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OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

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Japanese Cloisonné in The Walters Art Gallery

LEE BRUSCHKE-JOHNSON
The Walters Art Gallery

Recent examination of the Japanese objects in The Walters Art Gallery has brought to light two significant pieces of cloisonné that offer valuable insights into the development of Japanese enamel. The works include a box that may date to the earliest period of Japanese enamel production and a goblet that is an early example of the use of virtuoso techniques associated with the "golden age" of Japanese cloisonné.

Part I: The Aoi Crest Box

The first example is one with the potential to solve a long-standing dispute among scholars. It is a round, covered box (fig. 1),[1] which has a date worked into the cloisons on the inside of the lid (fig. 2). This date, equivalent to the seventh day of the fifth month of 1652, would make this work earlier than any other known work of its kind.[2] If it is genuine, this box disproves the long-held theory that the Japanese did not make cloisonné objects in the round until the nineteenth century. This, in turn, may indicate that other works of similar quality now dated to the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries may actually date to the seventeenth. Even if the work is not authentic, in which case it would probably be a product of the later nineteenth century, its study still provides a much needed opportunity to reexamine questions concerning the early production of Japanese free-standing cloisonné.

The Debate

With the exception of small, flat decorative accent pieces, such as sliding-door handles or sword furnishings that are undoubtably of seventeenth-century production, works of the early period have long been a subject of disagreement. In 1883, James Lord Bowes published his book *Japanese Enamels*, in which he outlined his theory of the stylistic development of cloisonné in Japan. He divided the free-standing pieces into three periods, the earliest of which included pieces from the seventeenth century.[3] Frank Brinkley challenged Bowes in 1902, claiming,

> until the nineteenth century enamels were employed . . . for accessory purposes only. No such things were manufactured as vases, plaques, censers or bowls having their surface covered with enamels . . . In other words, none of the objects to which European and American collectors give the term "enamels" were produced by a Japanese artist prior to the year 1838.[4]

The year given here by Brinkley is well known as the date when Kaji Tsunekichi (1803–83) first successfully produced a cloisonné piece in the round. Kaji's role in the history of Japanese cloisonné is tantamount to that of a folk hero, as he is glorified for having introduced many cloisonné techniques to Japan. The claim for Kaji implies that the Japanese had not experimented with producing free-standing cloisonné pieces before the nineteenth century. Brinkley himself admits that this is peculiar, considering "vases and censers of cloisonné enamel manufac-

Fig. 1. *Covered Box*, copper alloy with enamel, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 44.562

tured in China came to Japan . . . from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth . . .,"[5] but he steadfastly maintained that no "Japanese collection, public or private, contained any specimen of the wares which [Bowes] supposed to have been produced and preserved in temples and noblemen's residences during nearly three centuries. No Japanese connoisseur had any knowledge of such objects having been manufactured before 1837. . . ."[6] It seems unlikely that anyone could claim to know, as Brinkley does here, the contents of all the numerous collections in Japan, and the connoisseurs consulted by him may have been biased by knowledge of Kaji Tsunekichi's credentials. Subsequent scholars have sided with Brinkley, although few are as unwavering in their stance as he was. Sir Harry Garner, writing in 1962, dates the "early" wares of Bowes's to the eighteenth century because it "was at this time that Japanese interest in late Ming porcelain was great, and many copies of the Wan-li five-coloured wares were made."[7] Although it is true that in general there was less emulation of Chinese styles during the seventeenth century than in subsequent periods, this argument is unsatisfying, since there is no reason why metal and cloisonné artists should necessarily follow the lead of porcelain artists particularly with the scarcity of native sources available. In a more recent publication, Suzuki Norio illustrates a few pieces in the "pre-Kaji" section, indicating that he believes they were made in the early nineteenth century or before but, unfortunately, he proposes no specific dates.[8]

Japanese Taste in Cloisonné

The round shape of the box and its bright, stylized lotus flower decoration are derived from Chinese prototypes of the Ming period. However, unlike those works, where the center probably would have been

Fig. 2. Interior of figure 1, showing date and interior decoration.

Fig. 3. Detail of a lantern, copper alloy with enamel, Nikko, Japan. (From Suzuki and Sakakibara, *Nihon no shippō*, pl. 83.)

decorated with a single character representing good luck or longevity, the central pattern on the Walters box is comprised of three leaves in a circle, a design well known as the *aoi* crest of the Tokugawa family.[9] Members of the Tokugawa family, rulers of Japan from 1603 until 1868, were major art patrons throughout this period. In cloisonné, however, shogunal patronage seems to have been more active in the medallion and sword furniture field as few free-standing pieces display the Tokugawa crest.[10] This lack of patronage may explain why few pieces were produced before the nineteenth century. Cloisonné is costly to produce and requires some form of steady patronage, and, in general, the only cloisonné objects the Japanese had to rely upon were those from China, and these did not seem to appeal enough to Japanese taste for emulation of the styles to have become common. In particular, it was the color combinations and design patterns of Chinese cloisonné that were unappealing to the Japanese. In fact, cloisonné objects were seldom used in Japan until western-style rooms became popular among well-to-do Japanese families. Jiro Harada wrote in 1911 about this trend, "it is but natural that the true Japanese taste should make a concession here, giving in to what is termed 'foreign taste', a term generally applicable to that which is vulgar . . . an incongruous combination of gay and brilliant colours is generally considered the prime factor in 'foreign taste'. . . ."[11] In this statement, Harada is discussing the Western-influenced wares of his own time, but one can well imagine that Ming period cloisonné would also be unappealing to the Japanese due to what he called the "weird combination of absurd colours." Even works made by the Japanese in the Chinese style during the 1860s and 1870s rarely show the same combination of bright red and yellow against a turquoise blue background seen in Ming cloisonné.[12]

In contrast to the small number of free-standing cloisonné objects, enamel works on small, flat surfaces, which were popular among the wealthy throughout the Edo period (1615–1868), seem to have developed with almost complete independence from Chinese prototypes. These works display typical elements of Japanese aesthetics such as scattered decoration often in asymmetrical arrangements and color combinations that, although sometimes employing bright tones, were more subtle than the play of primary colors used in Chinese cloisonné. There was also more emphasis on metalwork; thus the colors were often separated by neutral areas of metal. The motifs of these small architectural embellishments, sword furniture, and objects such as water droppers were also Japanese, often including family crests or rela-

tively naturalistic flower or plant representations rather than the abstract forms usually used by the Chinese. All of these elements point to the Japanese preference for the use of cloisonné as a decorative touch rather than as a material for household objects, where lacquer and ceramic were preferred. Thus, one reason there are so few early works and so little documentation of them may be that this lack of interest retarded their development. Until trade with the West made cloisonné lucrative for Japanese artists, little progress was made to develop this art.

Although cloisonné was never in vogue, it still seems improbable that no one experimented with making larger cloisonné objects before Kaji Tsunekichi. In particular, artists from the Hirata family were active in the cloisonné field throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and, with Chinese cloisonné available in Japan, it is unlikely that at least a few artists did not try their hand at larger-scale pieces.

Fig. 4. *Incense burner in Chinese style*, copper alloy with enamel, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 44.534.

Seventeenth or Nineteenth Century?

Perhaps the strongest argument against a seventeenth-century date for the piece is the appearance of the Tokugawa crest. Most documented seventeenth-century pieces with the *aoi* crests have leaves that are smaller, less dominant, and more loosely clustered than those of the Walters box, in a form based on the crest of the first Tokugawa shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616). This type of crest is illustrated in figure 3, a part of a lantern at a temple dedicated to Ieyasu which dates to 1653, a year after the date on the Walters box.[13] The area around the leaves plays a larger visual role in these crests, and the stem is more clearly defined. The crest on the box is closer to that of works attributed to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is currently unclear whether this is a definite indication of later production or is due to the owner's particular version of the *aoi* crest. The date on the box places it within the rule of the fourth shogun, Tokugawa Ietsuna (1641–1680; shogun 1651–1680), whose crest was somewhat different from that of his great grandfather. In addition, the piece could have been made for any member of the extensive Tokugawa clan of this time, making it difficult to rule out a seventeenth-century date on the basis of the proportions of the crest.

Another argument for regarding the Walters box as a nineteenth century work is the vogue in Japan during the 1860s for the emulation of Chinese styles, particularly those of the Ming dynasty. Comparison with another Walters piece, a nineteenth-century Ming-style incense burner (fig. 4), reveals some common characteristics.[14] Both works have oval shaped cloisons with slight curls on the ends (seen in the interior of the dated box), and the cloisonné bottom of each appears to have been made of a mixture of left-over enamels, resulting in a greenish gray color. The arrangement of cloisons in this portion of both works is somewhat disorganized. Both have a flower design in the center of the bottom.

Despite this evidence of a nineteenth-century date for the piece, there are also strong arguments to support the date on the work. One factor that may enter into the dating of the piece is the existence of longitudinal stress cracks in the wires on the box in two places. Such wires, often referred to as "split wires," are generally believed to be the result of flaws in the technique of making wires. These cracks in Chinese cloisonné pieces generally are believed to indicate that a piece dates from the Ming dynasty.[15] Given the current state of knowledge of Japanese cloisonné, and the lack of proper comparative material, it cannot be stated conclusively that this element proves that the box is from the seventeenth century, but it does appear to support this hypothesis.

Another element that seems to support an early date is the use of a muted shade of navy blue in the lotus flowers. During the nineteenth century artists

Fig. 5. Close up of Wan-li mark on a covered box, Pierre Uldry Collection. (From Brinker and Lutz, *Chinese Cloisonné*, pl. 112a.)

preferred a brighter, more royal blue. The muted blue is found on works that are considered by Suzuki Norio to predate Kaji Tsunekichi.[16]

Perhaps the most convincing evidence for an early date of the box is the treatment of the inscription. The calligraphy is carefully delineated and placed meticulously within the cloisons. The practice of dating works within the cloisons seems to have been popular in the Wan-li period (1573–1660) of the Ming dynasty, and the style of calligraphy used on Chinese works, seen in figure 5, is similar to that on the Walters box.[17] Both inscriptions use standard script (Chinese: *k'ai-shu*, Japanese: *kaisho*) and attempt to imitate the thickening and thinning, curves and angles of the brushstrokes of written calligraphy with somewhat the same visual effect. Interestingly, the artist of the Walters box takes this emulation of brushstrokes one step further and delineates the stroke order using the cloisons rather than simply outlining the character as the artist of the Wan-li piece did. This can be seen in a drawing comparing the character for year from both pieces (fig. 6). The center vertical stroke of this character is written last, and thus overlaps the two horizontal strokes. In the Chinese work, the stroke order was ignored, but the Japanese artist placed the cloisons to imitate this effect.

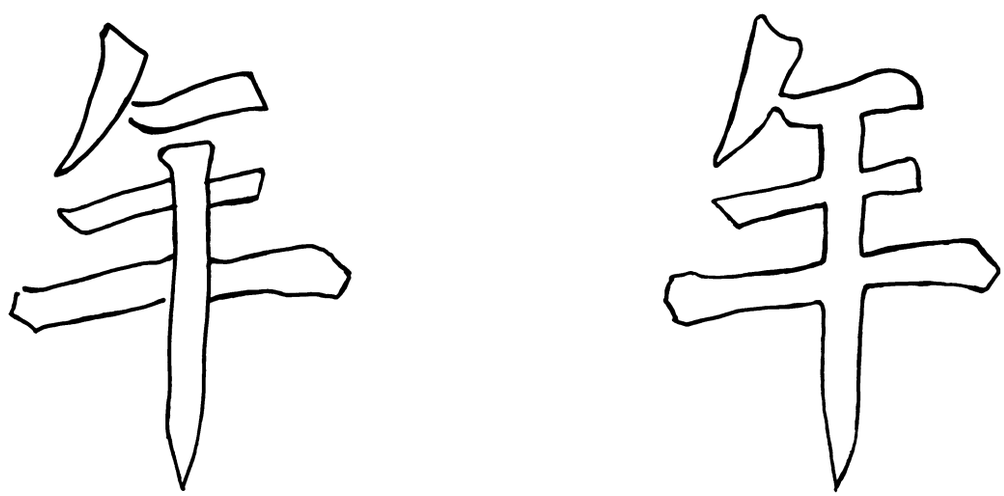

Fig. 6. Comparison of the technique used for character for "year" on figure 1 (left) and figure 5 (right) .

Fig. 7. *Goblet*, by Gen-ō, silver and gold with enamel, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 44.531.

Fig. 8. *Bric-a-brac—Japan.* Photograph of a group of objects displayed in the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia.

Part II: The Gen-ō Goblet

Thus far, this study has concentrated on cloisonné objects that date from before what is called by some the "golden age" of Japanese cloisonné. One object that may be useful in establishing a beginning date for this "golden age" is a silver and gold goblet (fig. 7)[18] by Gen-ō of Kanazawa (d. 1870?). Little is known about this artist but he was apparently respected by Brinkley, who describes him:

> a pupil of Kaji Tsunekichi and subsequently of a Chinese expert in Nagasaki, [he] produced several specimens of cloisonné enamels in the pure Chinese style. These were of small dimensions, chiefly sake-cups and bowls; the cloisons were of gold or silver, and the colour and quality of the paste as well as the general technique were indistinguishable from the finest Chinese work.[19]

There are few cloisonné artists who came from Kanazawa and fewer still with a name like Gen-ō, indicating that Brinkley probably was discussing the same artist or at least a close follower. Although the Walters cup is not in what one usually describes as the Chinese style, it has Chinese elements such as cloud motifs framing the central design and stylized flowers in the interior, which relate particularly to later Chinese cloisonné. In addition, Brinkley's description mentions the use of silver and gold wires and superior enameling, qualities apparent in the goblet. Interestingly, Gen-ō has not been mentioned in recent Japanese publications about cloisonné, and the authors of *Japanese Cloisonné*, Lawrence Coben and Dorothy Ferster, were unable to locate any works by him, probably indicating that his works are rare and that he usually did not sign them.[20] The goblet was purchased by William and Henry Walters at the Philadelphia Centen-

nial Exhibition of 1876, and is illustrated in a photograph taken at the Exhibition (fig. 8), which may include other Gen-ō pieces.

The goblet illustrates the great strides made by cloisonné artists in the second half of the nineteenth century, and perhaps Gen-ō's role in these developments has not been fully appreciated. The enameling shows very little pitting. The cloisons, which are gold, are finely crafted, with little variation in width. The color combination of shades of blue and green with touches of yellow, black, and white is subtle and attractive, showing none of the drab qualities of many contemporary works. The introduction of the technology needed for a piece with these qualities is traditionally attributed to the German chemist Gottfried von Wagner (1831–1892), who is reported to have begun working with Japanese cloisonné artists near Tokyo in 1875.[21] Wagner came to Japan in 1867 and worked first with Arita potters in the Nagasaki area. If he worked in the field of cloisonné at this time, it has not been noted in the literature. Among Wagner's reputed accomplishments are the introduction of more fluid enamels, more advanced firing techniques leading to a smoother surface, and greater variety in enamel colors, particularly light blue,[22] all of which are apparent in the Gen-ō work. Since the Walters goblet was acquired in 1876, it would appear that either Wagner may have been active in this field before 1875, or that the development of these techniques owed little to Wagner.[23] One possible explanation of this may be that, in fact, these advances developed naturally from the native sword guard and medallion tradition in which transparent enamels of bright hues were used. Other techniques used in the piece, including the use of gold flecks in the enamel (*chakin*), seen in the light blue background of the piece, and gradation of color (*bokashi*), seen in the largest flowers, are usually thought to have been invented in the late 1870s to 1880s.[24] The goblet proves that these techniques were used successfully by at least one artist by 1876.

The piece was obviously made for export, as the goblet shape is not native to Japan. It illustrates the pride Japanese artisans took in their work at this time. When objects were made for international expositions before the turn of the century, the artists appear to have been conscious of their role in representing their country, and here it is apparent in the inscription carved on the bottom (fig. 9). The piece is signed "self-certified by Gen-ō living in Kanazawa of Kaga Province, previously of samurai class, great Japan" (*Dai-nihon shizoku Kaga-kuni Kanazawa-jū Gen-ō jimei*) and also includes Gen-ō's written seal, or *kakihan*.

Conclusions

Although the number of objects of Japanese cloisonné in The Walters Art Gallery is quite small, William and Henry Walters did collect some significant pieces. Both of the pieces chosen for this study are notable

Fig. 9. Close up of signature on figure 7.

and pose questions worthy of further research and discussion. Now that one signed work by Gen-ō has come to light, perhaps others will follow based on similarity of style. Knowledge of the Japanese characters that compose his name may also be helpful to scholars, since the only sources previously available do not include these. In addition, since the goblet is known to have been made before 1876, the dating of techniques in the nineteenth century and Gen-ō's position in the history of Japanese cloisonné of this period should be reconsidered.

The date of the box remains unclear and deserves further research. Perhaps scientific study of the piece such as x-ray examination of the wire structure will help shed light on the question of the date of manufacture. Regardless of the date of the Walters box, the possibility that free-standing works of cloisonné may have been produced in Japan before the nineteenth century needs to be considered and addressed directly in future studies.

NOTES

1. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 44.562. Copper alloy with enamel; very good condition; h. 3.25 cm, diameter 12.5 cm. The date on the piece corresponds to June 12, 1652 in Western terms. It is not clear where this box was acquired, but it may have been purchased at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. A list of the objects purchased by the Walterses in Philadelphia notes a cloisonné piece bought from Wakai Kanesaburō with the comment "very first made 250 years (old) $100.00." The box would not have been produced 250 years before 1876, but it is the piece currently in the Walters collection that most closely fits this description. I wish to thank Dr. Hiram Woodward for directing my attention to the objects included in this study.

2. The earliest known cloisonné that is actually dated on the work, except the box currently under discussion, dates to 1853. See figure 3 and the discussion about Tokugawa family crests. Many seventeenth-century works are dated by the year of the decoration of the buildings they ornament. Earliest of these are the 1634 fittings of the Jōrakuden in Nagoya castle and Tōshōgu mausoleum in Nikkō. For descriptions of other early works see G. Kuwayama, *Shippō, The Art of Enameling in Japan* (Los Angeles, 1987), 19–23 (hereafter, Kuwayama, *Shippō*). Works that date before the seventeenth century are known, but these are not clearly of Japanese production.

3. J. Bowes, *Japanese Enamels* (London, 1886), 6–17.

4. F. Brinkley, *Japan, Its History, Arts and Literature: Pictorial and Applied Art*, Oriental Series, 7 (Boston, 1902), 330–331 (hereafter, Brinkley, *JHAL*).

5. *Ibid.*, 331.

6. *Ibid.*, 375–376.

7. H. Garner, *Chinese and Japanese Cloisonné Enamels*, 1st ed. (London, 1962), 105 (hereafter, Garner, *Chinese and Japanese Cloisonné Enamels*).

8. N. Suzuki and S. Sakakibara, *Nihon no shippō* (*Japanese Enamelware*) (Kyoto, 1979), pls. 110–112 (hereafter, Suzuki and Sakakibara *Nihon no shippō*). See also Kuwayama, *Shippō*, pls. 37, 38.

9. According to *The Shogun Age Exhibition* (Tokyo, 1983), 270 (exhibition catalogue), the traditional translation of the word *aoi*, "hollyhock," is incorrect and instead the term "wild ginger" should be used. The *aoi* crest changed from generation to generation and between districts of Japan. For examples of different *aoi* crests (in Japanese: *aoi mon*), see W. Hawley and K. Chappelear, *Mon, the Japanese Family Crest* (Hollywood, 1976), 5.

10. One example of a free-standing piece with a Tokugawa crest is seen in G. Avitabile, *Die Ware aus den Teufelsland* (Hannover, 1981), 216–217. This work is dated by the author to the eighteenth century, but a seventeenth-century date is not beyond consideration. The work would appear to be Chinese if it did not have the Tokugawa crest on it. It is, however, a piece of metalwork with some sections of cloisonné decoration, rather than a completely cloisonné piece.

11. J. Harada, "Japanese Art and Artists of Today: VI Cloisonné Enamelwork," *International Studio* (London, 1911), 277.

12. The use of green rather than turquoise is a well-known distinguishing factor between Japanese and Chinese works. In fact, in the nineteenth century, Westerners looking at Japanese cloisonné complained about how dull it looked since they were accustomed to the bright turquoise of Chinese cloisonné. The proclivity towards shades of muted green can be seen in many objects of the medallion tradition, but it is most evident in works by Kaji Tsunekichi's followers from about 1865–1880. The Walters box, although using a typical Ming Chinese red, yellow, and white combination with touches of dark blue and jade green, has a dark mint green background. Comparison with a dated covered box from the Uldry collection (see H. Brinker and A. Lutz, *Chinese Cloisonné: The Pierre Uldry Collection* [New York, 1989], pls. 112, 112a [hereafter, Brinker and Lutz, *Chinese Cloisonné*]) illustrates other qualities that distinguish the Walters box from Chinese wares. These include the lack of the use of gilding (evident on the Ming piece) and the use of a lighter sheet metal base for the Japanese work.

13. The memorial lantern illustrated in figure 3 is dedicated to Tokugawa Iemitsu (1603–1651) in the Daisonin hall of Nikkō. Iemitsu's crest is unlike the one on the box and is similar to Ieyasu's since Iemitsu adopted the same crest as his father and grandfather. According to the line illustrations in Y. Numata, *Nihon monshō-gaku* (Tokyo, 1968), 405, Tokugawa Ietsuna appears to have adopted a style of crest closer to the Matsudaira model, with fewer veins in the leaves and somewhat thicker stems, although it is not clear whether this is a result of the modern illustration or actually characteristic of his seal. Several of the crests shown in Hawley and Chappelear also differ from the Ieyasu type including those of the Tokugawa in Mito and Owari, although all of these show some slight differences. Also of interest is decoration of clouds from this lantern, which seem somewhat similar to those on the box, Suzuki and Sakakibara, *Nihon no shippō*, pl. 84. Unfortunately not enough material is available for proper comparison of these works and the Walters box.

14. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 44.534. Copper alloy with enamel; fair condition; h. 11.1 cm. This work is similar to nineteenth-century works in L. Coben and D. Ferster, *Japanese Cloisonné, History, Technique and Appreciation* (New York, 1982), pls. 14–35 (hereafter, Coben and Ferster, *Japanese Cloisonné*).

15. Ann Boulton, objects conservator at The Walters Art Gallery, discovered the split wires after thorough examination of the piece. For a discussion of this phenomenon see L. Liang-yu, *Chinese Enamel Ware: Its History, Authentication and Conservation* (Taipei, 1978), 35–38

(hereafter, Liang-yu, *Chinese Enamel Ware*) and Garner, *Chinese and Japanese Cloisonné Enamels*, 111–113. Another technical detail about the box, which may or may not have any bearing on the date of the piece, is that, although the work is well designed and stylistically sophisticated, it has a pitted and unfinished surface. This is particularly apparent on the sides and bottom, where the cloisons rise substantially above the enamel, making it clear that the work should have gone through more of the enameling process, and thus was never completed.

