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The Walters Art Gallery welcomes submissions of articles based on original scholarly research. Topics should relate to some aspect of the museum's collection. Please address submissions to:

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The Walters Art Gallery

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A *Holy Kinship* Attributed to the Master of the Magdalen Legend

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Among the most interesting early Flemish paintings in The Walters Art Gallery is a triptych representing the Holy Kinship, or more specifically, the kinship of Saint Anne (fig. 1). Once considered to be the work of Herri met de Bles (c.1510–after 1550),[1] and more recently considered to be by a Dutch artist of about 1500, the painting may now be tentatively attributed to the Master of the Magdalen Legend, who was active from 1483 until sometime after 1526 in the court of Brussels and at Mechlin.[2] The beautiful rectangular tabernacle, which measures 44.2cm high by 71.3cm wide overall, including the frame (the center being 44.2cm high by 35.6cm wide and each wing being 44.2cm high by 17.8cm wide), is, unfortunately, in only fair condition, as the paint surface is generally abraded and has scattered losses throughout.[3]

The painting represents the kinship of Saint Anne, following a medieval legend.[4] Inscriptions at the base of the wings help to identify the two large saints, and smaller inscriptions in the banderoles held by the tiny figures emanating from the flowers of the genealogical tree help to identify the lesser known family members. In the central panel are Saint Anne's three daughters—the Virgin Mary, Mary Cleophas, and Mary Salome. The Virgin's husband, Joseph, is shown behind the wall as a counterpart to Anne's husband, Joachim. In the left wing are the small figures of the sons of Mary Cleophas—Judas Thaddeus, James the Less, Simon, and Joseph the Just. In the right wing are the small figures of the sons of Mary Salome—John the Evangelist and James Major. The large figures of the Saints John the Baptist and Servatius were added to the genealogy by supposedly being related to the Virgin Mary through Hismeria (or Esmeria), the sister of Saint Anne. According to the legend, Hismeria married Ephraim and bore Elizabeth and Eliud. Elizabeth married Zacharias and bore John the Baptist. Eliud married Emerentia, who bore Enim; he married Memelia, who bore Servatius. In other representations of this rare saint in *Holy Kinship* pictures, Servatius is shown as an infant in the arms of or near his mother Memelia. One example of this relationship is shown in a painting by the Lower Rhenish painter Derick Baegert (active 1476–1515) in the Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Dortmund.[5]

In the Walters picture, Saint Servatius is shown holding a key and wearing a bishop's miter—attributes which refer to an episode in his life when he supposedly met Saint Peter in Rome, who personally handed him a silver key while an angel gave him the bishop's miter. The dragon symbolizes Servatius's feat of saving the country from a dragon, an imaginary achievement often ascribed to evangelistic bishops.[6]

The crenelated parapet in the Walters picture emphasizes the purity of the Virgin and her offspring. The device ultimately derives from the concept of the enclosed garden, *Hortus Conclusus,* mentioned in the "Song of Solomon" (4:12): "A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed." In the Walters picture, the two husbands, Joseph and Joachim, are separated from their wives by means of the wall. (The concept of the purity of the Virgin is further explained through the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which is represented at the top of the central panel.) A similar wall is used in a picture in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, attributed to a Westphalian artist of about 1430.[7] The particular type of battlements with the flat-topped merlons (shown in the wall of the Baltimore picture), however, was used by late fifteenth-century painters from the Brussels school, such as the Master of St. Gudule and the Master of the Embroidered Foliage, no doubt following examples from paintings such as Rogier van der Weyden's *St. Luke Painting the*

1. Attributed to the Master of the Magdalen Legend, Holy Kinship, *oil on panel, 44.2 x 71.3cm, including frame, 1480–90. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.290.*

Virgin in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[8]

Mary Smith Podles transcribed the minute inscription at the very top of the central panel of the Baltimore triptych as *Ave regina coelorum / Mater regis angelorum,* which translates as "Hail queen of the heavens / Mother of the king of angels" (fig. 2).[9] The inscription was taken from a popular fifteenth-century song by the English composer Walter Frye (active c.1450–75). The six Latin words correspond to the text of Frye's motet, *Ave regina coelorum mater Regis angelorum,* which survives in no less than thirteen manuscripts and four other paintings.[10] It is interesting that the painter of the Baltimore tabernacle chose to reproduce the text of the popular motet as a means of indicating heavenly song and as a way of extolling the Virgin, instead of painting angels with musical instruments or songbooks—the usual method of suggesting heavenly music.

Although Walter Frye was English, his music was popular on the continent. In fact, with one exception, his compositions are known exclusively from manuscripts, paintings, and an engraving from the continent.[11] The popularity of Frye's music in fifteenth-century Burgundy is documented by a manuscript in the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique (MS. 5557) and in Brussels by the presence of the "*Ave Regina*" motet in two paintings by a master from that school. The song occurs in the *Altarpiece of the Virgin and Angels* in the Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, Polizzi Generosa, and in the *Virgin and Child with Angels* recently acquired by the Louvre from the Grog collection in Paris.[12] The two paintings are regarded as major works by the Master of the Embroidered Foliage, who was active at the end of the fifteenth century as an imitator of Rogier van der Weyden and, probably, as a collaborator of the Master of the Magdalen Legend.[13]

On the basis of its style, the Walters picture may be tentatively attributed to the Master of the Magdalen Legend, whose eponymus work is a dispersed triptych of about 1515–20, panels of which are *The Magdalen Washing Christ's Feet,* in the Szépmüvézeti Múzeum, Budapest; *The Raising of Lazarus* in the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen (see fig. 4); *The Magdalen as a Mounted Huntress,* formerly in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (the panel was destroyed in 1945); *The Magdalen Preaching in the Woods,* in the John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia; *A Donor with Saint Louis of Toulouse and Christ the Gardener*(?), and *The Donor's Wife and Daughter with the Saints Mary Magdalen and Margaret* in the Staatliches Museum, Schwerin.[14]

In these panels, the artist's style is characterized by slightly distorted figures, often with large heads appearing as though carved from wood, with clear-cut features.

In many of his paintings the Master seems to deliberately make certain anatomical parts larger than others in defiance of the rules of perspective, apparently as a means of unifying his compositions and drawing the viewer's attention to the main object or activity represented. In the Copenhagen namepiece, the feet, hands, and arms of many of the figures are clearly disproportionate. One need only compare the huge foot of Christ, who is well in the middleground, to the relatively small outstretched hand of Saint Mary Magdalen, who kneels in the foreground. In this case, the Master showed as distinctly large the visible feet of Lazarus, the man kneeling behind him, and Christ, as a means of focusing attention on the main activity and unifying the composition.

Similar deliberate distortions are evident in the Baltimore *Holy Kinship.* For instance, Saint Anne's hand is huge in comparison with the Virgin's left hand, which is directly opposite Saint Anne's and presumably at the same depth in the picture space. The right hands of Saint John the Baptist and the Virgin are disproportionately larger than the left hands and have the effect of drawing the viewer's attention to the center of the composition.

2. Immaculate Conception *and* Ave Regina *inscription, detail from the* Holy Kinship. *The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.290.*

A few of the details of the Baltimore composition occur in some of the Master's other works and tend to support the attribution of the Baltimore *Holy Kinship* to the Master of the Magdalen Legend. For example, the head of the Virgin is nearly identical to that of a female saint in a wing of a tabernacle of similar size showing *The Virgin Suckling the Christ Child with Female Saints Recommending Donors* (fig. 3), which was owned by

3. Attributed to the Master of the Magdalen Legend, Triptych with the Virgin Suckling the Christ Child with Female Saints Recommending Female Donors. *Formerly of the Koetser Collection, c. 1944, Laren, Netherlands. (Photo: ADR.BIJL, Amsterdam.)*

4. Master of the Magdalen Legend, The Raising of Lazarus. *Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.*

the dealer Koetser when he was living in Laren (Netherlands) in about 1944.[15] The Virgin's slightly elongated head, with a long nose punctuated by a small mouth defined by full lips, slightly off-center and with upturned corners, may be compared to the head of Saint Mary Magdalen in the destroyed Berlin namepiece, as well as to the head of a woman seated in the left foreground in the Philadelphia namepiece. The delicate hands with long, thin fingers shown in the Koetser tabernacle were probably not—at least in their proportions—created from the artist's own imagination. These were probably imitated from compositions of Simon Marmion or Rogier van der Weyden, whom the Master often imitated.[16] Two other imitated details in the Walters painting are the left

hand of Saint Anne, which may be compared in its pose and nearly boneless appearance to that of the Magdalen in the Copenhagen namepiece (fig. 4), and the Immaculate Conception shown at the top of the Walters painting's central panel (see fig. 2), which is a reduced version of the Immaculate Conception in a panel by the Master representing *Emperor Augustus and the Sibyl,* recently acquired by the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels (figs. 5 and 6).

Even the handwriting in the identifying inscriptions of the Baltimore tabernacle is comparable to that shown in a *Scene from the Legend of Saint Romuald* by the Master, which is still in its original location in the cathedral at Mechlin.[17] An investigation into the provenance of the Baltimore picture may reveal that it was painted for someone in the vicinity of Mechlin, perhaps in nearby Maastricht, as the painter emphasized Saint Servatius, who became the first bishop of that town when the bishopric was moved from Tongres. Many of the representations of this rare saint are in the cathedral named after him in Maastricht.[18]

Although it is perhaps premature to attempt to date the Walters picture, it is tempting to speculate that it is an early work of about 1480–90, based on its stylistic similarity to the Koetser triptych (see fig. 3)—which arguably is early because of its dependence on Rogier van der Weyden and Simon Marmion—and based on its stylistic similarity to the bust-length *Portrait of Philip the Fair as a Child* in the John G. Johnson Collection, which is dated 1483.[19] Although Walter Frye died in 1475, his motet, "*Ave Regina coelorum,*" appears in paintings after his death at or near the end of the fifteenth century. The motet appears in a ceiling painting in the oratory of Yolande de Laval, Montreuil-Bellay, dated 1480.[20] The two paintings with the motet by the Master of the Embroidered Foliage were probably done closer to 1500. It has also been suggested that the cope and crozier of Saint Servatius are of an early type, which would indicate that the Baltimore tabernacle was done before the panels of the Magdalen Legend.[21]

Although no one has proven the identity of the Master of the Magdalen Legend, there have been some credible suggestions. Hulin de Loo, followed by Tombu, speculated that the Master of the Magdalen Legend was Bernaert van der Stockt (died 1538), the son of Rogier van der Weyden's follower, Vrancke van der Stockt.[22] The argument is that Bernaert, who was known to be a Brussels painter, was related to Katharina van der Stockt and did the portrait of her on the verso of the *Virgin of the Annunciation* now in the Landesmuseum, Münster.[23] De Loo and Tombu also noted that Katharina van der Stockt was a member of the Hospital Sainte Elisabeth, Brussels, where the Koetser panels originated (see fig. 3).[24]

Without accepting the van der Stockt identification, but acknowledging the attribution of the Münster portrait to the Master of the Magdalen Legend, Friedländer speculated that the Master was Pieter van Coninxloo (c.1460–after 1513), who worked in the Brussels court of Philip the Fair in about 1505.[25] Several portraits of Philip the Fair are attributed to the Master of the Magdalen Legend. In addition, Pieter van Coninxloo is known to have painted in 1505 a portrait of the Regent Margaret, which was sent to England. A portrait in the Louvre attributed to the Master of the Magdalen Legend is inscribed with Margaret's name and may be the documented picture.[26] Friedländer also pointed out that Pieter van Coninxloo was known as a painter of coats of arms, and that large and very detailed coats of arms are shown in many pictures attributed to the Master of the Magdalen Legend.

One further possibility perhaps should be considered. In writing, in 1937, about some portraits of Charles Brandon, the Duke of Suffolk, Friedländer discussed a Netherlandish portrait that he noticed resembled the works of the Master of the Magdalen Legend (fig. 8).[27] Friedländer noted that the painting was inscribed with the name of the sitter, the date (1511), and the sitter's age (26). Although the present location of this painting is unknown, good photographs were taken of the picture when it was owned by the dealer, David Koetser, who purchased it at Christie's (London), on 23 June 1950 (lot 154 as Holbein). Photographs show that the painting was monogrammed at the right IVB (fig. 9).[28] Judging from the photographs, the possibility should not be excluded that the picture is by the Master of the Magdalen Legend, the monogrammist "IvB"—possibly a Jan (Ian) van Brussel. In fact, the picture may prove that the Master of the Magdalen Legend was a Jan van Coninxloo of Brussels—probably not the later artist of the signed pictures in the museums in Rouen and Brussels, but more likely the "Jan de Royaulme yclept Scernier" mentioned in Tournai in 1483 as a son of a Brussels painter. ("Royaulme" is the French version of "Coninxloo.")[29] Although conceivably painted in England, the portrait could have been done in Tournai in celebration of Brandon's military victory over the French and of his proposed marriage with the Regent Margaret.[30]

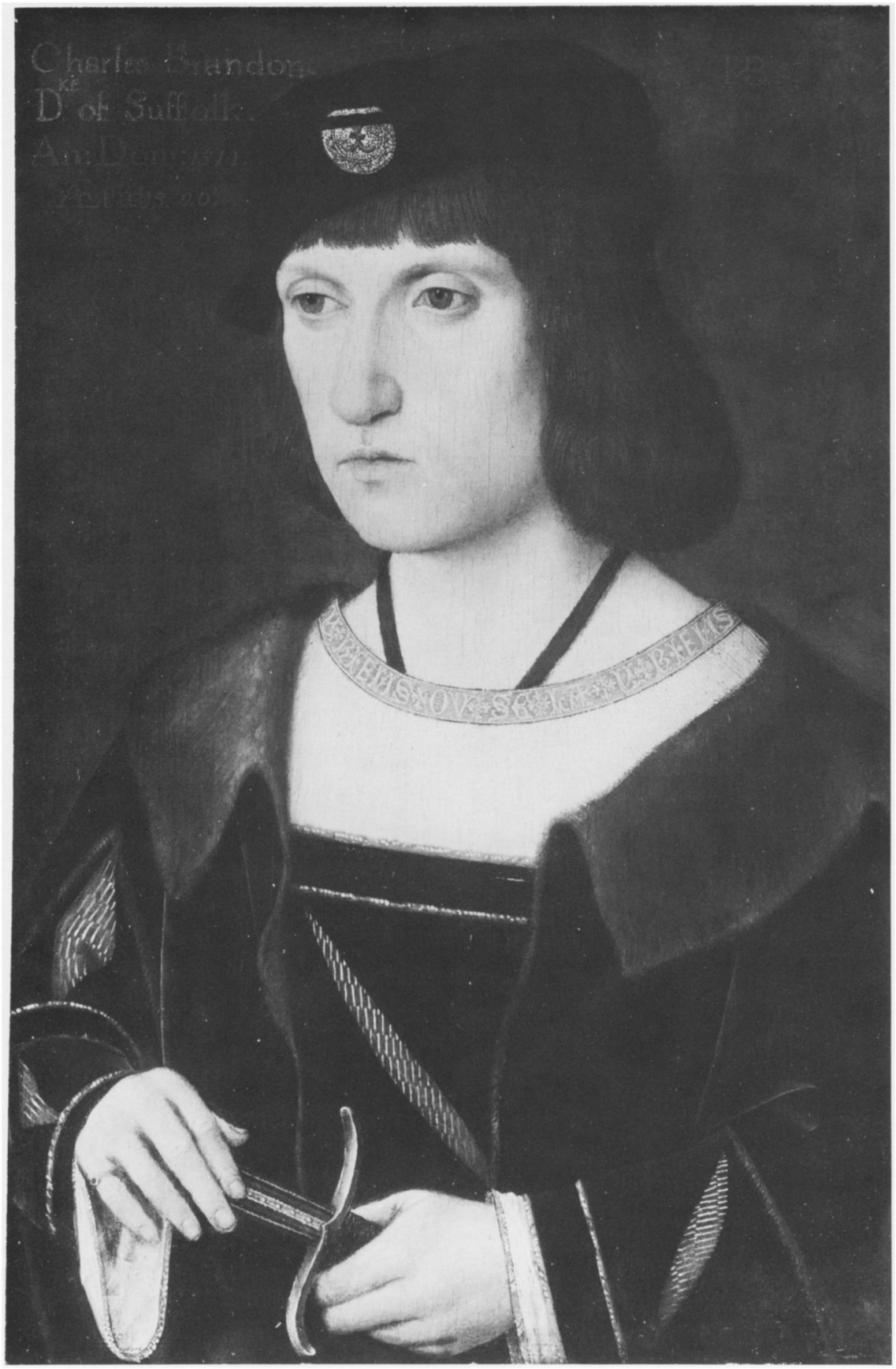
Although there has been no conclusive evidence that would prove the identity of the Master of the Magdalen Legend (or for that matter, that all the pictures given to the Master are in fact by a single hand), it would appear from an analysis of his pictures that he was a painter of Brussels origin with stylistic affinities to painters from the van Coninxloo and van Orley families. In this regard, it appears that the flower-bud motif in the Walters triptych became a popular Brussels convention. It was used by Cornelis van Coninxloo in his signed and dated (1526) altarpiece of *Joachim and Anne* in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels,[31] and again (at an earlier date) by a painter from the van Orley

◀ *5. Master of the Magdalen Legend,* Emperor Augustus and the Sibyl. *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels. (Copyright A.C.L. Brussels.)*

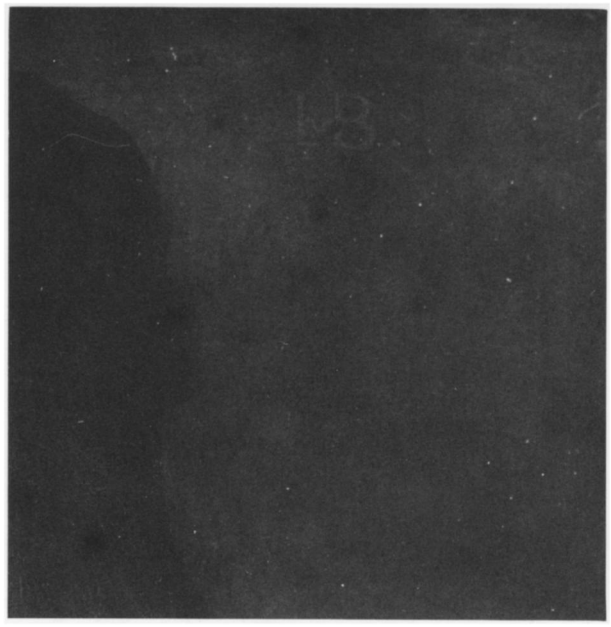
6. Master of the Magdalen Legend, Emperor Augustus and the Sibyl, *detail:* Immaculate Conception. *(Copyright: A.C.L. Brussels.)*

family in the closed wings showing the *Tree of Jesse* in the *Saluces Altarpiece* in the Musée Communal, Brussels. That altarpiece is signed ORLEI—perhaps by Bernard's father, Valentijn van Orley. Even some of the poses of the small figures in the *Tree of Jesse* are reminiscent of those in the Walters triptych (fig. 7).[32]

7. Member of the van Orley family (Valentijn?), Saluces Altarpiece, *detail: right wing of* Tree of Jesse. *Musée Communal, Brussels. In the foreground is the Evangelist Saint Matthew; the half-length figures are Old Testament kings, Saint Joseph, and God the Father.*


Charles Brandon
D of Suffolk

◀ *8. Master of the Magdalen Legend (?),* Portrait of a Young Man *(the so-called "Portrait of Charles Brandon"). Formerly in the collection of David M. Koetser. (Photo: Getty Photo Archives. Reproduced by the gracious permission of Mr. Koetser.)*



9. Monogram "IvB," detail from Portrait of a Young Man *(the so-called "Portrait of Charles Brandon"). Formerly in the collection of David M. Koetser. (Photo: Getty Photo Archives. Reproduced by the gracious permission of Mr. Koetser.)*

NOTES

1. *Catalogue of Paintings,* The Walters Art Gallery (1909), 82, as Virgin and Child with Saint John and a bishop.

2. M. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (1975), (hereafter *ENP*), vol.12, 13ff.

3. Valuable data as to the physical appearance and condition of the picture , as well as other helpful scholarly comments, were generously supplied by Mary Smith Podles, curator of Renaissance art at The Walters Art Gallery from 1979 to 1982. She points out losses in the left panel of the *Holy Kinship* tabernacle in Saint John's right eye, his left shoulder, and in the face of the lamb; and in the right panel, in the area of Saint Servatius's dragon. She also notes that the central panel has lost a strip along the right edge and that the inscriptions are badly worn and in some cases poorly restored.

4. The legend of the kinship of Saint Anne was given in Haymonis Halberstat Episc., *Historia Sacra Epitome,* Lib.II, Cap.3, Migne P.L., t.118, cols.823–24. (Haymonis Halberstat died in 853.) The first representation of the legend including the addition of Saint Servatius (Servaes or Servaas) to the genealogy is shown in a medieval manuscript illumination in Berlin (Berlin Hs, Theol. Lat. q., 188). For an illustration of this and a full iconographical discussion, see M. Lejeune, "De Legendarische Stamboon van Sint Servaas," *Publications de la Société historique et archéologie dans le Limburg à Maastricht* (1941), 283ff. Among the more famous renditions of this subject is the painting by Geertgen tot S(int) Jans in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. (See J. Snyder, "The Early Haarlem School of Painting," *Art Bulletin* 42(June 1960), 128, the altarpiece by Quentin Massys in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels (Friedländer, *ENP,* vol.7, pl.5, no.2), and the Mindelheim Altar by Bernhard Strigel in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.)

5. A. Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik,* vol.6, (1954), fig.97.

6. L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chretien: Iconographie des Saints, P–Z,* vol. 3 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959), 1205f. Helpful comments concerning the interpretation of the attributes of Saint Servatius were made (verbally) by Lauri Fusco, head of Academic Affairs at the Getty Museum.

7. G. Bott, *Die Gemäldegalerie des Hessischen Landesmuseums in Darmstadt* (1968), 39, fig.8.

8. Friedländer, *ENP,* vol.4, pl.67, no.73 (by the Master of Saint Gudule); ibid., pl.82, no.89 (by the Master of the Embroidered Foliage).

9. Mary Smith Podles transcribed the inscription in her letter of 2 April 1981. Marit Jentoft-Nilsen of the Getty Museum helped with the translation.

10. B. Trowell, entry on Walter Frye, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. Stanley Sadie (1980), vol.6, 877f.

11. Ibid.

12. Friedländer, *ENP,* vol.4, 100. The song also occurs in the painting *Mary, Queen of Heaven* by the Master of the Saint Lucy Legend (active c.1480–90 in Bruges) in the National Gallery, Washington, DC. See S. Kenney, *Walter Frye and the Contenance Angloise,* Yale Studies in the History of Music (New Haven, 1964), pls.4–9 and p.154.

13. The left wing of the triptych in the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, representing the *Marriage at Cana* is attributed to the Master of the Magdalen Legend while the right wing representing the *Raising of Lazarus* is attributed to the Master of the Embroidered Foliage. Although the triptych is still somewhat problematical, the presumption is that the two masters collaborated on this altarpiece, which dates from about 1492–96. Ibid., 14.

14. Ibid., vol.12, 13ff, pl.7, no.10a–f.

15. This picture, formerly in the collection of Dorus Hermsen of The Hague in 1925 (ibid., 90, no.4), was later purchased by David M. Koetser's father in the south of Holland c.1944 when he was living in Laren. David M. Koetser kindly sent this information by letter dated 6 July 1983.

16. Friedländer even suggested that the Virgin in this picture was after a painting by Simon Marmion (ibid.).

17. Ibid., 14, pl.18, no.25. Militating against the attribution is the intense blue background, which is unusual for the Master.

18. Réau, 1205f.

19. Friedländer, *ENP,* vol.12, pl.21, no.30.

20. Trowell, 878. Flemish composers adopted Frye's motet. The mass, "*Ave Regina,*" by Guillaume Dufay (c. 1400–74) in the Brussels MS.5557 was sent to Charles the Bold at Doullens in 1474. See Kenney (note 12), 56f.

21. The comment was made by Dr. Henri Pauwels, conservator of the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, in his letter of 30 June 1983 on the basis of a photograph of the Baltimore tabernacle.

22. J. Tombu, "Le Maître de la Légende de Marie-Madeleine," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1929):258–91.

23. Friedländer, *ENP,* vol.12, pl.12, no.15, as by the Master of the Magdalen Legend and dated 24 June 1520.

24. Tombu, 258–91.

25. Friedländer, *ENP,* vol.12, 16f.

26. The point is now disputed on the basis of an argument that the dress worn by the sitter dates 1484–85. H. Adhémar, "Le portrait de Marguerite d'Autriche au Musée du Louvre et le Maître de la légende de Marie-Madeleine," *La Revue des Arts. Musées de France,* 7 (1957): 203–08.

27. Friedländer, "Ein Vlamischer Portraitmaler in England," *Gentsche Bijdragen,* vol.4 (1937), 6f. The picture sold from the collection of Sir Henry Bedingfeld at London (Christie's) 31 May 1902 (lot 11 to Hodg-

kins). It later appeared in the collection of Leopold Hirsch, who sold the picture at Christie's (London), 11 May 1934 (lot 113 as Jan Mabuse to "Permain"). See the written note in the Christie's catalogue in the library at the Getty Center for the History of Art. The painting was in the Exhibition of the Royal House of Tudor, The New Gallery Regent Street, 1890, no. 164; and in the exhibition at Manchester in 1897.

