blue mantle of St. Mark; b) light blue robe of St. Peter; c) blue mantle of Madonna;
d) gold-brocaded garment of donor at extreme right

initial design of the first artist, perhaps Giovanni Bellini himself.

The composite radiograph shows that the silhouette of the donor on the left was enlarged while those of the two procurators at the right were slightly reduced (fig. 3). Infrared photographs also reveal pentimenti such as the change in the shoulder line of the Virgin as illustrated in figure 10. These are not recent adjustments, but it is impossible to determine whether they were made by the first or second artist.

Another infrared detail shows that the greatest damage to the Child was caused when the canvas was mounted on wood. At that time, the pressure forced the fabric through the paint surface destroying its texture and liveliness (fig. 12). In figure 13 infrared rays reveal the modern painted cracks applied to conceal the overpainting on the Madonna's face.

In order to explore the various stages of execution and to establish when the additions were made, we took minute cross sections of paint from many parts of the picture, embedded them in plastic and studied the paint structure under the microscope. We also had the pigments identified in order to gain further information about the complex paint layers of the principal figures.[16] Were the blue colors of the saints' mantles the same as that of the Madonna's? Could any of them be modern? What was the chemical composition of the green underlying the two saints? These were some of the many questions which concerned us before we proceeded with the removal of varnish and overpainting.

Examination of the stratification of the original portions of the picture had been facilitated by the fact that under the microscope lower paint layers could be clearly seen in conveniently placed areas of damage. For example, under the blue of St. Mark's mantle a layer of white was glimpsed and under that a deep transparent green could be detected. The cross section taken from the same spot confirmed this observation (fig. 14a). The blue paint was on top of a white layer, the latter evidently applied in an attempt to blot out the green background which would have been difficult to cover. The blue pigment was identified as natural ultramarine, the white matrix as lead white. Underneath was the green background, a transparent copper green, merging with another stratum of lead white stained slightly green. It is the sum of the densities of white lead above and below the green which accounts for the non-penetration by the x-rays of the figures of the saints. Ultramarine itself is easily penetrated by x-rays and so is copper green.

The light blue robe of St. Peter has a lavender tinge and study of its cross section shows how this effect was achieved (fig. 14b). In the top layer the blue particles of natural ultramarine are more thinly dispersed in the white than in the St. Mark sample, and in a lower phase are mixed with a few isolated red particles. Lead white is present in both layers, and, in layer three, above the copper green. In this cross section, below still another layer (greenish white) may be seen a bit of brownish ground composed of coarse red and black particles.

However, when we examine cross sections taken from the figures of the Madonna and the three donors we find a much simpler stratification and no copper-green underlayer (fig. 14c). The blue of the Madonna's mantle is composed of natural ultramarine fading into white and lying directly on a brownish ground similar to that under the green and white intermediate layers below SS. Peter and Mark. Below the ground is a brownish layer with the characteristics of glue in which one or two textile fibres may be discerned. The character of the cracks and the interpenetration of particles in the layered structure of the blue colors, as well as the fact that they have all been identified as natural ultramarine, indicate that they were put on at one time and during the early years of the painting's history. We are informed by contemporary documents that natural ultramarine was so costly that sometimes it was stipulated that it be applied in the presence of the donor or patron. From its presence here in such generous amounts it is natural to infer that our picture was considered a work of some importance.

In the cross section of the gold-brocaded cape of the donor on the extreme right, there is no green underlayer (fig. 14d). The beige-yellow at the top with white underneath constitutes the brocade pattern. Underneath this was a layer of dark red merging into bright red, both identified as vermilion. Its use here is a familiar medieval and renaissance

[16] The analysis of the pigments was carried out by Elisabeth West Fitzhugh, assistant in the laboratory of the Freer Gallery of Art.

FIGURE 15 WALTERS ART GALLERY
BELLINI AND WORKSHOP
Madonna and Child (detail)
(Head of donor on left)