16. Suzuki and Sakakibara, *Nihon no shippō*, 88, 90.

17. Examples of reliable Wan-li era dates within the cloisons can be seen in Liang-yu, *Chinese Enamel Ware*, 33. Figure 6 is the inscription on the bottom of a covered box in the collection of Pierre Uldry, illustrated in Brinker and Lutz *Chinese Cloisonné*, pl. 112a. The calligraphy on the box is somewhat more professional than that seen in false Ming and Ching marks of nineteenth-century Japan illustrated *ibid.*, 30. Several factors about the inscription indicate that if the maker of the box was working in the eighteenth or nineteenth century, he was very patient and determined in his quest for authenticity of appearance. The box is dated Keian 5. The first character, "kei," has fourteen separate strokes, requiring that many sections of cloisons. The period immediately before Keian, Shōho, had much simpler characters and would have saved the maker a great deal of time and trouble. In addition, he included the cyclical date for this year, which a later artist would have probably had to look up. Specific information included such as the month, date, and cyclical year would be unnecessary and time consuming details in a later time.

18. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 44.531. Silver and gold with enamel; excellent condition; h. 16.2 cm; diameter of mouth 7.8 cm. Purchased at Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, 1876. The *Official Catalogue of the Japanese Section* (Philadelphia, 1876) of the Centennial has a note on page thirty, section number 133, that enameled silver goblets by Gen-ō were sold by a M. Marunaka of Kanazawa. The goblet is mentioned in the list of objects purchased as an "enamel cup, gold filagree [sic] [referring to the gold decoration on the bottom of the stem of the cup] $250.00."

19. Brinkley, *JHAL*, 340. Brinkley refers to Gen-ō as Maizono Genwo (of Kanazawa in Kaga district) and gives his death date as 1870 in the index of artists. Neither the death date nor the family name of Maizono has been confirmed by any other source.

20. Coben and Ferster, *Japanese Cloisonné*, 50

21. Not much has been written about Wagner. Perhaps the most specific information has been given in Suzuki and Sakakibara *Nihon no shippō*, 221. Wagner, like Fenollosa, promoted the maintenance of traditional Japanese art. See N. Ueno, ed. *Japanese Culture in the Meiji Era: Arts and Crafts*, R. Lane, trans. (Tokyo, 1958), 8:143–146.

22. Coben and Ferster, *Japanese Cloisonné*, 229.

23. If, as Brinkley states, Gen-ō died in 1870, then this technology existed in Japan several years before it is now supposed and may predate Wagner.

24. Coben and Ferster, *Japanese Cloisonné*, 132, 135, 282, state that the technique of *chakin-seki* (tea-goldstone) was invented in 1880 or 1881 by Honda Yosaburō of Nagoya, although there are varying opinions about who invented it. It is difficult to tell exactly what material is used to make this shimmering effect. The cup may contain goldstone, which, according to Coben and Ferster (*ibid.*, 135), is a type of feldspar or quartz containing pieces of mica or hematite, or it may be copper shavings which add this effect.

Photographs: Figs. 1, 2, 4, 7, 9, The Walters Art Gallery. Figs. 3, 5, Arts of Asia Society Galleries. Fig. 8, Philadelphia Public Library.

Un pannello di Marco Cardisco alla Walters Art Gallery

PIERLUIGI LEONE DE CASTRIS
Museo di Capodimonte, Naples

Solo da pochi anni la conoscenza più certa e stabile della produzione artistica nell'Italia meridionale del Cinquecento ha consentito realmente una chiara definizione delle maggiori personalità di pittori attivi nella capitale e nei centri del Viceregno spagnolo, e di conseguenza anche dei caratteri distintivi di queste stesse personalità di artisti. Fino a questo momento tanta parte delle pale d'altare ancora conservate—spesso in cattivo stato di conservazione—nelle chiese della Campania, della Puglia, della Calabria, della Basilicata era classificata correntemente come opera di ignoto, e quei dipinti invece che le vicende del mercato antiquariale avevano condotto fuori d'Italia, nelle raccolte dei musei e dei privati collezionisti, spesso gravati da attribuzioni a pittori e a scuole ben diversi, il più delle volte creduti—per analogie di stile—opera di artisti lombardi, spagnoli, ferraresi, piemontesi, persino fiamminghi.

La Walters Art Gallery di Baltimora, ad esempio, possiede un pannello con la raffigurazione dei *Santi Agostino, Girolamo e Gregorio*,[1] certamente resecato —almeno nella parte destra—ed un tempo probabilmente completato proprio sulla destra dalla figura del quarto dottore della chiesa, Sant'Ambrogio (fig. 1). Schedata nel museo come cosa di ignoto è invece opera caratteristica del fin qui poco noto pittore calabrese Marco Cardisco, attivo a Napoli dagli anni dieci del Cinquecento fino circa al 1542, l'unico fra gli artisti meridionali della prima metà del secolo —assieme allo scultore Girolamo Santacroce—ad essere stato "onorato" di una delle *Vite* del Vasari.[2] Tipico risulta in particolare il carattere spiccatamente espressivo delle figure, che deriva dalla lezione delle opere meridionali di Polidoro da Caravaggio, il grande diffusore della "maniera moderna" al Sud e vero maestro ed ispiratore dell'arte di Cardisco a partire almeno dal 1527; la grinta dei due dottori barbuti di sinistra, l'atteggiamento estatico e macerato del terzo, la pittura nervosa, ricca di materia, di stoffe elaborate, di colpi e rifrangenze di luce, tutto rimanda alla conoscenza della prima attività meridionale di Polidoro fra Napoli e Messina—fra il 1527 e il 1535 circa—e a quella interpretazione alquanto caricaturale e "romanista" che Cardisco dette di essa nel corso di tutta la sua produzione più nota.[3]

Molto simile ai *Dottori* di Baltimora per scelte e grado di maturazione, per cronologia ed anche per certe costanti nelle soluzioni fisiognomiche si rivela significativamente il dipinto più conosciuto e spettacolare eseguito a Napoli da Cardisco, l'unico inoltre ad essere menzionato—come capolavoro dell'artista—nella citata *Vita* del Vasari: il *Trionfo di Sant'Agostino in cattedra* che un tempo ornava l'altar maggiore della chiesa madre dell'ordine agostiniano in città, oggi conservato nel Museo di Capodimonte e di recente restaurato.[4] Analogo vi è il gusto per un tono aspro e caricato, per le masse incombenti e plasticamente rilevate, analoga anche la predilezione per gli "estofados" ricchissimi e per l'uso lampeggiante della luce (fig. 2).

Rispetto alla grande pala di Sant'Agostino alla Zecca, tuttavia, ed anche alle più piccole e dimensionalmente più confrontabili tavolette con il *Cristo e*

Fig. 1. Marco Cardisco e bottega (Pietro Negroni), *I santi Agostino, Girolamo e Gregorio*, olio su tavola, Baltimora, The Walters Art Gallery, 37.1147.

gli apostoli che un tempo la completavano in qualità di predelle e che solo di recente sono state trasferite dalla chiesa d'origine al piccolo museo del convento di San Lorenzo, il pannello di Baltimora dimostra una fattura più svelta e filante—se si vuole anche meno curata—ancor più caricata e marcatamente grottesca di quanto non accada normalmente in Cardisco (figg. 1–4).

E' un problema—questo—comune anche ad altri prodotti ascrivibili alla tarda attività di Marco Cardisco, e che apre la necessità di una riflessione sulla struttura della sua bottega in quegli anni e sulla portata degli interventi di collaborazione nelle opere prodotte all'interno di questa. Fra i rari documenti che scandiscono le tappe della cronologia del nostro pittore—la rinuncia ad un contratto per Nocera del 1520, l'impegno per un dipinto in Sant'Aniello a Caponapoli del 1521, la commissione del polittico della Cattedrale di Massalubrense, del quale rimane oggi il pannello centrale con la *Vergine*, del 1527—ve n'è uno, datato 1540, nel quale l'artista calabrese viene pagato assieme agli altri pittori sconosciuti Mazzeo de la Carne ed Antonino de Refenio per una "cona" eseguita nella chiesa francescana di Santa Maria di Gesù a Cava dei Tirreni.[5] Questa "cona" non esiste più attualmente in quella chiesa, ma è forse possibile identificarla in una serie, oggi smembrata, di tavole monocrome che si conservano negli appartamenti abaziali della Badia benedettina di Cava, serie sicuramente progettata e parzialmente eseguita da Cardisco ma significativamente caratterizzata dalla riconoscibile presenza dell'intervento più incerto e sommario di artisti minori, di aiuti (figg. 6–7).[6] Analogo è il caso del ridipinto e suddiviso polittico della parrocchiale di Grumo Nevano, ed analogo per certi versi anche il caso del grande "retablo" a più ordini della chiesa di Santa Maria Maddalena in Armillis a Sant'Egidio Montealbino, datato 1543 e che Cardisco—documentato sino al 1541 e morto a detta del Vasari nel 1542—poté solo progettare e forse abbozzare; qui il collaboratore ed il prosecutore di Cardisco è però diverso dagli aiuti di Cava dei Tirreni e possiede una personalità più brillante ed originale, cosí che non è difficile riconoscerlo nell'altro polidoresco calabrese Pietro Negroni, attivo almeno sino al 1560 e presumibilmente identico a quel "Calavrese . . . compagno di Marco . . . il quale in Roma lavorò con Giovanni da Udine" ricordato dal Vasari.[7]

Fig. 2. Marco Cardisco, *Trionfo di Sant'Agostino*, olio su tavola, Napoli, Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, n. Q 73.

Fig. 3. Pietro Negroni (su progetto di Marco Cardisco), *Santo vescovo*, olio su tavola, Sant'Egidio Montealbino, Santa Maria Maddalena in Armillis (1543).

Il pannello di Baltimora trova la sua giusta collocazione proprio all'incrocio di quest'ultima esperienza di collaborazione fra i due artisti calabresi espatriati a Napoli; determinante è il confronto con il santo vescovo di sinistra del citato polittico di Sant'Egidio Montealbino (fig. 3), oppure anche con altre opere giovanili e poco conosciute del Negroni—molto influenzate dall'arte di Cardisco—come la *Madonna con i Santi Andrea e Stefano* della Cattedrale di Massalubrense o l'altra *Madonna con i Santi Antonino e Nicola* della omonima chiesa di Sant'Antonino a Sorrento, datata 1539 e simile come più non si potrebbe alla firmata *Epifania* napoletana di Santa Maria Donnaromita, del 1541 (fig. 8).[8] In particolare alcune forzature "grafiche" nelle fisionomie e nei panneggi dei dottori—come le forcelle assai evidenziate alla sommità del naso nei santi Agostino e Girolamo o il disegno ad onde dello scollo della cotta nel San Gregorio—paiono caratteristiche del dipingere sommario ed irruente del giovane Negroni.

In una direzione in qualche modo analoga d'altronde andava orientandosi negli ultimi anni di vita lo stesso Cardisco, nella direzione—cioè—di un progressivo abbandono della cura e della verità espressiva del suo momento più polidoresco a favore di una crescente semplificazione e tipizzazione dei gesti e delle fisionomie. Il pittore calabrese resta tuttavia abile nell'accompagnare questo processo con un'intelligente e costante riproposizione di modelli propri o altrui, una riproposizione che spesso dona anche ai dipinti più tardi e meno convinti il sapore di una ricca complessità culturale. È' dentro questa dimensione, ad esempio, che trova posto la "riscoperta" da parte di Cardisco dell'altro esponente—con Polidoro—dell'eversione in chiave espressiva e drammaticamente religiosa dell'accademia raffaellesca, la scoperta delle opere appassionate dello spagnolo Pedro Machuca. Ho già avuto occasione di notare la significativa ripetizione da parte di Cardisco—nella lunetta del polittico di Liveri—della *Pietà* ideata da Machuca, forse nel Meridione d'Italia e verso il 1519, di cui ci resta appena un disegno preparatorio al Louvre; ma a dare consistenza di fatto al fenomeno di prelievo giunge oggi una bella *Dormitio Virginis*, anch'essa tarda e non a caso confrontabile con le tavole minori di Sant'Agostino alla Zecca (figg. 4–5), significativamente attribuita a Machuca in persona sul mercato antiquariale italiano ma invece opera tipica di Cardisco, che in essa elabora però dichiaratamente la grande composizione dell'artista spagnolo di recente acquisita dal Museo napoletano di Capodimonte.[9]

Anche altri due quadri "senza casa" che ho potuto di recente riconoscere come tipici di Cardisco manifestano molto bene—mi pare—i tempi e i modi di questo cambiamento tardo del pittore (figg. 9–10). Allontanate da Napoli lungo le rotte del commercio d'arte internazionale—la pala più grande era nel 1930 a Londra, presso Leger—queste due *Natività*, cosí

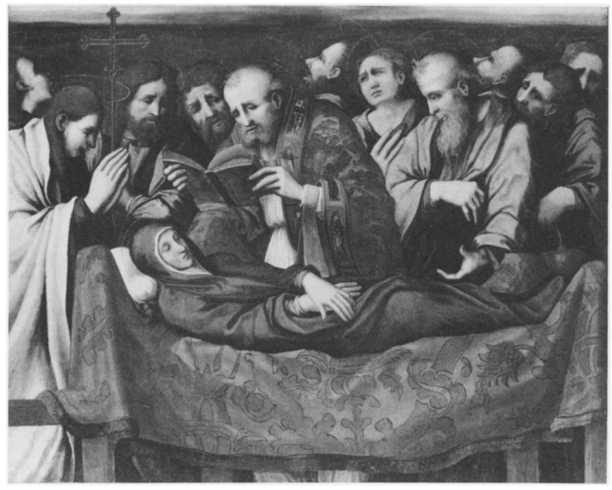

Fig. 5. Marco Cardisco, *Dormitio Virginis*, olio su tavola, Milano, vendita Finarte, 12/12/1988.

Fig. 4. Marco Cardisco, *Cristo e gli apostoli*, olio su tavola, Napoli, Convento di San Lorenzo Maggiore, da Sant'Agostino alla Zecca.

Fig. 6. Marco Cardisco e bottega, *San Paolo nell'Areopago di Atene*, olio su tavola, Cava dei Tirreni, Badia, appartamenti abaziali.

come il pannello di Baltimora, hanno subito smarrito il contrassegno della loro cultura d'origine, e sono state scambiate per opere di scuola ferrarese o addirittura senese.[10] Ancora une volte invece assai tipiche entrambe sono proprio di Cardisco, ed anzi strettamente raffrontabili l'una con l'altra per la posizione delle figure e per la bella idea degli angeli coi simboli della Passione; idea consona a quella religiosità di tipo spirituale, incentrata sulla Passione di Cristo e propensa a favorire la meditazione personale sui fatti sacri, che era diffusa a Napoli e nel Meridione d'Italia negli anni anteriori al Concilio di Trento e della quale il pittore calabrese fu uno degli illustratori più attenti ed ispirati.[11] La possibilità tuttavia che l'una possa essere un bozzetto preparatorio per l'altra—quella cioè centinata—sebbene favorita dalle dimensioni ridotte della prima (cm. 85 x 76), è subito smentita dalla distanza di qualità formali tra i due dipinti: il "bozzetto" essendo infatti opera tipica del momento migliore del calabrese, subito dopo il 1530, similissima—nella riuscita miscela di densità plastiche d'ascendenza ispano-lombarda, di certa espressività

Fig. 7. Marco Cardisco e bottega, *Profeti*, olio su tavola, Cava dei Tirreni, Badia, appartamenti abaziali.

Fig. 8. Pietro Negroni, *Madonna col Bambino e i Santi Antonino e Nicola*, olio su tavola, Sorrento, Sant'Antonino (1539).

polidoresca e di certo gustoso "romanismo"—alla celebre pala con la *Madonna delle grazie* della omonima chiesa napoletana di Caponapoli e a quella con la *Vergine in gloria* già in collezione Sterbini a Roma; e la tavola centinata, invece, essendo palesemente un prodotto degli anni estremi del pittore, incline ad una retorica un po' vacua e a sostanziose approssimazioni esecutive, del tutto analoga, dunque, ad altre cose tarde quali il polittico del santuario di Santa Maria a Parete a Liveri o l'*Annunciazione* della chiesa dell'Annunziata a Cava dei Tirreni.[12]

Fra le due trova così il giusto spazio una terza *Natività*, che fa parte di un ricco polittico transitato ora sul mercato antiquariale con l'attribuzione ad Andrea da Salerno ed il quale ospita anche una *Madonna col bambino e i Santi Sebastiano e Giovanni Battista*, un'*Annunciazione* e una predella col *Cristo morto fra gli apostoli*[13]; opera anche questa assai caratteristica del Cardisco maturo e confrontabile non solo con le due *Natività* di cui sopra ma anche con l'altro polittico citato di Liveri e con le numerose *Madonne col bambino* di questi anni, ricca di belle soluzioni insieme

Fig. 9. Marco Cardisco, *Madonna delle grazie*, Massalubrense, Cattedrale.

Fig. 10. Marco Cardisco, *Natività*, olio su tavola, ubicazione ignota.

Fig. 11. Marco Cardisco, *Natività*, olio su tavola, già Londra, Leger.

Fig. 12. Marco Cardisco, *Madonna col bambino ed angeli*, olio su tavola, già Roma, coll. Sterbini.

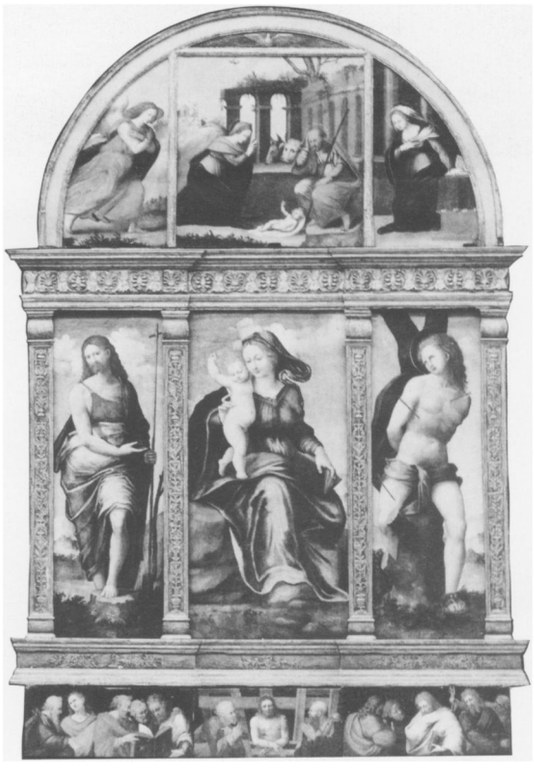

Fig. 13. Marco Cardisco e aiuti, *Madonna col bambino e i santi Sebastiano e Giovanni Battista, Annunciazione, Natività, Cristo morto fra gli apostoli*, polittico, olio su tavola, Venezia, Semenzato, vendita 11/12/1988, n. 29.

"romaniste" ed ancora e di nuovo polidoresche ma pure sensibilmente condizionata dalla presenza di aiuti e collaboratori.

Appena qualche anno più avanti, sul 1540 ed oltre, le opere di Marco Cardisco e della sua bottega —la tavola della Walters Art Gallery di Baltimora cosí come la *Natività* centinata già Leger—non suscitano in noi in realtà l'impressione di un prodotto particolarmente sofisticato, moderno o curato nell'esecuzione; piuttosto quella di un esito terminale di una cultura, di una proposta figurativa, che certamente poteva e doveva aver dominato il mercato artistico napoletano nel corso di tutto il decennio precedente con brillanti risultati. A questi risultati—piuttosto che agli ultimi—e a questo dominio dové guardare il pur anti-meridionalista Giorgio Vasari durante il suo soggiorno napoletano del 1544–45, cosí da poter concludere infine, nelle sue *Vite*, che "Marco calavrese . . . in quella patria mostrò valere più di alcuno altro che tale arte in suo tempo esercitasse".[14]

NOTES

1. Baltimora, The Walters Art Gallery, n. 37.1147; olio su tavola, cm. 69 x 82, ex. Massarenti coll., Roma, no. 474 (come Sabatini o Andrea da Salerno). Acquistato da Henry Walters, 1902. Il rilievo iconografico dato alle figure dei quattro dottori della Chiesa è fenomeno non raro nella pittura italiana di primo Cinquecento; in special modo alcuni temi particolarmente discussi, come quello dell'Immacolata Concezione della Vergine—si pensi ai due dipinti dosseschi della Gemäldegalerie di Dresda o anche a quello di Pordenone nel Museo di Capodimonte—vennero dotati della presenza di una "disputa dei Dottori" a garanzia del ricorso alla massima autorità della Chiesa delle origini nella soluzione e nell'esposizione pubblica di questi problemi. Il collegamento poi dei Dottori della Chiesa disputanti al tema dell'Eucarestia risale addirittura al Raffaello della Stanza della Segnatura, ed in particolare al celebre affresco con il *Trionfo dell'Eucarestia*, dove grande spicco hanno attorno all'altare del Sacramento proprio i quattro Dottori e che non a caso fu battezzato già dal Vasari con il titolo significativo di "Disputa del Sacramento". Cardisco ebbe molto a cuore questo soggetto, forse anche in virtù del legame con gli ambienti religiosi meridionali di stampo evangelico che in quegli anni andavano insistendo e meditando sui temi del sangue di Cristo, del suo sacrificio e del "beneficio" ottenuto grazie ad esso dall'umanità, e lo riprodusse in modo analogo anche in un altro dei pannelli in monocromo oggi conservati nella Badia di Cava.

2. G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori . . .*, (V, Firenze, 1568, ed. cons. a cura di G. Milanesi, Firenze 1906), 211–5 (poi citato, Vasari, *Le vite*).

3. Su Cardisco vedi, in sintesi, G. Frizzoni, *Arte italiana del Rinascimento* (Milano, 1891), 79–80; W. Rolfs, *Geschichte der Malerei Neapels* (Leipzig, 1910), 189–91; F. Bologna, *Roviale Spagnuolo e la pittura napoletana del Cinquecento* (Napoli, 1959), 77–9; F. Abbate, "A proposito del 'Trionfo di Sant'Agostino' di Marco Cardisco," *Paragone*, 21 (1970), n. 243, 40–3; G. Previtali, *La pittura del Cinquecento a Napoli e*

nel Vicereame (Torino, 1978), 29–32 (poi citato, Previtali, *La pittura del Cinquecento*); *Leonardo e il leonardismo a Napoli e a Roma*, (catalogo della mostra, Napoli 1983), (Firenze, 1983), 162, 187–189; P. Giusti e P. Leone de Castris, *'Forastieri e regnicoli' La pittura moderna a Napoli nel primo Cinquecento* (Napoli, 1985), 244–278 (poi citato, Giusti e Leone de Castris, *'Forastieri e regnicoli'*); II. ed., *Pittura del Cinquecento a Napoli, 1510–1540 forastieri e regnicoli* (Napoli, 1988), 226–253, 281–283 (poi citato, Giusti e Leone de Castris, *Pittura del Cinquecento*).