28. Photos from the Koetser file in the Getty Center for the History of Art present a puzzling problem concerning the interpretation of the inscriptions. Some photos show only the inscription at the left—an inscription which differs slightly from that shown in the 1937 article by Friedländer. Most importantly, the date reads 1514 in the photos—not 1511. While some photos show both the monogram and the inscription, others show only the monogram. In other respects the photos with the monogram appear to represent the same picture shown by Friedländer; David Koetser himself writes that he believes his painting was "ex" Hirsch collection (by letter dated 6 July 1983). From the photographs, it is suspected that the inscription at the left may have been strengthened or added at a later date. It is hoped that further research will reveal the whereabouts of this picture and the authenticity of the inscriptions and the monogram.

29. Friedländer, *ENP*, vol. 8, 87.

30. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1961), vol. 21, 519. See also the *Exhibition of the Royal House of Tudor*, The New Gallery Regent Street (1890), 55, no. 164.

31. Friedländer, *ENP*, vol. 8, 88, pl. 128.

32. The *Saluces Altarpiece* is discussed in J. De Coo, "Twee Orley-retabels," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1979):67–80.

A *Massacre of the Innocents* in The Walters Art Gallery

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Both Bartolo di Fredi and his son, Andrea di Bartolo, enjoyed long and, judging from the numbers of their works to survive, extremely active careers in Siena and the neighboring countryside. From the first preserved notice of Bartolo in 1353[1] to the death of Andrea in 1428,[2] their combined activity spans a period of seventy-five years, the last half of which is almost entirely undocumented and lamentably understudied. Bartolo di Fredi's last dated work was executed more than two decades before his death, and Andrea di Bartolo's only dated picture was painted even longer after his first documented appearance as an artist. Both are recorded as undertaking important commissions during these years, but no attempts at identifying any of these endeavors with extant paintings have yet been successful. An investigation of either artist in the last years of the trecento and the first years of the quattrocento must begin, therefore, with the last fully authenticated work by Bartolo di Fredi, the great altarpiece of the *Coronation of the Virgin* from the church of San Francesco, Montalcino, signed and dated 1388.

A description of the *Coronation* altarpiece, still intact in Montalcino, was published by Guglielmo della Valle in 1783:

> " . . . in questa nostra chiesa di S. Francesco vi è una tavola, che dimostra Maria SS. in cielo a destra di Gesu, che a lei pone la corona in tesa sotto Angeli vestiti, uno de' quali suona il violino, e un altro una specie di salterio; gli altri stanno in osservazione; e intorno a Gesu, e a Maria alcuni altri di piccola misura, e gli Angeli vestiti non arrivano al braccio Sanese. La Vergine però, e il Redentore saranno circa due braccia scarse. Il tutto è in tavola dorata, e nella cornicetta di sotto a lettere gotiche nere vi è la seguente scrittura: Bartolus magistri Fredi de Senis pinxit anno Domini 1388.
>
> La detta tavola è a piramide: ma appunto sopra le dette figure, che vengono chiuse da una cornicetta in arco di sesto acuto ci sono altri sei Angeli vestiti di mezza figura, che stanno osservando sotto la rappresentata fonzione. Più sopra, vicino all'estremita della piramide vi è Maria assunta in cielo; sotto vedesi il di lei sepolcro; e all'intorno vari angeli con istrumenti musicali, tutte figure di mezzo braccio.
>
> A destra poi, e a sinistra della descritta tavola ve ne sono due altre della medesima maniera con varj misteri della SS. Vergine, tutte figure di mezzo braccio, e l'estremita di queste due tavole vengono terminate da due piccole torri piramidali con piu figure dell'istessa proporzione di mezzo braccio di varj Santi, e Sante co'loro respettivi nomi sotto.
>
> Le base pure che forma una specie di gradino dell'altare, e tutta formata a quadretti dipinti con piccole figure esprimenti varj misteri della Vergine, o alcune figure d'altri Santi dell'istessa maniera."[3]

Sometime before 1835,[4] the altarpiece was removed to the sacristy of the church and, presumably, dismantled. Brogi saw the central panel there in 1862, with its *Coronation of the Virgin* and the six adoring angels in the spandrels, bearing on its frame the signature and date.[5] The rest of the altarpiece had been moved to the Cappella delle Carceri, and from there dispersed. By 1842, the side panels with *varj misteri della SS. Vergine* (different mysteries of the Holy Virgin) had been transferred to the Accademia, Siena (fig.1), where they are still exhibited today.[6] They represent the *Return of the Virgin to the House of Anna and Joachim* and the *Dormition of the Virgin,* which stood one above the other to the right of the central panel, and the *Marriage of the Virgin* and the *Virgin Taking Leave of the Apostles,* which stood to the left. The *Assumption of the Virgin,* originally the central pinnacle of the altarpiece, is also in Siena.[7] Two smaller panels of similar shape, in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, representing an *Angel of the Annunciation* and a *Virgin Annunciate* not described by Padre della Valle, have been identified as probable lateral pinnacles.[8] Also in Siena are *due piccole torri piramidale* (two small pyramid-topped towers) that closed the altarpiece at the sides, each painted with eight small figures of saints divided between two adjoining faces set at right angles to each other (fig.2).[9]

◀ *1. Bartolo di Fredi,* Scenes from the Life of the Virgin. *Accademia, Siena.*

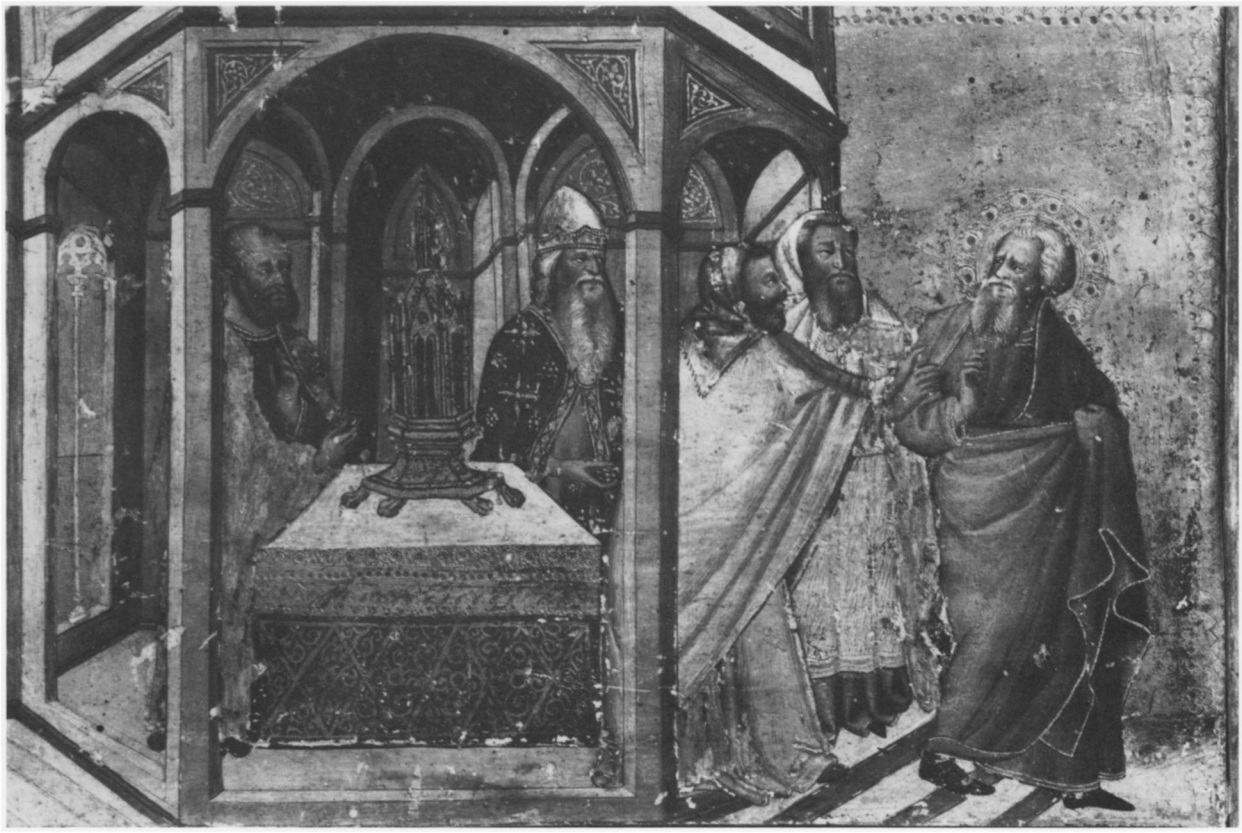
Three panels in the Siena Pinacoteca have always been recognized as parts of the predella to this altarpiece. They represent the *Expulsion of Joachim from the Temple* (fig. 3), the *Lamentation* (fig. 4), and the *Birth of the Virgin.*[10] Completing the predella at the left must have stood the *Appearance of the Angel to Joachim* (fig. 5), now in the Vatican Pinacoteca.[11] This scene is the same size and unquestionably by the same hand as the *Expulsion of Joachim* in Siena. The Vatican panel is decorated with the same punch patterns as the Siena panel, though punching throughout the altarpiece varies sufficiently to qualify this evidence as circumstantial rather than mandatory. *The Appearance of the Angel to Joachim* is, however, a subject rare enough to presuppose a sequence of scenes from the life of the Virgin's parents, in which *The Appearance of the Angel* would logically precede the *Expulsion.* Such a sequence ought to conclude with a *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple,* which is significantly not represented in the main register of the Montalcino altarpiece, and which therefore was probably the subject of the missing right-hand panel of the predella. A picture of the *Presentation* corresponding approximately in size and exactly in style with the rest of the predella, is preserved at Wawel Castle, Krakow.[12] The gold tooling on this panel matches that on the *Lamentation* and the *Birth of the Virgin* in Siena, and there can be no reasonable doubt that this *Presentation* scene once stood alongside them beneath the altarpiece of the *Coronation.*

Two pilaster bases in Montalcino, similarly painted on adjacent sides and similar in treatment to the Siena pilasters, have been associated with the *Coronation* altarpiece, but their size—taller than the predella and narrower than the pilasters—makes it difficult to envision their possible placement. As they represent four important saints conspicuously absent from the pilasters, and as the tooling of their gold grounds agrees with that of the predella and pinnacles of the altarpiece, the possibility of their inclusion should not be definitively dismissed.[13] Two small panels, showing Saints Anthony Abbott and Onofrius, in the Siena Pinacoteca (fig. 6), however, may equally have stood beneath the pilasters or elsewhere in the predella. These *figure d'altri Santi dell'istessa maniera* (figures of other saints in the same style) have the same provenance as the rest of the altarpiece (the Cappella delle Carceri, Montalcino), are the same height as the other predella panels, and are punched to correspond with them.[14]

The complete altarpiece is unusual in its size and complexity, and, as might be expected, evinces little uniformity of style or handling from panel to panel.

2. Bartolo di Fredi, Pilasters with Figures of Saints. *Siena Pinacoteca. (Photo: Frick Art Reference Library.)*

There are quite obviously a number of different hands at work among the saints in the pilasters, for example, and the author of the two Joachim scenes in the predella may not have been responsible for the *Birth of the Virgin*, though the entire predella is too badly damaged to be judged with confidence. Neither are the panels in the main register of the altarpiece entirely consistent among themselves. The two central scenes and the lower scenes on either side betray the strong, confident,



3. Bartolo di Fredi, Predella: Expulsion of Joachim from the Temple. *Siena Pinacoteca. (Photo: Frick Art Reference Library.)*

abstracting draftsmanship peculiar to Bartolo di Fredi, but the upper scenes at the right and left are different. The left scene, the *Leavetaking*, is somehow coarser in execution, while the right scene, the *Dormition*, is painted in a manner as much reminiscent of the style of Paolo di Giovanni Fei as of Bartolo di Fredi.

Even those panels that are certainly autograph differ from Bartolo di Fredi's other works. While the quality and individuality of his draughtsmanship is unmistakable, the overwrought and eccentric expressionism of

4. Bartolo di Fredi, Predella: Pietà (Lamentation). *Siena Pinacoteca. (Photo: Frick Art Reference Library.)*

his earlier frescoes and altarpieces is conspicuously absent. The *Coronation of the Virgin* is quiet, orderly, and monumental compared to the nervous excitement and elaborated detail of the 1368 *Adoration of the Magi* in Siena,[15] and the *Marriage of the Virgin* seems svelte and placid alongside the two Saint Filippino Ciardelli scenes from the 1382 *Deposition* altarpiece in Montalcino.[16] There exists another painting by Bartolo di Fredi, however, which apparently can be dated 1388, and which also makes this style of the artist's late maturity less difficult to reconcile with that of his earlier works.

Vasari claims to have seen an altarpiece by Bartolo di Fredi of the *Circumcision of the Infant Christ* in the church of Sant'Agostino, San Gimignano, in the first chapel on the left, *entrando in Chiesa per la porta principale* (entering the church by the main door), which was dated 1388.[17] In a note to this passage in the *Vite,* della Valle added that Bartolo di Fredi also painted a *Massacre of the Innocents* in the same church, *sforzandosi di ornare il quadro con introdurvi dell'architettura* (contriving to decorate the painting by introducing architectural elements), beneath which he read the date 1358.[18] Ettore Romagnoli expanded on this account:

> "Bartolo colori come dissi nel 1358: la storia della strage degli Innocenti . . . . Sotto questa tavola (e della stessa epoca, e non del 1388: come scrisse il Vasari) è la vasta opera ornante la Cappella presso la porta a sinistra in S. Agostino della stessa terra di S. Gemignano di Valdelsa. Questa rappresenta la Circoncisione con altri fatti di G. C., a fresco condotti dal Battilori."[19]

Gaetano Milanesi later corrected Romagnoli's reference to a fresco, claiming to have seen the panels of the *Circumcision of Christ* and the *Massacre of the Innocents, perfettamente conservati* (perfectly conserved), in the collection of an heir of the provost Malenotti.[20] That is the last recorded mention of either panel.

An altarpiece of the *Circumcision* by Bartolo di Fredi once formed part of the Campana collection under a mistaken attribution to Lorenzo Monaco. The panel hangs today in the Louvre, Paris (fig. 7). Could it be shown stylistically to have been painted either about 1358 or 1388, a strong case could be made for identifying it with the San Gimignano picture. A date of 1358 is hardly feasible for the Louvre *Circumcision,* which is to say that it bears no relation to Bartolo di Fredi's otherwise earliest known works: the uppermost frescoes in the Collegiata, San Gimignano, or the 1364 *Madonna della Misericordia* in Pienza.[21] The Louvre *Circumcision,* however, could plausibly be supposed to have been painted at about 1388. Its composition finds a

5. *Bartolo di Fredi,* Appearance of the Angel to Joachim. *Vaticana Pinacoteca. (Photo: Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.)*

6. Bartolo di Fredi, Saints Anthony Abbott and Onofrius. *Siena Pinacoteca. (Photo: Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.)*

close parallel in the *Marriage of the Virgin* from the *Coronation* altarpiece, where are also to be found figures with fine, precisely drawn facial features similar to the Saint Anne or to the old priest next to her at the right of the Louvre *Circumcision.* The fully rounded and strongly modeled faces of the Virgin and Saint Simeon, with squared jaw and narrow, straight-lidded eyes, are most like those in the only works by Bartolo di Fredi probably painted after 1388: the frescoes of the *Birth of the Virgin* and the *Death of the Virgin* in Sant'Agostino, San Gimignano, and the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. In short, if Vasari's reading of the date beneath the San Gimignano altarpiece was correct, it may have been paired with the panel now in the Louvre. Were a *Massacre of the Innocents* to be found which fit above that panel, the identification could be considered virtually certain.

Representations of the Massacre of the Innocents in the fourteenth century are generally encountered in the context of a series of scenes from the infancy of Christ, either in fresco or in the predellas of altarpieces. Only one survives that is large enough, and of an appropriate shape, to have been the upper part of an altarpiece of the size of the Louvre *Circumcision.* Formerly in the d'Hendecourt collection, Paris, and now in The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore,[22] this painting has always been attributed to Bartolo di Fredi, to his shop, or to his son and closest follower: Andrea di Bartolo (fig. 8). The main lines of the picture's composition derive from the lunette fresco of the same subject by Barna da Siena in the Collegiata in San Gimignano, but have been adapted to fill a panel with a five-arched top. Beneath the large central arch, Herod, accompanied by two of his advisers, orders the massacre below. Groups of soldiers in silver-gilt helmets, bearing spears and Roman standards, occupy the outermost arches, while two buildings drawn in perspective (perhaps the architecture admired by della Valle) have been introduced to fill the pair of arches between. The lower half of the panel is taken up by a frieze of murderous soldiers, desperate mothers, and child victims.

The Baltimore *Massacre* is exactly the same width overall as the Louvre *Circumcision.* The latter is beveled across the top, however, and its flat upper edge is only as wide as the three central arches of the Baltimore panel. This edge corresponds exactly to the area in the Baltimore *Massacre* where the figures are not cropped at the bottom edge. It is easy to imagine the incomplete figures at the left (the soldier and the infant who is shown only from the waist up), and the incomplete figures at the right (the grieving mother with her dead son, whose image is now cut off at the knees) extended to fill a pair of triangular "spandrels" below in order to fit

7. ***Bartolo di Fredi,*** Presentation in the Temple (Circumcision of Christ). ***Louvre, Paris.*** ***(Photo: Giraudon, courtesy of Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.)***

8. *Andrea di Bartolo (?),* Massacre of the Innocents, *tempera on panel, 89.2 x 129.8cm, fifteenth century. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.1018.*

neatly atop the Louvre *Circumcision*. This placement would result in an altarpiece almost identical in size to the 1382 *Deposition* in Montalcino. Both the Baltimore and Louvre panels have large vertical cracks approximately 38cm from their left edges, suggesting that they were originally painted on a single set of vertical planks. And finally, the Baltimore *Massacre* was certainly painted by the same hand as the *Virgin Taking Leave of the Apostles*, the *Dormition of the Virgin*, the *Lamentation*, and at least some of the pilaster saints from the 1388 *Coronation*, an additional corroboration of Vasari's dating and of the identification of the Baltimore panel as part of the San Gimignano altarpiece.[23]

In the case of these two altarpieces of 1388, in which a single assistant played so preponderant a role, one may as well speak of collaboration as of assistance. And in this instance the collaborating artist can be identified with some confidence, since a painting by him exists, an *Assumption of the Virgin* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond (fig.9), which is inscribed: *ANDREAS BARTOLI DI MAGIS[T]RI FREDI DE SENIS PINXIT* (Andrea di Bartolo di maestro Fredi of Siena painted [this]).[24] A comparison of any detail in the Richmond *Assumption* with any in the Baltimore *Massacre* will demonstrate the identity of their authorship. The upper pair of angels at either side of the Virgin in the *Assumption*, for example, are interchangeable with the soldiers at the sides of the *Massacre*, while the infants in the latter could easily replace the cherubim supporting the Virgin in the former. The Richmond *Assumption* does not compare directly with the predella or side panels from the *Coronation* altarpiece, as their scales are so radically different. But any smaller panel by Andrea di Bartolo could serve instead, such as any of the five-part Passion predella divided between New York, Baltimore, Stockholm (fig.10), Lugano, and Paris.[25] The Stockholm *Lamentation*, for instance, corresponds to the *Lamentation* from the *Coronation* altarpiece—not only in their mutual dependence on Ambrogio Lorenzetti's example: the two were obviously painted by a single artist.

The collaboration of Andrea di Bartolo on two altarpieces signed by his father and dated 1388 accords well with the scanty documentary information available on the younger artist. He is first recorded in Siena on 15 April 1389, when he accepted a commission jointly with

Bartolo di Fredi and Luca di Tommé for an altarpiece for the Università dei Calzolai.[26] The identification of Andrea's style at this period represents the first firm point in his chronology. Only one other work by him is dated: the four side panels to an altarpiece in the church of the Osservanza, Siena, not signed but certainly attributable to him, and inscribed 1413 (fig.11). Andrea di Bartolo is not an artist of sufficient individuality to propose a scheme of stylistic development based on two dated works, but these are at least different enough from each other that other paintings can be classified as "early" or "late" according to their resemblance to one work or the other. The Richmond *Assumption* may thus be presumed to have been painted at about 1390, and the five-part Passion predella must have been produced during the same decade.[27] To arrange more precisely in a plausible chronological order the numerous altarpieces and smaller devotional works attributed to Andrea di Bartolo, however, is a task that must await the eventual discovery of documentation for more of his pictures, a category of information sadly lacking for paintings of the late trecento in general.

9. Andrea di Bartolo, The Ascension of the Virgin with Saint Thomas and Two Donors, Ser Palamedes and His Son Matthew. *Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond.*

NOTES

1. G. Milanesi, *Documenti per la storia dell'arte senese,* vol.2 (Siena, 1854), 36.

2. Ibid., 1:42.

3. P. Guglielmo della Valle, *Lettere Senesi,* vol.2 (Rome, 1785), 197–98.

> In this, our church of Saint Francis, there is a painting that shows Holy Mary in heaven, to the right of Jesus, who places the crown on her head; beneath them are robed angels, one of whom plays the violin, the other a kind of psalter, while the others watch. Around Jesus and Mary are still other angels of small stature; the robed angels are not as high as a Sienese *braccia* [about 20 inches]. The Virgin and the Redeemer are nearly two *braccia.* All this is painted on a gilt panel, and on the frame below in black gothic letters there is the following inscription: Bartolo [son] of Master Fredi of Siena painted [this work] in the year of our Lord 1388.
>
> The painting is of pyramid shape, the aforementioned figures are surrounded by a frame in the form of an ogive arch, and above this there are six other robed angels, shown half-length, who look down upon the sacred event. At the apex of the pyramid is Mary risen to heaven, below which one sees her tomb; and all around there are various angels with musical instruments, all a half *braccia* in height.
>
> To the right and to the left of this painting there are two more in the same manner, with various mysteries of the Holy Virgin; all figures are a half *braccia* in height; and the extremities of these two paintings are completed by two small, pyramid-topped towers, with many figures of male and female saints in the same proportion of a half *braccia,* with their respective names written below. The base forms a kind of step for the altar, and is made up of small scenes painted with little figures showing different mysteries of the Virgin and some other saints in the same manner.

4. Ettore Romagnoli, *Biografia chronologica de' bellartisti senesi,* MS. (Siena, 1835), 3:135.

5. F. Brogi, *Inventario generale degli oggetti d'arte della provincia di Siena* (Siena, 1897), 251, 263. It hangs today in the Museo Civico at Montalcino.

6. C. Pini, *Catalogo delle tavole dell'antica scuola senese* (Siena, 1842).

7. For the panels in Siena (nos.97, 99–102), see C. Brandi, *La Regia Pinacoteca di Siena* (Rome, 1933), 34–35; P. Torriti, *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena, i dipinti dal XII al XV secolo* (Genoa, 1977), 170–76. The measurements for individual panels differ slightly in the two catalogues.

8. L. Bush, "Pinnacles from a Polyptych," *Los Angeles County Museum of Art Bulletin* 15, 2 (1963):3–12.

9. Torriti, 170–76.

10. Andrea di Bartolo, Passion Scene. *Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. (Photo: Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.)*

10. Ibid.

11. P. d'Achiardi, *I Quadri primitivi della Pinacoteca Vaticana* (Rome, 1929) 14, pl. 76, no. 10, 26 x 38cm, as Bartolo di Fredi. O. Sirèn, "Notizie critiche sui quadri sconosciuti nel Museo Cristiano Vaticano," *L'Arte* (1906):334, as a characteristic work of Bartolo di Fredi. G. de Nicola, "Andrea di Bartolo," *Rassegna d'arte senese* 14(1921):14, as Andrea di Bartolo.

12. M. Skubiszewska, "O Kilku nieznanychi wczesnych obrazach wloskich w zbiorach Poznanskich," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 23 (1961):31–32, fig. 8, 24 x 35cm; idem, *Malarstwo Wloskie w Zbiorach Wawelskich* (Krakow, 1973), 16–17, recognized the Wawel *Presentation* as part of the 1388 Montalcino altarpiece.

13. E. Carli, *Montalcino, Museo Civico, Museo Diocesano d'arte sacra* (Bologna, 1972), 20–21, nos. 42–45, 38 x 17cm., attributed the pilaster bases to Andrea di Bartolo as probable early works. (Saints Peter, Paul, Leonard, and Francis are represented. Saint Leonard appears again in another Franciscan altarpiece in Montalcino, by Girolamo di Benvenuto.) F. Mason Perkins, "La pittura alla Mostra d'Arte di Montacino,"

Rassegna d'arte senese 18(1926):61–62, associated them with the 1388 *Coronation* altarpiece.

14. Brandi, *La Regia Pinacoteca,* 37–38, no.106a/b, as Saint Macarino rather than Onofrius; Torriti, *La Pinacoteca Nazionale,* 177. The panels measure 24 x 19cm each. According to Brandi, the other predella panels are 23 cm high; according to Torriti, they are 30cm high.

15. G. Moran, "Bartolo di Fredi e l'Altare dei Fornai del 1368: nuova interpretazione di un documento," no.104, *Prospettiva* 4(1976):30–31, proposes associating the Siena *Adoration* with a document of 1368. The date seems to be correct on stylistic grounds.