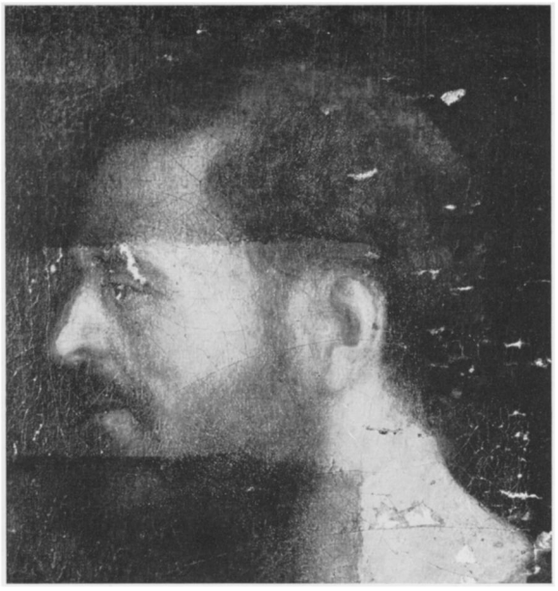


FIGURE 16 WALTERS ART GALLERY
BELLINI AND WORKSHOP
Madonna and Child (detail)
(St. Mark's head, partly cleaned)

device to enrich gold with an underlayer of red. Below the vermilion is a speck of the same brownish ground found under the Madonna's mantle.

As to be expected, no green was found under the faces of the Madonna, Child or the three donors. On the other hand, a damaged area in the neck of St. Mark shows beneath the flesh tone a layer of white and under that the same transparent green which we found under his blue mantle. The green background beside St. Mark's head has also been identified as transparent copper green; it is browner than the green underlayer because the latter, locked between layers of white lead and protected from effects of light and atmospheric pollution, has kept the color. Transparent copper green is also visible under the upright of the arm of the throne; in fact, it is found everywhere except under the central figures. Of course, it does not occur under the top and bottom areas which we know to be modern. The green of the modern background above St. Mark's head has not been identified, but is yellowish green, with dark particles, not like the transparent green seen elsewhere in the painting.

If there is any lingering doubt that the figures of the saints were painted after the green background was laid on, it should be dispelled by an examination of figure 16, showing St. Mark's head partly cleaned. His head is slightly larger than the area of white paint applied to blot out the green underlayer and white flecks of underpaint show through his skin tones. This detail discloses that the flesh paint is applied in free brushstrokes, the bridge of the nose is modeled by heavy impasto, the ear is a shapeless mass and the hair is sketchily painted. There is great disparity in the conception of form and the handling of the paint if we compare St. Mark's head with that of the donor on the left. The latter is more finely modeled, the brushstrokes are blended, the hair is carefully rendered (fig. 15).

From a study of the cross sections and of the brushwork it is clear that the figures of SS. Peter and Mark were added by an artist of quite different personal style from the one who modeled the forms of the central figures. We might recall here Mr. Gibbons' suggestion that stylistically the saints are characteristic of Rocco Marconi and that the conception and the central group belong to Giovanni Bellini, a theory now accepted by Dr. Federico Zeri

FIGURE 17

WALTERS ART GALLERY

GIOVANNI BELLINI AND WORKSHOP

Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints and Donors (*detail*)

(*Upper part of cornice of throne; painted cracks concealing overpainting*)

FIGURE 18 WALTERS ART GALLERY

GIOVANNI BELLINI AND WORKSHOP
Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints and Donors (detail)
(after cleaning, before inpainting)

and others. Whether the first artist had completed only the Madonna and the three donors before work was temporarily abandoned, or whether he had also drawn in the saints before the dense background was applied and the second artist blotted them out because he felt that he could improve on them, these are questions which will probably never be answered. It was customary to have saints present the officials, so figures of some kind must have been intended when the original design was conceived. In spite of the disparities in the handling of the paint, all the materials except those of the modern additions, are characteristic of the period and of the Bellini workshop.

Analysis of all the pigments used for the two saints disclosed no anachronistic material and the use of copper green in an oil binding medium was standard technique at this period. In 1967, in the course of a study of the paint media of Italian paintings supported by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, a number of cross sections from the Walters Bellini were tested by imuno-chemical methods for the identification of egg, protein or oil.[17] Except for the underlying copper-green background which tested positively for oil, the medium used throughout the original portions of the picture was found to be egg tempera.