4. Napoli, Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, n. Q 973. Vedi G. Ceci, ad vocem, in U. Thieme-F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler* 5, (Leipzig, 1911), 586; A. De Rinaldis, *La Pinacoteca del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Napoli, 1928), 476.

5. Per le notizie documentarie su Cardisco vedi G. Filangieri, *Documenti per la storia, le arti e le industrie delle province napoletane* 5, (Napoli, 1891), 96; R. Filangieri, *Storia di Massalubrense* (Napoli, 1910), 536; F. Strazzullo, "Schede su alcuni artisti napoletani," *Bollettino di Storia dell'arte dell'Università di Salerno* (1974), n. 3–4, 61; Giusti e Leone de Castris, *'Forastieri e regnicoli'*, 264, con ulteriori referenze.

6. Giusti e Leone de Castris, *'Forastieri e regnicoli'*, 254–258.

7. Vasari, *Le vite*, 213. Sul polittico di Sant'Egidio Montealbino, creduto volta a volta opera di Marco Cardisco, di Leonardo Castellano o del giovanissimo Pietro Negroni ma datato 1543 e tipico nella fattura del Negroni ormai maturo su un progetto di Cardisco, vedi inoltre F. Abbate e G. Previtali, *La pittura napoletana del '500*, Storia di Napoli, 2, (Napoli-Cava dei Tirreni, 1972), 844, 888; *Andrea da Salerno nel Rinascimento meridionale* (catalogo della mostra, Padula 1986), (Firenze, 1986), 171, 200; Giusti e Leone de Castris, *Pittura del Cinquecento*, 242, 282.

8. Su Negroni vedi *Arte in Calabria* (catalogo della mostra, Cosenza 1976), (Cava dei Tirreni, 1975), 86–91; Previtali, *La pittura del Cinquecento*, 37–40, 48–49; P. Leone de Castris ed altri, *La pittura in Italia. II Cinquecento* (Milano, 1987), 441–443.

9. Finarte, Milano 12/12/1988, n. 98; olio su tavola, cm. 109 x 136. La *Dormitio-Assumptio Virginis* di Machuca ora a Napoli è in corso di restauro e verrà prossimamente presentata al pubblico; il Cabinet des Dessins del Museo del Louvre possiede un foglio (inv. 10198), segnalatomi dal dott. Baudequin, che costituisce l'anello di passagio tra la composizione di Machuca e la versione citata di Cardisco. Per la derivazione dalla *Pietà* del Louvre della lunetta di Liveri vedi invece Giusti e Leone de Castris, *'Forastieri e regnicoli'*, 249, 276.

10. Giusti e Leone de Castris, *Pittura del Cinquecento*, 282.

11. Giusti e Leone de Castris, *'Forastieri e regnicoli'*, 252–6. Il tema della *Natività* intesa come elemento iniziale e preconizzazione della Passione di Cristo ritorna significativamente anche nella pittura di un altro centro della religiosità eterodossa ai primi del Cinquecento, quale Ferrara; ad esempio in vari quadri dell'Ortolano.

12. Giusti e Leone de Castris, *Pittura del Cinquecento*, 234–6, fig. 210, 217, 224, 225, pl. 53, 54.

13. *Sessantasei opere d'arte all'asta*, Franco Semenzato, Venezia 11/12/1988, n. 29: rispettivamente cm. 176 x 88, 5 (la Madonna), cm. 176 x 61,5 ciascuno (i pannelli laterali), cm. 130 x 248 (la lunetta), cm. 37 x 234 (la predella).

14. Vasari, *Le vite*, 212.

Photographs: Fig. 1, The Walters Art Gallery. Figg. 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12. Soprintendenza ai beni artistici e storici—Napoli. Fig. 5, Finarte, Milano. Figg. 10, 11, Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz. Fig. 13, Semenzato-Venezia.

A Group of Ptolemaic Engraved Garnets

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In memory of Dorothy Kent Hill

During the Hellenistic period the medium of gem cutting underwent substantial changes from the traditions established in Greece during Archaic and Classical times.[1] Especially notable are the use of new shapes and materials. The changing fashions favored exotic gemstones, often large and convex in shape and set in large gold rings,[2] rather than the scarabs and scaraboids of cornelian and agate which had been standard throughout Greece and Italy since the sixth century B.C. A variety of new stones, including beryl, peridot (olivine), tourmaline, opal, and garnet, made an appearance for the first time after Alexander's conquests, acquired in India and other eastern lands previously less accessible.[3]

The Ptolemaic kingdom produced the finest engraved gemstones of the Hellenistic age, and these were usually of the more precious materials, with garnet being the preferred stone. Busts of the king or queen, or busts of deities associated with royal cults, were the favorite devices. Several are in The Walters Art Gallery, including a famous, large, but fragmentary, garnet with the portrait of Berenike II, which preserves the signature of the gem cutter Nikandros (fig. 1);[4] a peridot bearing the head of a Ptolemaic queen as Isis (fig. 2);[5] another fine garnet with the head of Isis (fig. 3);[6] and a large garnet in a gold ring depicting Dionysos, perhaps intended to represent Ptolemy IV, who took the epithet *Neos Dionysos* (fig. 4).[7] Outstanding Ptolemaic stones in other collections include the chalcedony in Boston engraved with a bust of a queen (Kleopatra II?) as Isis signed by the artist Lykomedes;[8] a large cornelian with the laureate head of Berenike II in Leningrad;[9] two amethysts depicting Ptolemy II or III in Oxford[10] and Berlin;[11] a garnet in Florence probably depicting Kleopatra I;[12] a large garnet engraved with the head of a Ptolemaic queen in Vienna;[13] and a rare example in Geneva of an opal engraved with the three-quarter facing head of Ptolemy II or III as Apollo[14]. Other examples could be cited.[15]

The fine quality and clear royal imagery of these gems suggest that they are products of the royal court, and the extant specimens probably do give a good idea of the finest works of the day. However, in addition to these fine quality engraved gems, the Ptolemies produced a wide variety of glyptic works, including other gemstones, cameos,[16] and a quantity of rings made of metal,[17] ivory, bone,[18] and even marble,[19] which had bezels either engraved or with relief decoration. The same busts of kings, queens, and deities are seen on this variety of gems, cameos, and rings, and although they are seldom of the quality of the finest gems, all appear to reflect the products of the royal court.

Evidence for the style and devices of lost gems and rings is provided by the large number of Ptolemaic clay seal impressions that were once affixed to papyrus documents. Some of these with portraits of early Ptolemaic kings and queens have been found in an archive in Kallipolis in Aetolia,[20] and another group of early Ptolemaic seal impressions, now in University College, London, is from Egypt.[21] An especially significant group of several hundred sealings from an archive was found at Edfu in Egypt; the seal-

ings date from the later Ptolemaic period, spanning the second and first centuries B.C., until the subjugation of Egypt by the Romans.[22] A much larger archive discovered at Nea Paphos on Cyprus yielded more than eleven thousand sealings very similar to those from Edfu.[23] In general, the Edfu and Nea Paphos sealings reflect known ring and gem types, but provide a fuller range of devices and present the best evidence for the variety of seals in use in semiofficial contexts during the late Ptolemaic period. Significantly, the Ptolemaic sealings differ in type and style from the sealings found in the Seleucid archives at Uruk/Warka and Seleucia in Syria,[24] which contained impressions of both personal and official seals, some of which are dated to the reigns of Antiochos III, Seleukos IV, and Antiochos IV; the Seleucid sealings more closely resemble Syrian coin types.

A Group of Late Ptolemaic Engraved Garnets

More than fifty surviving gems can be recognized by their uniform style, iconography, material, and shape as being products of several closely related Ptolemaic workshops, or perhaps even a single workshop, operating in the second and first centuries B.C. All are garnets of similar size and of the same highly distinctive shape, with flat face and convex back with curving sides.[25] This shape in garnet is not found among the finer Ptolemaic examples mentioned above, which all have sharply convex faces, and is virtually exclusive to the group under consideration and to some related contemporary gems, which bear portraits of Seleucid, Pontic, and other unidentified Eastern kings, all in somewhat finer style and many signed by the gem cutter (nos. A–I, below).

On nearly all examples of this group, the head or bust of a ruler or god is portrayed, and the style is remarkably consistent, marked by relatively shallow engraving and uniform treatment of the eyes, hair, and shape of the face. Vollenweider, who noted the stylistic similarity between several examples and recognized their Ptolemaic origin, suggested that gems of this group may have been mounted in gold rings and given to high Ptolemaic officials;[26] many of the gems are indeed mounted in gold rings of shapes typical of the second and first centuries B.C. (nos. 4, 7–9, 13, 19–22, 25, 29, 31, 34, 38–40, 44, and 51), but they are not[27] more closely datable or identifiable. The strong similarity in style and iconography of the garnets to the sealings from Edfu and Nea Paphos also strengthens the attribution of the group to an official Ptolemaic workshop.

Fig. 1. Berenike II, garnet in modern gold mount (cast), Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 42.1339.

Fig. 2. Ptolemaic queen as Isis, peridot, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 42.1319.

Fig. 3. Head of Isis, garnet, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 42.1106.

Fig. 4. Ptolemy IV (?) as Dionysos, garnet in gold ring, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 57.1699.

Iconographically, the seal devices are best understood as reflecting Ptolemaic royal cult. There can be no doubt of the importance, both in religious and political terms, of ruler cult, ruler deification, and syncretism in the Hellenistic period, which is best attested and probably most successful under the Ptolemies,[28] and surviving material evidence, such as coins and faience cult oinochoai,[29] makes clear that rulers were on occasion portrayed as specific or syncretistic gods. The group of garnets under consideration, along with nearly all other examples of Ptolemaic glyptic, including the finer gems and the extensive series of engraved and relief rings cited above, display the same limited range of devices, indicating that these devices did have a particular significance. The gods and goddesses on Ptolemaic gems, cameos, rings, coins, and other objects have often been interpreted as portraits of the various Ptolemaic rulers in divine guise, and although individual features of specific rulers can seldom be recognized with confidence, the deities do indeed appear to represent either the ruling king and queen, deified rulers such as Arsinoe II, or cult gods with particular significance to the royal family. In the case of the evidently mass-produced garnet gems, such close ties to royal imagery suggest that they were used by royal officials or priests of the various Greek cults, as is also indicated by their presence along with seals of native Egyptian priests and officials in the Edfu archive.

Fifty-two gems have been identified as belonging to this group, although other unpublished examples no doubt exist. The following catalogue begins with the Ptolemaic portraits (nos. 1–6), continues with the various deities (nos. 7–51 of which nos. 13, 14 and 37 are in the Walters Art Gallery), and then lists the one symbol (no. 52, cornucopia); nine portraits of eastern Hellenistic rulers from related workshops follow (nos. A–I). The gems have been recognized primarily by their distinctive shape and style, but each device has special significance relating to Ptolemaic royal cult or imagery and has relevant parallels in other works of Ptolemaic glyptic, coinage, or minor arts. These aspects will be discussed briefly in the commentary that follows the catalogue. Dimensions are given in millimeters.

Portraits of Ptolemies:

1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 27.709, from the E. P. Warren and Tyszkiewicz collections; 18.5 x 13.5 x 4.0; Beazley, *Lewes House Gems*, no. 96; W. Froehner, *La Collection Tyszkiewicz* (Munich, 1892), pl. 24.4; Furtwängler, *Antiken Gemmen*, pl. 36.36. Bust of Arsinoe II (or Berenike II?), wearing a diadem, stephane, and earrings (fig. 5).

2. Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum, 76.85.13, from the Burton Y. Berry collection; 13.2 x 11.6 x 2.7. Bust of a diademed king, probably Ptolemy IX (fig. 6).

3. Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum, 76.85.14, from the Burton Y. Berry collection; 15.8 x 12.0 x 3.6 (fig. 7). Similar to last but slightly bearded and wearing wreath and diadem.

4. Private collection, said to be from Alexandria; in a gold ring; 21.5 x 17; H. Jucker and D. Willers, *Gesichter. Griechische und römische Bildnisse aus Schweizer Besitz* (Bern, 1982), 281, no. 133 (hereafter, Jucker-Willers, *Gesichter*). Bust of a diademed and bearded king, probably Ptolemy IX.

5. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, said to be from Alexandria; broken, 9.1 (length as preserved) x 11.7 x 2.8; E. Brandt, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen I. Staatliche Münzsammlung München*, 1 (Munich, 1968), no. 527 (hereafter, Brandt, *Munich*). Very similar to the last.

6. London, Petrie Museum, University College, probably from Egypt; 15 x 10.5; an impression and description were made by Prof. Boardman, but the piece cannot be located now. Bust of a diademed and slightly bearded king, probably Ptolemy IX (fig. 8).

Bust of Aphrodite (?) wearing stephane, earrings, and necklace:

7. London, British Museum, from Crete; 18 x 14; in a gold ring; H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the British Museum* (London, 1926), no. 1186 (hereafter, Walters, *Gems*); Marshall, *Rings*, no. 383 (fig. 9). The gem is convex rather than flat, but is stylistically and typologically very close to the rest of the group.

8. Once de Clercq and Péretié collections; 15 x 11.5; in a gold ring, as Marshall, *Rings*, no. 396; de Ridder, *De Clercq*, no. 2894; Jack Ogden Ltd., *In the Wake of Alexander*, Price List (London, 1982), no. 44 (hereafter, Ogden, *Alexander*) (fig. 10).

9. Once de Clercq collection, from Tartus; 17 x 11; in a gold ring, as Marshall, *Rings*, no. 396; de Ridder, *De Clercq*, no. 2895 (fig. 11).

10. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Lewis Collection; 17 x 15; M. Henig, *The Lewis Collection of Gemstones* (Oxford, 1975), no. 335, as probably modern.

11. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum; broken, 11 x 10, as preserved; P. Fossing, *The Thorvaldsen Museum Catalogue of the Antique Engraved Gems and Cameos* (Copenhagen, 1929), no. 1082.
12. Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum, 76.85.18, from the Burton Y. Berry collection; 13.4 x 10.0 x 2.6; very crude work.

Bust of Isis:

13. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 57.1022; length of bezel, 18; in a gold ring; *Jewelry*, 92, no. 278; Reeder, *Hellenistic Art*, 247, no. 142 (fig. 12).
14. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 42.144; 17 x 14 x 3 (fig. 13).
15. Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum, 76.85.3, from the Burton Y. Berry collection; 12.5 x 9.5 x 4.4; Isis wears diadem and disc; a sistrum before her (fig. 14).
16. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, no. 1892.1572; 13.3 x 10.5 x 3.0; Boardman-Vollenweider, *Oxford Gems*, no. 290.
17. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, from Alexandria; broken, 14.6 x 15.9 x 3.3; Brandt, *Munich*, 1, no. 440.
18. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung; broken, 9.5 x 12.0 x 3.7; Brandt, *Munich* 1, no. 441; Isis wears a diadem and corn wreath.
19. Once de Clercq collection, from Tartus; 13.5 x 9.5; in a gold ring, as Marshall, *Rings*, no. 396; de Ridder, *De Clercq*, no. 2979; Ogden, *Alexander*, no. 32 (fig. 15).
20. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, from the de Clercq collection, from Amrit; 13 x 9.5; in a gold ring, as Marshall, *Rings*, no. 396; de Ridder, *De Clercq*, no. 2980 (fig. 16).
21. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, from the de Clercq and Péretié collections; 10 x 7; in a gold ring, as Marshall, *Rings*, no. 396; de Ridder, *De Clercq*, no. 2981 (fig. 17).
22. Once de Clercq collection; 10 x 7; in a gold ring, as Marshall, *Rings*, no. 396; de Ridder, *De Clercq*, no. 2982.
23. Leningrad; Furtwängler, *Antiken Gemmen*, III: 161, and pl. 33.7.
24. Once Robinson collection; 18 x 13; Furtwängler, *Antiken Gemmen*, pl. 63.27; *Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* (London, 1904), 214, M 146.

Jugate busts of Isis and Sarapis:

25. Chicago, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, purchased in Beirut in 1953 and said to be from Syria with H (below) and Seleucid coins down to the time of Tryphon (142–138 B.C.); in a heavy gold ring; C. H. Kraeling, "Hellenistic Jewelry in Chicago," *Archaeology*, 8 (1955), 252–259 figs. 5–6; Richter, *Engraved Gems*, no. 639; W. Hornbostel, *Sarapis* (Leiden, 1973), 136, pl. 41.62 (hereafter, Hornbostel, *Sarapis*) (fig. 18).
26. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire; 11.1 x 8.9 x 2.2; Vollenweider, *Deliciae Leonis*, no. 257; Jucker-Willers, *Gesichter*, no. 131.

Bust of Tyche wearing kalathos:

27. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, no. 1892.1348; 13.5 x 10.5 x 3; Boardman-Vollenweider, *Oxford Gems*, no. 291 (fig. 19).

Bust of Tyche crowned with city walls:

28. Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum, 76.85.15, from the Burton Y. Berry collection; 17.7 x 14 x 3.5 (fig. 20).
29. Once de Clercq collection, from Tartus; diameter, 16; in a gold ring, as Marshall, *Rings*, no. 518; de Ridder, *De Clercq*, no. 2971 (fig. 21).
30. Once de Clerq collection, from Tartus; 19 x 14.5 x 3; de Ridder, *De Clercq*, no. 2972, as glass.
31. Once de Clercq collection, from Tartus; 17 x 13; in a gold ring, as Marshall, *Rings*, no. 396; de Ridder, *De Clercq*, no. 2973.
32. Once de Clercq collection; 16.5 x 12 x 2.5; de Ridder, *De Clercq*, no. 2974, as glass.
33. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung; 17 x 12.4 x 6.7; Brandt, *Munich*, 1, no. 379. Tyche also wears a wreath of corn and disc, and has a bow quiver over her shoulder (fig. 22).

Bust of Demeter:

34. Once de Clercq collection, from Baniyas; 17.5 x 13; in gold ring, as Marshall, *Rings*, no. 396; de Ridder, *De Clercq*, no. 2896; Ogden, *Alexander*, no. 37. The goddess wears a wreath of corn and no diadem (fig. 23).
35. London market, from Jerusalem?; broken, 17.5 x 15, as preserved; Christie's, May 20, 1981, lot 323; type as last.
36. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung; broken, 13.5 (as preserved) x 13.8 x 3.3; Brandt, *Munich* 1, no. 442; Demeter wears a veil, a torch over her shoulder (fig. 24).

Fig. 5. Ptolemaic portrait, garnet (cast), Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 27.709 (cat. no. 1).

Fig. 6. Ptolemaic portrait, garnet (cast), Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum, no. 76.85.13 (cat. no. 2).

Fig. 7. Ptolemaic portrait, garnet (cast), Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum, no. 76.85.14 (cat. no. 3).

Fig. 8. Ptolemaic portrait, garnet (cast), London, Petrie Museum, University College (cat. no. 6).

Fig. 9. Bust of Aphrodite (?), garnet in gold ring, London, British Museum (cat. no. 7).

Fig. 10. Bust of Aphrodite (?), garnet in gold ring (cast), ex. coll. de Clercq (cat. no. 8).

Fig. 11. Bust of Aphrodite (?), garnet in gold ring (cast), ex coll. de Clercq (cat. no. 9).

Fig. 12. Bust of Isis, garnet in gold ring, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 57.1022 (cat. no. 13).

Fig. 13. Bust of Isis, garnet, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 42.144 (cat. no. 14).

Fig. 14. Bust of Isis, garnet (cast), Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum, no. 76.85.3 (cat. no. 15).

Fig. 15. Bust of Isis, garnet (cast), ex coll. de Clercq (cat. no. 19).

Fig. 16. Bust of Isis, garnet in gold ring (cast), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (cat. no. 20).

Fig. 17. Bust of Isis, garnet in gold ring (cast), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (cat. no. 21).

Fig. 18. Bust of Isis, garnet in gold ring, Chicago, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago (cat. no. 25).

Fig. 19. Bust of Tyche, garnet (cast), Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, no. 1892.1348 (cat. no. 27).

Fig. 20. Bust of Tyche, garnet (cast), Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum, no. 76.85.15 (cat. no. 28).

Fig. 21. Bust of Tyche, garnet in gold ring (cast), ex. coll. de Clercq (cat. no. 29).

Fig. 22. Bust of Tyche, garnet, Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung (cat. no. 33).

Fig. 23. Bust of Demeter, garnet in gold ring (cast), ex. coll. de Clercq (cat. no. 34).

Fig. 24. Bust of Demeter, garnet, Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung (cat. no. 36).

Fig. 25. Head of Apollo, garnet, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 42.508 (cat. no. 37).

Fig. 26. Head of Apollo, garnet in gold ring (cast), ex. coll. de Clercq (cat. no. 38).

Fig. 27. Head of Apollo, garnet in gold ring (cast), ex. coll. de Clercq (cat. no. 39).

Fig. 28. Bust of Artemis, garnet in gold ring (cast), ex. coll. de Clercq (cat. no. 44).

Fig. 29. Bust of Artemis, garnet, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, no. 1892.1448 (cat. no. 45).

Fig. 30. Bust of Athena, garnet (cast), Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum, no. 76.90.18 (cat. no. 47).

Fig. 31. Bust of Dionysos, garnet (cast), Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, no. 85.AN.444.22 (cat. no. 48).

Fig. 32. Bust of Dionysos, garnet (cast), London and Zurich market, 1988 (cat. no. 49).

Fig. 33a. Heads of the Dioskouroi, garnet, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, no. 2056A (cat. no. 50).

Fig. 33b. Cast of fig. 33a.

Fig. 34. Heads of the Dioskouroi, garnet in gold ring (cast), ex. coll. de Clercq (cat. no. 51).

Fig. 35. Cornucopia, garnet (cast), ex. coll. de Clercq (cat. no. 52).

Head of Apollo, laureate or diademed:

37. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 42.508; 17 x 12 x 2.5; head with diadem (fig. 25).
38. Once de Clercq and Péretié collections; 10 x 7.5; in a gold ring, as Marshall, *Rings*, no. 396; de Ridder, *De Clercq*, no. 3051; Ogden, *Alexander*, no. 45; with diadem (fig. 26).
39. Once de Clercq collection, from Tartus; 11 x 8.5; in a gold ring, as Marshall, *Rings*, no. 396; de Ridder, *De Clercq*, no. 3055; with diadem (fig. 27).
40. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, from the Guilhou collection; 16.1 x 13; in a gold ring; Vollenweider, *Deliciae Leonis*, no. 62; with diadem.
41. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire; 13.5 x 10.5; Vollenweider, *Deliciae Leonis*, no. 60; laureate.
42. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, from Alexandria; broken, 16.4 x 8.6 x 2.6; Brandt, *Munich*, 1, no. 443; the identification as Apollo is uncertain.
43. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung; 18.5 x 16 x 3.7; Brandt, *Munich* 1, no. 446; laureate.