16. Carli, *Montalcino,* 12–15, 20.

17. G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori,* ed. G. Milanesi, vol.2 (Florence, 1878), 34–35.

18. Ibid., ed. Milan (1808), 3:321, n.1. In the *Lettere Senesi* (della Valle, 2:184, n.1) della Valle claims that the *Massacre* stood above the *Circumcision*. See note 19.

19. Romagnoli, 3:124–25.

> As I said, Bartolo painted in 1358 the story of the Massacre of the Innocents. Below this painting is a large work (of the same period and not, as Vasari wrote, of 1388), decorating the chapel next to the door on the left in Sant'Agostino, which is in the town of San Gimignano di Valdelsa. This [painting] shows *The Circumcision*

11. Andrea di Bartolo, The Resurrection, *tempera on panel, 52.8 x 47.5cm, fifteenth century. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.741.*

with other events from the life of Christ in fresco by Battilori [Bartolo di Fredi].

20. Vasari, 2:34, n. 2.

21. C. Brandi, "Reintegrazione di Bartolo di Fredi," *Bulletino senese di storia patria* 2(1931):206; P. Torriti, *Pienza, la città del Rinascimento italiano* (Genoa, 1980), 50, proposes a date of 1354 or 1355.

22. F. Zeri, *Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery,* vol. 1 (Baltimore, 1976), 48–50. De Nicola, Offner, and Berenson attributed it to Andrea di Bartolo. The picture measures 85.4 x 125.5 cm, and is almost certainly identical with lot 2510 from the sale of Cardinal Fesch's collection in 1841 (*Catalogue des tableaux composant la galerie de feu son éminence le Cardinal Fesch* (Rome, 1841)): *Le massacre des Innocens; petites figures*, 91.4 x 121.9 cm. The Louvre *Circumcision* was lot 2294 in the same sale. My thanks to Gaudenz Freuler for calling this to my attention.

23. E. Carli, *San Gimignano* (Milan, 1962), 94, n. 8, previously identified the Louvre *Circumcision* with the painting described by Vasari. Vasari recorded "la Circoncisione di Nostro Signore con certi Santi" as the subject of the picture, and Romagnoli saw "altri fatti di G. C." attached to it. Whether the "certi Santi" were the Saints Ann, Joseph, and Simeon included in the Louvre *Circumcision* or indicate side panels of full-length standing figures missing today, and whether "altri fatti" are a mistaken memory or refer to the scenes of a missing predella, cannot now be determined.

24. See H. W. van Os, "Andrea di Bartolo's Assumption of the Virgin," *Arts in Virginia* 11(1971):2–11, with earlier bibliography. Van Os believes that Andrea's earliest pictures may be dated to the 1360s ("Andrea di Bartolo's 'Madonna of Humility,' " *Montreal Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 6(1974):19–27) and that the Richmond *Assumption* was painted in the 1370s. A date closer to 1390 is more likely.

25. F. Zeri and E. Gardner, *Italian Paintings, Sienese and Central Italian Schools* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 1–2 with earlier bibliography. Two predelle in the Pinacoteca Nazionale at Siena must be restored to Andrea di Bartolo. Number 103, attributed to Bartolo di Fredi (Torriti, *La Pinacoteca Nazionale,* 168–69; Brandi, *La Regia Pinacoteca,* 36), relates to Andrea's *Osservanza* polyptych of 1413; both the altarpiece and the predella seem to have come from the church of San Petronilla in Siena. Number 57 (Torriti, 161 as "Tardo imitatore del Barna") is a much abraded and partially repainted late work by Andrea. Until 1895 it stood beneath Andrea's altarpiece (no. 220) in Siena. Brandi (32–33) maintained that they did not belong together, but the possibility that they in fact did must not be dismissed.

26. A résumé of the documents pertaining to Andrea di Bartolo, including some not published elsewhere, is included in G. de Nicola, "Andrea di Bartolo," *Rassegna d'arte senese* 14(1921):15.

27. G. Coor, "A Further Link in the Reconstruction of an Altarpiece by Andrea di Bartolo," *Journal of The Walters Art Gallery* 24(1961):54–60, hypothesized that these might have come from the altarpiece of 1397 seen by Fabio Chigi in 1625–26 in the Malavolti chapel in San Domenico, Siena. Two existing manuscripts of the Chigi inventory disagree on the identity of the artist of this altarpiece; that in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (MS. Chigiano, I,i,11, fol. 221r.) says "Taddeus Bartoli, Fedi [sic], Battilori 1397"; that in the Biblioteca Comunale at Siena (E.VI.20, fol. 48v.) says "Andreas Bartali Fredi . . ." Cf. P. Bacci in *Bulletino senese di storia patria,* n.s. 10(1939):323. E. Romagnoli, *Biografia chronologica* 3:137, quotes Tizio (3, fol. 649) in ascribing the altarpiece to Bartolo di Fredi, but claims that it stood in the Malavolti chapel in S. Francesco, and was therefore destroyed in the fire of 1655. He is followed by L. Rigatuso, "Bartolo di Fredi," *La Diana* 9(1934):214–67. According to I. Ugurgieri-Azzolini, *Le Pompe Senese* (Pistoia, 1649), the altarpiece in the Malavolti chapel in San Domenico was by Bartolo di Fredi and represented the Visitation and the Holy Trinity with two saints. Cf. also P. Bacci, "Un San Bernardino sconosciuto di Giovanni di Paolo," *Le Arti* 1 (1938–39):549f. for a history of the Malavolti chapel and its dedication to the Trinity and the Visitation. An altarpiece by Bartolo di Fredi with precisely this unusual combination of subjects has recently been acquired on behalf of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Chambéry (RF 1980—200/201/202/203). G. Chelazzi Dini, in *Il Gotico a Siena* (Siena, 1982, p. 322) believes that the chapel was dedicated to the Annunciation and identifies its altarpiece with Andrea's signed *Annunciation* in Buonconvento. This is manifestly wrong.

Virtue and Vice: Paintings and Sculpture in Two Pictures from the Walters Collection

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The paintings and sculpture represented in seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish pictures provide the *clavis interpretandi* to the artists' original intentions so often that the truism hardly needs reiteration. It is amusing to note, nonetheless, that two paintings that have been displayed in The Walters Art Gallery provide yet another opportunity to explain iconography based on the pictures within a picture. The paintings, Frans Francken's *The Archdukes Albert and Isabella in a Collector's Cabinet* (37.2010) and Mattheus Wytmans's *Violinist* (37.382), each employ the art-within-art device and roughly the same repertory of Classical iconography in illustrating two diametrically opposed concepts: the spoils of virtue and the toils of vice.

Since its addition to the Walters collection in 1948, *The Archdukes Albert and Isabella in a Collector's Cabinet* has been repeatedly cited for the vivid picture it provides of collectors and their interests in seventeenth-century Flanders (fig.1).[1] From the first, it has been noted that the collection depicted was not just a manifestation of wealth, status, or good taste, but was also

> a kind of resumé of the human lot: of the ornaments of life and the delights of the senses; of history, sacred, secular, and imagined; of moral law and its aberrations; of the globe and its niche in the cosmos,[2]

a material encyclopedia, in short, of the contemporary state of human knowledge. By extension, *The Archdukes* has been regarded almost universally as an homage to Albert and Isabella in their roles as collectors and as patrons and protectors of the arts and sciences,[3] as a reciprocal glorification of the arts and intellectual endeavors,[4] and as a tribute to the artists and amateurs who created and treasured beautiful objects.[5]

These are not unworthy sentiments, surely; but they do not provide a complete picture of the painter's intentions. Recent research into the "encyclopedic collection" and its meaning for seventeenth-century savants suggests that the contents of the painting were intended to be more than a tribute to the collector as a person of stature and friend of society. Instead, this picture and others of its type can be regarded as philosophical statements about the attainment of knowledge, the achievement of virtue through knowledge, and the immortality gained through virtue. As such, these collectors'-cabinet paintings are fully in line with the teachings and writings of Counter-Reformation Antwerp.

Flanders, under the regency of the Archdukes (as they were called), enjoyed a brief flowering of prosperity and peace during the Twelve Years' Truce, which lasted from 1609 until Albert's death in 1621. Antwerp in particular became a prime international center for the art and luxury trades. A newly prosperous class of merchants devoted more and more capital to collections of paintings, sculpture, gems, books, scientific instruments, and antiquities.[6] The intellectual aspirations of the upper-middle class kept pace with their economic and social ascent;[7] it is not surprising, therefore, that paintings of collectors' cabinets, as illustrations of both social and philosophical position, were enormously popular.

Such paintings were not necessarily records of actual collections or real events: sometimes they were assembled only in the artist's imagination, in order to represent an ideal.[8] This seems to be the case with the Walters *Archdukes*. For one thing, none of the paintings

1. Jan Brueghel the Elder, Frans Francken II, and Hieronymus Francken II, The Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella in a Collector's Cabinet, *oil on panel, 94.0 x 123.3cm, c.1621–24. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.2010.*

shown on the rear wall of the cabinet, or *Constkamer,* can be identified as a specific composition that might still exist or that might be checked against contemporary Flemish documents or inventories. Rather, the pictures within the picture seem to represent a sampling of seventeenth-century taste in painting, showing typical (and somewhat undistinguished) examples of the popular genres of history, landscape, portrait, still-life, architectural, and marine painting. For another thing, the room itself is not likely to have existed in any Flemish townhouse, however wealthy its owner: the proportions are too broad, the ceiling too high, and the space too well sidelit for the rowhouse architecture of Antwerp.[9] Finally, the same room with the same furnishings exists in at least two other paintings,[10] which suggests that this particular fictive collection could be manufactured like a stage set, to be populated with figures to the patron's order.[11]

The construction of the Walters painting seems to have taken place in three stages, from the backdrop forward, and to have involved at least three hands. The first step, which S. Speth-Holterhoff attributes to Hieronymus Francken II,[12] was the establishment of the picture space, the laying out of the floor, the ceiling, the rear wall, and the window wall. The door opening into the small room at the right rear was painted at this point, as were the sculptures over the door, the paintings and medallions on the rear wall, the chimneypiece and its contents, the musical instruments, the tables at left and right as well as the objects on them, the sculptural fragments in the left foreground, and the large spaniel at the left. All of these elements are repeated exactly in the Madrid and Brussels variants of the painting.

As the picture has aged, its paint has become more transparent, so that traces of the first layer of the painting, Hieronymus Francken's "stage set," now show through the successive paint layers, thus demonstrating the order in which they were painted. For instance, the pattern of the tablecloth at the left is visible through the trousers of the gentleman standing in front of it—appar-

ently, he was added after the room and its appointments were completely painted and the paint had dried. Indeed, all but two of the human participants were added at this point by a second artist, probably Frans Francken the Younger,[13] who was probably following the instructions of the patron who had ordered the painting. Next, a third artist, Jan Brueghel the Elder or a close associate, added the flowers, the fruit, the monkeys, and the other dogs.[14] In addition, he turned the spaniel's face toward the central figures; as the overpaint has become more transparent, the original forward-facing head has reappeared, to create the somewhat unsettling two-faced phenomenon. Originally there was an additional head among the sculptural fragments at the far left: painted over during Brueghel's campaign, it has begun to reappear through the barrel. Finally, Brueghel added the figures of the Archdukes flanking their apparent host in the center of the panel. Although Frans Francken must have been commissioned to paint in the figures, he seems to have ceded their portraits to Brueghel. The younger Brueghel had collaborated on portraits of the Archdukes at least twice before—once in a pair of portraits painted with Rubens,[15] and, again as a painting within a painting, in the Madrid *Allegory of Sight*,[16] in which the Archdukes' presence, as in the Walters painting, proclaims them to be primary patrons of the arts.[17]

The room in which the Archdukes find themselves in the Walters painting has variously been described as "an antiquary's shop,"[18] "an imaginary collector's cabinet,"[19] and "a typical collection of the seventeenth century in Flanders."[20] In fact, it is a painted representation of the encyclopedic collection, a gathering of objects which embraces every branch of science, art, and human learning, a microcosm of the universe and a reflection of everything that can be perceived by the senses. Contemporary catalogues describing such collections, both real and hypothetical, illustrate their principles of organization and their twofold purpose: to reproduce and rationalize in small form the surrounding universe at large, and thus to promote the acquisition and the sharing of universal knowledge.

The encyclopedic collection, aiming at universality, embraced art and science in equal measure. Nevertheless, art and science were distinguished one from the other: in nearly all of the contemporary writings on the subject, the primary division was made between *naturalia*, things brought to completion by nature, and *artificialia*, those things wrought by the human hand.[21] *Naturalia* included animal, vegetable, and mineral specimens, ideally gathered from the four continents of the world and illustrative of the richness and variety of forms created by the divine hand. *Artificialia*, on the other hand, when presented on equal terms with *naturalia*, seemed to propose the worthiness of man's creative powers, and indeed, their similarity to God's, so that the collection as a whole represented a kind of *summa* of universal creativity.[22]

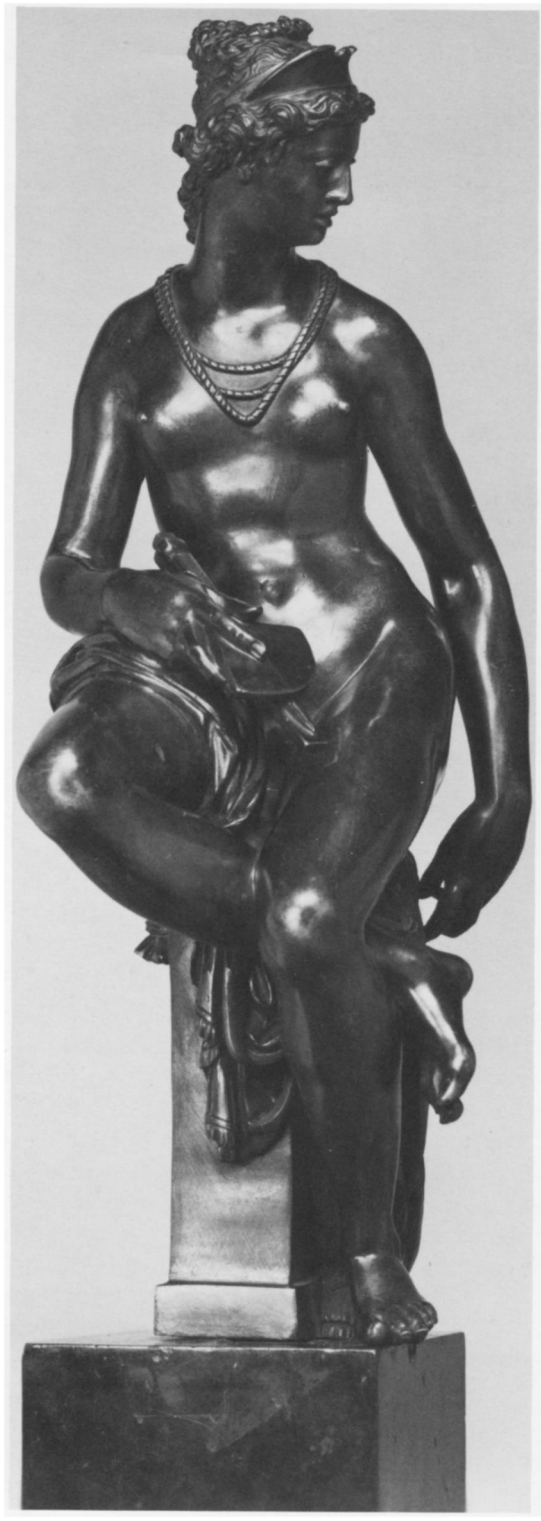
Another classification within the encyclopedic collection, sometimes seen as a subdivision of *artificialia* but often classed as a *tertium quid* and thereby put on an equal footing with *artificialia* and *naturalia*, was *antiquitates*—remains of Classical antiquity. The equal emphasis collectors placed on *antiquitates* underscored the new role of history and of Classical literature in the education of the Renaissance humanist.[23] At the same time, the juxtaposition of relatively modern works of art with those of antiquity implied the humanists' equal respect for contemporary art and the ideal represented by the antique model.

Ethnographica, artifacts from exotic cultures, were also granted a separate place among *artificialia*,[24] perhaps in an effort to parallel the collection of natural specimens. Scientific instruments with which people studied the workings of nature were given a prominent place, as if to stress the importance for the humanist of study, the contemplative process by which one grows in perfect understanding of the universe.[25]

The Walters painting exhibits all the ingredients of the ideal encyclopedic collection. *Naturalia*—animal, vegetable, and mineral—are represented by the dogs and monkeys, by the bird of paradise on the table, by the fruit and flowers, and by the shells, coral, and gems scattered on the mantel and on the table at the right. All four corners of the world are collected in this *Constkamer*: the shells, which were extremely popular curios during the seventeenth century, come from both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans; the monkey at the left is an African or Old World species, while the chained one at the right is a South American variety;[26] the barrel at the left holds species of flowers originating in Europe, Asia Minor, and the Americas.[27] Furthermore, the artist, as usual, has asserted his own superiority over nature by assembling flowers of different seasons into a single imaginary bouquet: the ones represented could never, by any stretch of the gardener's art, have bloomed at the same time.[28]

In this painting, instruments used to study the phenomena of nature and books relating scientific observations make the transition from *naturalia* to *artificialia*.[29] On the table at the right are a map, an atlas, and what appears to be an album of views, by means of which the distant places of the earth could be brought together for scrutiny. An astronomical globe introduces the realm of the heavens.[30] On the table at the left stands an early form of the barometer, an invention of the Dutch physician Cornelis Drebbel, which at the time was greatly admired not as a weather-predicting device, but as a perpetual-motion machine.[31]

The rest of this collector's cabinet is devoted to *artificialia*. Two swords hanging at the immediate left of



2. Giovanni Bologna, Architettura, *bronze, h. 34.5 cm. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 54.689. The only definitely identifiable work of art in the collection. Giovanni Bologna, who spent his whole working life in Italy, had been born in Flanders and was claimed by the Flemish as a fellow countryman. This sculpture serves a double symbolic function: it represents the patron's support of architecture as an art and the high level of art and culture in Flanders.*

the mantel stand for *ethnographica:* the curved one has been tentatively identified as "a Hungarian or Polish sword of Turkish design,"[32] and the other sword is a Native American weapon made from the bill of a swordfish.[33] Metalwork, glassware, and ceramics on the chimneypiece and *objets de vertù* (examples of the jeweler's art) on the right-hand table stand for the functional decorative arts; music is represented by the instruments and scores piled on the table to the left of the door. Architecture is represented too, but in symbolic form: the female figure at the extreme right of the mantel (beside the architectural painting) is Giovanni Bologna's personification of *Architettura* (fig. 2).[34] *Antiquitates* are exemplified by the torso and the fragments of Classical sculpture in the left foreground, by the medallions of the twelve Caesars attached to the wainscot of the rear wall, and possibly by some of the small-scale sculpture on the mantel.[35]

The sculptures of Classical deities over the door are neither *antiquitates* proper nor copies after Classical models. Rather, they are seventeenth-century adaptations of Classical subjects used in a symbolic context to define the nature of the place over which they stand guard (fig. 3). The reclining figure in the center, whose crown of reeds and flowing urn identify him as a river god, symbolizes the Scheldt, the principal river of Flanders and the basis of Antwerp's commercial success.[36] To the right is Mercury, who is the god of commerce (which after all made the collector's cabinet financially possible) and the god of eloquence, reason, and civilization,[37] as well as upholder and protector of the arts.[38] To the left stands Minerva, the goddess of the arts, of wisdom, and of the virtue that springs from wisdom.[39] Together, the trio announces that this collector's cabinet is situated both within Antwerp, the commercial success of which makes the *Constkamer's* existence possible, and within that special realm dedicated to the arts, to civilized humanism, and to wisdom.

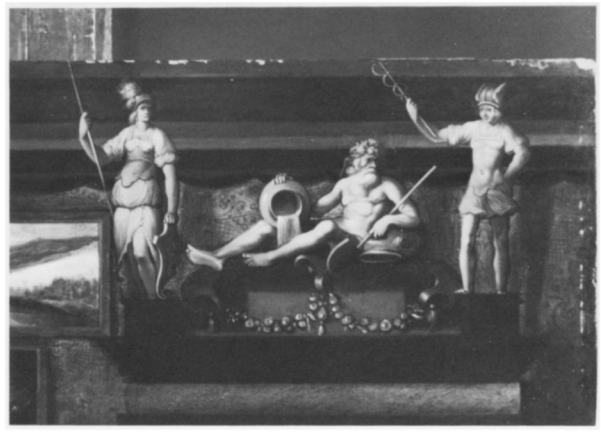
The paintings and sculpture included in the cabinet illustrate the position occupied by the visual arts in the philosophical constructs of the seventeenth century. Renaissance epistemology emphasized the senses as the fundamental grounds for wisdom, asserting that sensual perception is the means through which anything can be learned about the universe. The actual study of the senses and of the nature of their perceptions figures greatly in philosophical and intellectual discussions, which in turn had their impact on the visual arts. Series of paintings and (especially) of prints portraying the five senses established a standard repertory of symbolic attributes for artists: each sense had specific activities, plants, animals, and human personifications associated with it. Each symbol was drawn from some aspect of that sense as it appeared to contemporary philosophers and literati.

One of the best known pictorial representations of

the senses is Jan Brueghel's series of five paintings, now in the Prado.[40] Brueghel's *Five Senses* are probably the earliest paintings to portray extensive and encyclopedic collections, so they have been regarded both as the artist's reponse to the encyclopedic interests of contemporary collectors,[41] and as an immediate antecedent of the collector's cabinet painting.[42] Klaus Ertz, in his monograph on Jan Brueghel, rightly suggests that the Prado series must hold the key to a full interpretation of the Walters *Archdukes in a Collector's Cabinet,* but he leaves the actual investigation of the painting alone, as more properly belonging to a study of the principal artist, Frans Francken.[43]

The Walters painting does contain imagery pertaining to the five senses, perhaps not immediately obvious to the twentieth-century eye, but perceptible to one acquainted with the complex and somewhat arcane vocabulary of the Brueghel series. Brueghel's *Sense of Touch,* for instance, shows Venus and Cupid embracing in a combination smithy, armory, and picture gallery: they are seated near an array of armor and weapons, surrounded by fierce creatures (a bird of prey, an ape, and a scorpion), with painted scenes of violence and suffering (a *Flagellation* and a *Last Judgment* among them) on the wall behind them. This somewhat jarring juxtaposition of the two extremes of the tactile experience, pleasure and pain, is simply a combination of the standard seventeenth-century vocabularies denoting the sense of touch. Usually, however, prints and paintings of the subject showed either a pair of lovers embracing,[44] or some painful incident such as an eagle biting a woman's hand,[45] but rarely, if ever, both. Brueghel's alliance of the two extremes is something new, drawing from an iconographic inventory like his newly invented pictorial encyclopedia within the painting of objects relating to the sense of touch.

Modern scholars, Ertz among them, see the Brueghel *Sense of Touch*, as more than just an inventorizing allegory, and suggest that the artist meant to reconcile the two opposite poles of love and violence. Basing his arguments on a careful reading of the painting's complex visual imagery, Ertz reasons approximately thus:[46] to contemporary philosophers and theologians, the violence pervading the scene—whether arising from war (the armor), bestiality (the eagle, the scorpion, and most of all the ape, which could symbolize the baser human passions or even the Devil himself), or calculated cruelty (the assailants in the *Flagellation*)—was the result of uncontrolled passion, and the ensuing pain and suffering was one of the results of Original Sin. Through the control of the passions, symbolized by the chaining of the ape, and through tender and nurturing human love, represented by the pagan Venus and Cupid, humankind could take an initial step toward the attainment of virtue.



3. Jan Brueghel the Elder, Frans Francken II, and Hieronymus Francken II, The Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella in a Collector's Cabinet, *detail, upper right. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.2010. The figure in the center is the Scheldt, the principal river of Flanders and the reason for Antwerp's commercial success. Flanking him are Mercury, the god of commerce and protector of the arts, and Minerva, goddess of wisdom. Together, the group proclaims that this collection is situated both in Antwerp and in the special realm consecrated to the arts and sciences.*

Eradication of the vices, the patient endurance of suffering, and the subjugation of the passions to the will were the goals of both the ancient Stoics and the seventeenth-century Neo-Stoics.[47] But beyond this point the philosophies differed: the ancient Stoics developed a fatalistic acceptance of the problem of pain, considering it beyond human solution, but the Christian Stoics found hope for salvation from suffering and the evils of the world through the superhuman merits of Christ.[48] By the humble and loving endurance of his Passion (symbolized by the *Flagellation*), Christ at once paid for the transgressions of humankind, triumphed over suffering and death, and opened the way to eternal salvation for the virtuous (symbolized by the *Last Judgment*).

Several related images in the Baltimore *Archdukes* may represent the sense of touch. A pair of lovers would be indecorous and out of place in such a humanist *studiolo,* but there is at least one small Venus among the statuary on the mantel,[49] possibly two. Far more prominent, however, are the instruments of violence. Two swords hang on the back wall, there is a dagger among the small objects on the table, and armed soldiers (presumably the Archdukes' bodyguards) fill the small anteroom in the background. Mars, the god of war, brandishes his sword on the chimneyshelf, and the paintings on the back wall include an incendiary scene, a murder in progress (*Judith and Holofernes*), the prologue to a dismemberment (*Diana and Actaeon*), and an attempted infanticide (*Abraham and Isaac*). The references are less pointed, perhaps, than in Brueghel's *Sense of Touch,* but taken together with the chained mar-

moset in the foreground, they are no less specifically symbolic, and their message is the same. Only by the containment of the baser passions (the fettering of the ape) can war and violence be restrained. The message must also have carried a topical connotation, too, for it was at least partly through the good offices of Albert and Isabella that the precarious Twelve Years' Truce was made possible and maintained. (The peace was broken shortly after Albert's death in 1621.)