As the cleaning progressed we were faced with the problem of what to do about the new additions at the top and bottom. They were completely unrelated to the rest of the picture in surface texture and in cross section. Figure 17 shows the upper part of the cornice of the throne where the restorer tried to camouflage the line where old met new by overpainting it heavily and embellishing the overpaint with simulated cracks extending from the original cracks up into the repainted area. The same method

[17] The results of this study are discussed in the article by Elisabeth Packard and Meryl Johnson, 'Methods Used for the Identification of Binding Media in Italian Paintings of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', in *Studies in Conservation*, XVI, no. 4, November 1971, pp. 145–64.

of painting false cracks was used to conceal the abraded condition of the Madonna's face. Figure 19 pictures a partly cleaned section of the steps of the throne. The rendering of the *verde antiqua* marble inlay was meticulously carried out in the original top step in contrast to the bland imitation in the two bottom steps. A cross section taken from the modern part of the base of the throne shows a complexity of layers quite unrelated to the paint structure in the original portion of the picture. Olive-green and white were used in alternating layers to suggest the translucence of marble. Under the white translucent layer, the paint has more undulations than are found in the cross sections taken from the original areas. This refers to a much later painting technique than the strictly horizontal and thinly stratified Bellini paint structure.

When all the brown varnish had been removed it became apparent that the restorer who introduced the modern cornice and base of the throne had sought some means to camouflage the different parts of the picture (fig. 18). Perhaps he sensed the disparity between the central actors of the scene and the two saints. The deliberately pigmented varnish served still another purpose—it subdued the strong blues preferred by the Venetians. In order to produce a color scheme more in keeping with the taste of the late nineteenth century, the restorer had gone one step further and had added colored glazes to the drapery of the figures. For example, the original pale-rose color of St. Mark's robe was covered by a maroon tone and the brown-orange mantle of St. Peter had become a russet color.

In contrast to the earlier pentimenti (such as the volute form of the throne) which were made while the painting was in the workshop, we discovered numerous nineteenth-century modifications and embellishments. Particularly offensive were the pert expression on the face of the Child and His staring eyes which concealed the abraded paint. The inner contours of the two columns had been reduced and straightened by overpainting which destroyed the entasis so carefully drawn in the Bellini workshop. These retouchings were removed, but for aesthetic reasons we reluctantly decided to retain the new cornice and the slightly off-balance capitals of the columns in the restored area at the top of the picture.

Freed of many coatings of deceptive overpainting and varnish, the Walters picture, despite its curtailed size and flattened surface, has regained its original color scheme. The cool grey tones of the columns and the apse provide a foil to the intense blue of St. Mark's mantle balanced by the lovely light violet of St. Peter's robe and the interplay of warm tones ranging from deep crimson to pale pink and gold. The Virgin's white veil, pink-red dress and blue mantle repeat the colors of the enthroned Madonna in San Zaccaria (1505) and of the Brera Madonna of 1510, two works with which the Walters picture is stylistically allied in many respects. Although the surface texture of some portions has been impaired by the mechanical pressure to which the canvas was subjected in the transfer to a wooden panel, the crisp angular folds of the Virgin's mantle are intact and the gold-brocaded cape of the procurator on the extreme right preserves its luminosity. The faces of the Madonna and Child have lost their subtle surface finish, but the individuality of each of the three procurators with their arrogant, uplifted heads has survived the manipula-

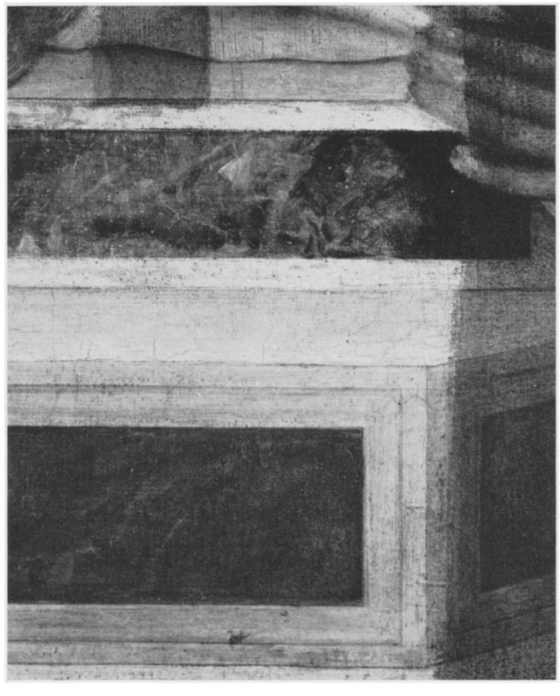


FIGURE 19 WALTERS ART GALLERY

BELLINI AND WORKSHOP

Madonna and Child (detail, partly cleaned)
(Top step of throne is original;
the step below is modern)

tions of many restorers. The preservation of likenesses of these important officials of the Venetian Republic compensates in some slight degree for the loss of Bellini's historical decorations for the Sala del Maggior Consiglio which were destroyed by the disastrous fire of 1577 in the Doge's Palace.