Bust of Artemis, quiver over shoulder:

44. Once de Clercq collection, from Tartus; 16 x 12; in gold ring, as Marshall, *Rings*, no. 385; de Ridder, *De Clercq*, no. 2094; Ogden, *Alexander*, no. 4 (fig. 28).
45. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, no. 1892.1448; 11 x 8 x 2.5; Boardman-Vollenweider, *Oxford Gems*, no. 296 (fig. 29).
46. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 81.1.66, ex King and Herz collections; length, 17; G. M. A. Richter, *Metropolitan Museum of Art: Catalogue of Engraved Gems, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman* (Rome, 1956), no. 282; Vollenweider, *Porträtgemmen*, I:21; II:14, pl. 13.10.

Bust of Athena wearing crested Corinthian helmet:

47. Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum, 76.90.18, from the Burton Y. Berry collection; broken, 9.3 x 9.7 x 2.7 as preserved (fig. 30).

Bust of Dionysos wearing ivy wreath:

48. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, 85.AN.444.22, from Iran; 16.2 x 12.9 x 4.4 (fig. 31).
49. London and Zurich market, from Lebanon or Syria; 17 x 14 x 3; *Numismatic Art and Ancient Coins*, 6 (Zurich, 1988), no. 51 (fig. 32).

Heads of the Dioskouroi, laureate, two stars above:

50. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2056A; 21.2 x 16.5 x 3.7; Richter, *Engraved Gems*, no. 682 (fig. 33a).
51. Once de Clercq collection, from Byblos; 12 x 8.5; in a gold ring, as Marshall, *Rings*, no. 430; de Ridder, *De Clercq*, no. 3223 (fig. 34).

Cornucopia:

52. Once de Clercq collection; 18.5 x 14; de Ridder, *De Clercq*, no. 3365, as glass; the back is probably flat (fig. 35).

Related Hellenistic Portraits, 2nd–1st Centuries B.C.:

A. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 57.1698, set in a heavy gold ring, from Panticapaeum (Kerch); *Jewelry*, 93, no. 280; Reeder, *Hellenistic Art*, 241, no. 136; Vollenweider, "Deux portraits," 152–153, pl. 40.3; Furtwängler, *Antiken Gemmen*, pl. 63.36; Richter, *Engraved Gems*, no. 677; Hill, "Carved Gems," 62, figs. 2–3. Portrait of a Pontic king, signed by the gem cutter Apollonios (fig. 51).
B. Athens, Numismatic Museum; Vollenweider, "Deux portraits," 151–153, pl. 40.2; Richter, *Engraved Gems*, no. 678. Portrait of Antiochos III of Syria, signed by Apollonios.
C. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, from the de Clercq collection, from Baniyas; 16 x 12; in a gold ring; de Ridder, *De Clercq*, no. 2861; Richter, *Engraved Gems*, no. 656. Draped and diademed bust of Tryphon of Syria (?) (fig. 52).
D. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 13.244, from the E. P. Warren and Morrison collection; 18.5 x 13.5 x 3.5; Furtwängler, *Antiken Gemmen*, pl. 66.5. Draped and diademed bust of Demetrios III of Syria (fig. 53).
E. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 27.710, from the E. P. Warren and Tyszkiewicz collections, said to be from Suleimanieh, Iraq; 27 x 22; Beazley; *Lewes House Gems*, no. 97; W. Froehner, *La Collection Tyszkiewicz*, (Munich, 1892), pl. 24.12; Furtwängler, *Antiken Gemmen*, pl. 31.24, and III, 169; Richter, *Engraved Gems*, no. 665; Boardman, *Greek Gems*, 360, pl. 1000. Portrait of an Eastern king (?), wearing a fez-like cap.
F. Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 22008; Vollenweider, "Deux portraits," 146–148, pl. 37.6; *Geneva*, III: 165–168, no. 219. Portrait of Mithradates IV of Pontos (?), signed by Nikias.
G. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, from the de Clercq

collection; 26 x 10 x 4; de Ridder, *De Clercq*, no. 2854; Furtwängler, *Antiken Gemmen*, III: 163; Richter, *Engraved Gems*, no. 675; Vollenweider, *Porträtgemmen*, I, 71–72, II: 34, pl. 44.1–2 and 45.1. Portrait of a bearded man (Flaminius?), signed by Daidalos.

H. Chicago, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, purchased in Beirut in 1953 and said to be from Syria with no. 25 (above) and Seleucid coins down to the time of Tryphon (142–138 B.C.); in a heavy gold ring; C. H. Kraeling, "Hellenistic Gold Jewelry in Chicago," *Archaeology*, 8 (1955), 252–259, fig. 7; Richter, *Engraved Gems*, no. 689; Vollenweider, *Porträtgemmen*, I, 185–187 II: 79, pl. 136.1–2 (as Marc Antony). Portrait of an unbearded male, signed by Menophilos.

I. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, from the de Clercq collection, from Tartus; in a gold ring; de Ridder, *De Clercq*, no. 3207. Male portrait.

No. 1 (fig. 5) displays an exceptionally fine portrait bust of a Ptolemaic queen in the guise of a goddess, wearing stephane, diadem, and earrings (the identification of the image as that of Aphrodite will be discussed below). Both Arsinoe II, who was wife and sister of Ptolemy II, and Berenike II, the wife of Ptolemy III, are possible identifications, judging from the extensive series of coin portraits and surviving sculpture.[30] Although Arsinoe II died in 270 B.C., her cult as goddess was maintained throughout the Ptolemaic period, and her portrait continued to appear in sculpture, on coins, and on other objects long after her death. Berenike II ruled with her husband from 246–222/221 B.C. and was frequently pictured on coins during her lifetime. It is difficult to distinguish between the two in view of the many varying posthumous portraits of Arsinoe II and the variety of different lifetime portraits of Berenike II on coins, but both Froehner and Beazley favor Arsinoe II as the subject of the gem. If so, however, it is likely to be posthumous, representing the deified Arsinoe II as Aphrodite, and was made probably in the second half of the third century B.C. Many of the numerous bronze rings with relief portraits of a queen most likely depict the deified Arsinoe II as well,[31] while portraits of Berenike II are found on engraved gold rings in Leningrad[32] and Taranto.[33] A similar portrait of a queen, in this instance wearing a veil and stephane as is usual on coin portraits, is portrayed on a unique garnet cameo in Malibu (fig. 36),[34] which is especially notable for its material and for its date, certainly third century B.C.[35]

The five other Ptolemaic portraits in this group (nos. 2–6) are more than a century later in date and depict an uncertain Ptolemaic king, probably Ptolemy IX. The three kings Ptolemy IX Soter II (ruling twice, from 116–107 and again 88–80 B.C., after deposing his brother Ptolemy X), Ptolemy X Alexandros I (ruled 107–88 B.C.), and Ptolemy XI Alexandros II (son of Ptolemy X, who ruled briefly in 80 B.C.) struck no coins with their portraits and are best identified by the sealings from Edfu and Nea Paphos, although a number of variant portraits evidently of the same king exist, making identifications difficult. Parlasca,[36] Kyrieleis,[37] Krug,[38] and Maehler[39] have all discussed the portraits and suggested different identifications, but the most recent arrangement by Maehler is perhaps the most convincing. Ptolemy IX is depicted as having a heavy jowl and long, slightly hooked nose, but several variant portraits appear on the Edfu sealings (fig. 37).[40] Ptolemy X has a distinctively flatter and heavier face, with a broader, fatter jowl without protruding chin, a flat forehead, and a larger, hooked nose.[41] No portraits of Ptolemy XI, who ruled for only a few weeks, can be recognized with confidence.[42]

Nos. 2–6 (figs. 6–8) clearly represent the same

Fig. 36. Ptolemaic portrait, garnet, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, no. 81.AN.76.59

Fig. 37. Ptolemy IX (?), clay seal impression, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum.

Fig. 38. Ptolemy IX (?), clay seal impression, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum. no. 84.AN.1.95.

Fig. 39a. Ptolemy IX (?), bronze ring, London, University College, no. UC 17231.

Fig. 39b. Cast of fig. 39a.

king, who has a lightly bearded face with long nose, close in style to the portraits of Ptolemy IX on some Edfu sealings, another sealing in Malibu (fig. 38),[43] and on a bronze ring from Egypt in University College, London (fig. 39a).[44] There is considerable variation among the five gems in the quality of portraiture, but all are similar enough to represent Ptolemy IX and do not have the exceptionally strong features expected of Ptolemy X. Ptolemy IX's return to power in 88 B.C. and subsequent second reign may account for the varieties of portraits, some of which may be conflations of portraits of Ptolemies IX and X, reminiscent of the marble head in Boston thought to be recarved from a portrait of Ptolemy X to represent Ptolemy IX after 88 B.C.[45] In addition to the five extant garnet portrait gems, the bronze ring, and many seal impressions, Plutarch (*Lucullus* 3.1) relates that Ptolemy IX presented a gold ring set with an emerald engraved with his portrait to Lucullus in 85 B.C., indicating the mass production of such royal objects in the late Ptolemaic period.

The stephane and jewelry worn by the queen on no. 1 are the attire of a goddess, worn by both Hera and Aphrodite. Several garnets (nos. 7–12, figs. 9–11) portray busts in this manner, closely resembling the Ptolemaic queen on no. 1 but without clearly identifiable facial features, and they probably are intended to represent a succession of Ptolemaic queens as a goddess. Arsinoe II took the epithet Hera in her lifetime and was posthumously deified as Aphrodite, a goddess who enjoyed special popularity in Egypt and was often identified with Isis.[46] Aphrodite is perhaps the more likely identification of the gem device in view of her popularity in royal cults, and some representations of queens on faience oinochoai wear a stephane and appear derived from Aphrodite or a syncretistic Aphrodite-Isis.[47] The image of the goddess wearing stephane and jewelry, already seen on coins depicting Arsinoe II and Berenike II, became standard for coin portraits of later Ptolemaic and Seleucid queens, such as Arsinoe III, Kleopatra I of Egypt, and Kleopatra Thea, daughter of Ptolemy VI and wife of three Seleucid kings (Alexander Bala, Demetrios II, and Antiochos VII).[48]

During the Ptolemaic period, the queen was increasingly identified with the goddess Isis.[49] As already noted, the fine gems in Boston and The Walters Art Gallery (fig. 2) surely represent a queen as Isis, as do some bronze rings[50] and many of the Edfu sealings (fig. 40).[51] The bust of Isis is the most popular type on garnets of the class under consideration (nos. 13–24, figs. 12–17), all of which are close in style. She is depicted with long locks of hair over her shoulder, a diadem, usually the feather and disc crown, and sometimes a wreath of corn as well. Vollenweider has suggested that no. 16 may represent Kleopatra I (c. 180 B.C.),[52] but the specific attribution is difficult to substantiate. It is likely, however, that the entire series is meant to represent the ruling queen. The goddess occasionally appears on Ptolemaic bronze coins, usually wreathed with corn and without the feather and disc headdress, and she may represent Kleopatra I on some issues where individual features are discernible.[53]

Also frequently found during the Ptolemaic period is the representation of jugate busts of Sarapis and Isis, an image created early in the Ptolemaic period that maintains its popularity throughout Roman Imperial times.[54] The type appears on two garnets (nos. 25, 26, fig. 18), as well as on a fine gold ring in London,[55] a bronze ring in Leningrad,[56] and a tetradrachm probably struck early in the second century B.C. during the reign of Ptolemy V.[57] A number of Edfu sealings are close in style to the garnets (fig. 41),[58] while the earliest datable example of a seal impression with this type was found on an Egyptian papyrus dated 223/2 B.C.[59]

Tyche also became a popular goddess in the Hellenistic period and in addition to having her own cults, she was often identified with Hellenistic queens and served as the personification of individual cities. She may wear a kalathos, as on no. 27 (fig. 19), and her attributes are usually a cornucopia and a steering oar. Thompson has noted the possible identification of Arsinoe II with Agathe Tyche,[60] and Kleopatra Thea, wife of Alexander Bala, is portrayed as Tyche, wearing a kalathos, diadem, veil, and with a cornucopia, on a tetradrachm struck at Seleucia Pieria.[61] Vollenweider has tentatively identified no. 27 as Kleopatra II.[62]

Fig. 40. Ptolemaic queen as Isis, clay seal impression, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum.

The fame of the statue made for the Syrians by the sculptor Eutychides, which represented a seated Tyche as the personification of the city of Antioch,[63] probably accounts for the widespread popularity of the type with other cities in the later Hellenistic and Roman periods. In this representation, Tyche is shown crowned with city walls. The head of such a type appears on several garnet gems (nos. 28–32, figs. 20, 21), and two cameos which appear to be of Ptolemaic manufacture are stylistically close (fig. 42).[64] Tyche in this form cannot easily be associated with a Ptolemaic queen, and, significantly, the type is not found among the Edfu sealings. Perhaps the device signified the seal of a local city official, especially in Syria, Phoenicia, or Asia Minor where the type was popular, rather than of a royal official in Egypt. Alternatively, the figure could represent Cybele, who may have had a royal cult in Alexandria[65] and is shown on stylistically similar tetradrachms of second-century B.C. Smyrna.[66] No. 33 (fig. 22) represents a peculiar syncretistic form of Tyche, crowned with the city walls but also with a disc and corn wreath, as Isis might be, and carrying a bow and quiver, the attributes of Artemis.

Fig. 41. Jugate busts, clay seal impression, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum.

Demeter is represented in the group of garnets both wreathed with corn (nos. 34, 35, fig. 23) and veiled with a torch over her shoulder (no. 36, fig. 24). Some sealings from Edfu are similar to nos. 29 and 30.[67] A much finer sealing from Kallipolis has been convincingly identified by Pantos as a portrait of Berenike II in the guise of Demeter wreathed with corn, a goddess who has clear royal cult associations and is also assimilated with Isis.[68] Another very fine bust of Berenike II as Demeter is found on a Ptolemaic bronze relief ring in Cologne.[69]

Garnets with the head of Apollo are especially well represented in this class (nos. 37–43, figs. 25–27) and again are likely to represent the deified king. The fine opal in Geneva[70] clearly represents an early Ptolemy (II or III?) as Apollo, laureate and in three-quarter facing view; similar fine representations of a later Ptolemy were found among the Edfu sealings.[71] The garnets usually show a distinctive profile head of Apollo with hair in long curls resembling those of Isis and wearing a diadem. Seal impressions of the same type were found in the Edfu archive (fig. 43).[72] A similar depiction of Apollo is seen on the extensive issue of Roman Republican denarii struck by L. Piso Frugi in 90 B.C.,[73] demonstrating that the type had reached Rome by that date. At least two of the heads (nos. 41, 43) are laureate rather than diademed and recall representations on bronze coins struck by Demetrios II of Syria just after the middle of the second century B.C.[74]

If the Ptolemaic king is identified with Apollo, it

Fig. 42. Head of Tyche, cameo in gold ring, Hess-Schab auction, Lucerne, December 7, 1957, lot 91.

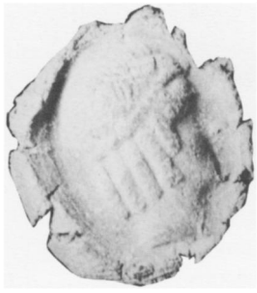

Fig. 43. Head of Apollo, clay seal impression, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum.

Fig. 44. Berenike II (?) as Artemis, gold ring, Pforzheim, Schmuckmuseum.

Fig. 45. Head of Artemis, bronze ring, private collection.

was appropriate for his queen (often his sister) to be shown as Artemis, although the use of the epithet in cult practice is uncertain. The representations of Artemis on three garnets (nos. 41–46, figs. 28, 29) are especially close to those on two gold rings with engraved bezels, which are clearly Ptolemaic works. One, which is said to have been found in Egypt, is now in the Schmuckmuseum, Pforzheim, on which Schefold has suggested that Artemis bears the features of a Ptolemaic queen, perhaps Berenike II (fig. 44).[75] The other ring, very similar in style, is in Geneva, and Vollenweider has suggested a late third century B.C. date for it.[76] There also exists a Ptolemaic bronze relief ring with the same device (fig. 45).[77] A similar bust of Artemis was among the Edfu sealings.[78]

A bust of Athena is depicted on a single garnet (no. 47, fig. 30), but except for the identification of Arsinoe II with the Spartan Athena Chalkioikos,[79] there is little evidence linking Athena with royal cult. However, Athena is identified with the Egyptian goddess Neith,[80] and the existence of similar busts of Athena on sealings from Edfu (fig. 46) and on a Ptolemaic bronze ring clearly indicate that it was a type with royal significance.[81]

Two garnets (nos. 48, 49, figs. 31, 32) are engraved with the head of Dionysos wearing an ivy wreath, a god especially significant in Ptolemaic royal imagery. Both Ptolemy IV (222/1–205/4 B.C.) and Ptolemy XII

Fig. 46. Bust of Athena, clay seal impression, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum.

Fig. 47. Drachm with head of Ptolemy IV as Dionysos, gold, Münzauktion Tkalec and Rauch, Zurich, February 25, 1989, lot 190.

Fig. 48. Bust of Dionysos, bronze ring, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum.

Fig. 49. Heads of the Dioskouroi, clay seal impression, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum.

(80–51 B.C.)[82] took the epithet *Neos Dionysos*, but Dionysos iconography is not confined to these two kings.[83] A unique gold drachm displays a fine portrait of Ptolemy IV as Dionysos (fig. 47),[84] perhaps the earliest representation of a Ptolemy as Dionysos, and a subsequent series of silver coins[85] show a Dionysos head of similar type but without individual features, evidently meant to represent a succession of ruling kings. The fine garnet with the head of Dionysos in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 4) is surely Ptolemaic and may represent Ptolemy IV, as Vollenweider has suggested, and several Ptolemaic bronze relief rings with a bust of Dionysos are known as well (fig. 48).[86] A clay sealing stylistically close to the garnets was found at Edfu.[87]

The Dioskouroi are also well attested in Ptolemaic cults and had a temple in Alexandria. They appear to have been especially important to the royal family, since it is they who escorted the deified Arsinoe II to heaven, as Kallimachos relates.[88] Their jugate busts, laureate and each surmounted by a star, appear on two garnets (nos. 50, 51, figs. 33, 34); a strikingly similar sealing was found at Edfu (fig. 49).[89] Coins struck ca. 100 B.C. at Tripolis in Phoenicia have similar busts of the Dioskouroi but in a somewhat different style dependent on contemporary Seleucid coinage.[90] Another depiction of the Dioskouroi, although in this case wearing piloi, is found on a Ptolemaic bronze ring from the Black Sea.[91] The device is anticipated in a chalcedony scaraboid, which, judging from its style, shape, and material, appears to be late fourth century B.C. in date, although a Ptolemaic origin early in the third century is possible.[92]

A final garnet, depicting a cornucopia bound by a fillet (no. 52, fig. 35), appears to be related to the main series and indicates that symbols, in addition to human and divine figures, were part of the repertoire of the workshop. The device, in identical style, is a very common reverse type on both Ptolemaic and Seleucid coins. It does, however, occur on Hellenistic gold rings not necessarily of Ptolemaic manufacture.[93] Other Ptolemaic garnets which have not survived probably bore other symbols, such as the ear of corn preserved on a sealing from Edfu (fig. 50).[94]

The iconography, stylistic uniformity, and close similarity of the garnets to surviving rings and clay sealings clearly indicate they are late Ptolemaic works, most likely of the second and first centuries B.C. No. 25 has a *terminus ante quem* of ca. 138 B.C. if the associated coins in fact belong to the same find, while nos. 2–6 are certainly datable to the years 116–80 B.C. Only no. 1 stands apart for its finer style and earlier date, probably still in the third century B.C.

Fig. 50. Grain device, clay seal impression, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum.

Fig. 51. Head of a Bosphoran king, garnet in gold ring (cast), Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 57.1698 (cat no. A).

The evidence of provenance, however, is ambiguous. Although many of the garnets are said to have been found in Egypt or areas at one time under Ptolemaic control (nos. 3–6, 17, 42) even more have been found in Phoenicia and Syria, (nos. 9, 19, 20, 25, 29–31, 34, 39, 44, 48, 49, 51, and probably 8, 21, 22, 32, 38 and 52 as well), which during most of the period after Antiochos III were under Seleucid control. Nevertheless, the evidence of Seleucid glyptic provided by the sealings from Uruk/Warka and Seleucia suggests that the group of garnets is not typical of official Seleucid seals. No certain answer for this problem can be made, but there are many possibilities. Ptolemaic envoys traveling in Phoenicia may have used the garnets mounted in gold rings as their official seals, or the gems may merely have been official gifts or objects of trade. Also, the number of known examples from Phoenicia and Syria may be disproportionately large because of the comprehensive nature of the de Clercq collection, which accounts for more than one third of the surviving specimens.

A number of other fine portraits in garnet of the second and first centuries B.C. (nos. A–I) show that the distinctive shape (face flat, back convex) need not be confined to Ptolemaic workshops and was favored for use in the courts of other eastern Hellenistic kings. Apollonios, a gem cutter who evidently traveled to the courts of various royal patrons, is responsible for a portrait of the Syrian King Antiochos III (223–187 B.C.) (no. B) and an uncertain, perhaps Bosphoran, king (no. A, fig. 51). Nikias signed a gem (no. F) probably portraying Mithradates IV of Pontos (c. 159–150 B.C.). Other portraits, some signed, have unidentified subjects, but they belong to the same period (nos. E, G–I). Closest to the main Ptolemaic series are the two portraits of later Seleucid kings, one of Tryphon(?) (no. C, fig. 52), who ruled 142–139 B.C., and the other of Demetrios III (no. D, fig. 53), who ruled 95–98 B.C. Other Seleucid portrait gems and rings are not known,[95] and the lack of Seleucid material again suggests that the group of garnets is Ptolemaic in origin. The distinctive shape and material may well have been one of the innovations of the gem cutters of the Ptolemaic court, with no. 1 being an early example, and as such would have come to the attention of artists in the service of other Eastern Hellenistic kings.

Fig. 52. Tryphon (?), garnet in gold ring, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (cat. no. C).

Fig. 53. Demetrios III, garnet (cast), Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, no 13.244 (cat. no. D).