Renaissance epistemologists ranked the senses hierarchically, according to their role and capabilities in the acquisition of knowledge.[50] Touch, for its negative associations with the sensual and destructive passions, was the lowest. Taste and smell ranked above it, and hearing and sight above them, for while the former two had no particularly virulent connections with sin and death, they were really useful only for learning about the *mundus sensibilis*, the sensory realm. Hearing and (especially) sight, on the other hand, opened the *mundus intelligibilis*, the world of ideas, to the scholar and made possible all abstract knowledge and concomitant wisdom.[51]

Pictorially, the sense of smell was often represented as a woman with flowers in her hair holding her special plant, the carnation, and her tributary animal, the dog.[52] In the Walters panel, five dogs and a pot of carnations are featured prominently in the foreground. To the right, behind the table, stands a woman with flowers in her hair, holding, if not actually smelling, a carnation. It is possible that, among other things, she may stand for the personification of the olfactory sense and as a reminder of its modest role in the procuring of knowledge from the surrounding encyclopedia.

The traditional attributes of *Gustus* (Taste) are a bowl of fruit and a monkey eating grapes:[53] once again, both are featured in the foreground of the *Archdukes*, and probably were intended as reminders of the epistemological *topos*. Similarly, the artist has casually placed a pile of stringed and wind instruments against the back wall, probably as a reference to *Auditus* (Hearing).[54]

In 1616, R. Baudous published an *Allegory of Visual Perception* by Jan Saenredam, after a design by Hendrick Goltzius: in addition to the standard attributes of Sight (a woman with a mirror, a cat, an eagle, the sun), the print depicts in the background a physician or chemist, an astronomer, and what appears to be a geographer, as well as several scientific and astronomical tools.[55] In the center of the print, a bespectacled artist paints from his model, the nude woman personifying Sight. The artist and his art are thus attributes of the sense of sight, for the artist uses his visual perception in the same way as the scientists behind him: to observe the world, and to increase the world's knowledge through the promulgation of truth in his art. The formula works equally well in reverse: sight is the primary attribute of the painter, and the visual arts are the manifestation of his special vision and his godlike powers of creativity.

With this double-edged concept in mind, it is perhaps not excessive to postulate that Francken intended to portray Sight in the Baltimore panel's array of painting and sculpture. Pride of place is certainly given to the visual arts in the *Archdukes*: the whole rear wall is covered with paintings, another painting is propped against a chair on the floor, two scholars by the window at the left are deep in conversation over a panel painting, and sculpture both large and small is scattered from one end of the room to the other. It would hardly be surprising for an artist to wish to portray art as the crowning achievement of sight, the noblest of the senses, thus raising his own stature as well as that of his profession.

Two of the paintings within the painting refine this contention to an even subtler point: it is *painting*, not simply visual art, that is extolled as the supreme achievement of human creativity and the search for truth. Matthias Winner has deciphered the iconographical content of the largest and most prominently placed of the paintings within the painting, the allegorical scene placed dead-center over the mantel, as *Pictura* (Painting) being rescued from Ignorance by Minerva and assisted to her feet by Fame.[56] Pictura is identified by the mask of *Imitatio* (Imitation) on her shoulder; *Ignorantia*, by his asses' ears; Fame, by her wings and her brazen trumpet; and Minerva, by her helmet and shield. Winner fits the painting into its historical and philosophical framework, tracing its ancestry through numerous Italian and northern antecedents, and postulating that it reflected important theoretical concepts for contemporary artists and art theorists, particularly those of the Antwerp Chambers of Rhetoric.[57] Winner maintains that the *Allegory of Pictura* is a manifestation of the bold claim of seventeenth-century theorists that the visual arts, especially drawing, formed the basis not only of what we consider the creative arts, but of all science and thus of all human learning.[58] How, for instance, could an astronomer, a geographer, a cartographer, or any scientist make his discoveries known without the visual arts?[59] Furthermore, in the long-standing arguments of the *Paragone*, theorists claimed ascendancy for painting among all the visual arts, so that *Pictura* was in effect posited as the foster mother of all knowledge, and rightful claimant to the first place in the painted encyclopedia.[60]

The central canvas shown in the Walters panel can then be read as follows: By this time, the goddess Minerva would have been recognized as representative of art, knowledge/wisdom, and virtue, the three essential elements of the *ingenium*, the truly creative spirit.[61] Within the realm of the spirit—that is, of philosophy—wisdom and virtue are indistinguishable. Indeed, this principle is one of the primary tenets of the Stoics, of the Christians (who after all drew heavily on the Classical philosophers), and certainly of the Christian Neo-Stoics.

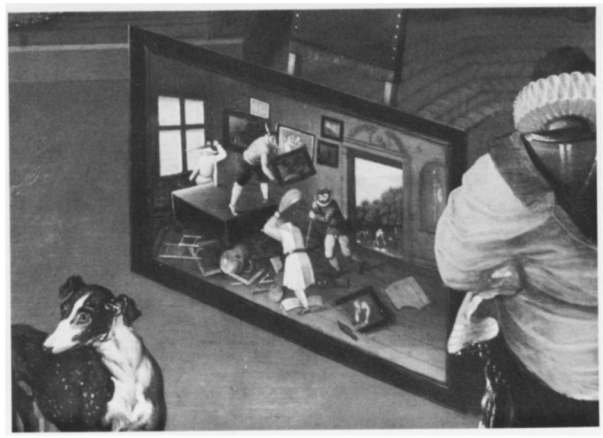
In the painting, then, Wisdom and Virtue come to *Pictura*'s rescue from the destructive oppression of Ignorance, for *Pictura* herself is one of the means and mainstays of virtue. Fame, who gives her hand to *Pictura*, represents not merely worldly renown or vainglory, nor even the fame and importance of the individual so dear to Renaissance philosophers, but the annunciator of the wisdom and virtue attainable through the knowledge gained by *Pictura*'s intercession.[62]

The painting propped against the chair in the middle ground of the *Archdukes* reinforces the message of the *Allegory of Pictura* (fig. 4). In it, an ass (the symbol of ignorance), an evil cat,[63] a fool wearing a piebald habit, and an ape in the background, all busy themselves wrecking musical and scientific instruments and paintings: ignorance, uncontrolled passion, folly, and evil, the natural enemies of virtue, are also the enemies of art, the means of attaining virtue.[64]

The capstone of this somewhat precarious iconographical arch is cemented by the sculpture set between the two aforementioned paintings, the *Allegory of Painting* and its antithesis, shown on the floor. The statue, which is the largest on the mantel, represents a heavily muscled, bearded man wearing a lion skin and holding a club while trampling a skeleton. In spite of its distinctly non-Classical form, this man is obviously Hercules, the Classical exemplar of moral virtue, who triumphed over weakness and vice and was rewarded with immortality. R. W. Scheller cites another example of a similar subject shown in a collector's cabinet painting, also by Francken: [65] in it, artists, scientists and scholars in the lower zone gaze heavenward, to where Hercules, heralded by Fame, is received into the company of the gods on Olympus. In it, too, Scheller sees the key to the interpretation of the encyclopedic painting:

> In dit werk van Francken wordt op voorbeeldige wijze de encyclopedische gerichtheid van de schilderkunst, haar verbondigheid met de natuur en haar voorrang boven andere kunsten met het Virtus-ideaal gecombineerd tot een apotheose van een in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden heersende kunstopvatting.[66]

In the Baltimore painting, further references, both to moral virtue, the active counterpart of intellectual virtue, and to immortality, reinforce such a view of the picture's interpretation. For instance, the history paintings that were cited above as illustrations of the violence which riddles the Old Testament and Classical myth, can also be read as illustrations of moral virtue and its opposite. Judith's heroic deed, which saved the Israelite nation, was recognized as exemplary of heroic moral force, while Abraham's steadfast obedience to the will of God—even at the cost of his son's life—was invariably interpreted as the supreme example of the virtue extolling sacrifice of the human passions to the divine will.[67] On the other hand, seventeenth-century writers and



4. Jan Brueghel the Elder, Frans Francken II, and Hieronymus Francken II, The Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella in a Collector's Cabinet, *detail, center. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.2010. "Art has no enemy save ignorance."*

moralists sometimes regarded the story of Actaeon as an illustration of the consequences of succumbing to sensual temptations and unbridled passion.[68] A further reminder hangs on the opposite end of the same wall: the Ten Commandments, providing the most direct route to the subjugation of temptation, to the containment of passion, and to the achievement of moral virtue. And, in the same position as the Decalogue on the other end of the wall, beneath the Twelve Caesars, stands a woman positioned between two references: to time, and to eternity, which exists outside of time. Her left hand, which points earthward, is directly underneath a pocket watch (in contemporary still-life painting, a watch was invariably meant to remind the viewer of the fleeting passage of earthly life[69]), while her right hand gestures toward the *perpetuum mobile,* a machine which was thought to run forever with no outside motive force, a fitting symbol of the transcending of time.

This interpretation of the Walters *Archdukes* might be summed up as follows: Once the human senses are directed away from vicious pursuits, they become the means of access to a complete knowledge and understanding of creation as a whole. The creative universe is, in turn, capsulized, rationalized, and made accessible by means of the encyclopedic collection (for such a collection was considered a compendium of the creative powers of God and his humbler human counterparts, "representing every discipline and all manifestations of human endeavor . . . its guiding principle [being] the promotion of universal knowledge").[70] The acquisition of learning presumably leads to, and is guided by, the insight, understanding, and wit that collectively are known as wisdom, or perfect understanding, the *recta ratio* of the philosophers. Wisdom in its turn becomes virtue, the disposition to activity that promotes the intellect's proper objective, truth.

Intellectual virtue is not sufficient of itself, however: with it, the truly virtuous person must possess moral virtue, the disposition to righteous action, and theological virtue. In the Walters painting there are two paintings above the mantel, immediately to the left and right of the Hercules, which may refer to theological virtue, a quality which springs only from the divine source and is accessible to humankind only through supernatural intercession. One painting represents the *Adoration of the Magi,* in which Christ, the source of theological virtue, manifests himself to the Gentile world; the other painting shows Christ with his mother, who is at once the most perfect human exemplar of virtue, the means by which the possibility of redemption was brought into the world and the most important continuing access to the supernatural life of grace. With these three qualities then, and only with them—intellectual virtue, moral virtue, and theological virtue—can humankind aspire to immortality.

How, then, are we to interpret the inclusion of the central figures: the Archduke Albert, the Infanta Isabella, and their companion or host in the collector's cabinet, the man with the golden chain? Considering the philosophical implications already suggested, it is likely that the Archdukes are meant to represent the embodiment of the Stoic and Neo-Stoic concept of the ideal prince, the philosopher-statesman, and the public model of virtue. In the seventeenth century, patronage of the arts was one aspect of the royal privilege; Albert and Isabella were active collectors and patrons of the arts and sciences.[71] The collector's-cabinet painting as interpreted here could provide either an explanation of the philosophical reasoning behind their collecting activities, or, less charitably, a justification of the collecting, after the fact. The Archdukes' collecting can then be regarded as public benefaction: to the collectors were entrusted the arts, the sciences, and the remains of antiquity to be preserved and promoted as a means to attaining knowledge. The Archdukes, then, were the active proponents and promoters of wisdom and virtue.[72]

Johannes Briels also sees at least one reference to the allegorization of moral as well as intellectual virtue in the *Archdukes,* in the medallions of the Roman Caesars appended to the rear wall at the left.[73] To the seventeenth-century Neo-Stoics, Briels maintains, the Emperors could represent the ideal of the *Magister Politicorum,* literally "master of politics," who earned secular immortality (fame) through his deeds in the political arena. His political actions were theoretically prompted by a sense of duty, an inclination to "right" action, which is, in short, moral virtue. The *Magister* was to serve, and was referentially included in the collector's cabinet, as a model and admonishment to those in a position of power equivalent to the *Magister,* as were the Archdukes.

The Archdukes may thus be included in the collector's cabinet painting not just as a tribute to their political status and their role as patrons of the arts and benefactors to society, but as a further allegorical amplification of the philosophical ideals implied by the contents of the collection. They may be intended to represent the embodiment of the humanist ideal and the active model of perfection to which the merchant humanists and collectors of seventeenth-century Antwerp would aspire.[74]

Finally, the man with the golden chain is probably just such a merchant-*maecenas,* a middle-class collector who may have commissioned the painting, or to whom the artist may have offered it as both a tribute to the collector's accomplishments and a statement of his aspirations.[75] Though such a man could not aspire to the wealth and status of the Archdukes, he could still aspire to wealth and status. And though the merchant could not pose as the public image of virtue, he could become a *virtuoso,* with all that the term implies. Though he could never wield the political power of the ruler, he could serve and advise him, and as advisor could guide the ruler's policies and the common weal along the path to moral virtue.[76] By patronizing creative artists,[77] the merchant could step into a role formerly reserved for royalty. By putting his intellectual powers into the service of a universal knowledge, he too could become a public benefactor and a promoter of the achievements of virtue, wisdom, and immortality. In short, he could attain the difficult and demanding goals of the evangelizing Counter-Reformatory Christian—no mean feat.

To turn from the sublime ideals of the Archdukes to Mattheus Wytmans's *Violinist* (fig. 5),[78] is to shift abruptly from hero to anti-hero, from virtue to vice. For this painting, typical of its kind, carries a less than obvious meaning beneath the surface of the apparently innocuous activity it portrays, that of tuning a violin.

The making of music has always lent itself well to metaphor. In the seventeenth century, music, with its strict measure and harmony of parts, could represent concord and temperance, and was consequently a frequent symbolic ingredient in marriage portraits.[79] The most ephemeral and transitory of the sensory pleasures, music could also symbolize the fleeting passage of human life, so that musical instruments were often featured in *Vanitas* still lifes as a comment on the brevity and vainness of human endeavor.[80] And, in a metaphor as old as antiquity, music could be synonymous with love.

A seventeenth-century Dutch picture with a musical subject like the Walters *Violinist,* therefore, is immediately suspect of "ulterior motives." A musician like the one portrayed is always a dubious character. His costume, consisting of a satin-trimmed doublet with red-lined, slashed sleeves, bright blue undersleeves, red stockings, and a gold-lined cape, is hardly the sort of

5. Mattheus Wytmans, The Violinist, *oil on panel, 30.5 x 23.8cm. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.382. Hidden erotic symbolism indicates that the musician was probably seen as a profligate and a wastrel in his own time.*

thing that a respectable young burgher of the 1660s would have worn, even in the privacy of his own garden. Instead, such theatrical garb was the uniform of a loose-living and reckless brotherhood, the fast set introduced into Dutch paintings by the Utrecht artists of the early 1620s.[81] *Caravaggisti,* such as Honthorst, Baburen, Terbrugghen, and Jan van Bijlert, brought the single-figure composition featuring a smiling, broadly gesturing musician to Holland from Italy; the raffish type caught the public fancy and became a stock character for several decades in Utrecht and elsewhere (fig. 6).[82]

Wytmans seems to have spent much of his life in Utrecht and was apparently a pupil of Jan van Bijlert,[83] a genre painter who had been to Italy and who specialized in depicting the merry theatrical types and gatherings that he must have seen there (fig. 7).[84] Wytmans, active in the 1660s, partakes in his *Violinist* of the more restrained mode of genre painting of that period, and eschews the broad grins and open gestures of the earlier generation in favor of downcast eyes, covert glances, faint smiles, and restrained gestures. Nevertheless, clues within the picture indicate that this musician is no more respectable than the disreputable elder brothers whose uniform he shares.

The garden setting in which we find the violinist, for instance, may have offered an erotic connotation to a seventeenth-century audience. From the Middle Ages or before, especially in the colder parts of northern Europe, the garden carried with it a long-standing tradition of symbolizing earthly and sensual delights. The immediate typological ancestor of the single-figure musician painting, the "Merry Company," was frequently set in a garden, and the tradition was still alive in the 1660s in the work of artists such as Jacob Ochtervelt.[85] So it is perhaps not too far-fetched to suggest that the garden might in itself have had slightly titillating overtones in that time.

Indeed, the statues set in the garden should dispel any doubt of the erotic implications intended by the artist. It is interesting to note, and indicative of the seventeenth-century command of the breadth of Classical literature, that the same ancient deities used in the *Archdukes* to proclaim lofty principles, could proclaim with equal ease the opposites of those principles. The sculptures in question are arranged in a loose spiral enclosing the figure of the musician: from the female figure with the wreath in the background at the left, to the urn above the violinist's right shoulder, to the Apollo at the right, to the relief on the front of its pedestal; and then to the low relief on the broken balustrade at the young man's left elbow.

The progression these sculptures establish is unequivocal. The sculptured woman at the far left, perhaps at the entrance to the pleasure garden, is discreetly clad and seems to be holding a wreath or garland in her left hand. It is difficult to identify her on the basis of the single recognizable attribute, the wreath. Possibly the artist meant to leave her identity ambiguous, as a small iconographical teaser to his audience. According to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century iconologists, a woman with a wreath could be, among other things, *Allegrezza* (Gaiety),[86] Poetry,[87] or Music.[88] Or, she could be *Erato,* the Muse of Lyric Poetry, whose name derives from the Greek word for love.[89] In any of these cases, the implication would be the same: the garden is announced as the realm of gaiety and merrymaking, musical or otherwise.

From this auspicious beginning, we progress down the garden steps and forward in the picture space to an urn above the musician's shoulder. The one clearly distinguishable figure on the urn is that of Mercury, who was shown in the *Archdukes* as the inventor and protector of the arts, including, appropriately enough, music. But Mercury's significance had a lighter side in Classical literature: as messenger and little brother to the Olympians, he was considered a luck-bringing god and the special patron of young men.[90] In the Classical recountings of his exploits, Mercury is an impudent and amorous fellow, so that his inclusion in a painting like the Baltimore *Violinist* could easily have been meant to connote light-hearted eroticism and overtones of fertility. As a fertility symbol, Mercury had a special connection with gardens, too: the *herm,* which draws its name from the Greek form of Mercury's name, Hermes, was originally a fertility symbol designed to adorn and augment a garden. Cartari illustrates just such a sculpture in his handbook, a smiling head of Mercury set on a plain, tapered column decorated in the appropriate place with male genitals.[91]

A similar double meaning might also have been read into the presence of Apollo, who stands immediately to the right and a little below Mercury's urn. While Apollo was the god of poetry and music, as symbolized by his lyre, he was at least as well known for his unlucky amorous exploits, which were as frequently the subjects of seventeenth-century paintings as were his nobler functions.[92] Such an interpretation is further enhanced by the relief on the pedestal that supports Apollo: the woman who holds a basket of flowers or fruit and is accompanied by a younger woman, who looks up at her, is undoubtedly Ceres, a goddess of the harvest—one with no connection to the arts.[93] Rather, she is an unabashed fertility goddess, appropriate to garden sculpture and harboring no more lofty associations than an implicit reference to the sensory pleasures of eating.[94]

Finally, in the lowest place (in every sense), in the right foreground corner, is a slab bearing a low relief of a couple engaged in overt lovemaking. Their identities are not made clear, but their costume, or lack of it, and the venerable age of the slab suggest that they bear the sanc-

6. After Hendrick Terbrugghen, Bass Viol Player, *oil on canvas, 98.9 x 82.6cm. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.2491. His theatrical costume and roistering activities mark this character as a member of the same loose-living brotherhood as Wytmans's* Violinist.

7. After Jan van Bijlert, Merry Company, *oil on panel, 40.6 x 58.0cm. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.707. More loose-living company, these merry-makers are the immediate ancestors of* The Violinist *by Wytmans's teacher.*

tion of antiquity. Nevertheless, they also serve to make it perfectly clear that the young musician's mind is not entirely occupied with his music.

It should be noted that the violinist is not actually engaged in making music, but instead is tuning his violin preparatory to playing. Thus he may be seen as a subtle variant of a long-standing type in Dutch painting, the invitation to the duet. In pictures of this type, a single musician, usually a woman, adjusts the strings on her instrument while another instrument, prominently placed, awaits the arrival of an unseen partner. Meanwhile, she usually gazes outward from the picture space so suggestively as to make it clear that her invitation to make music is really an invitation to a duet of an entirely different kind.[95] In the early years of the century, the woman's costume, bold glances, winks, and leers usually announced that she was a courtesan; in later years, the distinction between prostitute and elegant lady was less easily drawn. But the painting that has been proposed as the pendant to Wytmans's *Violinist,* a *Young Woman* in Dresden, shows a lady of unmistakably easy virtue (fig.8).[96] Her low-cut bodice, her loose chemise, and the feathers in her uncovered and disheveled hair are the feminine equivalent of the Baltimore youth's theatrical costume and mark her as a member of the same fast set. She, then, has issued her invitation, and idly turns the pages of her music, while her partner prepares to join in her proffered pleasures, musical and otherwise.

The juxtaposition discussed here of the representations of virtue and vice is by no means intended to suggest that the seventeenth-century Catholic Flemings favored virtue, while their later Calvinist counterparts in the north leaned in the direction of vice. One is perforce to presume, rather, that the Dutch *Violinist,* restrained as it may be, was to be read as a negative exemplar, an admonition against the kind of naughty behavior represented or suggested.[97] "Don't do as I do," states Wytmans's musician in a tacit way that would have been understood by the audience of his own time, however much they might also have enjoyed the equally implicit titillation he profferred. Francken and Brueghel's painting, by contrast, is a straightforward statement of a complex theme with a simple resolution: "This is what we would like to do." Thus the two paintings, with their

8. Mattheus Wytmans, Young Woman. *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden. (Photo: Abtetlung.)*

shared vocabulary and their common interest in the boundaries of permissible or desirable behavior, can be seen as two sides of the same coin: the human pursuit of perfection and the lapses from it.

NOTES

1. Jan Brueghel the Elder, Frans Francken II, and Hieronymus Francken II, oil on panel, 37 x 48 9/16 in. (94.0 x 123.3cm), not signed nor dated, Walters Art Gallery 37.2010, hereinafter referred to as the *Archdukes.*

2. E. S. K[ing], "A New Acquisition," *Bulletin of The Walters Art Gallery* 1:1(1948), n.p.

3. S. Speth-Holterhoff, *Les Peintres flamands de cabinets d'amateur au XVII^e siècle* (Brussels, 1957), 71. This is the seminal work on the genre of collector's cabinet pictures, and although somewhat out of date in light of current research, is still the most complete and useful collection of material on the subject. See also Rosa B. Sands and Edward S. King, "The Time to Talk of Many Things," *Walters Bulletin* 19:6(1967), n.p.

4. Madlyn Millner Kahr, "Velázquez and *Las Meninas*," *Art Bulletin* 57(1975), 235.

5. Speth-Holterhoff, 49.

6. J. Briels, "Amator Pictoriae Artis De Antwerpse Kunstverzamelaar Peeter Stevens (1500–1668) en zijn Constkamer," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1980), 137–41.

7. Ibid., 141–46.

8. Speth-Holterhoff, *passim,* remarks a general progression through the century from the fictive collection to the depiction of a specific collection's contents as a record, noting all the possible variations along the way.

9. R. W. Scheller, "Rembrandt en de encyclopedische verzameling," *Oud Holland* 84(1969):110, n.85.

10. Speth-Holterhoff, 69, fig.11, *The Arts and Sciences,* by Adriaen Stalbemt, 93 x 114cm, Museo del Prado inv. no.1405; replica in the collection of Laurent Meeus. There is also a smaller replica of the table at the lower right, also by Adriaen Stalbemt, 40 x 41 cm, Museo del Prado inv. no.1437; cf. Matías Díaz Padrón, *Museo del Prado: Catalogo de Pinturas I. Escuela Flamenca, Siglo 17,* 2 vols. (Madrid, 1975), 380–81, pl.251.

11. Kahr, 232.

12. Speth-Holterhoff, 69. She bases her attribution on similarities with the *Boutique of Jan Snellinck,* Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, which bears Hieronymus Francken's monogram and is dated 1621.

13. Ibid., 70.

14. The black-and-white dog standing by the Archduchess and the dog seen in profile are both taken from a panel of studies of dogs by Jan Brueghel, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, 34.5 x 55.5cm, inv. no. 6985; cf. Klaus Ertz, *Jan Brueghel der Ältere (1568–1625)* (Köln, 1979), 392, fig.466, cat. no.312. The same two dogs recur individually or together in several paintings by Jan Brueghel and his shop; cf. Ertz, cat. nos.355, 365, 366, 376. Presumably the Vienna panel was kept in the Brueghel shop and used as a model for dogs as needed.

15. The original models by Rubens are in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. Rubens and Brueghel collaborated on a pair of expanded replicas, now in the Prado, inv. nos.1683 and 1684. Ertz considers the portraits to be by Rubens and the landscapes by Brueghel; cf. cat. nos.309, 310.

16. Madrid, Prado, inv. no.1394, 65 x 109cm; cf. Ertz, 338, n.476, and cat. no.327, review various attributions to Rubens and Brueghel.

17. Ibid., 342.

18. King, n.p.

19. Speth-Holterhoff, 71.

20. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, *World of Wonder,* exh. cat. (1971–72), n.p., no.43.