We were next led to conjecture whether there was any documentary basis for the inference that the Walters painting adorned the Ducal Palace itself. We carefully reexamined the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Venetian guide books of Boschini and Zanetti, as well as Ridolfi's *Maraviglie* of 1648 to determine whether the location, the Procuratia di Ultra, repeated again and again in connection with our 'Madonna and Child with Three Kneeling Donors', was ever specifically mentioned as being in the Palazzo Ducale. As far as we could discover, descriptions of the interior decorations of the Ducal Palace appear in earlier sections of the guide books, quite apart from references to the Procuratia di Ultra. The latter usually occur towards the end, following lists of works in the Loggietta, the Zecca, the Library of San Marco as well as in the churches which then stood in the piazza. Although the guide books do not specifically cite the Procuratie Vecchie, begun by Coducci and still under construction during Bellini's later years, its geographical position adjacent to the churches and the clock tower suggests that this was the building implied by Boschini and Zanetti.[18] The Procuratie Vecchie was built on the north side of the square to house the offices and tribunals of the *procuratori*. Judging from the evidence of the mutilation of the canvas it is not improbable that our painting was moved from office to office within this structure. If it ever adorned a room in the Ducal Palace there is no documentary evidence to prove it. In the confusion following the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797, the occupation by Napoleon, and the period under Austrian rule, it is not surprising that our painting was lost sight of. It is next recorded in 1828 in the catalogue of the Wendelstadt collection for which the engraving was made. It was not until the faded labels on the reverse of the panel were deciphered in 1961 that we had any inkling of its subsequent travels: first to the National Exhibition of Works of Art, Leeds, 1868, where it appears to be referred to in entry no. 77, 'Giovanni Bellini, Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints and Members of the Barbarigo Family, lent by Wolsey Moreau'; and second to Paris, according to an extract from a catalogue, 'Quarante-Sept tableaux publie Paris 1873 par M. Raymond Balze (1818–1898)'.[19] The cartellino, inscribed with the name, 'Ioannus Bellinus 1510', which appears on the engraving of 1828, is mentioned in this description. It therefore must have been removed between 1873 and just prior to 1916 when the picture was acquired by Henry Walters.

By a twist of fortune one of the epithets which Boschini applied to our painting, 'Opera Rara', has proved to be true. With the loss of that huge output of commemorative art from the Bellini workshop this modest example becomes an historical document and takes on added importance. It throws a light on those votive pictures commissioned by the high dignitaries of Venice who sought in this way to perpetuate their fame. For this reason no effort has been spared to dig up its past history and to investigate its actual condition, a project which has proved to be a rewarding and happy instance of the mutual benefits to be derived from the exchange of information between the scientist, the art historian and the conservator. We hope that our findings in the exploration of the subsurface of the painting will inspire others to undertake similar scientific examinations of Giovanni Bellini's œuvre.

[18] F. Gibbons, letter of February 27, 1968: 'The guidebooks mention this Procuratia (di Ultra) in such a way that it stands geographically in relation to the churches surrounding the square in those days and not within the context of the Ducal Palace whose description in the guide books comes on different pages.'

[19] Extrait du Catalogue, quarante-sept tableaux publie Paris 1873 par M. Raymond Balze (1818–1898): Bellini (Giovanni); Né à Venise en 1426, mort en 1516; (Attribué à).

1. La Vierge sur un trône (Galerie d'un ancien Directeur du Musée de Cologne) 'Tout le monde sait que ce maître illustre di Giorgione et du Titien révéla aux Vénitiens le secret de la peinture à l'huile qu'il avait dérobé à Antonella da Messina. Depuis les peintures à la détrempe de sa première jusqu'au tableau à l'huile de S. Zacharie exécuté en 1505, quel immense progrès! Celui-ci peint cinq ans plus tard comme indique un très petit cartouche où est inscrit son nom: Joannes Bellinus 1510, nous montre la Vierge assise sur un trône tenant l'Enfant Jésus sur ses genoux. De chaque côté S. Pierre et S. Paul presentent trois personnages à genoux, un Senateur, un doge de Venise et un membre du Conseil de Dix. Cette scène aussi simple qu'il est possible de l'imaginer a par cela même une grandeur que les maîtres de l'art seuls savent donner à leurs œuvres, surtout Bellini.

L'exécution en est des plus parfaits. La draperie de la Vierge est merveilleuse; du reste, toutes les parties de ce tableau sont admirablement traitées!'