NOTES

1. Although Archaic and Classical Greek gems have in recent years received considerable scholarly attention both in museum catalogues and in the exhaustive studies of Sir John Boardman, including his *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (London, 1970) (hereafter, Boardman, *Greek Gems*), engraved gems of the Hellenistic period have fared less well. Since Adolf Furtwängler's overview in *Die antiken Gemmen*, III (Leipzig-Berlin, 1900), Chapter VI (hereafter, Furtwängler, *Antiken Gemmen*), no systematic study grouping Hellenistic gems according to style, workshop, or chronology has been attempted, although a good number of brief articles and catalogue entries have discussed various aspects of attribution. See E. D. Reeder, *Hellenistic Art in The Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1988), 240–250 (hereafter, Reeder, *Hellenistic Art*); D. K. Hill, "Some Hellenistic Carved Gems," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 6 (1943), 61–69 (hereafter, Hill, "Carved Gems"); G. M. A. Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans* (London, 1968), 133–137 (hereafter, Richter, *Engraved Gems*); and especially the following works by M.-L. Vollenweider: "Das Bildnis des Scipio Africanus," *Museum Helveticum*, 15 (1958), 27–45 (hereafter, Vollenweider, "Scipio"); *Die Steinschneidekunst und ihre Künstler in spätrepublikanischer und augusteischer Zeit* (Baden-Baden, 1966) (hereafter, Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst*); *Die Porträtgemmen der römischen Republik* (Mainz, 1974) (hereafter, Vollenweider, *Porträtgemmen*); "Deux portraits inconnus de la dynastie du Pont et les graveurs Nikias, Zoilos et Apollonios," *Antike Kunst*, 23 (1980), 146–153 (hereafter, Vollenweider, "Deux portraits"); *Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève. Catalogue raisonné des sceaux, cylindres, intailles et camées*, III (Mainz, 1983) (hereafter, Vollenweider, *Geneva* III); *Deliciae Leonis* (Mainz, 1987) (hereafter, Vollenweider, *Deliciae Leonis*); and the Hellenistic entries in J. Boardman and M.-L. Vollen-

weider, *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Finger Rings, I: Greek and Etruscan* (Oxford, 1978) (hereafter, Boardman-Vollenweider, *Oxford Gems*). We are also fortunate to have the fine publication by A. de Ridder, *Collection de Clercq, VII, 2. Les Bijoux et les Pierres Gravées* (Paris, 1911), which carefully records an important collection, including many Hellenistic gems, found in Syria (hereafter, de Ridder, *De Clercq*). See also the additional bibliography in P. Zazoff, *Die antiken Gemmen* (Munich, 1983), 193 (hereafter, Zazoff, *Antiken Gemmen*).

2. See Zazoff, *Antiken Gemmen*, 212–213, note 111.

3. For example, Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXVII.108, reports that the stone *topazus*, almost certainly peridot, was discovered on the island of Zabargard in the Red Sea and brought to Queen Berenike II of Egypt, who had a statue of the deified Arsinoe II made from it.

4. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 42.1339; Furtwängler, *Antiken Gemmen*, pls. 32, 30; Hill, "Carved Gems," 64–65, fig 1; Richter, *Engraved Gems*, no. 636; Reeder, *Hellenistic Art*, 245, no. 140, with bibliography.

5. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 42.1319; Reeder, *Hellenistic Art*, 246, no. 141.

6. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 42.1106, formerly in the Chesterfield, Bessborough, and Marlborough Collections.

7. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 57.1699; Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, III: 167, fig. 117; Hill, "Carved Gems," 66, figs. 2, 4; Vollenweider, "Scipio," 30, no. 4; *Jewelry, Ancient to Modern* (New York, 1979), 92, no. 279 (hereafter, *Jewelry*); Reeder, *Hellenistic Art*, 240, no. 135.

8. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 27.711; J. D. Beazley, *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems*, (Oxford, 1920) no. 95 (hereafter, Beazley, *Lewes House Gems*); Richter, *Engraved Gems*, no. 635; H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer* (Berlin, 1975), 117, note 460 (hereafter, Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*).

9. O. Neverov, *Antique Intaglios in the Hermitage Collection* (Leningrad, 1976), no. 57; Furtwängler, *Antiken Gemmen*, pl. 32.37.

10. Found in Egypt; Boardman-Vollenweider, *Oxford Gems*, no. 285; Richter, *Engraved Gems*, no. 618; Boardman, *Greek Gems*, 360, pl. 999; Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*, 18, pl. 8.4.

11. E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen II. Staatliche Museen Preussicher Kulturbesitz Antikenabteilung Berlin* (Munich, 1969), no. 225 (hereafter, Zwierlein-Diehl, *Berlin*).

12. Florence, Museo Archeologico 14977; Furtwängler, *Antiken Gemmen*, pl. 33.2; Richter, *Engraved Gems*, no. 637.

13. E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien*, I (Vienna, 1973), no. 32, found on Kos; and see J. Ogden, *Jewellery of the Ancient World* (London, 1982), 95, for its identification as a garnet rather than a ruby.

14. Vollenweider, *Deliciae Leonis*, no. 258, from the Southesk collection.

15. See Zazoff, *Antiken Gemmen*, 195–6, with further notes.

16. For Ptolemaic cameos, see Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, III: 151–159; J. Charbonneaux, "Sur la signification et la date de la tasse Farnèse," *Monuments et Memoires Fondation E. Piot*, 50 (1958), 85–103 (hereafter, Charbonneaux, "Tasse Farnèse"); and D. B. Thompson, "The Tazza Farnese Reconsidered," in H. Maehler and V. M. Stocka, eds., *Das ptolemäische Ägypten* (Mainz, 1978), 114, and the comments by H. Kyrieleis, in *ibid.*, 121–122.

17. The extensive series of Ptolemaic metal rings has not yet been studied in detail; for some examples, see O. Neverov, "A Group of Hellenistic Bronze Rings," *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, 127 (1974), 106–115 (in Russian with English summary), for many examples from the Black Sea, most of which are explicitly Ptolemaic in character (hereafter, Neverov, "Bronze Rings"); Vollenweider, "Scipio," 28–30, and *Geneva* III, 164–165, no. 218, with notes; A. Krug, "Two Turquoise Gems from Iran," *Muse. Annual of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia*, 14 (1980), 35; Charbonneaux, "Tasse Farnèse," 95, figs. 7–8 ; F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings. Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1907), no. 1267–1269, 1275, 1277–1278 (hereafter, Marshall, *Rings*); W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use* (London, 1927), 17, nos. 154–159, pls. 13, and 20, nos. 322–324, pl. 16 (hereafter, Flinders Petrie, *Daily Use*). For gold examples: Boardman-Vollenweider, *Oxford Gems*, no. 282, for a portrait of Berenike I; for the two gold rings depicting Ptolemy VI in the Louvre, E. Coche de la Ferté, *Les Bijoux Antiques* (Paris, 1956), 69–70, pl. 26.3–4, Boardman, *Greek Gems*, 362, pl. 1010, Furtwängler, *Antiken Gemmen*, pls. 31, 26, and Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*, 63, note 234, pl. 46.5–6, with further bibliography; and for the bust of Isis, Victoria and Albert Museum M38–1963, Boardman, *Greek Gems*, 362, pl. 1012; and further rings cited in the text, below; others could be cited, and many remain unpublished.

18. L. Marangou, "Ptolemäische Fingerringe aus Bein," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, 86 (1971), 163–171.

19. P. Denis, "A Ptolemaic Marble Finger Ring in the Royal Ontario Museum," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 99 (1984), 569–572.

20. P. A. Pantos, *Ta sphragismata tes aiolikes kallipoleos* (Athens, 1985); and "Bérénice II Démèter," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 111 (1987), 343–352 (hereafter, Pantos, "Bérénice"); the latest Ptolemaic portrait represented among the Kallipolis sealings is probably Ptolemy V.

21. Flinders Petrie, *Daily Use*, 20, nos. 238–321, pls. 14–15.

22. J. G. Milne, "Ptolemaic Seal Impressions," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 36 (1916), 87–101 (hereafter, Milne, "Impressions"); M. A. Murray, "Ptolemaic Clay Sealings." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 44 (1907), 62–70, for the sixty-eight examples of purely Egyptian type, including symbols of the cities of Edfu and Philae and names of priests and private individuals (hereafter, Murray, "Clay Sealings"). Three hundred and thirty specimens, including all those published by Milne, are in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. An unpublished second group of about three hundred examples probably from the same find are in the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam, see A. Krug, "Die Bildnisse Ptolemaios' IX, X, und XI," in H. Maehler and V. M. Stocka, eds., *Das ptolemäische Ägypten* (Mainz, 1978), 9, note 3 (hereafter, Krug, "Bildnisse"); for the identification of one of the sealings as a portrait of Gallus, the Roman governor of Egypt, see G. Grimm, "Zu Marcus Antonius und C. Cornelius Gallus," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, 85 (1970), 158–170, fig. 3.

23. K. Nicolaou, "11,000 Seal Impressions in Cyprus (New Paphos)," *Illustrated London News*, (May 1971), 51–53; "Archaeological News from Cyprus 1970," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 76 (1972), 315, pl. 66, fig. 32; "Oriental Divinities Represented on the Clay Sealings of Paphos, Cyprus," in M. B. de Boer and T. A. Edridge, eds., *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, II (Leiden, 1978), 849–853; I. Michaelidou-Nicolaou, "Inscribed Clay Sealings from the Archeion of Paphos," in D. M. Pippidi, ed., *Actes du VIIe Congrès International d'Epigraphie Grecque et Latine, Constanza, 1977* (Bucharest, 1979), 413–416; Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*, 64, note 240.

24. See K. F. Johansen, "Tonbullen der Seleukidenzeit aus Warka," *Acta Archaeologica*, 1 (1930), 41–54; M. Rostovtseff, "Seleucid Babylonia. Bullae and Seals of Clay with Greek Inscriptions," *Yale Classical*

Studies, 3 (1932), 3–114; P. Naster, "Empreintes de sceaux hellénistiques de Warka et monnaies Séleucides," in O. Morkholm and N. Waggoner, eds., *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology. Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson* (Wetteren, 1979), 215–219; R. H. Dowell, *Stamped and Inscribed Objects from Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, 1935), 131–138. A second archive from Seleucia contained nearly thirty thousand sealings; see A. Invernizzi, "Ten Years' Research in the Al-Mada' in Area, Seleucia and Ctesiphon," *Sumer*, 32 (1976), 167–175, "Bulles de Séleucie du Tigre," *Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes*, 21 (1971), 105–108.

25. The shapes of gemstones can often serve as an indication of their date and origin, especially in the Hellenistic period, but no full study has yet been attempted. Roman gemstones have a greater variety of shapes, but these too give valuable clues to their date; see Zwierlein-Diehl, *Berlin*, 140–142, and the chart of gemstone shapes devised by E. Zwierlein-Diehl and J. Boardman in M. Henig, *A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites* (Oxford, 1978), 35. The shape of the Ptolemaic garnets under consideration is not found elsewhere but is related to Henig's category F7, which is primarily used for Roman gemstones of the first century B.C.

26. Boardman-Vollenweider, *Oxford Gems*, 82–83, nos. 290, 291.

27. The rings are usually hollow, with the most common shape as Marshall, *Rings*, no. 396.

28. The literature is extensive and beyond the scope of this study; see especially, P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford, 1972), 189–246 (hereafter, Fraser, *Alexandria*); H. I. Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Liverpool, 1954), 22–24 (hereafter, Bell, *Cults*); A. D. Nock, "Ruler-Worship and Syncretism," *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, II (Oxford, 1972), 551–552 (hereafter, Nock, "Ruler-Worship"); M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, 2 (Munich, 1961), 154–165; Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*, 148–149, on syncretism in artistic representations; and further notes below.

29. D. B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience: Aspects of Ruler-Cult* (Oxford, 1973), 51–60 and 117–122 (hereafter, Thompson, *Oinochoai*).

30. See Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*, 80–98, for portraits of Arsinoe II and Berenike II; gem no. 1 is not cited.

31. See notes 17–19.

32. Furtwängler, *Antiken Gemmen*, pl. 32.33.

33. Boardman, *Greek Gems*, 362, 371, pl. 1008, identified as Berenike II; E. M. De Juliis, *Gli Ori di Taranto in Età Ellenistica* (Milan, 1984), 289–290, no. 210 (hereafter, De Juliis, *Ori di Taranto*).

34. J. Paul Getty Museum, 81.AN.76.59; J. Boardman, *Intaglios and Rings* (London, 1975), 19, 92, no. 59, identified as Berenike II. It is cut out to the shape of the head and was probably meant to be mounted in a gold ring, as one in the Benaki Museum, Athens; B. Segall, *Katalog der Goldschmiede-Arbeiten* (Athens, 1938), 39, no. 32, pl. 13; P. Amandry, *Collection Hélène Stathatos. Bijoux antiques*, I, (Strasbourg, 1953), 105–106, fig. 65.

35. A series of cameos usually of amethyst or agate with high-relief facing heads of veiled and diademed women has been identified by Vollenweider as depicting Arsinoe II, but although they may well derive from Ptolemaic types, they are more likely works of the Augustan period; see Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst*, 12–14; another example is in Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, 82.AN.162.70, which the author will discuss in the forthcoming catalogue of the collection.

36. K. Parlasca, "Ein verkanntes hellenistisches Herrscherbildnis," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, 82 (1967), 167–194 (hereafter, Parlasca, "Herrscherbildnis").

37. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*, 64–69, pls. 54, 55.

38. Krug, "Bildnisse," 9–11.

39. H. Maehler, "Egypt under the Last Ptolemies," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. University of London*, 30 (1983), 8–10 (hereafter, Maehler, "Last Ptolemies"); who is followed by R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford, 1988), 95–97 (hereafter, Smith, *Portraits*).

40. Krug, "Bildnisse," 11, figs. 18–20; Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*, 66–67, pl. 55.1–6; Milne, "Impressions," nos. 83, 88, 89, 91; for variant portraits which have been ascribed to Ptolemy XI, see Krug, "Bildnisse," 11, figs. 21, 22; Parlasca, "Herrscherbildnis," 181, figs. 9, 10; Kyrieleis, 66–68, pl. 55.11; Milne, "Impressions," nos. 113, 116–122, 134–142. The cartouche of Ptolemy IX was among the sealings found at Edfu; Murray, "Clay Sealings," 65, no. 11.

41. Krug, "Bildnisse," 10–11, figs. 13–16; Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*, 67, pl. 54.2–4, 6–7, and pl. 55.9; Milne, "Impressions," nos. 94–95, 98–99.

42. Maehler, "Last Ptolemies," 8–10; Smith, *Portraits*, 95–97.

43. J. Paul Getty Museum 84.AN.1.95, 16 x 13 mm; the provenance is unknown; unpublished.

44. Inv. no. UC 17231; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names* (London, 1917), pl. 57, as Ptolemy IV; Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*, 68, pl. 55.15–16.

45. Maehler, "Last Ptolemies," 10; Parlasca, "Herrscherbildnis," originally identified the portrait as Ptolemy IX.

46. See Fraser, *Alexandria*, 197–198 and 240; Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst*, 14; Bell, *Cults*, 16.

47. Thompson, *Oinochoai*, 28, 58, 61–62.

48. For example, A. Houghton, *Coins of the Seleucid Empire from the Collection of Arthur Houghton: Ancient Coins in North American Collections* 4 (New York, 1983), nos. 408, 803, the latter dated 126/125 B.C. (hereafter, Houghton, *Coins*).

49. See Thompson, *Oinochoai*, 57–59, 92–94; Fraser, *Alexandria*, 240–244.

50. See S. Besques-Mollard, "Un Portrait de Cléopatre I dans les terres cuites de Smyrne," *Revue Archéologique* (1968), 246, note 6, fig. 10.

51. Milne, "Impressions," nos. 41–45.

52. Boardman-Vollenweider, *Oxford Gems*, no. 290.

53. See R. S. Poole, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt* (London, 1883), 89, no. 6, pl. 21.3 (hereafter, Poole, *Catalogue, Egypt*).

54. See H. Möbius, *Alexandria und Rom* (Munich, 1964), 16–18; and W. Hornbostel, *Sarapis* (Leiden, 1973), 133–161 (hereafter, Hornbostel, *Sarapis*).

55. Marshall, *Rings*, no. 95; Boardman, *Greek Gems*, 362, 372, pl. 1011.

56. Neverov, "Bronze Rings," no. 29, from Phanagoria.

57. Poole, *Catalogue, Egypt*, 79, nos. 7, 8, pl. 18.8, as an issue of Ptolemy VI.

58. Milne, "Impressions," nos. 38, 39.

59. O. Rubensohn, *Elephantine Papyri* (Berlin, 1907), 17, no. 32.

60. Thompson, *Oinochoai*, 51–55; Fraser, *Alexandria*, 241–242.

61. Houghton, *Coins*, no. 407.

62. Boardman-Vollenweider, *Oxford Gems*, no. 291.

63. Pausanias VI.2.6. The statue was made early in the third century B.C.; on coins it was first represented on tetradrachms of Tigranes the Great struck at Antioch, ca. 83 B.C., as Houghton, *Coins*, no. 397.

64. Vollenweider, *Deliciae Leonis*, no. 260, as third quarter of the 3rd century B.C., but probably dated too early; and another in a gold ring, said to have been found in a marble sarcophagus at Eleusis, from the Arthur Evans and Jacob Hirsch collections, Hess-Schab auction, Lucerne, December 7, 1957, lot 91.

65. See Nock, "Ruler-Worship," 554–557; Fraser, *Alexandria*, 277–279.

66. R. S. Poole, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Ionia* (London, 1892), 237, no. 3, pl. 25.5.

67. Milne, "Impressions," nos. 208, 210, and probably no. 26 as well.

68. Pantos, "Bérénice," 343–352; Fraser, *Alexandria*, 198–200.

69. A. B. Chadour and R. Joppien, *Kunstgewerbemuseum der Stadt Köln. Schmuck II, Fingerringe* (Cologne, 1985), 40–41, no. 33, inv. no. G 1122.

70. See note 14.

71. Milne, "Impressions," no. 182.

72. *Ibid.*, no. 16.

73. M. H Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge, 1975), no. 340.

74. For example, Houghton, *Coins*, nos. 216, 222.

75. K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst* (Basel, 1960), no. 605; from the Hess-Schab auction, Lucerne, December 7, 1957, lot 89.

76. Vollenweider, *Deliciae Leonis*, no. 61.

77. Private collection, unpublished.

78. Milne, "Impressions," no. 209.

79. Fraser, *Alexandria*, 238.

80. *Ibid.*, 193, 195.

81. Milne, "Impressions," nos. 19–22; the bronze ring, which is fragmentary and has the device in intaglio, is in a private collection and unpublished.

82. See the small bronze bust representing Ptolemy XII as Dionysos, H. Seyrig, "Un petit portrait royal," *Revue Archéologique* (1968), 251–256.

83. See Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*, 43; Thompson, *Oinochoai*, 122; Fraser, *Alexandria*, 202–206; Bell, *Cults*, 18–19; A. D. Nock, "Notes on Ruler-Cult," *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, II (Oxford, 1972), 139–140 and 143–149, on Ptolemaic claims of descent from Dionysos.

84. Münzauktion Tkalec and Rauch, A. G., Zurich, February 25, 1989, lot 190.

85. Poole, *Catalogue, Egypt*, 63, nos. 16–20, pl. 14.6–7.

86. Marshall, *Rings*, no. 1266; and Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum 1986.543, unpublished.

87. Milne, "Impressions," nos. 29–31, and also no. 32, a three-quarter facing bust; another, Paris market, 1989.

88. Kallimachos, frag, 228; Fraser, *Alexandria*, 27; Bell, *Cults*, 17.

89. Milne, "Impressions," no. 223, but his identification of the type as a male and female is not correct, nor is de Ridder's interpretation of no. 45 as Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III; similarly no. 44 when purchased by the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1901 was thought to depict Ptolemy III and Berenike II. The attributions were based on general stylistic, rather than facial, features, but the Ptolemaic origin was clear.

90. G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia in the British Museum* (London, 1910), 200–201, nos. 2–7, pl. 26.2–4.

91. Neverov, "Bronze Rings," no. 28, from Kerch.

92. W. Hornbostel, *Kunst der Antike. Schätze aus norddeutschem Privatbesitz* (Mainz, 1979), 508, no. 462; and Jucker-Willers, *Gesichter*, 280, no. 130, both as second century B.C., which is surely too late; see also Zazoff, *Antiken Gemmen*, 197, note 24, pl. 46.6.

93. See De Juliis, *Ori di Taranto*, 293, no. 219.

94. Milne, "Impressions," no. 12.

95. One example may be the gold relief ring of poor style in Munich, perhaps depicting Alexander Bala, see R. Lullies, "Neuerwerbungen der Antikensammlungen in München," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1957), 411–413, fig. 30.

Photographs: Figs. 1–4, 12, 13, 25, 51, The Walters Art Gallery. Fig. 18, The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. Figs. 33, 52, Bibliothèque Nationale. Fig. 36, J. Paul Getty Museum. Fig. 39, University College, London. Fig. 47, Tkalec & Rauch, A.G. Figs. 37, 40, 41, 43, 46, 49, 50, Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, London. Figs. 10, 11, 15–17, 21, 23, 26–28, 34, 35, A. de Ridder, *Collection de Clercq, VII, 2. Les Bijoux et les Pierres Gravées* (Paris, 1911). Fig. 48, The Harvard University Art Museums.

Sèvres, la Chine et les "chinoiseries" au XVIIIe siècle[1]

TAMARA PRÉAUD
Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres

Lorsque Jean-Louis Henry Orry de Fulvy demanda un privilège pour l'entreprise qu'il protégeait depuis quelques années et souhaitait faire financer par une société d'actionnaires, il obtint en 1745 l'exclusivité de le fabrication de la "porcelaine façon de Saxe. . . ". C'était désigner son principal rival européen, mais ignorer l'autre cause d'exportation massive de capitaux dans le même domaine, la Chine, mère-patrie de la porcelaine. Pourtant, l'influence de ce pays, omniprésente dans tous les arts décoratifs au dix-huitième siècle, est particulièrement sensible dans le domaine céramique. Nous voudrions ici l'étudier dans ses relations avec la production de Vincennes-Sèvres: il n'est évidemment pas question d'examiner toutes les pièces liées à la Chine d'une façon ou de l'autre, mais simplement d'examiner les différentes manifestations à Sèvres de cet engouement général en montrant, dans leur ordre chronologique, les différents décors et formes qui en témoignent, et en cherchant à identifier leurs sources.

L'activité de la manufacture se développa tout d'abord lentement dans des locaux désaffectés du château royal de Vincennes, entre 1740 et 1756, date de l'installation dans les nouveaux bâtiments de Sèvres. Dans ces toutes premières années, la jeune entreprise emprunta l'essentiel de ses formes et de ses décors à sa rivale saxonne de Meissen; c'est ainsi que l'on produisit, entre autres, de petites chinoiseries soit en or soit en polychromie, copiées plus vraisemblablement sur des originaux en porcelaine que sur les gravures éditées à Augsbourg qui leur avaient servi de modèles, peu répandues en France. De telles pièces sont extrêmement rares aujourd'hui.[2]

Puis, très rapidement, la manufacture commença d'adopter vers 1750–1751 un style plus original. Les gravures d'après François Boucher—et même quelques dessins de l'artiste spécialement conçus pour l'établissement—furent l'une des principales sources d'inspiration, surtout ses enfants, ses paysages, et ses "chinoiseries". Celles-ci furent adaptées soit en polychromie,[3] soit en camaïeu pourpre, comme c'est le cas sur un seau à rafraîchir (fig. 1) d'une paire où sont fidèlement copiées quatre gravures de la série des *Scènes de la vie chinoise* gravée par Huquier (fig. 2).[4]

Pendant cette première période, Vincennes emprunte à la Chine bien des idées de forme et de décoration: les sculptures émaillées laissées en blanc à l'instar des "Blancs de Chine", comme le groupe des *Chinois à la corbeille* conservé au Musée national de ceramique de Sèvres qui doit également relever de l'influence de Boucher quoique son modèle direct n'ait encore pu être identifié;[5] les motifs à fleurs de prunus en relief sous l'émail,[6] les formes des cartels réservés sur des fonds blancs ou colorés ainsi que l'idée même de ces derniers ont aussi bien pu être connus directement par des originaux chinois que par l'intermédiaire de Meissen qui les a produits en abondance.