21. The best recent study of the encyclopedic collection, its evolution and systems of classification is Scheller's; see also Hans Floerke, *Studien zur niederländischen Kunst und die Sammler in den Niederlanden vom 15. zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich and Leipzig, 1905); Julius von Schlosser, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Spätrenaissance: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sammelwesens* (Leipzig, 1908), recently translated as *Raccolte d'arte e di meraviglie,* trans. Paolo di Paolo (Florence, 1974); Rudolph Berliner, "Zur älteren Geschichte der allgemein Museumslehre in Deutschland," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* (1928), 327–50; Hans Huth, "Museum and Gallery," *Beitrage für Georg Swarzenski zum 11. Januar 1951* (Berlin and Chicago, 1951) k, 238–45; Elizabeth M. Hajós, "The Concept of an Engravings Collection in the Year 1565: Quicchelberg, *Inscriptiones vel Tituli Theatri Amplissimi,*" *Art Bulletin* 40 (1958):151–56; and Briels.

22. Briels, 152.

23. Scheller, 105.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid., 111; Briels, 148–49.

26. Sands and King, n.p.

27. Ibid.

28. The observation is credited to J. G. van Gelder; cf. J. Q. van Regteren Altena, *Jacques de Gheyn,* doctoral dissertation (Amsterdam, 1935), 32; reference from Ingvar Bergström, *Dutch Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century,* trans. Christina Hedström and Gerald Taylor (London, 1956), 50.

29. Scheller, 110.

30. The globe depicted seems to be the one engraved by Jan Saenredam after designs by Willem Jansz. Blaeu; cf. *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, c.1450–1700,* vol.23, compiled by George Keyes, ed. K. G. Boon (Amsterdam, 1980), 102–03, nos.129–31.

31. Henri Michel, "Le Mouvement perpetuel de Drebbel," *Physis* 13(1971):289–94; idem, "The First Barometer: A Rediscovery in Flemish Paintings," *Journal of The Walters Art Gallery* 35(1977), 87.

32. Sands and King, n.p.

33. An identical sword is depicted among the arms displayed at the feet of Charles Calvert, Fifth Lord Baltimore, in the portrait attributed to Herman van der Myn (Peale Museum, Baltimore, on loan to The Walters Art Gallery T.L.33.1980, oil on canvas, 96 x 50in.). I am grateful to Elisabeth Packard, former director of Conservation and Technical Research at The Walters Art Gallery, for the explanation of this object.

34. Walters Art Gallery 54.689. Giovanni Bologna was born in Flanders, and even though he spent his entire working life in Italy, was considered a Flemish artist by Flemish collectors in the seventeenth century. His small sculptures were avidly sought after by collectors; cf. Briels.

35. The small nude female seen from behind repeats a well-known Classical prototype generally known as *Venus Tying Her Sandal;* cf. Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grec et romaine,* 6 vols. (Paris, 3d ed., 1939–31), 2:348–49; 4:214–15; 5:158. The others, apart from *Architettura,* repeat Classical subjects (Mars and Hercules, for example) in un-Classical form.

36. The shovel also serves as the Scheldt's identifying attribute in the engraving for the title page to E. Sueyro, *Anales de Flandes* (Antwerp, 1624); cf. J. Richard Judson and Carl van de Velde, *Book Illustrations and Title-pages (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard,* vol.21), 2 vols. (London and Philadelphia, 1978), vol.2, pl.135. The identification of this figure as the Scheldt was first suggested by Matthias Winner, "Gemalte Kunsttheorie: Zu Gustave Courbets 'Allegorie réele' und der Tradition," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 4(1962):171. Winner also identifies Mercury and Minerva together as the symbol of the Academy, ibid.

37. Vincenzo Cartari, *Imagini delli dei de gl'antichi* (Venice, 1647; facsimile ed. Graz, 1953), 165, 174. The first edition of Cartari's handbook

appeared under the title *Le imagine colla sposizione degli dei antichi* (Venice, 1556); other popular mythologies available to painters, printmakers, and iconographers contemporary with Francken and Brueghel include Natale Conti, *Mythologiae sive explicationis fabularum . . .* (Venice, 1551), and Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, *De deis gentium varia . . .* (Basel, 1548). The modern equivalent, also useful for quick reference, might be Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450–1600: Dictionnaire d'un langage perdu,* 2 vols. (Geneva, 1958).

38. Cartari, 170, 172–73; cf. Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, *Mercury Presiding over the Arts;* cf. Hollstein 23:43, no. 55.

39. Ibid., 188.

40. Ertz, 328ff.; cat. nos. 327–331

41. Scheller, 107.

42. Speth-Holterhoff, 52ff.

43. Ertz, 451.

44. Cf., *inter alia,* Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius, *Touch,* Hollstein 203:77, no. 105.

45. Cf. Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris, *Tactus,* Hollstein 5:59, no. 233.

46. Ertz, 348ff.

47. The most useful summaries of the Stoic philosophies can be found in Paul Edwards, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* 8 vols. (New York and London, 1967), vol. 8, 19ff., and Frederick Copleston, S.J., *A History of Philosophy,* 9 vols. (New York, rev. ed. 1971–75), 1, 385–400, 421–24, 428–37.

48. For Neo-Stoicism, especially the philosophy of Justus Lipsius, see L. Zanta, *La renaissance du stoicisme au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1914); Morris W. Croll, "Juste Lipse et le mouvement anti-ciceronien à la fin du XVII^e siècle," *Revue du seizième siècle* 2(1914):200–42; J. L. Saunders, *Justus Lipsius: The Philosophy of Renaissance Stoicism* (New York, 1955); and Briels, 149.

49. See note 35, above.

50. Scheller, 112.

51. The same hierarchical arrangement could also be applied to the role of the senses in appreciating the various classifications represented in the encyclopedic collection, without falling back on the Classical *topos* of the *mundus sensibilis* and the *mundus intelligibilis.* Thus, touch and smell were thought only to be able to impart useful information concerning *naturalia,* taste was applicable to both *artificialia* and *naturalia,* while hearing and, again, sight in particular imparted understanding and appreciation of *artificialia,* including *antiquitates* and *artes;* cf. Scheller, 112, n. 89.

52. Cornelis Cort after Frans Floris, *Odoratus,* Hollstein 5:59, no. 235.

53. Ibid., no. 234.

54. Ibid., no. 252.

55. Hollstein 23:79, no. 106.

56. Winner, 171.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid., 172. In effect, Goltzius was making the same point in his *Allegory of Visual Perception.*

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid., 167.

62. Ibid., 171.

63. The association of cats and evil is a long-standing and venerable one, too well known to need elaboration here; cf. Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien,* 3 vols. (Paris, 1555–59), 1:108. In the early eighteenth century, anti-cat sentiment reached a sufficient pitch that an entire treatise on the hateful nature of the cat was published; cf. Christian Benedict Carpzov, *Kattologia, das ist Kurtze Katzen-Historie . . .* (Leipzig, 1716).

64. Speth-Holterhoff, 70; Winner, 171; Kahr, 232; Briels, 160. Kahr was the first to suggest that Francken may have intended a topical reference to the Protestant iconoclasts of the previous century. The statue of Mars (if it is Mars) in the niche in the painting within the painting might further reinforce the specific reference to a recent time of strife in addition to the general meaning stated above. On the other hand, the statue in the niche may represent Minerva, again to announce that the arts and sciences are her special domain.

65. Scheller, 113, fol. 93, fig. 10; private collection, Mainz; cf. exh. cat. *Tentoonstelling-Catalogus van de Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst te Mainz* (1968), no. 33 (reference from Scheller, 113, n. 99).

66. Scheller, 114.

> In an exemplary fashion in this work by Francken, the encyclopedic predilection of the art of painting, its connection with nature and its preeminence over the other arts are combined with the ideal of *virtus,* to achieve an apotheosis of the reigning conception of art in the southern Netherlands.

67. John B. Knipping, *Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands: Heaven on Earth,* 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop and Leiden, 1974), 1:214.

68. Eric J. Sluiter, "Depiction of Mythological Themes," *Gods, Saints and Heroes: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt,* exh. cat. (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1980), 58.

69. Bergström, 154. The pocket watch could also stand for the virtue of temperance in breakfast-pieces; cf. ibid., 189f., but in the *Archdukes* it seems much more likely that its message is temporal rather than temperate.

70. Hajós, 151.

71. Ch. Terlinden, "Le mécénat de l'archiduchesse-infante Isabelle-Claire-Eugénie dans les Pays-Bas," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 4(1934):211ff.; Marcel de Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de Schilderkunst* (Brussels, 1955).

72. Briels, 149–51.

73. Ibid., 156.

74. The portrait of Archduke Albert might be a slightly posthumous tribute to him; cf. Ertz, 451. If that is the case, one might read a further intimation of immortality in the gesturing figure of Mercury over the door, for another of Mercury's duties was to conduct the souls of the dead to their place of immortality: "'Tis thou dost bring the pious souls to their abodes of bliss, marshalling the shadowy throng with golden wand, welcome alike to gods above and those below." Horace, "Hymn to Mercury," *Odes,* Book 1, Ode 10; cf. Horace, *The Odes and Epodes* (Loeb Classical Library), trans. C. D. Bennett (London and Cambridge, 1968), 30–31.

75. The central figure's face has been so abraded during cleaning that any speculation about his identity based on portrait comparisons belongs rightly in the murky half-world of the footnote. His golden chain suggests that he must have been held in high esteem by the regents; cf. Julius Held, *Rembrandt's* Aristotle *and Other Rembrandt Studies* (Princeton, 1969), 33ff. Portraits within collectors' cabinet pieces were frequently based on prints from Anthony van Dyck's *Iconographia;* cf. idem, "Artis pictoriae amator. An Antwerp art patron and his collection," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 50(1957):68ff. There is possibly some resemblance between the sitter depicted in the Baltimore panel and van Dyck's *Jan van den Wouwer,* Hollstein 6:104, no. 18: the mustache, the chin, and the general outlines of the face are not dissimilar, although by no means conclusive, and comparison with the original from which the print was drawn is no more helpful; cf. Gustave Glück, *Van Dyck: Des Meisters Gemälde;* Klassiker der Kunst 13 (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1931), 344. Glück (ibid., 94) identifies an earlier portrait, approximately coeval with the Walters painting (cf. ibid., 529) as Jan van den Wouwer, basing his identification on the fact that van den Wouwer's coat of arms appears in the portrait's apparent pendant (ibid., 95), which Glück therefore reasonably identifies as that of van den Wouwer's wife, Marie Clarisse. Her rather distinctive features, slanting heavy-lidded eyes, long nose, and sharply indented upper lip, correspond to some extent to those of the woman holding the carnation in the Baltimore panel. The carnation would then also function as a symbol of marriage, as well as of the sense of smell; cf. Elisabeth Wolffhardt, "Beiträge zur Pflanzensymbolik," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 8(1954):190. (George Ferguson, without citing any source, attributes the identification of the carnation with marriage to a Flemish tradition; cf. *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (New York, 1954), 34.)

Van den Wouwer's position, profession, and avocations make him a good candidate for the patronage of a picture like the *Archdukes.* Philosopher, jurist, scholar, and active advisor to the Archdukes, he moved in the most influential circles of Antwerp society and in many ways did exemplify the Neo-Stoic ideal of the virtuoso; cf. A. J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden,* 21 vols. (Haarlem, 1876–78), vol. 20, Z.

76. Briels, 149.

77. Patrons and collectors could even enroll in the Antwerp painters' guild as *liefhebbers,* amateurs, and thus both give financial support to the official artists' organization and keep a finger on the pulse of contemporary art while enjoying the privileges extended to members of the Guild; cf. ibid., 144.

78. Mattheus Wytmans, *The Violinist,* oil on panel, 12 x 9⅜in. (30.5 x 23.8cm), signed at lower right, Walters Art Gallery 37.382.

79. P. J. J. van Thiel, "Marriage Symbolism in a Musical Party by Jan Miense Molenaer," *Simiolus* 2(1967–68):91ff.

80. Bergström, 154.

81. J. Richard Judson, *Gerrit van Honthorst: A Discussion of His Position in Dutch Art* (The Hague, 1959), 64–65.

82. Ibid., 17–18.

83. Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, eds., *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler,* 37 vols. (Leipzig, 1907–50), 36:339.

84. After Jan van Bijlert, *Merry Company,* oil on panel, 16 x 22⅞in. (40.6 x 58.0cm), not signed nor dated, Walters Art Gallery 37.707.

85. Susan Donahue Kuretsky, *The Paintings of Jacob Ochtervelt (1634–1682)* (Montclair, 1979), 54–55, cat. nos. 5, 6, 83.

86. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Rome, 1603; facsimile ed. 1970), 11.

87. Ibid., 406.

88. Ibid., 345.

89. Ibid., 348.

90. H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* (London, 1928), 146.

91. Cartari, 173.

92. Andor Pigler, *Barockthemen,* 3 vols. (Budapest, 2d ed. 1974), 2:27ff.

93. Ceres' daughter Proserpine appears as her attribute, for example, in Jan Saenredam's print after Hendrick Goltzius; cf. Hollstein, 23:50, no. 67.

94. See *inter alia* Konrad Renger, "Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus," *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis* 24(1976–78), 190ff.

95. John Walsh, Jr., "Vermeer," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 31(1973):n.p.

96. Mattheus Wytmans, *Young Woman,* oil on panel, 28.5 x 23cm, signed at lower left; Staatliche Kunstsammlung Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. no. 1313; cf. Mary Smith Podles, "The Food of Love," *The Walters Art Gallery Bulletin* 33:8(1981), fig. 3.

97. Cf., for instance, Eddy de Jongh's cautionary remarks in the introduction to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, exhibition catalog, *Tot Lering en Vermaak,* 1976, 4ff.

Bramante's *Belvedere* and a Painting by Raffaello dal Colle in The Walters Art Gallery

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One of the fascinating aftermaths of catalogues of great collections, such as that of the Massarenti collection of paintings in The Walters Art Gallery, is that they cut clear the way for discoveries after attributions have been placed through scholarly analysis in their true perspective. Such is the case with Federico Zeri's work, *Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery.*[1] The catalogue has been heralded as a model of its kind, in particular by John Pope-Hennessy in *Apollo,* September 1976.[2]

One painting, *Madonna and Child with the Young Saint John the Baptist* by Raffaello dal Colle, is, from the point of view of architectural iconography, of great historical significance (fig. 1). Raffaello dal Colle (Raffaello di Michelangelo de Lucca dal Colle), already active by 1516 (he died in 1566), first assisted Raphael in the Farnesina and the Vatican; after Raphael's death in 1520, and until 1524, he assisted Giulio Romano.[3] The painting in The Walters Art Gallery, which is an early work of Raffaello, had been attributed at first to Giulio Romano after a model by Raphael. This attribution was kept for a replica showing the composition in reverse, cited in the catalogue of the paintings in the Borghese Gallery, Rome.[4] The Walters painting is a key example of the incipient Mannerist style in the transitional phase between the last works of Raphael and the first works of Giulio Romano. It also documents a monumental achievement of the Renaissance in Rome, Bramante's *Cortile de Belvedere* in the Vatican Gardens.

The group of the Madonna and Child with the young Saint John the Baptist was painted by Raffaello dal Colle as a "close up," dominated by a romantic ruin in the shape of an unfinished hemicycle with steps—an exedra. Vegetation creeps along the disjointed cornice and up the supports of the ambulatory. From the *aedicula* (doorway) in the center, issue forth three figures (fig. 2), the most conspicuous being a girl gracefully balancing a jar on the top of her head. Farther to the left is Saint Joseph (fig. 3), groping his way with a cane, about to descend the steps. The staircase presents a structure that is no less remarkable than unmistakable (fig. 4). It consists of nine convex risers in its lower part. The steps become concave above, expanding into a *cavea.*

Such a staircase is a record of the very one imagined and engineered by Bramante at the northern end of the terminal of the *cortile,* or courtyard, of the *Belvedere* in the Vatican Gardens (fig. 5). The first architect to Pope Julius II (1503–13), Bramante designed, partially built, and left the structure unfinished at the time of his death (1514). The *cortile* provided not only a monumental link, but an architectural landscape, covering more than 300 meters in the valley between the Borgia apartments in the Vatican Palace and the *Belvedere,* a villa built on a northern slope by Pope Innocent VIII (1484–92).[5]

Of the *cortile* as Bramante projected it (fig. 6), with an extraordinary extension of three progressively ascending terraces, linked by a monumental staircase and parallel ramps between three-story alleys and galleries, nothing was retained by Raffaello dal Colle in his painting. Only the apex of the whole vista, the exedra, struck his fancy. Even this small excerpt was rendered ambiguously, the artist having shifted the exedra out of axis. That Mannerist trick, combined with other subtle devices, probably explains why Bramante's exedra has

◀ *1. Raffaello dal Colle,* Madonna and Child with the Young Saint John the Baptist, *oil on panel, 69.2 x 85.4 cm, sixteenth century. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.548.*

2. Raffaello dal Colle, Madonna and Child with the Young Saint John the Baptist, *detail. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.548.*

rarely been identified in the background of the Walters painting;[6] we have been accustomed to imagining the structure full-face. The ideal point chosen by Bramante for focusing on the exedra was the central, southern window of Raphael's *Stanza della Segnatura,* above and in the middle of the Borgia apartments. From this point of view, the horizon is at the top of the structure, where the exedra crowns Bramante's rational fantasy. Raffaello's shifting of axis invites the viewer to concentrate on the Virgin and Child. He does not perceive the exedra from afar and above, but at a closer range and in a *di sotto in sù* perspective. The architectural axis is such that, were its western limit to be represented in the painting, the exedra would jump beyond the *cortile* bounds. Consequently, the right half of Raffaello's exedra, corresponding to the northeast of Bramante's, is foreshortened, while the left half, corresponding to the northwest, is expanded and pivoted forward.

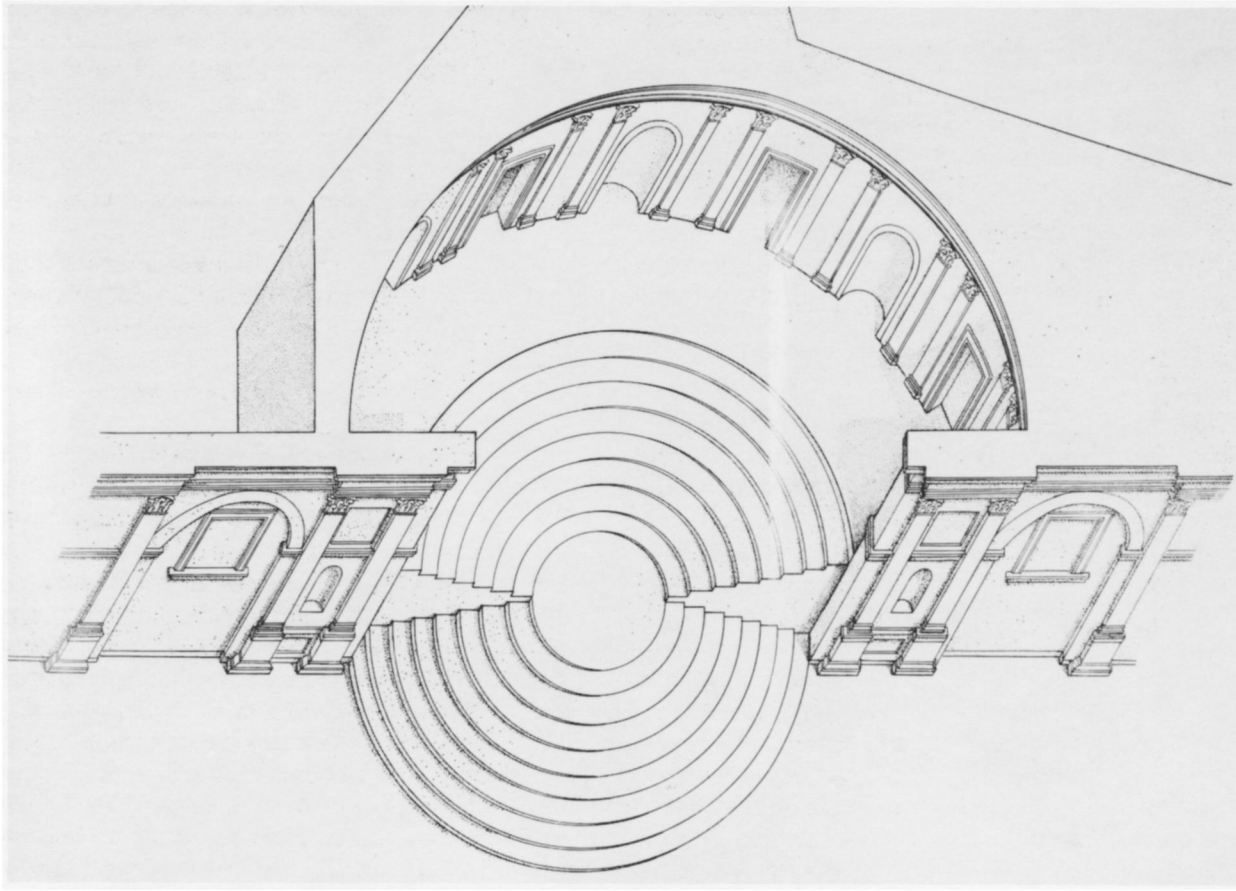
The contrast between the bulky figures in the foreground, and, above them an off-center, dwarfed architectural motif, was adopted shortly after Raphael's death (1520) by Giulio Romano, as one of his revolutionary innovations. Giulio's *Sacra Conversazione*

3. Raffaello dal Colle, Madonna and Child with the Young Saint John the Baptist, *detail. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.548.*

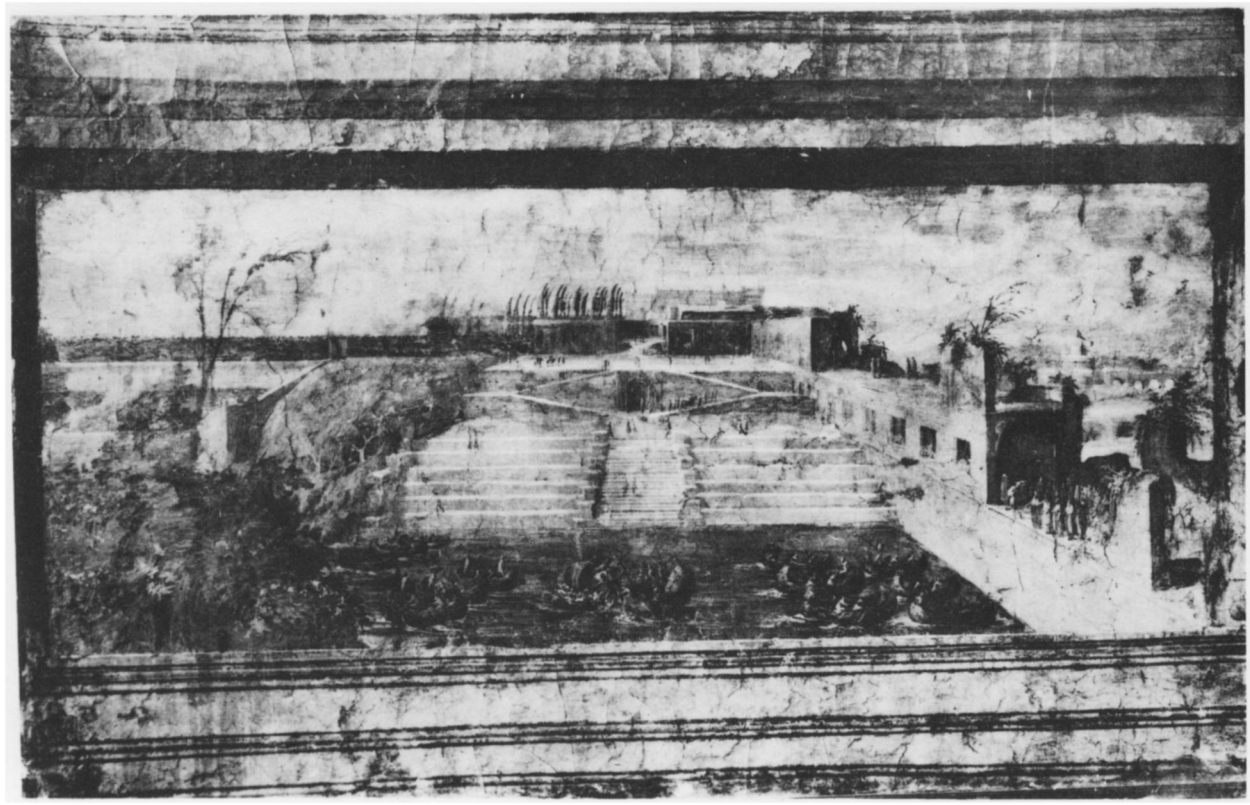
above the main altar of Santa Maria dell'Anima, Rome (fig. 7), is composed on the same principles as Raffaello's painting in The Walters Art Gallery—with the qualification that the exedra appearing in the upper left corner of Giulio's work is viewed from the inside and looks rather like an ambulatory in an atrium or a cloister.