En revanche, certaines idées semblent être inconnues en Saxe et donc empruntées directement: c'est le cas du fond bleu turquoise éclatant introduit en 1753 et sans doute nommé à Sèvres "bleu céleste" parce que la Chine était alors le "Céleste Empire"; du "Pot à sucre limaçon", toujours monté en pot-pourri com-

mes ses homologues chinois;[7] il existe également un vase dont R. Savill a montré qu'il était alors nommé "Vase d'après l'ancien";[8] ancien désigne ici manifestement la Chine, par opposition à antique. Il est également possible que l'idée même des décors en camaïeu bleu associés des fonds jaunes ait été suggérée par des originaux chinois.[9]

Vient ensuite une deuxième période tout à fait particulière puisque tous les décors de chinois y sont l'oeuvre d'un seul et même artiste, le peintre de figures Charles-Nicolas Dodin. Les pièces de cet ensemble ont en commun une particularité technique: elles sont peintes avec des couleurs à la fois très épaisses et très translucides. On a suggéré[10] qu'elles s'inspiraient des émaux produits à Canton pour l'exportation, tout comme les plaques qui auraient été produites pour Jean-Baptiste de Machault d'Arnouville;[11] pourtant, aucune considération stylistique ou iconographique ne peut justifier cette idée, puisque les émaux étaient peints dans les mêmes ateliers que les porcelaines, d'après les mêmes modèles envoyés d'Europe, et par les mêmes artistes. En revanche, les couleurs des émaux apparaissent opaques et beaucoup plus ternes que celles des porcelaines dites "famille verte" ou "famille rose". Il semble donc que ce sont bien des porcelaines chinoises que cette palette très spéciale voulait évoquer, ce qui n'était vraiment possible que sur pâte tendre (ou sur faïence, comme l'avaient montré plusieurs fabriques hollandaises et allemandes). Un autre point commun à toutes les pièces de cette série est le style des bouquets décorant leurs revers (fig. 3): tous comportent des branches en zig-zag, de grosses fleurs sans doute dérivées des pivoines, des groupes de petites baies, des chrysanthèmes souvent recourbés et leurs feuilles ainsi que de petites clochettes. Les chrysanthèmes, les branches et les baies se retrouvent en compositions différentes dans le "Livre de desseins chinois . . ." publié par Fraisse en 1735, inspiré des porcelaines orientales de la collection du prince de Condé;[12] seuls, les chrysanthèmes figurent également, chatironnés de clair, dans la "Collection précieuse et enluminée des fleurs les plus belles et les plus curieuses . . ." publiée par Buchoz.[13] Comme ces fleurs sont omniprésentes sur les porcelaines orientales, l'utilisation d'une source graphique n'est pourtant pas évidente.

En dépit de ces deux constantes, il y a nettement plusieurs étapes dans cette série. Dans un premier temps, ces émaux de type chinois sont utilisés pour reproduire des gravures européennes représentant des scènes de la vie chinoise. La paire de "Vase Duplessis à têtes d'éléphants" de la Walters Art Gallery de Baltimore en est un exemple typique (fig. 4). Quoique le profil de base, de même que l'idée des têtes d'éléphants, soit chinois, le travail de Jean-Claude Duplessis père aboutit à une forme très représentative du style rocaille français. Certains éléments de la décoration sont également d'origine chinoise, les feuilles dressées de la base, en particulier. En revanche, la guirlande de roses nouée qui entoure le sujet est tout à fait française. L'un des sujets copie une gravure d'après François Boucher d'une série repré-

Fig. 1. *Seau à bouteille ordinaire*, s.d., vers 1750–1752, porcelaine de Sèvres, Sèvres, Musée national de ceramique, no. 16 058(2).

Fig. 2. *Le Thé*, gravure de Huquier d'après F. Boucher, Paris, Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie J. Doucet.

Fig. 3. *Cuvette Curteille* (revers), 1761, porcelaine de Sèvres, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 54.147.24, don Thornton Wilson, 1954.

sentant les cinq sens publiée chez Huquier et annoncée dans le *Mercure* de 1740,[14] "L'Odorat". Curieusement, le second vase doit s'inspirer d'une autre gravure que je n'ai pu identifier; en tous cas il ne correspond pas à "L'Ouïe" de la même série. En dépit de l'imprécision des registres de ventes de la manufacture à cette époque et quoique ces vases portent la date de 1760, peut-être pourrait-on y reconnaître les "2 vazes elephants rozes et verds chinois" livrés le 7 février 1762 à la marquise de Pompadour.[15]

De cette même année 1760 date une garniture dispersée aujourd'hui qui constitue une légère progression. La pièce centrale est un "Vaisseau en trois couleurs" entré récemment au Musée du Louvre (fig. 5). Le sujet de la réserve s'inspire, mais très librement ici, de la même gravure "Le Thé" utilisée pour le seau

Fig. 4. *Paire de vases Duplessis à têtes d'éléphants*, 1760, porcelaine de Sèvres, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 48.1796, 48.1797.

Fig. 5. *Vaisseau à mât*, s.d., vers 1760, porcelaine de Sèvres, Paris, Musée du Louvre, no. OA10965.

à rafraîchir de Vincennes (fig. 1 et 2). Quoique le personnage assis ait perdu le bouclier sur lequel il s'appuyait et que celui de droite n'ait gardé que certains détails de costume de la gravure, la parenté reste perceptible. Les personnages, cependant,—un troisième a été ajouté—ont une occupation différente et, surtout, sont placés dans un environnement—tabouret ouvert, balustrade à lignes géométriques, plantes—beaucoup plus soucieux d'authenticité. Deux des vases de côté—des "Pot pourris Fontaine"—sont aujourd'hui au J. Paul Getty Museum de Malibu.[16] L'un d'eux, au moins, a repris plusieurs personnages dans l'une des gravures de la suite des *Scènes de la vie chinoise* déjà citée.[17] Cet ensemble que complétaient deux "Pot pourris à bobèches" fut vendu au comptant le 30 mai 1760 et appartint également à madame de Pompadour.[18]

La dernière étape dans l'évolution de cette série a été analysée par Carl Dauterman[19] et apparaît très clairement dans la cuvette à fleurs du Metropolitan Museum dont nous avons analysé le revers (fig. 3 et 6). Désormais, Dodin s'inspire directement de pièces chinoises, quitte à les remanier, et compose des scènes denses qui occupent la totalité de l'espace des réserves. La comparaison du costume de la jeune femme debout derrière la balustrade avec celui d'une figure féminine ornant une assiette de la famille rose

Fig. 6. *Cuvette Courteille* (face), 1761, porcelaine de Sèvres, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 54.147.24, don Thornton Wilson, 1954.

Fig. 7. *Assiette*, porcelaine de Chine "famille rose", Sotheby's, Paris, vente du 9 février 1981, no. 1036.

(fig. 7) semble assez convaincante.[20]

La dernière mention relative à cette série semble être la vente au Roi le 12 juin 1765 d'un "vaze a dauphins bleu nouveau chinois".[21]

Cet ensemble pose quelques questions: qu'est-ce qui a pu, tout d'abord, amener Dodin, entré à la manufacture en 1754 et qui peignait jusqu'alors de petits enfants dans le goût de Boucher, à adopter cette palette et ces sujets nouveaux? Qui aurait pu lui suggérer, ensuite, d'employer des émaux imitant si parfaitement ceux des porcelaines chinoises pour copier directement celles-ci plutôt que des gravures européennes? Deux noms peuvent venir à l'esprit: le premier, bien sûr, est celui de la marquise de Pompadour. Comme nous l'avons vu, elle aimait beaucoup ce type de pièces; en outre, nous savons par le livre de vente de Lazarre Duvaux qu'elle collectionnait avec ardeur les porcelaines chinoises;[22] rien n'interdit de supposer qu'elle aurait pu prêter des pièces de sa collection pour inspirer la manufacture. Une autre personne aurait également pu jouer ce rôle: le secrétaire d'Etat Henri Bertin. Il s'intéressait à beaucoup la Chine dont il collectionnait ouvrages et dessins, ainsi qu'à la manufacture où il effectua ses premiers achats précisément en 1762 et qu'il fit visiter par deux jeunes chinois venus s'instruire des moeurs européennes.[23] Nous verrons plus tard qu'il a, par la suite, effectivement prêté des pièces de sa collection à la manufacture.

Après cinq années environ de cette activité, Dodin semble y avoir entièrement renoncé. Il ne reste dans son travail ultérieur qu'une trace de cette période: Carl Dauterman a fort justement fait observer[24] que l'une des caractéristiques du style de cet artiste était de peindre des feuilles d'arbres en forme de petites bananes. Or ce trait est également typique de l'art chinois où on le retrouve aussi bien dans les miniatures que sur les porcelaines.

Pendant les quelques années suivantes, de 1765 à 1773, on ne trouve plus aucune mention de décor chinois. La vente en 1767–1768 de vases à fonds verd ou violet en plein, montés ou à monter, dont plusieurs sont livrés à H. Bertin pourrait, si l'on en juge d'après les exemplaires conservés, témoigner d'une influence chinoise (fig. 8). La naissance en 1768 d'une première forme de vase nommée "Vase Chinois"—souvent édité sans les têtes de "chinois" qui lui ont valu son nom—est un autre témoignage que la Chine n'a pas entièrement disparu de l'esprit des créateurs de Sèvres.[25]

C'est entre 1773 et 1785 environ que la manufacture a produit la plus grande variété de formes et de

Fig. 8. *Paire de vases montés en bronze*, s.d., vers 1767–1768, porcelaine de Sèvres, Paris, collection particulière.

décors relevant de l'influence chinoise. Entre 1756 et 1773, un événement extrêmement important avait eu lieu: la découverte des gisements de kaolin de Saint-Yrieix-la-Perche avait permis la mise en route à Sèvres de la fabrication de la porcelaine dure. Cette nouvelle matière interdisait l'emploi des émaux utilisés par Dodin entre 1760 et 1765: quand ils voulaient suggérer la luminosité des couleurs chinoises, les décorateurs devaient chatironner et souligner d'or leurs compositions, procédé d'ailleurs utilisé en Chine même. En revanche, la pâte dure permit l'utilisation d'une grande variété d'éléments décoratifs nouveaux: par exemple un or beaucoup plus fluide qui pouvait

Fig. 9. *Vase Cornet à têtes de morues*, 1780, porcelaine de Sèvres, Londres, collection royale britannique.

servir pour les fonds, les ors de diverses couleurs, l'emploi de l'argent puis du platine dont les premiers essais semblent remonter à 1779.

Dans cette période, il semble que les décors de "chinoiseries" aient d'abord été peints sur fond blanc, puis sur des fonds de couleurs de plus en plus variées: en 1777, on cite pour les décors dits chinois, des fonds or, puce, brun, beau bleu, verd, carmin, rouge, rose et le fond mis au point par Dufour; en 1778 apparaissent le lapis et le mystérieux fond "couleur de Bellevue" et en 1779 les fonds gris, petit bleu, écaille ainsi que la première mention du fond noir.

A partir de 1777, grâce aux registres de travaux des peintres puis de ceux des enfournements des pièces peintes, nous connaissons les noms des artistes spécialisés dans ces sujets: les plus actifs sont Dieu et Lécot pour les figures, les frères Armand, Bailly, Decambos, Fallot, puis Chapuis pour les fleurs et oiseaux, Schradre puis Pfeiffer pour les ornements et Chulot pour les paysages chinois.

On note la création de quelques formes d'inspiration chinoise comme la théière formée de bambous joints—l'exemplaire du Musée national de Céramique de Sèvres[26] est daté de 1773, ce qui interdit sans doute d'y reconnaître la "thérière nouvelle forme, chinois" livrée à la comtesse du Barry en 1779[27]—ou la bouillotte parfois accompagnée d'un réchaud. L'exemplaire de la collection David[28] est intéressant également parce que l'on y voit l'un des thèmes les plus répandus en Europe, celui du chinois sur une balançoire. L'artiste de Sèvres s'est probablement inspiré d'une gravure du *Cahier de six baraques chinoises inventées et dessi-*

Fig. 10. A. Peyrotte, planche du *Second livre de cartouches chinois . . .*, Paris, Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie J. Doucet.

nées par Jean Pillement gravé par Jeanne Deny. Le même sujet a également été gravé par Elias Baeck et édité par Leopold à Augsbourg[29] et on le retrouve dans les bas-reliefs de Giuseppe Gricci pour le Palais Royal d'Aranjuez.[30] Les documents citent à partir de 1780 une "bouillotte forme de Chine" qui semble différente du premier modèle alors que tous les exemplaires connus paraissent semblables.

En 1780, les têtes de chinois du premier "Vase Chinois" de 1768 furent adaptées à une nouvelle forme, également nommé "Vase Chinois". C'est celle du vase central d'une garniture appartenant à la collection royale anglaise qui correspond, comme l'a noté G. de Bellaigue,[31] aux "trois vases chinois fond rouge arabesque différente et chinois" décorés par Schradre et cuits dans la fournée du 10 décembre 1780 (fig. 9). Il ne semble pas absolument impossible que l'une des sources utilisées pour les décors de ces vases soit le *Second livre de cartouches chinois dédié à Madame de Fontanieu par son très humble et très obéissant serviteur A. Peyrotte gravé par Huquier*: sur la première planche, un personnage agenouillé est très proche de celui de l'un des vases de côté (fig. 10); sur la troisième planche, on trouve un homme assis jouant de la guitare qui évoque celui du vase central; sur la cinquième planche, enfin, un danseur a une position très semblable à celle de la danseuse de l'un des vases de côté.

Le "plateau en écritoire" de la Walters Art Gallery (fig. 11) pourrait bien, lui aussi, être dérivé d'une gravure d'Alexis Peyrotte (fig. 12), prise dans les *Nouveaux cartouches chinois dédiée à Messre Gaspard Moyse de Fontanieu* . . . gravés et publiés par Huquier. Quoique l'ensemble de la composition ait été remanié, on sent une parenté entre les deux figures féminines assises avec dignité et dans l'atmosphère générale de la scène.

Pour en revenir à l'évolution des décors, les sujets chinois réapparaissent en 1773; il s'agit alors de fig-

Fig. 12. A. Peyrotte, planche des *Nouveaux cartouches chinois* . . . , Paris, Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie J. Doucet.

Fig. 11. *Plateau en écritoire*, 1776, porcelaine de Sèvres, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 48.730.

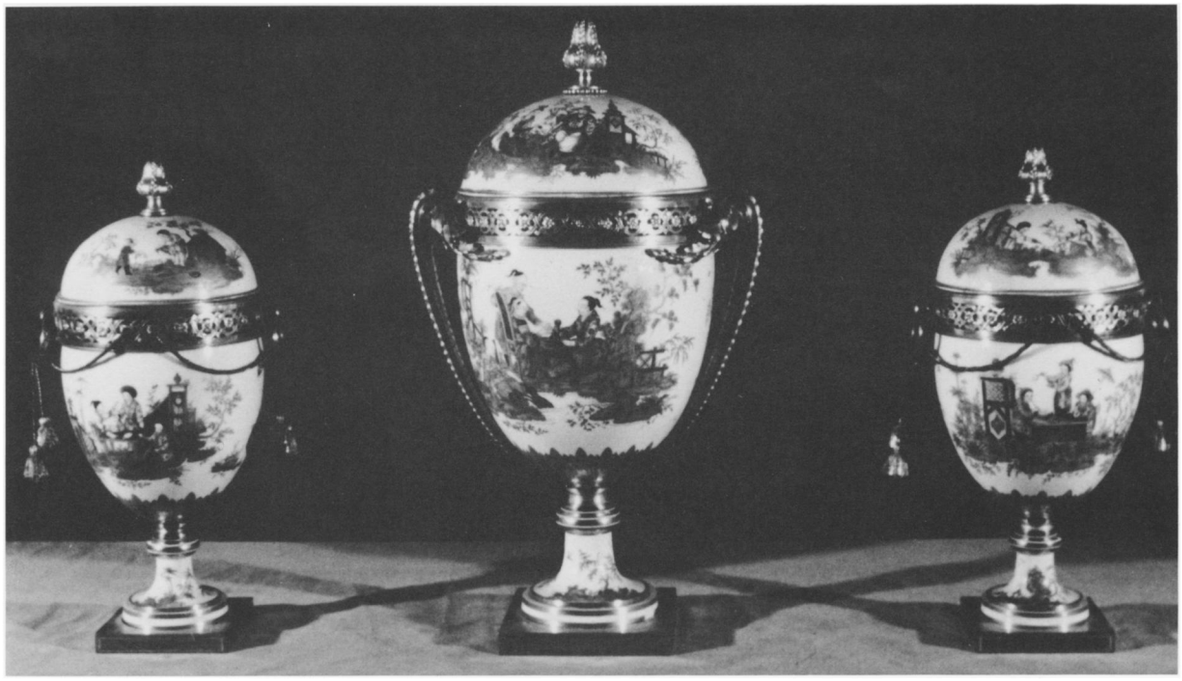

Fig. 13. *Garniture de vases Oeufs*, s.d., vers 1774–1776, porcelaine de Sèvres, Versailles, Musée national du château.

ures, paysages ou fleurs en or, en ors de couleurs, en or et argent ou en polychromie. Parmi les pièces à fond blanc les plus fréquemment produites dans la période de 1773 à 1776, on peut noter neuf déjeuners presque tous vendus pour 600 livres quoiqu'on en connaisse de plusieurs formes différentes.[32] Les registres de vente citent également trois garnitures de trois vases à décors chinois pour 3.000 livres chacune.[33] Celle qui a appartenu à Marie-Antoinette se trouve aujourd'hui au Musée national du château de Versailles (fig. 13); elle est tout à fait caractéristique de ce groupe de pièces. A côté des ors de couleurs la gamme colorée est relativement limitée, avec une nette prédominance des pourpre et des bleu rendus lumineux par des rehauts d'or. L'une des sources utilisées ici est le *Recueil de plusieurs jeux d'enfants chinois inventé et dessiné par Jean Pillement et gravé par P. C. Carnot* (fig. 14).[34]

La manufacture a dû commencer à travailler dès 1775 sur une statuette intitulée "L'Empereur de la Chine" (fig. 15), puisque le premier exemplaire fut vendu en août 1776.[35] Cette statuette est un véritable portrait de l'empereur Qianlong, et s'inspire d'une aquarelle de Panzi, peintre jésuite attaché à la cour impériale. Cette oeuvre appartenait à Henri Bertin qui l'a fait graver par Martinet pour servir de frontispice à un ouvrage intitulé *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les art . . . des Chinois*[36] publié sous ses auspices. Comme le premier volume de cet ouvrage parut en 1776, on peut supposer que la statuette a eu pour modèle l'aquarelle originale sans doute prêtée par Bertin. Cette même peinture a sans doute également servi de modèle pour une plaque peinte. La manufacture vendit en effet au roi en 1776 un tableau "L'Empereur de la Chine" du prix de 480 livres; une seconde plaque de même titre et de même prix fut portée en 1779 sur le compte du souverain par ordre de Bertin et une troisième, beaucoup plus simple puisqu'elle ne coûtait que 192 livres, fut encore livrée à Bertin en 1785.[37] L'une de ces plaques, non datée, se trouve au cabinet des dessins du musée du Louvre et devrait normalement être celle livrée au roi en 1776;[38] elle porte la signature d'Asselin dont nous savons qu'il peignit également celle de 1779.[39] La sculpture ne connut pas une succès considérable, puisque treize exemplaires seulement furent vendus, entre 1776 et 1779.[40]

En 1777, on voit citer pour la première fois des tasses à "oiseaux chinois"; ceux-ci sont presque toujours associés—du moins sur les exemplaires connus—à des fleurs fantaisistes en partie inspirées des gravures d'après Jean Pillement.

En 1778, on voit apparaître deux nouveautés. D'une part, Dieu est cité pour des décors de "batailles chinoises" sur des gobelets;[41] ceux-ci accompagnaient

Fig. 14. J. Pillement, planche du *Recueil de plusieurs jeux d'enfants chinois* . . . , Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.

sans doute un extraordinaire déjeuner sur plateau "Paris à ornements" de la collection Wallace[42] terminé l'année suivante; lors de son enfournement le 21 novembre 1779,[43] le décor est décrit comme "marine chinois etc." et nous apprenons également qu'il fut peint par Lécot. Il est vrai que les fleurs de la gorge extérieure relèvent des fleurs orientales, que le personnage du premier plan est manifestement un chinois près d'une plante chinoise et que tous les marins ont des physionomies correspondantes, mais ce qui surprend c'est que les bateaux, eux, sont tout ce qu'il y a de plus européens. Cette confusion se retrouve sur deux vases de 1778 également dits à "marines chinoises".[44] Tous les marins du déjeuner portent de larges chapeaux noirs qui semblent être caractéristiques du peintre Lécot. On pense à une invention, mais peut-être s'agit-il d'une volonté d'authenticité et d'une déformation des petits bonnets ronds et noirs que l'on trouve très couramment sur les aquarelles et gravures chinoises.

Une autre innovation de cette année 1778 semble la reprise des fleurs de relief; elles sont désormais rehaussées d'or et d'argent sur fond brun, essentiellement sur des pièces de déjeuner.[45]

Comme je l'ai déjà signalé, la pâte dure obligeait à chatironner et souligner d'or pour renforcer la luminosité des couleur, aussi bien sur fond blanc que sur des fonds colorés. Ce procédé a également servi pour des décors ne relevant pas de l'influence chinoise, et les registres parlent alors de "fleurs et oiseaux émaillés", ce qui crée une confusion avec les décors en émaux sur paillons d'or qui font leur apparition dans les mêmes années.[46] Il existe, en particulier, une série de pièces datées de 1778–1779 ornées de treillages, hampes fleuries, bouquets dans des corbeilles, guirlandes, attributs et oiseaux dont les compositions régulières et équilibrées relèvent d'un esprit nettement français quoique certaines des fleurs y soient souvent proches des "indianische Blumen".[47]

En 1779, on voit mentionner les premiers fonds "laque" décorés de chinois en or et argent ainsi que des décors dits "attributs chinois". On voit également les premières mentions de fonds "oeil-de-perdrix" en liaison avec des sujets chinois. On trouve cette juxtaposition sur un vase de la collection royale anglaise effectivement daté de 1779 ainsi que sur deux vases du musée de Minneapolis.[48] Le vase de la collection royale est intéressant à une autre titre: il représente, sur la face, un guerrier debout devant une femme à demi étendue sur une sorte de fauteuil bas. Or l'homme es très proche d'un personnage debout sur le côté d'une tapisserie d'après François Boucher intitulée "Le Festin de l'Empereur de Chine", démontrant ainsi combien l'influence de peintre a été durable.[49] On en trouve une autre trace dans un déjeuner qui appartient également à la collection royale anglaise:[50] certains détails du plateau évoquent deux autres pièces de la même tenture, "L'Audience de l'Empereur de Chine" et "La Danse chinoise";[51] de même les costumes et attitudes des personnages figurés sur les pièces sont également plus proche de l'esprit de Boucher que des oeuvres des artistes utilisés à l'époque.

En 1780, les documents citent des décors de "patineurs chinois" qui pourraient bien être dérivés de dessins de Pillement.[52]

En 1781, apparaît un nouveau jeu de fond dit "cailloutage en couleurs" qui correspond sans doute au décor d'une tasse de la Walters Art Gallery.[53] Une variante, citée en 1782, est le fond "marbre" dont une écuelle du Museum of Fine Arts de Boston constitue un exemple spectaculaire.[54]

Fig. 15. *L'Empereur de la Chine*, s.d., vers 1775–1776, modèle plâtre, Sèvres, Manufacture nationale de Sèvres, Archives.

Fig. 16. *Assiette plate*, s.d., vers 1790–1791, porcelaine de Sèvres, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 62.165.15.

Tout ce travail des fonds témoigne probablement d'une certaine lassitude de la clientèle devant ces sujets qui devaient sembler répétitifs en dépit de leur diversité. C'est sans doute pour la même raison que l'on tente de les associer à d'autres thèmes décoratifs plus à la mode, comme les ornements en arabesque. Rien ne put, cependant, empêcher le déclin des sujets chinois qui disparaissent pratiquement vers 1785.

Dans les années entre 1785 et 1790, on ne trouve que de très rares mentions de décors chinois. Tout au plus peut-on noter l'apparition d'une série de formes de vases dont le duc de Grammont avait fourni des modèles—presque certainement chinois—s'il faut en croire les mention portées sur les dessins. On note ainsi un "Vase ovale Grammont", un "Vase Potiche Grammont" et une "Bouteille à pans". C'est également le duc de Grammont qui semble avoir été à l'origine du renouveau des pièces à fleurs de prunus en relief sous l'émail que nous avons déjà citées à Vincennes. En fait, tous les modèles de ce type conservés aux Archives sont dits "des Indes" et datent de 1788. En outre, on livre en 1789 au duc de Grammont "2 bouteilles fond gris verdâtre" dans lesquelles on peut penser à une imitation des fonds céladon, plusieurs fois cités par la suite. Pour en finir avec les formes, ajutons qu'en 1793, on voit citer des vases avec des "anses en figures coiffées de plumes" et des anses en "figures chinoises";[55] rien ne nous permet de savoir si ce sont les mêmes têtes de chinois qui ont été réemployées une troisième fois.

La dernière période de production de "chinoiseries" débute en 1790 et semble avoir concerné presque uniquement des pièces à fonds entièrement ou partiellement noirs ou fonds "laque" avec des chinoiseries en or, en ors de couleurs ou en or et platine, souvent accompagnées de guirlandes de "fleurs émaillées". Le platine offrait, par rapport à l'argent, l'avantage d'être inoxydable.

Contrairement à ce qui se passait dans les périodes précédentes, ce type de décors constitua l'une des principales productions de la manufacture dans cette période; ainsi, le nombre des artistes concernés est considérable. Autre trace de la Chine, on trouve mention en 1790 de "paysages, encre de la Chine".[56]

En 1792, on relève des décors de "Parasols chinois" et de "baraques chinoises"; les pièces connues ne permettent pas de s'assurer que ces décors s'inspirent des cahiers de gravures d'après Jean Pillement intitulés *Cahier de parasols chinois . . .* ou *Cahier de six baraques chinoises . . .*. Ce dernier était pourtant certainement connu à Sèvres puisqu'on y trouve la planche au chinois sur une balançoire déjà citée.

Fig. 17. J. Pillement, planche du *Cahier de balançoires chinoises . . .*, gravée par J. J. Avril le père, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.

En fait, on distingue deux sortes d'objets dans cette production. D'une part des pièces soignées et de qualité. Un bon exemple dans le domaine des pièces de service est une assiette du Metropolitan Museum de New York (fig. 16): l'un des personnages avec les fleurs qui l'entourent copie très fidèlement une gravure de Jean-Jacques Avril le père d'après Jean Pillement (fig. 17).[57] On connaît également des vases semblables, par exemple une paire de "Vases Cornets à têtes de morues" du Metropolitan Museum de New York datés de 1792[58] représentant sur une face des scènes de chasse et sur l'autre des personnages attablés. Ce sont également des scènes de chasse que l'on trouve sur les faces de deux vases de la collection royale anglaise portant au revers des adorations d'idoles.[59]

Il existe, d'autre part, des objets de même genre qui semblent beaucoup moins soignés et plus hâtivement peints, les personnages étant alors réduits à de simples silhouettes et les décors schématiques maladroitement répartis. Un bon exemple en est une garniture récemment passée en vente.[60] L'une des caractéristiques de tous ces décors, comme l'avait noté C. Dauterman,[61] est l'omniprésence de structures qui semblent formées de rochers plats empilés à la hâte; peut-être l'ultime déformation des escaliers et passerelles débouchant si souvent sur le vide dans les dessins de Jean Pillement et—plus lointainement—des motifs de rochers percés et bizarres si chers aux artistes chinois.

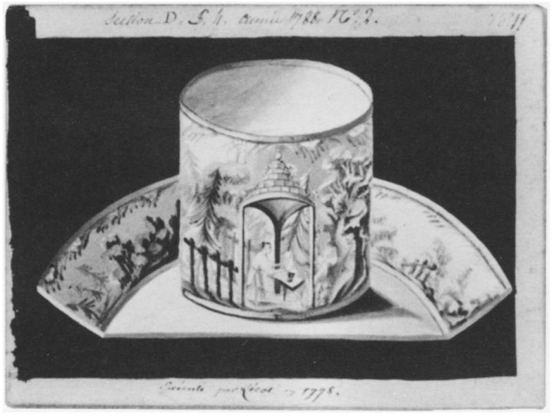

Fig. 18. *Projet de décor de tasse*, s.d., avant 1788, Sèvres, Manufacture nationale de Sèvres, Archives.

La vente en 1795–1796 aux députés du Wurtemberg d'un service de vingt-quatre couverts "toutes les pièces le composant décorées en chiné imitant le flambé"[62] attire notre attention sur le terme "chiné": c'est celui que l'on trouve le plus régulièrement depuis les premières années jusqu'au coeur de la tourmente révolutionnaire, sans que rien ne nous permette de savoir s'il désigne toujours un même type de décor, ni même s'il ne s'agit pas d'un simple jeu de fond obtenu par la cuisson.

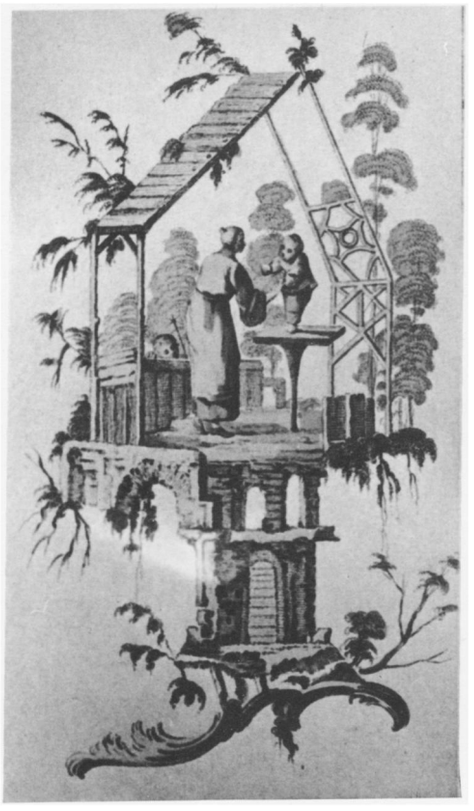

Fig. 19. J. Pillement, gravure rééditée sans référence, Sèvres, Manufacture nationale de Sèvres, Archives.

Avant de terminer cette étude, je voudrais ajouter quelques remarques générales. Tout d'abord, les sujets chinois ne sont pas systématiquement associés aux formes d'inspiration orientale, presque au contraire. Ces décors ont été peints sur pratiquement toutes les formes couramment produites par la manufacture.

D'autre part, même si "la diversité des goûts est l'ange tutélaire d'une manufacture",[63] on peut noter que certains sujets ont pu être utilisés à plusieurs reprises: ainsi, la scène d'adoration devant une idole singe peinte en polychromie sur une verseuse du musée du Louvre,[64] se retrouve, en or, sur l'un des vases à fond noir de la collection royale anglaise auquel nous avons déjà fait allusion. Les deux représentations s'inspirent d'une même gravure de P. C. Carnot d'après Jean Pillement[65] qui pourrait avoir pris l'idée générale de la scène dans l'une des illustrations du récit de voyage vers la Chine publié par

Arnoldus Montanus à Amsterdam en 1669 qui représente une foule en adoration devant des singes debout ou assis.[66]

Une autre remarque concerne la manière d'utiliser les diverses sources. Comme nous avons déjà pu le constater, il ne s'agissait pratiquement jamais de copie pure et simple, mais de réinterprétation d'éléments empruntés à des contextes divers. Entre les sources et les objets, il a pu exister des étapes intermédiaires: les Archives de la Manufacture de Sèvres conservent très peu de projets de décors du XVIIIe siècle; parmi les rares survivants figurent une douzaine de projets de décors de tasses, dont trois pour des "chinoiseries". Or l'un (fig. 18) reprend une gravure de Jean Pillement (fig. 19) en l'enrichissant d'un contexte architectural un autre représente le champignon symbole de longévité et il se peut que son auteur ait utilisé une planche du recueil de Buchoz déjà cité, en lui adjoignant d'autres motifs végétaux.

Nous espérons que cette étude, sans épuiser le sujet, donnera des répères qui permettront, par comparaisons, de mieux situer certains objets et, surtout, d'apprécier la variété et le charme que les artistes de Sèvres surent apporter au traitement de ces sujets pittoresques alors omniprésents dans tous les arts décoratifs.

NOTES

1. Je tiens à exprimer ici ma très vive reconnaissance à tous ceux qui m'ont aidée lors de cette enquête, en particulier: A. d'Albis, C. Baulez, G. de Bellaigue, H. Dahlbäck-Lütteman, A. Dawson, A. L. den Blauen, J. du Paquier, P. Ennès, V. Hawes, P. Jean-Richard, W. R. Johnston, C. Le Corbeiller, G. Le Duc, R. Rückert, R. Savill.

2. S. Eriksen et G. de Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain: Vincennes and Sèvres 1740–1800* (Londres-Boston, 1987), fig. 26 (ci-après, Eriksen et Bellaigue, Sèvres).

3. W. B. Honey, *French Porcelain of the 18th Century* (Londres, s.d.), pl. 59 A et B.

4. *François Boucher 1703–1770*, Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 1986–1987, no. 95 (catalogue d'exposition) (ci-après, *Boucher*).

5. Eriksen et Bellaigue, *Sèvres*, fig. 95.

6. C. C. Dauterman, "*Chinoiserie* Motifs and Sèvres: Some Fresh Evidence," *Apollo*, 84 (décembre 1966), fig. 2 (ci-après, Dauterman, "Motifs and Sèvres").

7. M. Brunet et T. Préaud, *Sèvres des origines à nos jours* (Fribourg, 1978), pl. 32 (ci-après, Brunet et Préaud, *Sèvres*); P. Verlet, *Les Bronzes dorés français du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1987), fig. 61.

8. *The Treasure Houses of Britain. Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting*, Washington, D.C., the National Gallery of Art, 1985, no. 400 (catalogue d'exposition). Une série de sept moules et de sept modèles de "Vases de l'ancien" apparaît dans le travail de 1754 sur l'invitaire au 1er janvier 1755 (Manufacture nationale de Sèvres, Archives [ci-après, M. N. S. Arch.], Carton I.7). Il semble que ce soit cette même série qui ait été nommée "Vases Indiens" lors de l'inventaire commencé en 1814.

9. C. et M. Beurdeley, *La Céramique chinoise* (Fribourg-Paris, 1974), pl. 65–70.

10. R. Freyberger, "Chinese Genre Paintings at Sèvres," *American Ceramic Circle Bulletin*, 1 (1970–1971), 246–254 (ci-après, Freyberger, "Chinese Genre Paintings").

11. Eriksen et Bellaigue, *Sèvres*, 94–95.

12. *Livre de desseins chinois tirés d'après les originaux de Perse, des Indes, de la Chine et du Japon, dessinés et gravés en taille-douce par le Sr. Fraisse, peintre de S. A. S. Monseigneur le duc . . .* (Paris, chez Ph. Nic. Lottin, 1735).

13. *Collection précieuse et enluminée des fleurs les plus belles et les plus curieuses qui se cultivent tant dans les jardins de la Chine que dans ceux de l'Europe dirigée par les soins et sous la conduite de Mr. Buchoz . . . Iere partie: Plantes de la Chine, peintes dans le Pays* (Paris, s.d.). Le Cabinet des Etampes de la Bibliothèque nationale à Paris possède également les aquarelles chinoises que ce volume copie.

14. P. Jean-Richard, *L'Oeuvre gravé de François Boucher dans la collection Edmond de Rothschild* (Paris, 1978), 85 (ci-après, Jean-Richard, *L'Oeuvre gravé*).

15. M. N. S. Arch., Registre Vy 3, folio 115. Les vases coûtaient 360 livres chacun.

16. Brunet et Préaud, *Sèvres*, pl. 21.

17. Jean-Richard, *L'Oeuvre gravé*, 277, no. 1129.

18. P. Ennes, "Essai de reconstitution d'une garniture de Madame de Pompadour," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 42/43 (1984/5), 70–82 (ci-après, Ennes, "Garniture").

19. Dauterman, "Motifs and Sèvres," *passim*.

20. Paris, vente le 9 février 1981. De même, on pourrait rapprocher une tasse et sa soucoupe de la collection David à Copenhague (S. Eriksen, *The David Collection, French Porcelain* [Copenhague, 1980], no. 58 [ci-après, Eriksen, *David*]) d'une assiette chinoise reproduite par E. Grandidier, *La Céramique chinoise* (Paris, 1894), no. 124, pl. 42.

21. M. N. S. Arch., Registre Vy 4, folio 56 (336 livres). Cette série de pièces à sujets chinois peints par Dodin comporte également: 1) deux vases *Pots-pourris Triangle* datés de 1761 du Detroit Institute of Arts (*Boucher*, no. 114; C. C. Dauterman, "Sèvres Figure Paintings in the Anna Thompson Dodge Collection," *The Burlington Magazine* [novembre, 1976], ill. 29–31. 2) deux cuvettes à fleurs *à la Mahon* également datées de 1761 du British Museum (G. Savage, *17th and 18th Century French Porcelain* [Londres, 1960], pl. 48; Freyberger, "Chinese Genre Paintings," fig. 5). 3) deux vases *Pots-pourris Myrthe* de la Walters Art Gallery de Baltimore (Ennes, "Garniture," fig. 8). 4) deux vases *Hollandais* du Rijksmuseum d'Amsterdam datés de 1763 (Freyberger, "Chinese Genre Paintings," fig. 3).

22. L. Courajod, *Livre-Journal de Lazare Duvaux, Marchand bijoutier ordinaire du roy 1748–58, précédé d'une étude sur le goût et sur le commerce des objets d'art au milieu du XVIIIe siècle . . .*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1873), *passim*.

23. R. P. J. Roi, S.J., "Visite en 1764 de deux Chinois à la Manufacture royale de Sèvres," *Cahiers de la Céramique, du verre et des arts du feu*, 33 (1964), 29–43.

24. *Decorative Art from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Aylesbury, 1964), 184.

25. Un exemplaire d'une paire à fond blanc et sujets chinois peints par Jean-Jacques Dieu est reproduit dans *Connaissance des Arts*

(juillet, 1965) (publicité).

26. Brunet et Préaud, *Sèvres*, ill. 197.

27. M. N. S. Arch., Registre Vy 7, folio 152 (14 juillet 1779).

28. Eriksen, *David*, 62.

29. G. W. Schulz, "Augsburger Chinesereien und ihre Verwendung in der Keramik," *Das schwäbische Museum* (Augsburg, 1926), 190–200, ill. 4; (1928), 121–138; (1929), 77–88.

30. H. Honour, *Chinoiserie: The Vision of Cathay* (Londres, 1961), 80.

31. G. de Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain from the Royal Collection*, Londres, The Queen's Gallery, Buckingham Palace. 1979–1980, no. 40 (catalogue d'exposition) (ci-après, Bellaigue, *Royal Collection*).

32. M. N. S. Arch., Registre Vy 5, folio 122 (2 décembre 1773) "à M. le prince de Nassau, 1 déjeuner Courteille chinois or et argent"; folio 135 verso (7 juillet 1773) "à madame la comtesse du Barry 1 déjeuner Courteille à anses Iere, personnages chinois"; folio 159 verso (8 juillet 1774) "à Monseigneur le duc d'Orléans 1 déjeuner courteille à anses Iere de 5 pièces sujets chinois en or et couleur/6 tasses à thé et soucoupes même décoration/ 1 pot à lait et jatte id./1 pot à crème id./1 pot à sucre en mouchoir id. 1 theyere à roseaux id" (chacun de ces ensembles coutait 600 livres); folio 246 verso (décembre 1774) "au Roy 1 cabaret chinois". Registre Vy 6, folio 116 verso (1775) "au Roy 2 déjeuners chinois 720/1440 livres"; folio 126 verso (1775) "madame Victoire 1 déjeuner, chinois"; folio 133 (décembre 1776) "madame l'archiduchesse de Vienne 1 déjeuner, chinois". Un déjeuner *Courteille à anses* daté de 1773 faisait partie de la collection Chappey; son plateau avait exactement le même sujet que celui d'un déjeuner sur *Plateau à rubans* daté de 1774 passé en vente à Paris le 4 avril 1960 (no. 79); un troisième déjeuner à plateau *Courteille à anses* daté de 1775 mais de deuxième grandeur est passé en vente récemment et se trouve aujourd'hui au Musée national du Château de Versailles (Sotheby's, Monaco, vente du 24–25 juin 1984, no. 3178); le *plateau en écritoire* de la Walters Art Gallery (fig. 11) appartenait sans doute à un quatrième déjeuner de même type. La documentation réunie à Sèvres par Marcelle Brunet comprenait la photographie ancienne d'un *Plateau Courteille à anses* Iere grandeur daté de 1776 et signé de Lécot mêlant des guirlandes de fleurs européennes à un sujet chinois, et monté sur une table. Enfin, Pierre Ennès m'a aimablement signalé un déjeuner sur plateau *Paris à ornements* daté de 1775 et signé par Lécot en toutes lettres au Musée de l'Ermitage à Leningrad. Une tasse et sa soucoupe du Nationalmuseum de Stockholm (inv. NM CXV 533) portant également la marque de Lécot pourraient bien avoir fait partie de ce dernier ensemble tant leur décor est semblable.

33. M. N. S. Arch., Registre Vy 6, folio 37 (24 décembre 1775) "à Monsieur 1 garniture de vases chinois"; folio 208 verso (ventes faites à la Reine pendant le courant de l'année 1774, 1775, 1776), "1 garniture de trois vases, chinois;" Registre Vy 7, folio 6 (11 mars 1778) "au général Smith 1 garniture de 3 vases, chinois". La première de ces garnitures, à en juger d'après des descriptions plus tardives, semble avoir disparu (je dois cette information à la gentillesse de C. Baulez). La seconde a été acquise récemment par le Musée national du château de Versailles et a été identifiée par C. Baulez grâce à ses montures en bronze. La troisième est récemment passée en vente (Christie's, New York, vente le 17 mai 1980, The Garbisch Collection, vol. II, no. 179).

34. La garniture récemment passée en vente s'inspirait également de plusieurs planches de cette même série qui semble avoir été très fréquemment utilisée: on retrouve, par exemple, un enfant équilibriste sur une tasse (Paris, vente le 16 mars 1942, no. 1) et sur une *Caisse à fleurs Courteille* (Paris, vente du 22–24 juin 1927, Madame de Polès, no. 163); et un jeu de balançoire sur une autre *Caisse à fleurs* (Christie's, Chichester, vente du 3–4 juin 1986, The Edward James Collection, no. 1060).

35. M. N. S. Arch., Registre Vy 7, folio 118 (10 août 1776) "à madame la duchesse de Mazarin 1 Empereur de la Chine" (72 livres).

36. *Europa und die Kaiser von China*, Berlin, Martin-Gropius Bau, 1985, fig. 151 (catalogue d'exposition). Je suis redevable à Pierre Ennès d'avoir attiré mon attention sur cette référence.

37. M. N. S. Arch., Registre Vy 6, folio 200 (1776) "au Roy 1 Tableau l'Empereur de la Chine"; Registre Vy 7, folio 178 (26 mai 1779); Registre Vy 9, folio 252 verso (17 octobre 1785).

38. Inventaire 35.760.

39. M. N. S. Arch., Registre Vj'1, folio 13.

40. M. N. S. Arch., Registre Vy 6, folio 118 (21 décembre 1776) au comptant; folio 120 (22 décembre 1776) au comptant; folio 130 (27 décembre 1776) au comptant; folio 208 verso (à la Reine pendant le courant de l'année 1774, 1775, et 1776); folio 118 (10 août 1776) madame la duchesse de Mazarin; folio 128 (voyage de Versailles 1776) madame Adelaïde; folio 186 (23 mai 1777) monsieur le prince de Crouy (avec un pied de 48 livres); folio 223 (première moitié de l'année 1777) au marchand Grouët; folio 246 verso (Versailles 1777) au comptant; Registre Vy 7, folio 111 verso (11 décembre 1777) madame de Durfort; folio 58 (16 décembre 1778) au comptant; folio 137 (27 avril 1779) M. l'Ambassadeur de Sardaigne; folio 144 (26 mai 1779) au comptant. Tous coûtent 72 livres.

41. M. N. S. Arch., Registre Vj'1, folio 119, DIEU, juillet 1778 "1 gobelet et so^{e} 2e/bataille chinoise/42 livres".

42. Brunet et Préaud, *Sèvres*, fig. 227 et R. Savill, *The Wallace Collection Catalogue of Sèvres Porcelain* (Londres, 1988), II, 621–628.

43. M. N. S. Arch., Registre Vl' 1, folio 81 (fournée du 21 novembre 1779).

44. Eriksen et Bellaigue, *Sèvres*, fig. 142.

45. Sotheby's, London, vente le 5 mars 1985, no. 118 à 120.

46. T. Préaud, "Sèvres Enamelled Porcelain: Eight Dies (and a Quarrel) Rediscovered," *The Burlington Magazine* (1986), 391–397.