Raffaello dal Colle was associated with Gianfrancesco Penni to decorate, after cartoons designed by Giulio Romano, the Hall of Constantine (the *Sala di Costantino*) between Raphael's three *Stanze* and his *Loggie* in the Vatican Palace. In the window jambs of the Hall of Constantine is a painting of a two-storied exedra (which must have been executed prior to October

4. *Raffaello dal Colle,* Madonna and Child with the Young Saint John the Baptist, *detail. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.548.*



5. *Reconstitution of Bramante's exedra according to James S. Ackerman.*[5]



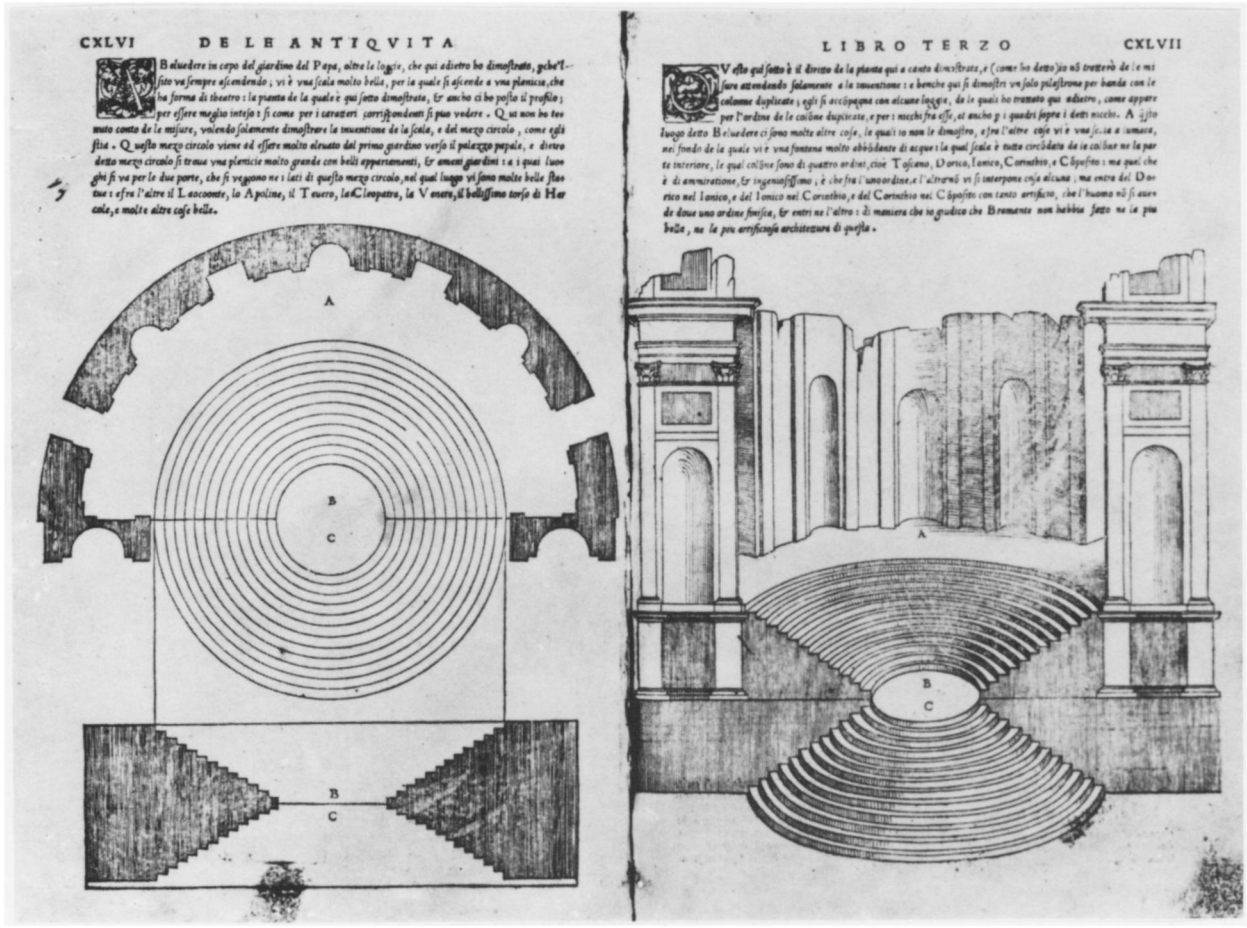
6. Perino del Vaga, View of the Cortile del Belvedere as seen from the Vatican Palace (1537–41). *Fresco in Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome.*

1524, when Giulio Romano left for Mantua). Frederick Hartt has attributed to Raffaello the allegorical figures of Faith and Religion, which bracket the enthroned figure of Pope Sylvester, as well as the caryatid figures.[7] The entablature of the decorative exedra is supported by caryatids in the same style. The double staircase, convex below and concave above, recalls the one designed by Bramante for the *cortile* exedra; the fountain may be reminiscent of that in the lower court of the Belvedere. Such a combination of a *cavea* of concave steps and a fountain, however, can be found in Roman gardens, and possibly was inspired here by a ruin such as the *Lavacrum Agrippae,* not far from the church of *Santa Maria sopra Minerva.*[8] Another fresco in the Hall of Constantine, showing Pope Sylvester baptizing Constantine in a *cavea* with five risers or steps, a hemicycle of arches, and a niche behind them, seems to owe more to Roman architecture than to Bramante. The podium on which the Virgin is seated in the Walters painting, though, is not unlike the pedestal of the caryatids in the Hall of Constantine fresco.[9] The pilasters separating the bays end in Ionic volutes in the painting and are of the Tuscan order in the fresco.

In 1551, Bramante's convex and concave staircase was replaced by a rectangular one with two opposite flights of steps, Michelangelo's design.[10] A platform, which leveled off the *cavea* in the hemicycle and the exedra itself, enclosed within a newly built semicircular wall, became a corridor. The huge niche, the famous *nicchione* (fig.8), which today is at the north, ending the upper half of the disfigured *Cortile del Belvedere,* was built by Pirro Ligorio and vaulted in May 1563.[11] Bramante's exedra was buried in the supporting structure of the *nicchione,* and his staircase was completely obliterated. A dozen visual documents of the second quarter of the sixteenth century, including the decoration mentioned in the Hall of Constantine and a fresco later transferred to canvas in Castel Sant'Angelo, however, have preserved the memory of Bramante's ingenious concept for the staircase. Of paramount importance for its reconstitution are: a plan of the whole *cortile* by an anonymous Florentine architect, drawn c.1520–25, now at the Soane Museum, London; a plan and an elevation by an anonymous French architect, drawn before 1535, now at Windsor Castle; two plates—a plan and an elevation—drawn before 1535, in Sebastiano Serlio's *De Le Antiquità, Libro Terzo,* the Venice edition of 1540 (fig.9); a plan by Baldassare Peruzzi, drawn after October 1534, now at the Uffizi, Florence; and the panoramic fresco of a view of the *cortile* from the top of the Vatican Palace, painted as a sort of Hellenistic *capriccio* by Perino del Vaga, between 1537 and

7. *Giulio Romano,* Sacra Conversazione. *Santa Maria dell'Anima, Rome. (Photo: Editorial Photocolor Archives, Inc.)*

8. Il Nicchione, *Cortile della Pigna, Vatican Gardens. (Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome.)*



9. Sebastiano Serlio, Plan and perspective elevation of Bramante's exedra, *before 1535.*

1541, today in Castel Sant'Angelo (see fig.6).[12] The Walters painting by Raffaello dal Colle must be one of the three earliest records of the vanished exedra.

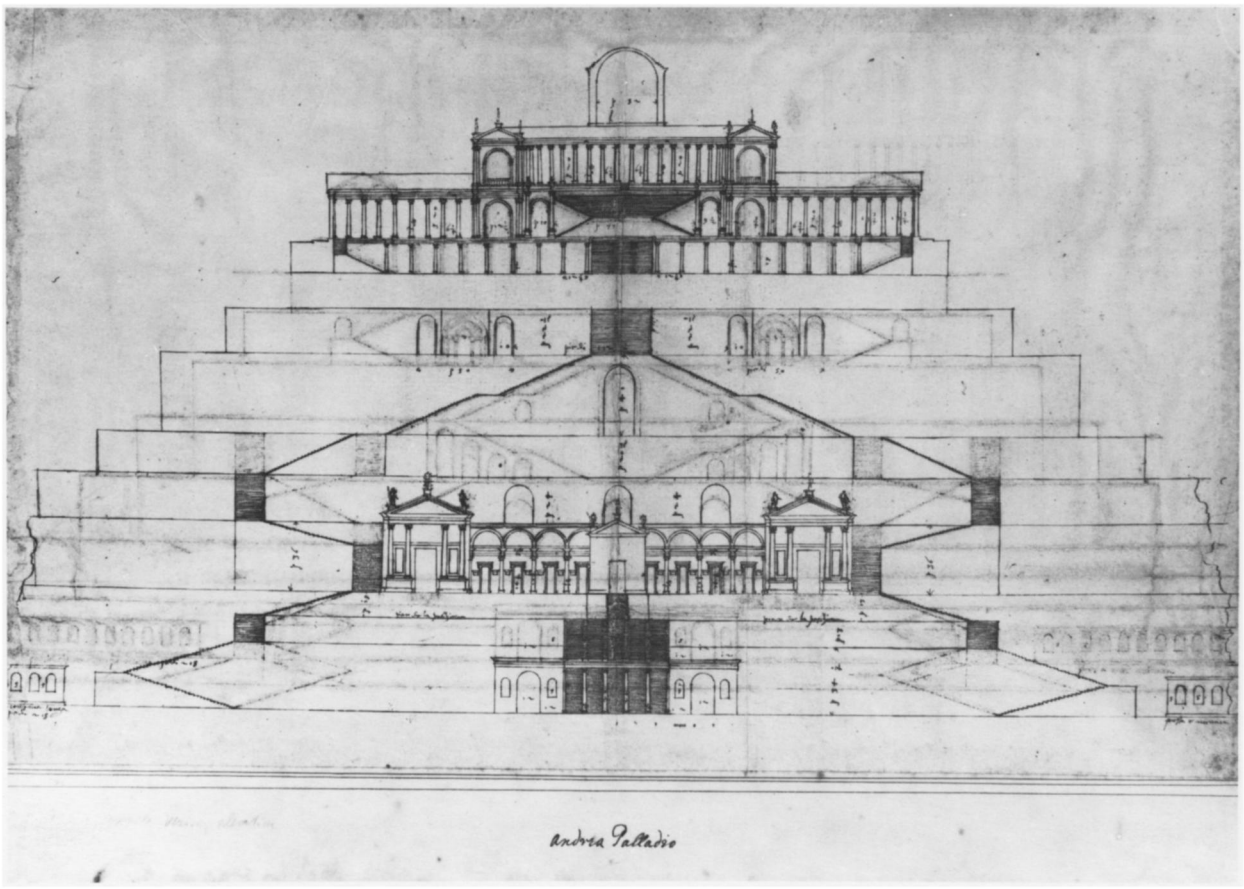
It should be noted that Michelangelo took inspiration from Bramante's double (convex and concave) staircase in designing a first project for the staircase in the entrance hall of the Laurentian Library, Florence—a commission of the Medici Pope Clement VII (1523–34).[13] However, the staircase was not completed until 1559.[14] In the meantime, Michelangelo had a dream in which he saw a vision of a different staircase,[15] the actual one with its crescent-shaped risers, diminishing in width until reaching the door of the library, the lateral, straight flights of steps on the left and the right, flanking the converging banisters of the central portion. This central part, as Michelangelo explained to Vasari, was reserved for the masters; the lateral parts, for the use of the servants. Seven steps from the top, however, the two parts coalesced. The final version, a hybrid of Bramante's staircase to the Belvedere exedra and its replacement of 1551 by Michelangelo, materializes Michelangelo's curiously anthropomorphic conception of architecture, in which

> the nose which stands in the middle of the face is not depending on either eye, although one hand must of necessity correspond with the other, because they are placed at the sides and in pairs. Therefore, it is very certain that architectural members depend on the members of the human body. He that has not mastered or does not master the human figure and especially its anatomy can never comprehend it.[16]

The documents are at variance concerning the number of steps of Bramante's staircase. The most reliable of all, Peruzzi's sketch, registers *scalini 16,* i.e., eight convex followed by eight concave steps. That number is supported by Giorgio Vasari in the seventh book of the first edition of his *Lives,* published in Venice in 1550 (n.s.1551).[17] Raffaello dal Colle, in showing nine convex risers in the lower part of the staircase, does not fall very far from the mark.

The staircase is, archaeologically speaking, the soundest element represented in Raffaello's composition. The design of Bramante's staircase remains a mystery. Could it have been envisioned as a sort of bipartite, three-dimensional labyrinth,[18] at the same time a secret

10. Giorgio Vasari, The Life of Pope Paul III Farnese. *Fresco, Salone dei Cento Giorni, Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome. (Photo: André Chastel,* The Crisis of the Renaissance ⟨*Ohio: World Publishing Company, 1968*⟩*, 129.)*



11. The terraces of the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina. (Copyright: British Architectural Library/RIBA.)

cipher of the garden and an architectural implement, summing up, in a movement of tide and ebb, the ascending and expanding rhythms governing the progressive development of the *cortile*? Such a perfect symmetrical staircase was falling into disfavor towards the middle of the sixteenth century. In one of Vasari's frescoes in the Salone dei Cento Giorni of the Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome, a Mannerist double staircase is made up in its lower part of two narrow rectangular flights of steps meeting at a single, half-oval step and re-expanding into a *cavea* of five steps (fig.10).[19] Vasari's solution was a compromise—an uneasy one—between Bramante's design and Michelangelo's radical departure, which erased all reference to the idea of circularity in his new staircases for the *cortile* exedra, as well as for the façade of the Palazzo Senatorio, on the Capitoline Hill.

It is universally recognized that the temple of *Fortuna Primigenia* on the slope of the hill at Palestrina was the chief source of Bramante's inspiration in designing the *Cortile del Belvedere*.[20] The combination of a straight (perpendicular) staircase and an upper *cavea* leading to an exedra signaled the apex of a succession of ascending sanctuaries and porticoes, alleys and ramps, hemicycles and flights of steps, building up the complex, immense monument of the mid-second century B.C.[21] Laying bare the various infrastructures of the Palestrina temple by destroying the city that had grown among its ruins, the bombings of 1944 made more obvious its derivation.[22] Five drawings executed on the spot by Palladio, in 1571 and 1572, bear testimony to what Bramante was actually able to see in the early sixteenth century.[23] They retrace the scratch line from which his imagination started rolling.[24] Ideally, Raffaello dal Colle's painted exedra is more in agreement with the archaeological model in Palestrina than with its renascence of less than a half-century later at the end of the *Cortile del Belvedere*. Bramante's exedra was a one-story wall scooped out by alternating niches and doorways (see fig.5). In the Walters painting the semicircular ambulatory resembles the Palestrina exedra, except that the Palestrina one was not a simple corridor or a curved loggia, but had a double aisle (fig.11). We may presume that Raffaello went to Palestrina and wistfully meditated there. But neither he, nor Bramante, nor anyone living during the first third of the sixteenth century, could have seen with his naked eyes the unadulterated Palestrina exedra, because it had already been defaced during the Middle Ages and transformed by Stefano

12. Andrea del Sarto, Holy Family. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Maria DeWitt Jesup Fund, 1922.)*

◀ *13. Il Primaticcio (1504–70),* Madonna and Child with Saints Zacharias, Elizabeth, and John the Baptist. *The Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. In this little-known composition, the* concetto *of the open circular gallery and the concave staircase are Bramante-esque. The figures are painted on slate, a material that gives the oil pigments a silvery sheen. (Slate was also used by Sebastiano del Piombo and Daniele da Volterra.) The material was easily obtained at Fontainebleau, where Francis I in 1532 invited Il Primaticcio to join Il Rosso, but the painting could as easily be a work preceding Il Primaticcio's departure for France.*[27]

Colonna (after 1448) and his son Francesco (between 1490 and 1504) into a two-story palace, the plan of which, however, respected the curve of the ancient exedra.[25] Access to the central semicircular part of the Colonna Palace was provided by the ancient *cavea,* but the primitive straight and perpendicular lower flight of steps had been replaced by two narrow converging ones, parallel with the façade of the concave courtyard, an anticipation of the staircase painted by Vasari in 1546 and of the two staircases designed by Michelangelo, mentioned above.

The romantic character of Raffaello dal Colle's reconstitution in the Walters painting is intimated by the creeping vegetation artificially aging the architectural fantasy of the exedra and returning it to a state of nature, by the fantastic duplication of the steps on the right of the painting, and by trees wildly shooting on the slope and in the opposite corner, near the concave steps. Such free foliage harks back to a motif traditional in Hellenistic landscape painting. The statues set in the niches have nothing to do with the antiques assembled in the statue courtyard of the Belvedere since the early sixteenth century. We associate them more readily with the statues adorning the niches in the garden of Raphael's *Villa Madama.*

Thus, Raffaello dal Colle's architectural fantasy is made up of observed elements mixed with figments of his imagination. It is fundamentally a *capriccio,* and an early and fascinating one in a genre that was to become glorious in the history of Italian landscape painting. A proud Madonna of Humility, the Virgin is seated at the intermediate level of a *Cortile del Belvedere* both real and unreal, conceived here as a pagan version of a "paradise," the enclosed garden of the *Song of Songs.* Above her hovers, like a crown, the hemicycle of the exedra, pregnant with evocations not only of Bramante and Palestrina, but of the garden *nymphaea,* then so numerous among the ruins of ancient Rome.[26] The Virgin being the Fountain of Grace, does not Raffaello dal Colle's Madonna deserve to be called *Our Lady of the Nymphaeum?*

NOTES

1. F. Zeri, *Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery,* ed. Ursula McCracken, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1976). Condition notes by Elisabeth C. G. Packard. Rafaello dal Colle's *Madonna and Child with the Young Saint John* is no. 233.

2. The author of this article reviewed it in *Vie des Arts* (Montréal) 22:87(1977):83–84.

3. Zeri, 2:355–57.

4. P. della Pergola, *Galleria Borghese, Catalogo dei dipinti,* vol. 2 (1959), 89f. Cf. H. Voss, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz* (1920), 98.

5. James S. Ackerman, "The Belvedere as a Classical Villa," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 14(1951):70–91 (Garland Reprint Series in the History of Art, New York); *The Cortile del Belvedere, Studi e Documenti per la Storia del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano,* vol. 3, 1954; Arnaldo Bruschi, *Bramante Architetto* (Bari, 1969), Parte seconda, cap. ii, Il Belvedere, 292–417. D. Redig de Campos, *I Palazzi Vaticani* (Bologna, 1967), *passim.*

6. André Chastel's verbal identification of Bramante's exedra in the background of Raffaello dal Colle's painting was made to this author during the latter's curatorship at The Walters Art Gallery (1953–1966). Elisabeth Packard, former director of Conservation and Technical Research at the Walters, has informed the author in writing that Dr. Luitpold Frommer, visiting The Walters Art Gallery in 1976, also expressed the opinion that Rafaello's architectural feature provides important evidence of the existence of Bramante's staircase and exedra.

7. Frederick Hartt, *Giulio Romano* (Yale University Press, 1958), 45–50.

8. Cod. Vat. 3449, fol. 25r. Cf. F. Castagnoli, "Pirro Ligorio topographo di Roma Antica," *Palladio* (1952), 101, fig. 3.

9. Compare, however, a similar use of a podium in a similar composition painted c. 1530 by Andrea del Sarto (fig. 12), in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: F. Zeri, *Italian Paintings, A Catalogue of the Collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (1971), 198–200.

10. Ackerman, *Belvedere,* 75–76.

11. Ackerman, *Cortile,* 97.

12. Ibid., fig. 1, cat. 4a; fig. 18, cat. 16; fig. 16, cat. 15c; fig. 20, cat. 14; fig. 19, cat. 19.

13. Casa Buonarroti, Florence, no. 92v. Cf. Leo Steinberg, *Michelangelo's Last Paintings* (New York:Oxford University Press, 1975), fig. 81, 51.

14. Michelangelo's letter from Rome, 14 January 1559, to Bartolomeo Ammannati in Florence. *Die Briefe des Michelagniolo Buonarroti übersetz von Karl Frey,* 3d ed. (Berlin, 1961), 189–90. Frederick Hartt, *History of Italian Renaissance Painting. Sculpture. Architecture,* 4th ed. (New York:Harry N. Abrams, 1974), 492, fig. 593.

15. Michelangelo's letter from Rome, 28 September 1555, to Giorgio Vasari in Florence. Frey, 136–37.

16. G. Milanesi, *Le lettere di Michelangelo Buonarroti edite ed inedite coi ricordi ed i contratti artistici* (Florence, 1875), 554. James S. Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo* (New York/London, 1961)1f.

17. Ibid., 75, n. 3.

18. The complex of buildings and gardens projected for the new Vatican palace by Pope Nicolas V (1447–55), which inspired Julius II and Bramante, is called "labyrinth," "paradise," by Manetti in his life of Nicolas V (Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores,* 4:2). In the line engraving by Philip Gall of Hendrick van Cleve's panorama of the Belvedere from the northwest, is represented the labyrinth in the garden of Pope Clement VII (1523–34). Hendrick van Cleve's painting, formerly in the collection of Colonel Anson, Catton Hall, Burton-on-Trent, England, was sold in 1957. Cf. Philip Gall's engraving in Ackerman, *Cortile,* fig. 27, cat. 26).

19. Reproduced in color in André Chastel, *La crise de la Renaissance* (Geneva, 1968), 129.

20. The recognition began in 1908: Ackerman, *Belvedere,* 82, n.2; *Cortile,* 132, n.4; Bruschi, 324, n.51.

21. Furio Fasolo, *Il Santuario della Fortuna Primigenia a Palestrina* (Rome, 1953).

22. F. Fasolo, "Il Tempio della Fortuna Prenestina," *Spazio,* vol.1 (1950), 17ff.

23. G. Zorzi, "Il Tempio della Fortuna Primigenia di Palestrina nei disegni di Andrea Palladio," *Palladio* n.s.1(1951), 145–51; *I disegni delle antichità di Andrea Palladio* (Venice, 1959); H. Spielmann, *Andrea Palladio und die Antike* (Munich:Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1966), 53–60, cat. nos.98–102. Palladio had paid a first visit to Palestrina in the summer of 1547, but the drawings are dated c.1571–72.

24. Some help may be derived from folio 115 of volume B of a collection of drawings passed from Hippolyte Destailleur to St. Petersburg and destroyed during the Russian Revolution of 1917. Photographs taken by H. von Geymüller were bequeathed to the German Archaeological Institute in Rome. On one of them, the Palestrina exedra appears twice: first as a hemicycle, then as a full circle, that is as Pirro Ligorio, no doubt obsessed by Bramante's staircase, reconstructed its plan and elevation in his drawings of the temple at Palestrina. Cf. Ackerman, *Belvedere,* 86, end of n.1, and *Cortile,* n. p.134; Spielmann, figs.53–54. Curiously enough, Pirro Ligorio reconstituted a *tholos* to Vesta above and behind the exedra at Palestrina, which may explain also the two-story elevation in the decorative fresco of the Sala di Costantino.

25. Ludwig H. Heydenreich, "Der Palazzo Baronale der Colonna in Palestrina," *Walter Friedländer zum 60 Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1965), 85–91. I suppose that Bramante planned to end his cortile with an exedra following suggestions offered by Roman garden planning as described by Pliny the Younger: "rectus limes in extrema parte hemicyclo frangitur mutatque faciem . . ." *Letters,* V,6. Cf. II, 17.R. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Plinio il Giovane. Lettere scelte con commento archeologico* (Florence, 1936).

26. Cf. Bruschi, 324–25.

27. From Everett Fahy, "Italian Renaissance Paintings from Leningrad," *Leonardo to Titian: Renaissance Painting from the Hermitage, a Special International Loan Exhibition Premiering at the National Gallery of Art, May 13–June 24, 1979,* p.89, color pl.26.

Notes on the Collection

A Pair of Portraits by Hendrik van der Vliet

EDWARD S. KING
Baltimore

For the companion portraits of a man and his wife in The Walters Art Gallery (figs. 1, 2), the question of authorship seemed destined to hang indefinitely in abeyance for want of corroborating evidence. Prior to their arrival in Baltimore in 1902, the portraits were ascribed to Aelbert Cuyp of Dordrecht (1620–91), which is not entirely a far-fetched attribution.[1]

Sometime prior to 1902, however, their oak panel supports had been cut down on both sides and on the bottom, an operation which removed half or more of the inscriptions on the lower right of each portrait.[2] The remaining inscription on the man's portrait reads: $^{AEta}_{H}$, and that on the wife's portrait: $\frac{AEta}{(Hv?)an} \frac{35}{de}$. The surface film on the areas around the inscriptions was damaged, and under the microscope the somewhat indistinct lettering was seen to have been retouched—tracing, no doubt, over the forms of the original letters.

Analogous stylistic evidence verifies that the retouched lettering does in fact refer to the signature of Hendrik Cornelisz van der Vliet of Delft (1611/12–75), who is better known for his views of church interiors than for his portraits.[3] The man in the Walters portrait is quite similar in style (including the manner of presentation, with the right arm placed across the chest) to the *Portrait of a Man* that Hendrik signed and dated 1645 and which was put up for auction in Cologne several years ago.[4] How very closely Hendrik has adhered in the present pair of portraits to the mannner of his uncle and teacher, Willem van der Vliet of Delft (c. 1548–1642), is made patently clear when the paintings are compared to the portraits of a married couple, which were on the London art market some years ago and are most plausibly attributed to Willem (figs. 3, 4).[5] The manner of these two sets of portraits is, indeed, so similar that it is not difficult to imagine Hendrik as the author of the London pair, also.

The simple costume of the man in the Walters portrait is most typical of the apparel worn by those in the arts and professions, and generally by the Dutch upper middle class (*hogere burgery*), but perhaps also by the more successful shop owners and skilled craftsmen (*middenstand*), from the 1620s into the 1650s. The same sort of voluminous coat or outer garment of a heavy, dark material, with a cape hanging down the back; the broad-brimmed hat and wide, falling band reaching over the shoulders, trimmed with moderately projecting scallops of Flemish pillow lace (often referred to as a Vandyke collar), to which the hair reaches or over which it falls slightly; the mustache and Vandyke beard; and the gloves, are seen, among a great many other examples, in Rembrandt's 1641 portrait of the merchant Nicolaas van Bambeek.[6] So sober a costume contrasts markedly with the elegance and elaboration affected by the *patriciat* as witnessed, for example, in the somewhat dandyish attire of Constantijn Huygens.[7]

The costume of the wife, which provides a classic image of the appearance of the upper middle-class Dutch women during this thirty-year (or more) span, is almost identical to that worn by the wife in the portrait attributed to Willem van der Vliet (fig. 4). The Walters subject (who looks somewhat younger than thirty-five) wears a double cap, the inside one embroidered with plant forms and edged in front with Flemish pillow (bobbin) lace (as are also the sleeve cuffs), the outer one of transparent gauze on a wire frame that widens considerably at the bottom. Her wide, shallow, millstone ruff is tight at the neck and unswaying over the shoulders; her black overgown (*vlieger*) is open to show the black, embroidered stomacher (*borst*) buttoned down the front.

A variation of this mode is seen in Hendrik Sorgh's 1645 portrait of his wife, Adrianentje Hollaer. (In this connection it may be noted that a similar costume is worn by a young woman whose portrait Rembrandt painted in 1647(?), which also has been labeled as that of Adrianentje Hollaer, on the ground of its alleged resemblance to the portrait by her husband. However, since the faces of the two women could hardly be more

1. Hendrik van der Vliet, Portrait of a Man, *oil on panel, 76.2 x 61.9cm, seventeenth century. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.1908.*

2. *Hendrik van der Vliet,* Portrait of a Young Woman, *oil on panel, 77.5 x 61.6 cm, seventeenth century. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.373.*

3. Attributed to Willem van der Vliet, Portrait of a Man. *Formerly of the London art market. (Photo: Brian L. Koetser, London.)*

4. Attributed to Willem van der Vliet, Portrait of a Woman. *Formerly of the London art market. (Photo: Brian L. Koetser, London.)*

dissimilar, the identification of the Rembrandt portrait's subject as Mevrouw Sorgh is anatomically impossible).[8] A splendid example of a similar but somewhat richer costume appears in Nicolaes Eliasz Pickenoy's superior *Portrait of Maria Swartenhout*, of 1627, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.[9] Versions of the same type of costume, but with a much more elaborate and ornate character, adorn the wives of wealthy merchants, the ladies of the aristocracy (*adel*), and those of the court (*an het hof*), as may be seen in portraits by Michiel Jansz Mierevelt (1567–1611), who was for a time court portraitist to the Prince of Orange, and who was Hendrik van der Vliet's other teacher at Delft.[10]

Solely on the evidence of the four portraits presented here, one would conclude that a certain Dutch predisposition to portray individuals with an air of great matter-of-factness and as though in an emotionless state of mind (reminiscent of the necessary stillness of mien of portraits in early photography) is notably exemplified by the two van der Vliets. On the other hand, lest one generalize too quickly and unfairly, it should be noted that considerable mental alertness and a quiet sense of humor are expressed in the subject of Willem's signed *Portrait of a Cleric* in the National Gallery, London.

NOTES

1. *Portrait of a Man*, oak panel, 76.1 x 61.8cm, acc. no.37.1908. *Portrait of a Woman*, oak panel, 77.3 x 61.5cm, acc. no.37.373. The two portraits were acquired by Henry Walters in his en bloc purchase of the collection of Don Marcello Massarenti, Under Almoner to the Holy See, Rome, 1902 (E. van Esbroeck, *Catalogue du musée de peinture, sculpture et archéologie au Palais Accoramboni* ⟨Rome, 1897⟩, nos.723, 660, respectively, as by Albert Cuyp). The fact that the man's portrait is on the spectator's left and the portrait of his wife is on the spectator's right, reminds one that this placement is a universally observed relationship between companion portraits. The reason would seem to be simply that most people are right-handed. Thus, imagining the couple to be walking forward toward the viewer, the woman would take her husband's left arm with her right hand, leaving his right hand free for such contingency as might arise.

2. The panels were probably cut down at a time when they were fitted with new frames to suit a new owner in a new location.

3. A. von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Kunstler-Lexikon* 2(1963): 804, gives three examples of Hendrik's signature, all of which read "H van Vliet," but notes that a picture called "The Seamstress in Berlin" ("no longer exhibited") is signed and dated, "H van der Vliet 1650."

4. Lempert-Auktion, Cologne, Kat.539 (27–29 June 1974), no.247, pl.16. Panel, 67 x 58cm, signed and dated, "H van Vliet 1645."

5. Brian Koetser Gallery, London; *Apollo* 91(April 1970):38. Panels, 56 x 47cm.

6. H. Gerson, *Rembrandt's Paintings* (1968), 82, 333, no.232.

7. Cf. F. Schmidt Degener, *Oud Holland* (1914), 221ff.

8. Degener identifies the portrait of a man of 164(7) by Rembrandt in the Westminster Collection, London, as that of the painter Hendrik Sorgh, on the basis of the resemblance of the nose to that of Hendrik Sorgh's self-portrait of 1645 in the Boymans van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam: "De neus echter alleen, met vierkante rug en krachtigen knobbel, stomp eindigend, is reeds voldoende om de identiteit te bewijzen." Ibid., 223–24. Actually, the noses are not remarkably similar in the two portraits, and while the shape of the eyes is similar, the supraorbital ridges and the mouths are different. In sum, the two men do not look like one and the same individual. The identification of the two Rembrandt portraits as the likenesses of Hendrik Sorgh and his wife is accepted by A. Bredius, *Rembrandt* (1937), nos.251, 370; and in the same work as revised by H. Gerson (1969), 198, 291; and by Gerson, *Rembrandt's Paintings*, 79, 345, nos.251, 252. Cf. p.7 regarding F. Schmidt Degener as a critic.

9. Reproduced in *Les Arts* (November 1907):31.

10. Cf. the two fine examples in the Louvre, one of which is dated 1634 (illustrated in *Les Arts*, ibid.); and the example of 1639 by Jacob Willensz Delff of Delft (1619–61), Mierevelt's grandson and pupil, as illustrated in W. Bernt, *Die niederländischen Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts* 1(1948): 228. In Mierevelt's portrait of a woman of 1635 in the Six Collection, Amsterdam, the sitter wears a wide, falling band of Flemish pillow lace instead of a ruff (Bernt, 2:528). This kerchief collar, as it was worn contemporaneously with the wide ruff. Both collars tended to phase out in the 1650s by receding from the neck; cf. M. Davenport, *The Book of Costume* (1948), nos.1370, 1626–27, 1647. That the costumes of well-to-do merchants' wives could vie in opulence and detail with those of aristocratic and court ladies is attested, e.g., in the case of Agatha Bas, the wife of the merchant Nicolaas van Bambeek, mentioned above, in the portrait of her by Rembrandt of 1641 in Brussels (Gerson, *Rembrandt's Paintings*, 83, 332–33). Mierevelt's portraits of four of the Princes of Orange, beginning with that of William the Silent, are in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

11. Illustrated in Bernt, no.951.

A Late Greek Manuscript in The Walters Art Gallery

GEORG LUCK
The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore

In *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (1935), Seymour de Ricci describes MS.W.475 (listed as no.18) as "Pseudo-Herodotus, Life of Homer, in Greek. Pap. (16th c.), 8ff. (31 × 21 cm.) Written in Italy . . . " Henry Walters bought the manuscript in Florence from L. S. Olschki in the early years of this century.

In 1979, Dr. Lilian M. C. Randall and Dr. Judith Oliver, collaborating on the catalogue of the western manuscripts of The Walters Art Gallery, discovered that the slim volume contained not only the *Vita Homeri* ascribed to Herodotus, but also some other texts overlooked by de Ricci, and they asked me to help them identify these portions. Here is the result:

On fols.1–6v. the volume contains the *Life of Homer* mentioned above (fig.1), but on fols.7r.–8r. is the preface of Demetrius Chalcondylas to the *editio princeps* of Homer (fig.2), and on fol.8v. is the Hypothesis to the first book of the *Iliad,* as it also appears in the *editio princeps.*

Demetrius Demilas printed the first edition of Homer (H 269 Stillwell—H 300 Goff) in Florence, at the expense of the Nerli brothers, Bernardo and Neri. Though it is dated 9 December 1488, it could not have been issued before 13 January 1488/89, the date of the dedicatory letter by Chalcondylas. The Walters has both volumes of this magnificent edition; Henry Walters purchased them from Olschki in 1902.

The introductory material to the Chalcondylas edition of Homer includes the following texts: (1) a Latin letter by Bernardo Nerli to Piero de Medici (1471–1503), who was one of Lorenzo il Magnifico's three sons and eighteen years old at the time of publication (1488/89); (2) the dedicatory letter by Chalcondylas himself, whose manuscript (and, possibly, autograph) version has now been identified at the Walters; (3) the *Vita Homeri* attributed to Herodotus; (4) the *Vita Homeri* attributed to Plutarch; (5) the Dio Chrysostomus lecture on Homer (Or.53).[1]

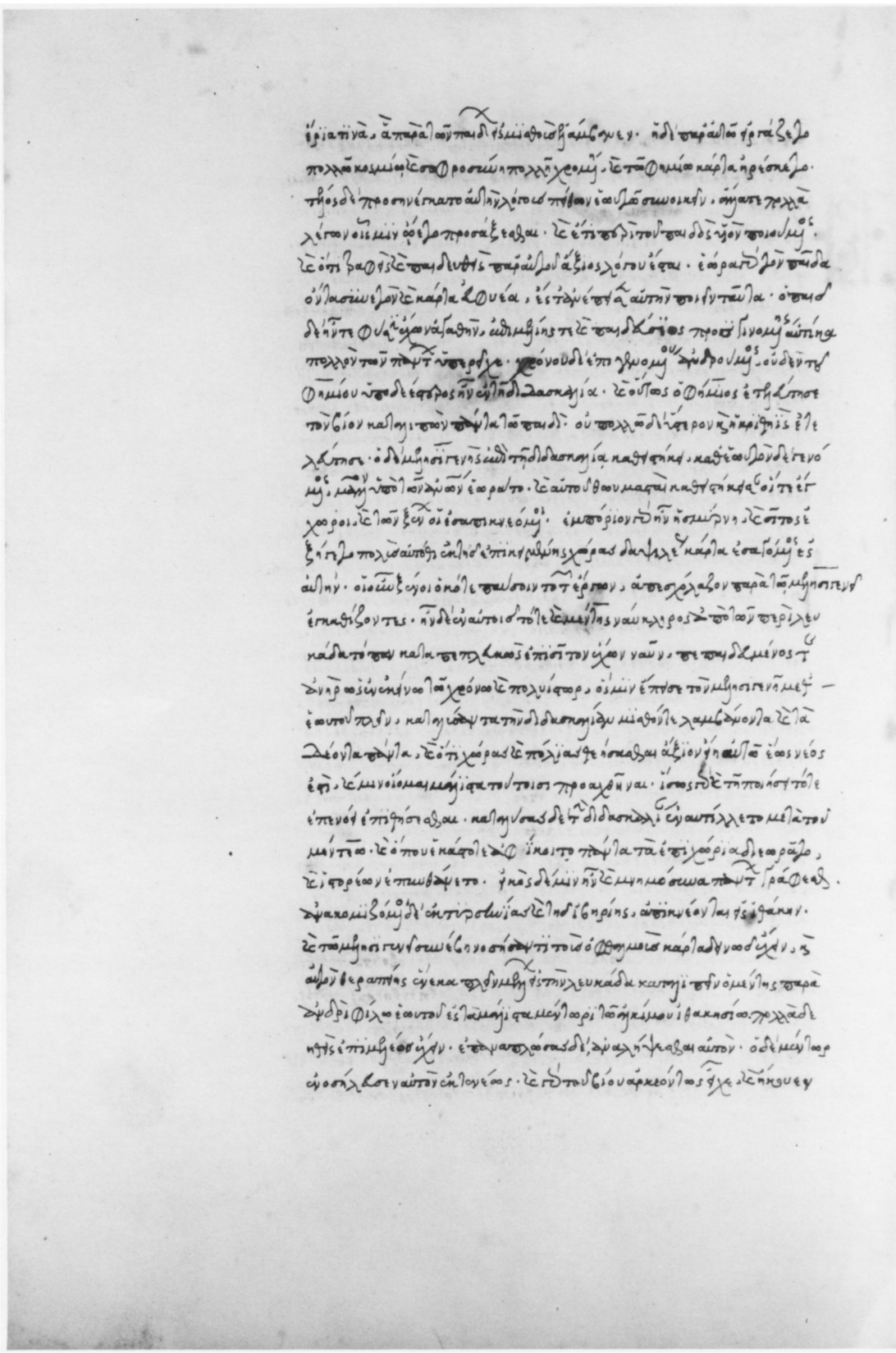
These texts are all found at the beginning of the first volume of the *editio princeps* in the Walters, as well as in most of the few extant copies elsewhere; but according to Legrand,[2] the texts also appear at the end of the second volume. Could this placement explain the curious pagination of the Walters manuscript, added by another hand of about the same date? It begins with page 122 and ends with page 129.

In the Walters manuscript, the *Vita Homeri* and the prefatory letter seem to be in different hands; but Chalcondylas no doubt had assistants. There are several fingerprints in the margins, suggesting that these pages were once handled by printers. Manuscripts sent to the printers in the fifteenth century were often broken into sections, and one such section may be preserved in the Walters. Other parts may still be in Florence, where the two examples now in Baltimore were purchased. My conclusion is that MS.W.475 is part of the printer's copy prepared by Chalcondylas, and that it should be dated before 1488/89. The other alternative—that someone copied parts of the printed edition by hand—seems remote, since the writing is by no means calligraphic, though it is neat, with a few marginal notes.[3]

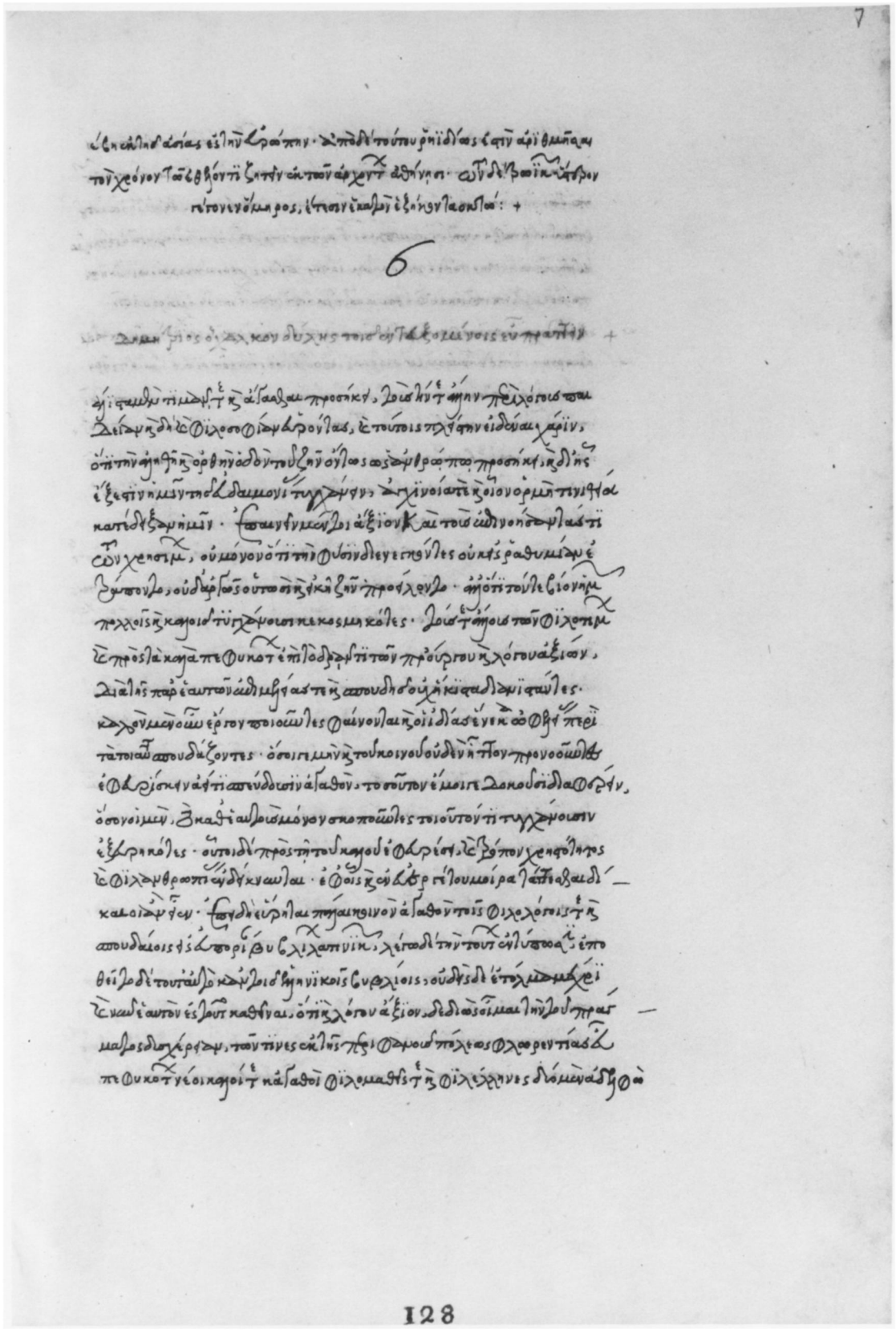
Demetrius Chalcondylas was born in Athens in 1423, became the first professor of Greek in Padua in 1463, taught in Florence until 1491 and then moved on to Milan. While living in Florence he prepared the *editio princeps* of Homer for Demilas;[4] later he collaborated with Aldus Manutius. He died in 1511.[5]

NOTES

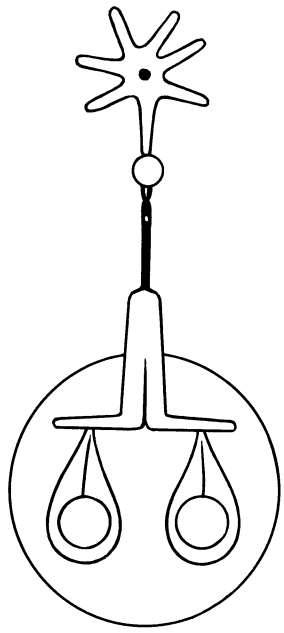
I am very grateful to Dr. Lilian M.C. Randall for her gracious help, and to Professor Martin Sicherl of the University of Münster (West Germany) for his expert advice.



1. Pseudo-Herodotus, Life of Homer, *Greek, 31 x 21cm, sixteenth century. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MS.W. 75, fol.1v.*



2. Pseudo-Herodotus, Life of Homer, *The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MS.W. 75, fol.1v.*



3. Pseudo-Herodotus, Life of Homer, *The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MS.W. 75, watermark.*[6] *The representation of the scales appears upside-down in the manuscript. (Drawing: Lilian M.C. Randall/Samantha Carol Smith.)*

1. For Dio Chrysostomus's lecture on Homer, Chalcondylas probably used the Codex Laurentianus 81,2 (14th century), though he must have known the *editio princeps* published in Milan by Dionysius Paravisinus in 1476, of which not a single copy seems to have survived. Editors of Dio might find the text, as Chalcondylas had it printed, valuable.

2. Emile Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique* 1(1885):9f.

3. Cf. Martin Sicherl, *Griechische Handschriften und Aldinen. Eine Ausstellung anlässlich der XV. Tagung der Mommsen-Gesellschaft in der Herzog-August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel* (1978), 121. Professor Sicherl examined reproductions of two pages, and in his opinion they are not in Chalcondylas's hand, nor does he recognize the hand of one of Chalcondylas's collaborators. Moreover, he fails to see on the two pages any printer's marks. He suggests therefore that the Walters manuscript is a copy of part of the Prolegomena of the *editio princeps* and adds that a paper manuscript such as this could probably be assigned a plausible date. I should mention that the thumbprints are quite clear in the original but hardly visible in the reproductions.

4. In his elegant Latin preface, Bernardo Nerli praises Chalcondylas for having assembled "all of Homer" (including the Hymns and the Battle between the Frogs and the Mice), after having consulted more than one codex, because *in nullo fere codice, quamuis perueteri, integer agnosceretur (sc.Homerus).* Chalcondylas had also explored Eustathius's commentaries, to "examine and emend" the text of Homer, as Nerli says. It would seem, therefore, that Chalcondylas consulted Laurentianus LIX 2,3, Eustathius's autograph of his commentaries on Homer, probably brought to Italy in 1424 by Ioannes Aurispa. The new edition of Eustathius by M. van der Valk, vols.1–3 (1971–79), deals extensively in learned praefationes with almost every aspect of Eustathius's work but does not mention—as far as I can see—the early use that Chalcondylas made of it. Giuseppe Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini e le origine dell'umanesimo,* vol.3: Demetrio Calcondila (Florence, 1954), 90, points out that this is not the first book ever printed with Greek types, as stated in the preface. Cammelli also notes that the text of Homer, as a whole, is neither better nor worse than the late Byzantine vulgate and that the first truly critical edition of Homer is due to Adrien Turnèbe (Paris, 1554), followed by that of Henri Etienne (Paris, 1566).

5. Cammelli, 130.

6. I sent a drawing of the watermark to Professor Sicherl of Münster University, and he was kind enough to comment on the symbol. Here is the essence of his reply of 2 February 1984: "I have not found an identical watermark, but the types Briquet 2540-2542 and G. Piccard, *Wasserzeichen Waage* (Stuttgart, 1978: *Veröffentlichungen der Staatlichen Archivverwaltung Baden-Württemberg; Sonderreihe: Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, Findbuch V*) 6:622–45, especially 624, 625–28, 638, 639, and 640–45 would strongly suggest that the paper of the Walters codex was made in the last decade of the fifteenth century—to be more precise, between 1494 and about 1500. The marks in D. and J. Harlfinger, *Wasserzeichen aus griechischen Handschriften* 1 (Berlin, 1974), "Balance," are from manuscripts dated 1489 and 1491; the reproduction of these marks, incidentally, is incomplete. These marks show all the characteristic features of your mark, and within such a short period of time, individual variations, as shown by your mark, play no great role..." Professor Sicherl feels that this dating confirms his hypothesis that the Walters codex was copied from the *editio princeps* of Homer (Florence, 1488), not vice-versa, as I had thought. He even points out a parallel: Johannes Cuno copied the epilogue to Janos Laskaris's *editio princeps* of the *Anthologia Planudea* (Florence, 1494).

A Court Sword with French Royal Portraits

RICHARD H. RANDALL, JR.
The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

Who draweth his sword against his prince, must throw away the scabbard.
—(Proverb, seventeenth century)

Henry Walters, whose collection encompasses the entire gamut of historical art, began to collect European arms and armor in 1921, just ten years before his death. It was a superb moment to enter the field, as many great opportunities presented themselves in the 1920s, such as the anonymous sale of 1921 in New York, the sales of the Liechtenstein and Henry Griffith Keasbey collections, and the opportunity to purchase items that had figured in such collections as Magniac, Meyrick, Spitzer, and Zschille.

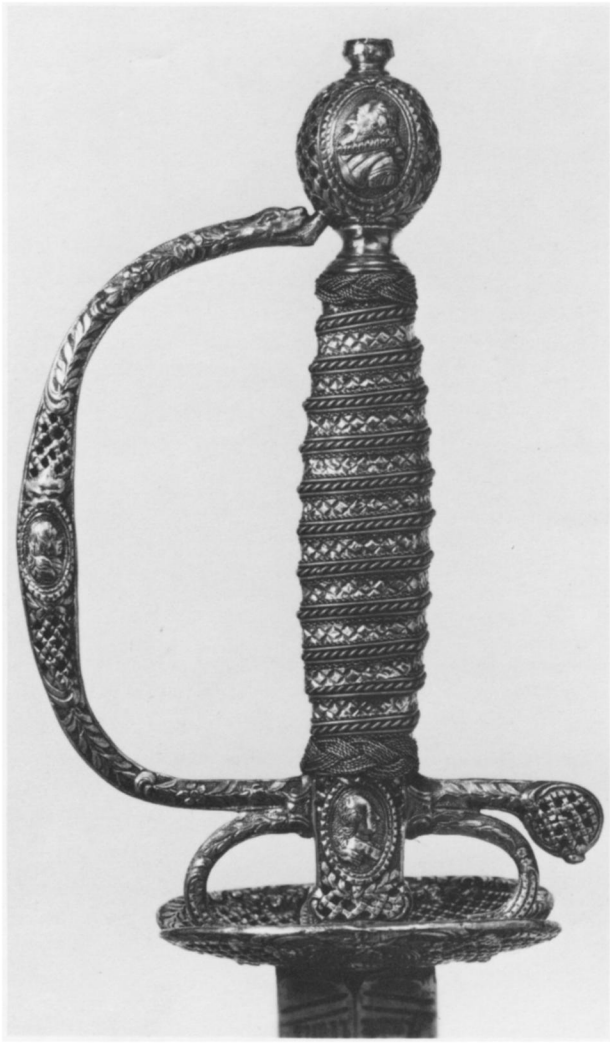
Walters bought carefully and selectively with little duplication, filling out each niche of the collection. In 1924 he purchased the important parade armor of the Duke of Medina, and in 1926, the tailed sallet from the Prince of Liechtenstein. His eye for quality in other areas led to astounding acquisitions for one new to the field of arms and armor.

In 1903 he had purchased some excellent Japanese weapons and armor, carrying on a tradition of his father's in collecting oriental art. Through the dealer Dikran Kelekian, he later bought an important group of Turkish turban helmets and armor (in 1911), but for reasons unknown, he acquired no European armor during those early years of the century.

Henry Walters lived in New York from about 1904 and became a trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1905. He knew both Bashford Dean and Stephen Grancsay, so that he had good advice available to him if he needed it. But, as in other areas of collecting, he frequented a wide circle of dealers in Paris, London, Venice, New York, and elsewhere, and acquired, for instance, the Medina armor through one of his Paris dealers, Jacques Seligmann, and his finest Dutch pistols from Sangiorgi in Rome.

One of the more interesting swords that Walters acquired at the Keasbey sale is a silver-hilted court sword with the portraits of the royal family of France (figs.1 and 2).[1] It is in the late rococo style, with the decoration of central portrait medallions set within a pattern of trellis work. The borders, terminal ends of the knuckle guard, and the eyes of the hilt are carved with laurel branches, those on the shell intermixed with flowers and scrolls. The knuckle guard has a monster terminal, and each of the medallions is suspended from a catlike mask. The borders, the frames of the portraits, the fish-roe background of the portraits, and the clothing of the sitters were all originally gilt, now much rubbed, leaving the trellis areas and the faces of the subjects in plain silver. The grip is covered with diapered silver foil, bound with three varieties of braided and chain wire in five rows. There are woven Turks' heads of silver wire terminating the grip.

The royal family tree begins with two busts on the ovoid pommel. Henri IV is seen in profile, wearing an embroidered doublet and a ruff, with a ribbon across his chest; like the others, he is shown against a gilt, fish-roe ground. On the reverse is Marie de Medici in a rather unusual three-quarter view, wearing a ruff and several necklaces criss-crossed on her bodice. The pose suggests that this portrait was taken from a gem. Below her, on the knuckle guard, is Louis XIII with long, open hair, beard, and mustache, while his second son, Philippe d'Orléans (1640–1701), is shown on the front of the knuckle guard. Philippe is also shown with long, open hair in the seventeenth-century manner, but is beard-



1. Hilt of a silver-hilted court sword, French (Paris), 1744–75, obverse. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 51.510.

2. Hilt of a silver-hilted court sword, reverse. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 51.510.

less. He was the brother of Louis XIV and the father of Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, who became Regent of France during the minority of Louis XV.

On the quillon block, one sees on the reverse the Grand Dauphin, son of Louis XIV, in a wig with elaborate ribbons, and on the front, his son Louis of Burgundy, the father of Louis XV, also wearing a wide ribbon, probably indicating the Order of the St. Esprit.

The bilobate shell guard has two pairs of portraits of a slightly larger size. On the upper surface are Louis XIV and his queen, Marie-Thérèse of Austria (fig.3). Louis is shown wearing a frock coat, rather than armor, and is also decorated with a large ribbon of the St. Esprit across his chest. Marie-Thérèse wears a fashionable gown and an elaborate coiffure with a lovelock on her right shoulder.

On the underside of the shell guard are the profiles of Louis XV and Maria Leczinska (figs.4 and 5). Louis XV wears a laurel wreath in his hair, as well as the ribbon of the St. Esprit; the portrait follows closely the 1769 medal by Benjamin Duvivier.[2] Maria Leczinska wears an elaborate gown, large earrings, and her ever-present veil.

The hilt was disassembled some years ago, to reveal the silversmith's marks on the washer beneath the quillon block. There are four marks, including the date letter for 1774–75, the Paris mark, the charge mark of Jean Baptiste Fouache (1774–81), and an unidentified maker's mark, a crowned upright sword between pellets with the initials *I.D.* Unfortunately, the maker is unidentified, though a similar mark without pellets was used in Perigueux in the mid-eighteenth century.[3]

The blade is three-edged with concave faces, and is etched along its entire length with panels of strapwork against a striated ground that was formerly gilt (fig.6). Three of the panels enclose, respectively, a six-pointed star, an angel, and a basket of fruit with a fleur-de-lis. At the hilt on the flat face of the blade, repeated on the two other faces, is inscribed in large script letters, *Maupetit*

fils/marchand fourbisseur/aú dúc d'orleans/aú bout du pont/St michel à Paris.

Maupetit is the name of a family of *fourbisseurs*, of which there were probably two generations.[4] Jarlier suggests for the father, Lucien, working dates of 1700–35, and for the son, Lucien Jacques, 1740–75.[5] One sword, datable in the second quarter of the eighteenth century by its decoration, is signed *Maupetit Fourbisseur/A Paris.* The blade is stamped with an unidentified flower of four petals. The sword is a dragoon sabre of the Wallone des Chevaux Legers de la Maison du Roi, and was a type replaced in 1769.[6]

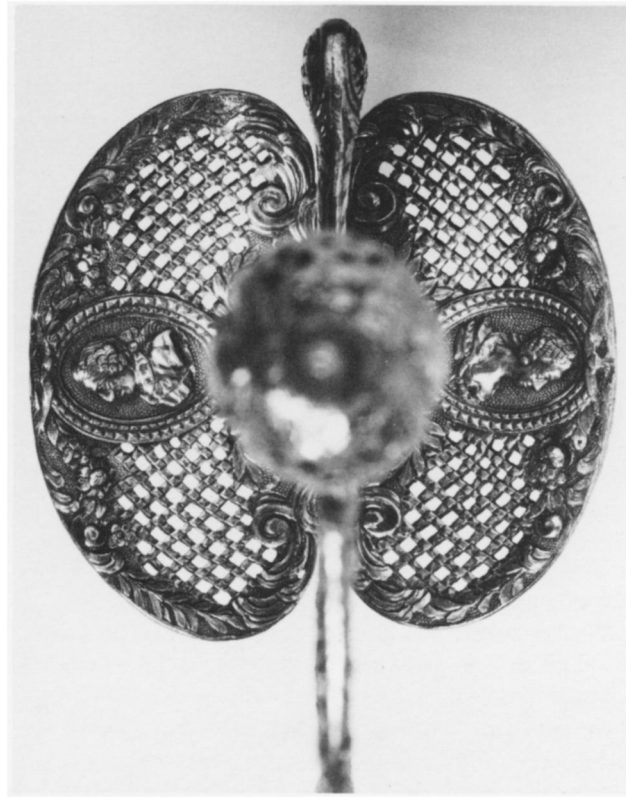
A second sword can be dated before 1755, the year that Maupetit became an agent for the blades of Klingenthal. It is a cavalry sabre of the Gendarmes de la Garde du Roi, and the blade was made by the Raisins of Solingen.[7] A third sword, signed by Maupetit at the same address as the Walters sword, has the added words *fournis les troupes* and has an unmarked blade of Klingenthal type. It is inscribed *Grenadiers de France.*[8] A remounted, signed blade is in the Musée de Cluny.[9] The Walters sword, therefore, is the latest of the series, and the only one signed *Maupetit fils.*

The tradition of decorating sword hilts with medals and portraits is an early one, developed during the Renaissance, when actual medals and copies of medals often served to decorate pommels. There is, for instance, a late fifteenth-century pommel with the head of Nero in the British Museum, and a cross-hilted sword with a medal of Louis XII in the Edmond Foulc Collection.[10] A cinquedea in the Armeria Reale, Turin, has a portrait in niello of Ercole I d'Este set into the grip.[11] Other swords were decorated with Classical coins from ancient times, like the rapier of about 1610 in the Tøjhusmuseet, Copenhagen, with ten Roman silver *denarii* set into the pommel and guards.[12] Many other examples were carved to imitate either medals or coins, as in the rapier in the Musée de l'Armée, on which the heads of Roman emperors are carved from the iron of the hilt, gilded, and surrounded by inlaid silver frames.[13] The sword of Henry, Prince of Wales, in the Wallace Collection, which was thought to be French but is now called English, is datable to 1610–12 and displays eight Classical busts of considerable quality in raised silver medallions on the pommel and quillons.[14]

Portraits of living statesmen and contemporaries were sometimes the work of medalists, rather than of sword cutlers or *fourbisseurs.* The sword at Windsor, with busts of the Princes of Orange and the Elector of Brandenburg, is attributed almost certainly to the *eisenschneider* and sculptor, Gottfried Leygebe (1630–83).[15] A fine Italian cutlass with a portrait medallion in the single guard is signed by the medalist Pietro Ancino da Reggio (1616–1702). It is datable to about 1680, as the costume indicates, and was formerly in the collection of Baron de Cosson.[16]

Other weapons with contemporary portraits are certainly by less talented hands, probably those of the hilt-maker. There is a series of English swords with portraits of Charles I and Henrietta Maria carved in medallions on the guards, and one in the collection of John Hayward with half-length figures of the monarchs pierced through the cup guard.[17] A German sword with silver incrustation on the hilt was owned by a Swiss mercenary officer, Rudolf von Schauenstein. He was in the French service, and the sword, dated 1614, bears the heads of Henri IV and the young Louis XIII on the pommel in raised silver. The sword was in the Schwerzenbach Collection, and is now in the collection of the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich.[18]

Some of the weapons in this group, however, are of royal origin. A sword exhibited at the Brassey Institute in 1896 was described as "belonging to James II, and afterwards in succession to Cardinal York, the heads and busts on the guard representing members of the Stuart family." This sword was in the Archibald Lamb Collection, but its present location is unknown.[19] A chiseled and gilded sword with a hilt designed and carved by Franz Matzenkopf in 1745 was made for the Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg as a presentation weapon; it shows Maria-Theresa, Empress of Austria, in a profile



3. Bilobate shell guard with portraits of Louis XIV and Anne of Austria. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 51.510.

4. Underside of the guard, with portrait of Louis XV. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 51.510.

5. Underside of the guard, with portrait of Maria Leczinska. The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 51.510.

portrait at the center of the grip.[20] A court sword in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, has a finely made steel hilt, showing the arms of France, and medallion portraits of Henri IV and Louis XV held aloft by allegorical figures on the sides of the pommel.[21]

The most interesting of all portrait swords is certainly the great rapier of Louis XIII in the Musée de l'Armée. It is dated 1614, the year of the king's accession to the throne, and is decorated with the portrait heads of the thirty-two kings of France who preceded Louis. The series begins with Robert le Fort (d. 866) and continues to Henri IV. The profile portraits are not done in metal, but in shell cameo.[22]

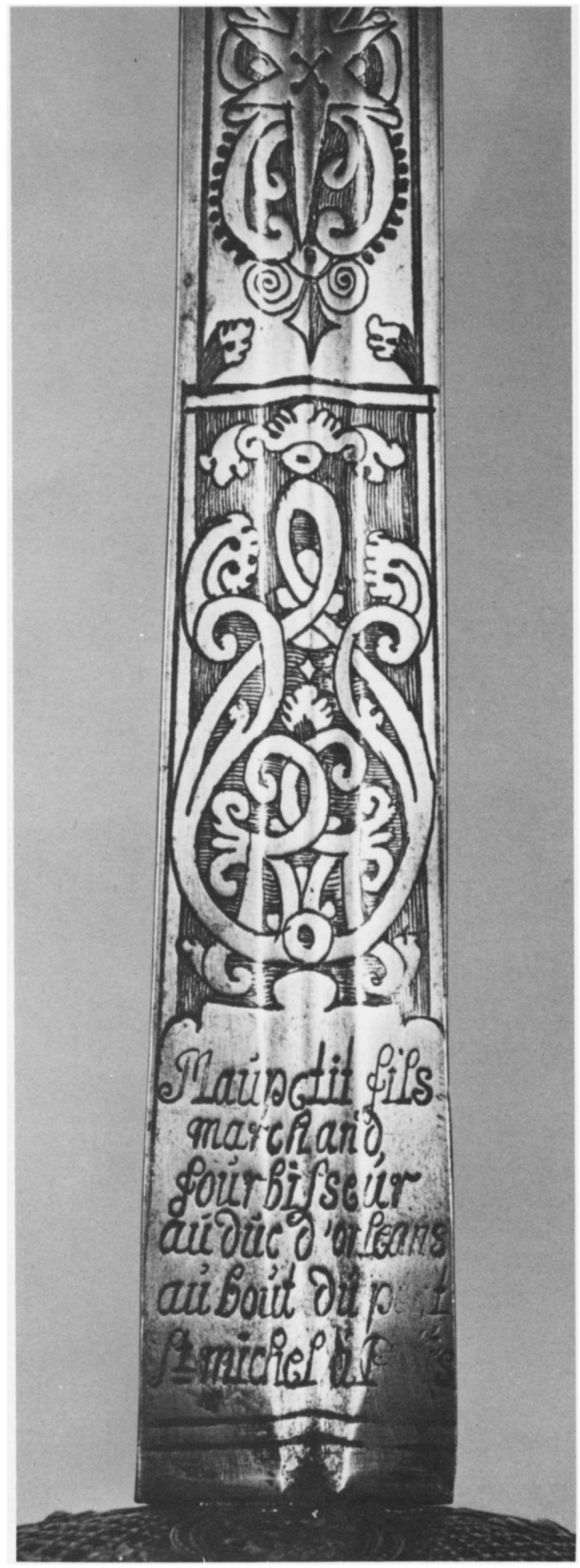
The quality of the medallion portraits on the Walters sword does not preclude their production in the shop of a talented silversmith who made hilts and other silver. The medallions present readily recognizable images, and one of them apparently derives from the Duvivier medal of 1769, which suggests that the maker was either a medalist himself or had some knowledge of that field. It will be interesting if the search of the Paris archives for the marks of *fourbisseurs* and other workers reveals the identity of the craftsman who marked a crowned sword and two pellets with the initials *I.D.*

The Walters sword was purchased at the sale of the collection of Henry Griffith Keasbey, 5 December 1924, in which it figured as lot 99. The catalogue states that it came from the collection of John Clements, from whom Keasbey apparently bought many items that do not appear in the Clements sale of 1906. It was "said" to have belonged previously to the actor Charles Albert Fechter (1824–79), who is well known for his roles in *Tartuffe, Ruy Blas, Hamlet,* and *Othello,* played in London and New York in the 1860s and '70s. (I have been unable to discover whether he was a collector of arms or merely used the sword as a stage prop.) In 1889 the Walters court sword was sold as lot 78 from the collection of W. Wareing Faulder at Christie, Manson, and Woods.[23]

The question arises for whom the sword was originally made. It was undertaken no earlier than 18 November 1774, when Fouache began to mark silver, and could not have been made later than 15 July 1775, when a new date letter was introduced. Louis XV died on 10 May 1774; therefore the sword falls within the reign of Louis XVI, though both he and his father, Louis-Dauphin (1729–65), are omitted from the royal tree. Instead of being shown as medallion heads or in armor, which was usual for French kings on the majority of their coins and medals, all of the predecessors of Louis XV are shown in civil costume, wearing a gilt ribbon representing the celeste blue moiré of the Order of the St. Esprit. The blade of the Walters sword is etched with a star, albeit a

six-pointed one, surmounted by an angel, instead of the proper eight-pointed star of the Order, which may have been the intended symbol.

There were one hundred knights of the St. Esprit at any given time, many of them members of the royal family, such as the Duc d'Orléans himself, whose *fourbisseur* signed the blade. It is unlikely, however, that Louis-Philippe, Duc d'Orléans (1725–85), would have ordered such a sword, as he was the famous Duc de Chartres, who was an important commander under Louis XV, had long been a member of the St. Esprit, and had received most of the major orders and decorations of Europe in his many years of military life. If the surmise is correct that there is a purposeful relationship of the sword to the Order of the St. Esprit, it is more likely that it was ordered by a younger man, who had been appointed to the Order by Louis XV, and who wished to commemorate the event by showing the kings as Commanders of the Order from Henri IV onwards. The lack of a coat of arms or any other identification on this unusual sword leaves the matter of original ownership unhappily in doubt.



6. Upper section of the blade, showing the signature of Maupetit fils. *The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 51.510.*

NOTES

This article was dedicated to Anita Reinhard in Arms, Armor and Heraldry *(New York, 1981).*

1. Walters acc. no. 51.510; blade 32¼in. (.819), overall 38⅛in. (.985). Purchased at the sale of Henry Griffith Keasbey, American Art Galleries, New York, 5 December 1924, lot 99.

2. Henry Nocq, *Les Duvivier* (Paris, 1911), 188–89, no. 159, fig. 4b.

3. E. Beuque and M. Frapsauce, *Dictionnaire des Poinçoins* (Paris:Nobele, 1964), 98.

4. I am indebted to Mr. and Mrs. A.V.B. Norman for the information on Maupetit.

5. Pierre Jarlier, *Répertoire d'arquebusiers et de fourbisseurs français* (St. Julien-du-Sault:Lobies, 1976), and Supplement, 1978.

6. Collection of Christian Aries. See C. Aries, *Armes Blanches Militaires Françaises* 10, 4th fascicle, 1968.

7. Ibid., 23, collection of Dr. Georges.

8. Ibid., 1st fascicle, 1967, collection of R. Brunon.

9. Inv. no. CL 7694.

10. Sir Guy F. Laking, *A Record of European Armour and Arms* (London:G. Bell, 1921), vol. 2, figs. 659, 670. A similar pommel with the head of Julius Caesar in bronze is in the Odescalchi Collection, Nolfo di Carpegna, *Antiche Armi gia Coll. Odescalchi* (Rome:De Luca, 1969), 58, no. 33.

11. Heribert Seitz, *Blankwaffen* (Brunswick:Klinkhardt and Biermann, 1965), fig. 112.

12. Ibid., fig. 235.

13. E. Mariaux, Le Musée de l'Armée (Paris, 1927), vol. 2, no. J125.

14. Sir James Mann, *European Arms and Armour in the Wallace Collection* (London:Clowes, 1962), no. A511.

15. A discussion of Leygebe and related artisans can be found in A.V.B. Norman, *The Rapier and Small-Sword, 1460–1820* (London:Arms and Armour Press, 1980), 327–30.

16. Laking, vol.5, fig.1526; now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no.15.112.

17. Helen Ives Gilchrist, *A Catalogue of the Collection of Arms and Armor of Mr. and Mrs. John Long Severance* (Cleveland:Cleveland Museum, 1924), no.E79; Tower IX, 986, Norman, fig.89; Brett Collection, Edwin J. Brett, *Ancient Arms and Armour* (London, 1894), pl.74, no.2; Hayward Collection, Norman, figs.79, 80.

18. Dr. Robert Forrer, *Schwerter u. Schwertknäufe der Sammlung von Carl von Schwerzenbach* (Leipzig, 1905), pls. 41, 42—especially details 1a and 1b; Hugo K. Schneider, *Schwerter und Degen* (Bern:Haupt, 1957), fig.34.

19. Francis Henry Cripps-Day, *A Record of Armour Sales: 1881–1924* (London, 1925), 252.

20. John Hayward, "A Court Sword by Franz Matzenkopf," *Connoisseur* 126(1950):28–31.

21. Bashford Dean, *Court Swords and Hunting Swords* (New York, 1929), no.60, acc. no.26.145.285.

22. Mariaux, J381.

23. I am indebted to Stuart Pyhrr for this information.

Examination of a Bernini Bronze

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A recent request from the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, for the loan of a bronze statuette of the *Risen Christ* in the collection of The Walters Art Gallery initiated a technical examination of the seventeenth-century sculpture (fig.1), thought to have been designed by Gian Lorenzo Bernini.[1] Of particular concern were a large crack across the chest and a flaking black layer or scale on the surface of the sculpture.

In order to stabilize the object's condition for travel, a conservation treatment had to be developed. In the process, some perplexing questions were raised about the statuette's history. Specifically, the widely accepted possibility of its having been damaged by the Baltimore fire of 1904 does not account for all aspects of the sculpture's condition.[2] Although art historians, other conservators, and sculptors were consulted, no explanation fully answered all of the points in question.

The statuette is believed to be a first, unsuccessful cast for the *Risen Christ* atop the ciborium for the *Capella del SS. Sacramento* in St. Peter's Basilica, Rome.[3] The possibility was considered that the Walters bronze could be a relict cast (a direct cast of a wax model). Because wax is very fragile and easily damaged or destroyed, bronze relict casts were used as a means of preserving the artist's intended design. Very few examples of relict casts exist, and it is not likely that the Walters bronze is one of these "orphans of the atelier."[4] Considering the quality of the cast and its present condition, it is more likely that the bronze is an unsuccessful cast.

Fabricated by the lost-wax method of casting in a piece-mold, the sculpture was never finished. Although the metal gates and vents were cut away, the core pins, which held the mold in place during casting, still protrude from the outer surface. Seam lines are still present on the head, left arm, right wrist, and down the right ankle to the base. These seam lines normally would have been removed during the finishing process. Also, the plaster-like core material was not removed completely from the interior of the hollow bronze.

Serious casting flaws are present, in the form of pits and holes as large as 2 cm on the reverse side and a crack across the chest, which probably occurred during the cooling and shrinkage of the molten metal in the mold. (Alternatively, the separation may have been caused by the mold's having been filled with two pours of molten bronze. It has also been suggested, but seems unlikely, that the crack may be along the join of two separately cast statuettes, one with a better upper portion and one with a better lower portion.) Although the large holes on the reverse side of the statue may not have been a concern, as the back of the sculpture would not have been visible, a major defect such as the open crack across the chest would normally have sent a cast back to the melting pot. Why this piece was saved remains an intriguing question.

Small pits on the torso were filled with lead, and some filing, chasing, and planishing were done to the surface. The use of lead suggests that the sculpture was intended to be gilded (as is the statue now atop the ciborium at St. Peter's), which would have covered the small repairs. (It is also possible, though, that the lead repairs were made at a later time.)

Several attempts to repair the crack across the chest are evident. X-radiography revealed a threaded iron screw holding the cracked edges together on the sculpture's right side (fig.2). Another hole for a screw appears on the left side; its screw is missing. It is clear from the presence of lead around the crack that an attempt was made to solder the crack closed. We are not sure whether the soldered repair represents part of the seventeenth-century fabrication or was a more recent attempt to close the crack.

The soldered join was later subjected to localized heat great enough to cause the solder to melt and flow out onto the bronze, opening the crack. The source of

1. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Risen Christ, *bronze, h. 44.8cm, seventeenth century. The Walters Art Gallery, 54.2281. The sculpture after conservation treatment. Note the crack across the chest, the unfinished surface, and the layer of scale on the folds of the robe.*

2. Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Risen Christ. *The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 54.2281. The x-radiograph reveals the crack across the chest and numerous other casting flaws, such as pits and holes.*

the heat is unknown. It does not appear to have affected the head or the lower portion of the sculpture—malachite, which would have decomposed to a black mineral form at a temperature as low as 329°C, can be seen under magnification on those surfaces in its unaltered, green carbonate state. The lead fills in the torso were also unaffected, which may indicate that they were done after the crack was heated. (Or, possibly, the solder used in the crack is an alloy with a lower melting point than lead, in which case the solder could have been added after the fills.) In either case, the piece was worked on by others than the seventeenth-century craftsmen in Bernini's workshop.

It has been conjectured that Henry Walters had the piece in his downtown office during the Baltimore fire of 1904.[5] The actively flaking black scale on the surface suggests that the sculpture was subject to a generalized heat source, such as a fire. The scale is believed to have formed during the original casting, however, as it is not unusual in bronze casting for a thin "skin" to form, of metal mixed with silica from the mold. On this statuette, the scale is present on both the exterior and the interior. Normally, it would have been removed by Bernini's craftsmen, but instead we find tool marks on the scale. (Perhaps, again, the presence of scale was not a concern, as the surface was intended to be gilded.) When subjected to heat, whether by the Baltimore fire or a solderer's torch, the scale and metal substrate could have separated because of their differences in coefficients of thermal expansion, causing the active flaking. The black scale appears under microscopic examination to be a copper oxide, tenorite, mixed with particles from the interior of the mold.

Even after our close examination, several questions remain unanswered. Why was this flawed casting saved at the time it was made? Why wasn't the bronze finished completely and gilded? How many hands since the seventeenth century have worked on this sculpture? And, finally, why is this statuette at The Walters Art Gallery and not in St. Peter's Basilica? Because of these

questions, the conservation treatment did not involve altering any evidence on the object's surface.

The methods of analysis used for this study were microscopic examination, ultraviolet examination, x-radiography, polarized light microscopy, and wet chemical analysis. Other techniques, which could not be carried out at this time but which would help attain a more thorough understanding of the sculpture's condition, are metallography (to clarify the structure of the scale and metal substrate), x-ray fluorescence surface analysis (for semi-quantitative elemental analysis of the bronze and of the solder), and thermoluminescence dating of the core material (to determine the most recent date that the sculpture was heated, whether by a solderer's torch or by the 1904 Baltimore fire).

NOTES

1. Exhibition, 1 April–16 May 1982. Michael P. Mezzatesta, *The Art of Gianlorenzo Bernini; Selected Sculpture* (Fort Worth:Kimbell Art Museum, 1982).

2. Mark S. Weil, "A Statuette of the Risen Christ," *The Journal of The Walters Art Gallery* 29–30(1966–67):7–15.

3. Ibid.

4. Richard E. Stone, "Antico and the Development of Bronze Casting in Italy at the End of the Quattrocento," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 16(1982):87–116.

5. Weil.