47. R. Savill, "A Pair of Sèvres Vases: from the Collection of Richard Wallace to the J. Paul Getty Museum," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 14 (1986), 135–142 et R. Savill, *The Wallace Collection Catalogue of Sèvres Porcelain* (Londres, 1988), I, 442–446.

48. Bellaigue, *Royal Collection*, no. 38.

49. A. Ananoff, *François Boucher* (Lausanne-Paris, 1976) I, 339 (ci-après, Ananoff, *François Boucher*). On peut noter que ce même personnage aurait également pu avoir inspiré un dessin de Joseph-Marie Vien représentant "L'Ambassadeur de la Chine" pour une mascarade romaine de 1748. (F. Boucher, "Les Dessins de Vien pour la mascarade de 1748 à Rome," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* [1962], 69–76, ill.)

50. Bellaigue, *Royal Collection*, no. 152.

51. Ananoff, *François Boucher*, 340, 342. L'une des sources de ces deux scènes pourrait être une illustration des *Curieuse aenmerckingen* . . . publiées par Simon de Vries en 1682 intitulée "Virginiaense ceremonien" (vol II, 833) représentant le roi de Virginie assis sur un trône avec derrière lui un serviteur et, sur le côté, un groupe de danseurs empanachés.

52. Voir, par exemple, "Recueil de différents panneaux chinois inventés et dessinés par Jean Pillement" publié chez Leviez.

53. Dauterman, "Motifs and Sèvres," fig. 8.

54. Eriksen et Bellaigue, *Sèvres*, fig. 150.

55. M. N. S. Arch., Registre Vj'5, 1793, folio 137 verso, Le guay, 28 juillet.

56. M. N. S. Arch., Registre Vj'5, 1790, folio 104, Didier.

57. Outre des pièces de service isolées depuis 1790, plusieurs services ont été vendus: un "fond noir, chinois en ors de couleurs et platine, fleurs émaillées" le 6 mai 1791 à M. de Semonville (M. N. S. Arch., Registre Vy 11, folio 69–69 verso); 72 assiettes unies "parasols chinois, arabesques" furent livrées le 13 mars 1792 à "Milord Betford" (folio 113) et 48 assiettes "parasols chinois" le 23 novembre 1792 à "Madame Lefebvre née Le Clercq pour Milord Betford" (folio 146 verso). On livra le 25 février à cette même marchande un "service fleurs emaillées" (folio 160 verso) qui devait être semblable à juger par le même prix des assiettes, le même encore que celui des "12 assiettes guirlandes chinées" qui lui furent livrées le 15 octobre 1793 (folio 200). On connaît effectivement plusieurs types d'assiettes: certaines ont un marli noir à petites scènes chinoises en or simple ou en ors de couleurs, avec une simple guirlande "émaillée" au centre; d'autres, en plus des fleurs, ont au fond un médaillon octogonal décoré comme le marli alors que sur d'autres encore le fond noir occupe la totalité de l'assiette et porte une scène beaucoup plus ample. Les pièces de service peuvent également avoir un fond noir plein ou partiel, le blanc étant alors orné de "fleurs émaillées". Il existe également des services à déjeuner et des pots à eau semblablement décorés.

58. C. C. Dauterman, *The Wrightsman Collection. Volume IV: Porcelain* (New York, 1970), no. 91.

59. Brunet et Préaud, *Sèvres*, fig. 271.

60. Christie's, London, vente le 30 juin 1986, no. 221. Cet ensemble pourrait correspondre à la "garniture de 3 cuvettes/Chinois en or" enfournée le 24 novembre 1791 (M. N. S. Arch., Registre Vl'3, folio 198).

61. Dauterman, "Motifs and Sèvres."

62. M. N. S. Arch., Registre Vy 12, folio 100 verso.

63. Lettre de Hendrick van Hulst à Boileau, directeur de la manufacture, datée du 21 septembre 1751 (M. N. S. Arch., Carton H.1, liasse 1).

64. Brunet et Préaud, *Sèvres*, fig. 237.

65. Je dois cette référence à la gentillesse de G. de Bellaigue. Le Musée des Arts décoratifs de Paris possède un tableau attribué à Jean-Baptiste Le Prince qui représente pratiquement la même scène.

66. A. Montanus, *Gedenkwaerdige Gesantschappen der oost-indische Maetschappy an de Kaisaren van Japan* (Amsterdam, 1669), 132.

Photographs: Figs. 1, 5, 13, Réunion des Musées nationaux. Figs. 2, 10, 12, Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie J. Doucet. Figs. 3, 6, 16, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Figs. 4, 11, The Walters Art Gallery. Fig. 9, copyright reserved to her majesty Queen Elizabeth II. Figs. 14, 17, Bibliothèque Nationale. Figs. 15, 18, 19, Manufacture nationale de Sèvres, Archives.

Doré in the Highlands

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Gustave Doré's career as a painter has always been overshadowed by his prolific activity as an illustrator. His renown in his own time and after derives largely from the powerful and evocative images drawn to accompany the works of Milton, Dante, Coleridge, La Fontaine, Rabelais, and Shakespeare, as well as the satiric drawings that both chronicled and criticized contemporary society.[1] The "Doré Bible," certainly one of the most influential illustrated versions of the scriptures ever published, has appeared in hundreds of editions in several languages over the past century, achieving a global fame for an artist unrivaled until our own time.[2] It was indeed Biblical illustrations, *The Dream of Jacob* and *The Kiss of Judas*, that William T. Walters purchased as part of his collection of religious drawings from Doré, whose studio he visited in Paris twice in 1863 (figs. 1, 2).[3]

For Doré, however, illustration was secondary to painting: "I illustrate just to pay for my paint and brushes," he wrote.[4] Yet the artist never achieved the recognition he desired as a "serious" painter, neither during his life nor subsequently. It is only recently that Doré's paintings have been studied without many of the biases that determined art criticism in his own day: his Alsatian heritage, the grand scale of his vision in many of his canvases, his estrangement from most contemporary artists and critics, a lack of academic training, and, perhaps most importantly, his immense popular and financial success.[5]

Doré's paintings often repeated or expanded subjects treated by him in graphic form. Many of these works were executed for the Doré Gallery in London, a private exhibition space on New Bond Street (in the building now housing Sotheby's) where the public was admitted for a shilling fee.[6] The size of the canvases was often immense: the *Christ Leaving the Praetorium* (private collection, Nassau, currently on loan to the Musée d'Art Moderne, Strasbourg), which one critic called "the most marvellous painting of our times," measures six by nine meters.[7] But a considerable number of Doré's paintings were of more traditional size and not related to specific literary themes—portraits, genre scenes, allegories of personal invention, and landscapes. Of these, it is perhaps through the landscape paintings, devoid of both contemporary references and the continuing associations which the famous illustrations inevitably evoke, that Doré the painter can best be approached.

Doré's interest in the landscape was life-long, a natural extension of his enthusiasm for travel. Among his earliest commissions was a series of six Alpine views (1849–1851; Strasbourg, Musée d'Art Moderne), and through the 1850s and 60s Doré painted a variety of largely forest and mountain landscapes inspired by places visited in the course of his travels. But, it was not until the last decade of his life that landscape painting assumed a significant role in the artist's oeuvre. This change is clearly attributable to the journey Doré made to the Scottish Highlands in 1873. From 1874 to 1881, Doré produced an extraordinary group of Scottish landscapes, of which one of the most important (and evidently the largest) has recently been acquired by The Walters Art Gallery (fig. 3).[8]

The circumstances of Doré's visit to Scotland are

Fig. 1. Gustave Doré, *The Dream of Jacob*, wash drawing on paper with white highlights, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.1319.

Fig. 2. Gustave Doré, *The Kiss of Judas (Christ Taken Prisoner in the Garden)*, pen and ink wash, and gouache, on paper, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.1387.

known from his early biographers. A London acquaintance of the artist, Colonel Christopher Teesdale (who served as Equerry to the Prince of Wales), invited Doré salmon fishing in Scotland in early 1873. The pair left by steamer for Aberdeen in April of that year and after a stormy crossing journeyed west along the River Dee.

However, angling soon yielded to sketching, as later reported by Teesdale: "The salmon fishing turned out to be a perfect failure; and after two or three attempts he [Doré] quite gave it up and occupied himself with his sketchbook." Doré similarly wrote upon his return to Paris: "I went [to Scotland] with a party of friends under the pretext of salmon fishing; but, unskilled as I am in that sport (which is not easy!), I caught, as you may suppose, very few fish, and soon devoted myself exclusively to the catching of landscapes."[10] Doré's working method was noted by Teesdale:

> His book, from one end to the other, was filled in an incredible short space of time, for as soon as we came home and had dined he would spend two or three hours in finishing the memoranda he had made during the day, with water-colours, ink or anything that came under his hand. I once saw him take his coffee and pour it over a page to produce a tone that he fancied. He worked with anything. The end of a pen, his finger, a thumb nail, anything seemed to do; and yet from these rapid sketches he subsequently produced some of his best and most finished work with wonderful fidelity.[11]

The artist himself remarked, "I took a good many notes and jottings in water colour—the first time I have tried that medium. I have employed it solely in obtaining qualities of *intention* or *impression*."[12] A particularly fine example of such a watercolor is in the Louvre (fig. 4). Signed and dated April 1873, the drawing is inscribed "Loch Müke," a reasonable phonetic transcription of Loch Muick, south of Ballater. Doré rapidly records the scene in a succession of brown washes—one wonders whether coffee is among them—placing the proud ruins of a castle in the middleground before the distant lake, swiftly drawn with a few strokes of gouache. Though completely without activity, the scene is turbulent, as the undulat-

ing foreground hills and broad mountainsides forcefully frame the central focus—a compositional preference Doré would elaborate in the *Landscape in Scotland*.

A tranquil view at nearby Braemar (fig. 5), now in the Museé du Petit Palais, Paris, is a more highly finished work that also presages the Walters canvas, not only in the similar employment of a prominent introductory foreground at right, but also in the inclusion of a group of deer that face away from the viewer to observe the landscape beyond.

Doré wrote his mother from Scotland, describing scenes not dissimilar to those evoked in these watercolors and in *Landscape in Scotland*:

> People are wrong to say that I am visiting Scotland at an unfavourable time of year. True, it is cold; but one discovers so many landscape effects in this season amongst these grand transparent forests variegated with a somber green, certainly as fine as any pines in summer time. One of the most beautiful and curious things that we see at this moment is a herd of stags which has descended from the hills to the valleys. As this is not the stalking season, they are not very timid. I shall have my memory pretty well filled with an ample number of landscapes, which seem to me more suitable to my London Exhibition than Swiss Alpine scenes.[13]

Upon his return to Paris, Doré wrote, "Henceforth, when I paint landscapes, I believe that five out of every six will be reminiscences of the Highlands; of Aberdeenshire, Braemar, Balmoral, Ballater, etc. I hope to go back there again and again."[14] But Doré evidently visited only once more, in 1874, although his prediction to go on painting Scottish "reminiscences" proved to be quite accurate. In his studio on the Rue Bayard in Paris, Doré recreated the Highlands as perhaps the Highlands never existed, using his notes and watercolors as starting points in the fashioning of grand, majestic visions. From 1874 to 1881, the artist painted several such landscapes. Two of the earliest and most impressive, both dated 1875, have long been in American museums: *Loch Lomond* (fig. 6) in the St. Louis Art Museum and *The Scottish Highlands* (fig. 7) in The Toledo Museum of Art.[15] Others in public collections include the ponderous *Un lac en Ecosse après l'orage* (fig. 8) at Grenoble, the somewhat more placid *Paysage d'Ecosse* in Caen, and *Glen Massan* in the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum (fig. 9).[16] These are all

Fig. 3. Gustave Doré, *Landscape in Scotland*, oil on canvas, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.2625.

Fig. 4. Gustave Doré, *View at Loch Muick (Paysage montagneux)*, watercolor with white highlights, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Fig. 5. Gustave Doré, *View at Braemar (Paysage montagneux aux cerfs)*, watercolor, pen and ink, chalk, and gouache, Paris, Petit Palais.

large canvases of a heroic scale, but Doré did paint as well smaller, more intimate views of Scottish scenery. Two very similar examples of this type are the *Torrent in the Highlands* in the Indianapolis Museum of Art (fig. 10) and *Highland Trout Stream* in a private Maryland collection (fig. 11).[17]

Catalogues of the Doré Gallery—as well as Jerrold, Edwards, and Roosevelt, the artist's early biographers—give titles of other Highland subjects: *Souvenir of Loch Leven* (1878), *Scotch Landscape* (1878), *Loch Ech*, *Souvenir of Loch Corron* (exhibited at the Salon of 1880), *Dhu Loch*, *The Trossachs*, *Falls of the Garry, Perthshire* (1880), and *Remembrance of Aberdeenshire*.[18] These remain unlocatable or unidentified today, although by its size and signature it is possible that the Walters *Landscape in Scotland* (fig. 3) may prove to be the same picture as the *Remembrance of Aberdeenshire* exhibited at the Doré Gallery in 1882.[19] Writing in 1891, Jerrold assigned the date of 1878 to the evidently undated *Remembrance of Aberdeenshire*, which would certainly accord well with the style and handling of the Baltimore picture.[20]

Whether to be identified with the "Aberdeenshire" picture or not, *Landscape in Scotland* is certainly one of Doré's most impressive landscape compositions. The image is grandiose but involving. Clouds roll down mountainsides to a loch brilliantly illumined as a broad white stroke of reflected light. A pine grove at the right center frames and partly obscures the lake and the distant shore. With the

Fig. 6. Gustave Doré, *Loch Lomond*, oil on canvas, St. Louis, St. Louis Art Museum, no. 88:13.

Fig. 7. Gustave Doré, *The Scottish Highlands*, oil on canvas, Toledo, The Toledo Museum of Art, no. 22.108. Gift of Arthur J. Secor.

Fig. 8. Gustave Doré, *Un lac en Ecosse après l'orage*, oil on canvas, Grenoble, Musée de Grenoble, no. MG711.

Fig. 9. Gustave Doré, *Glen Massan*, oil on canvas, Glasgow, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, no. 3352.

gnarled branch in the foreground and the diminutive trees on a hillock in the middleground, the pines help create a dynamic spatial recession that is continued by the mountains dissolving into the clouds above. The strong diagonal elements in the landscape, stabilized by the horizontal expanse of the loch, are set against tumultuous clouds and streaming rays of light. The violent, almost cataclysmic, activity of the sky, which is contrasted with the lambent solidity of the landscape, is without human participation or observation; only two stags in the right foreground witness this view of nature in its cosmic and spiritual overtones.

The absence of man from Doré's painting reflects an aspect of the nineteenth-century discovery of Scotland—discovery in that only in the early 1800s did the Highlands become easily accessible to English and continental visitors. A corollary myth beloved of both travelers and artist at the time was that many of the newly visitable locales had no previous human association and that even if one were not the first to view a particular place, he was at least a rare interloper in an unspoiled corner of the world. "Again and again one hears, on the lips of travellers in remote parts of the Highlands, echoes of the Ancient Mariner's astonished cry, 'We were the first that ever burst into that silent sea.' "[21]

By the time Doré painted *Landscape in Scotland*, the fiction of the artist's being the first to enter and record the primeval landscape was surely past. But the vitality of the image had clearly not lost its appeal,

Fig. 10. Gustave Doré, *Torrent in the Highlands*, oil on canvas, Indianapolis, Indianapolis Museum of Art, no. 72.17. Gift of the Shaw-Burckhardt-Brenner Foundation, Inc.

particularly since the vehicles for the discovery of the Scottish landscape in the first half of the century—the train, coach, and steamboat—had in the latter half become the greatest threats to its appreciation.

By its subject *Landscape in Scotland* may be seen as a direct successor to Romantic views of the early and mid-century, but philosophically and pictorially the work is decidedly more modern. This is a landscape neither tamed by man nor at one with him. The observer remains without, humbled by the spectacle yet drawn into its encompassing world. Doré's vision of a majestic but turbulent nature, expressed through a painting style specific in description and broadly imagistic in effect, questions man's existence more than welcomes his presence. Yet in the brilliantly pure horizontal of the loch and the rays of light that shine through the cyclonic clouds, there seems an indication of divine order and, perhaps, hope.

Fig. 11. Gustave Doré, *Highland Trout Stream*, oil on canvas, Bethesda, Maryland, private collection.

NOTES

1. For Doré's graphic work, see *inter alia*, H. Leblanc, *Catalogue de l'oeuvre complet de Gustave Doré* (Paris, 1931) (hereafter, Leblanc, *Catalogue*); and G. Forbert, ed., *Gustave Doré: Das graphische Werk* (Munich, 1975), with bibliography. I am grateful to William R. Johnston and Eric M. Zafran for their suggestions and encouragement in the writing of this article.

2. On Doré's Bible illustrations, first published by Mame in Tours in 1866, see Leblanc, *Catalogue*, 47, 51; and *Gustave Doré: 1832–1883* (Strasbourg, 1983), 252–253 (exhibition catalogue) (hereafter, *Doré*, Strasbourg). Leblanc states that Doré made 312 drawings for the Bible, of which 306 were engraved.

3. Mr. Walters visited the studio on June 23 and December 7, 1863 with his friend and agent, George Lucas, through whom on August 23, 1864 he acquired a drawing by Doré on wood of *Christ Preaching on the Mount*. Then acting for Mr. Walters, Lucas ordered these two drawings, as well as a large *Moses in the Bulrushes*, on January 21, 1865; these were probably the works received by him on February 21, 1865. See L. M. C. Randall, *The Diary of George A. Lucas: an American Agent in Paris*, I, (Princeton, 1979), 157, 165–166, 182–183, 192, 194. *The Dream of Jacob* (ink wash heightened with white on paper, no. 37.1319) measures 247 x 191 mm; *The Kiss of Judas* (pen and ink, wash and gouache, no. 37.1387) measures 242 x 186 mm. Both of these compositions (with *The Kiss of Judas* reversed) appeared engraved in the "Doré Bible," but whether these drawings were actually the artist's preliminary studies or elaborated versions of them is difficult to say. For references to these, see Shepherd Gallery, *Christian Imagery in French Nineteenth Century Art, 1789–1906* (New York, 1980), 337–339 (exhibition catalogue); and the more recent monograph, A. Renonciat, *La vie et l'oeuvre de Gustave Doré* (Paris 1983), 168–169 (hereafter, Renonciat, *Doré*). A *Moses in the Bulrushes* (oil on canvas, 91.5 x 130 cm) was sold at Sotheby's, New York, May 23, 1989, lot 60. This picture had belonged to the Blencoe family, Thurlestaine House, Cheltenham prior to its sale in a 1988 country auction. When the Blencoe family acquired the painting and whether it was in fact the work Mr. Walters ordered is not at present known.

4. J. Richardson, *Gustave Doré, A Biography* (London, 1980), 78.

5. On Doré's critical fortunes, see S. Clapp in *Gustave Doré; 1832–1883*, (London, 1983), 19–20 (exhibition catalogue) (hereafter, *Doré*, London); and W. H. Herendeen, "The Doré Controversy: Doré, Ruskin and Victorian Taste," *Victorian Studies*, 25, 2 (Spring 1982), 305–327. Recent study of Doré's career is reflected in two centenary exhibitions held in 1983—that in London (above) and the more extensive exhibition in Strasbourg, for which see *Doré*, Strasbourg.

6. The Doré Gallery was founded in 1868 by Messrs. Fairless and Beeforth at the German Gallery, 169 New Bond Street; the following year the Gallery moved to 35 New Bond Street, where it resided until 1892. The remaining pictures then began an American tour; "The Doré Collection" was exhibited at Carnegie Hall in New York in 1892 and in other cities during the following four years. When the promoters of the tour went bankrupt and the unsold paintings were placed in storage is not clear. Forgotten for many years, fifty lots of paintings, drawings, prints, and memorabilia of Doré "stored under the name of U.S. Art Import Co." were eventually sold at auction at the Manhattan Storage & Warehouse Company in New York on October 28, 1947 (catalogue kindly supplied by Diana Dewe).

7. Renonciat, *Doré*, 173.

8. The Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.2625, oil on canvas, 131 x 196

cm; signed lower left, "G. Doré." Provenance: Sale (property of "Baronne G."), Paris, Palais Galliera, Commissaire-priseur Laurin, June 23, 1964, lot 75. Huntington Hartford Collection, New York (1965–1983; on loan 1965–1969 to the Gallery of Modern Art, New York where no. 65.1). Huntington Hartford sale, Sotheby's, New York, May 26, 1983, lot 59B. Private collection, New York (1983–1985), from which acquired by The Walters Art Gallery through the W. Alton Jones Foundation Acquisition Fund.

9. Teesdale, in a letter of July 13, 1883 to B. Jerrold, published in B. Jerrold, *Life of Gustave Doré* (London, 1891), 338 (hereafter, Jerrold, *Doré*).

10. Doré, in a letter of 1873 to Amelia Edwards; Jerrold, *Doré*, 313. See as well, A. B. Edwards, "Gustave Doré: Personal Recollections of the Artist and His Works," *The Art Journal* (1883), 339 (hereafter, Edwards, *Doré*).

11. Teesdale, in a letter of July 13, 1883 to B. Jerrold; Jerrold, *Doré*, 338–9.

12. Edwards, *Doré*, 339. Clapp, in *Doré*,,London, 49, notes that here Doré must mean pure watercolor as opposed to mixed media, which he had employed for many years (cf. figs. 1, 2).

13. B. Roosevelt, *Life and Reminiscences of Gustave Doré* (New York, 1885), 388.

14. Doré, in a letter to Edwards; Jerrold, *Doré*, 338–339.

15. *Loch Lomond*, 1875, oil on canvas, 121.9 x 190.5 cm, St. Louis Art Museum, no. 88:13. *The Scottish Highlands*, 1875, oil on canvas, 108.6 x 183.2 cm, The Toledo Museum of Art, no. 22.108.

16. *Un lac en Ecosse après l'orage*, undated, oil on canvas, 90 x 130 cm, Grenoble, Musée de Grenoble, MG711; *Paysage d'Ecosse*, 1881, oil on canvas, 82 x 165 cm, Caen, Museé des Beaux-Arts; *Glen Massan*, undated, oil on canvas, 112.7 x 184.8 cm, Glasgow, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum no. 3352.

17. *Torrent in the Highlands*, 1881, oil on canvas, 50.8 x 90.2 cm, Indianapolis Museum of Art no. 72.17. *Highland Trout Stream*, oil on canvas, 52.3 x 78.7 cm, private collection, Bethesda, Maryland.

18. There is at present no accurate catalogue raisonné of Doré's works; see L. Dezé, *Gustave Doré: Bibliographie et Catalogue complete de l'oeuvre* (Paris, 1930); and Leblanc, *Catalogue* for an unfortunately brief listing of Doré's paintings. *The Souvenir of Loch Corron*, exhibited in the Salon of 1880 (no. 12) and later in the Whittier Gallery, Boston, was sold at Sotheby's, New York, February 29, 1984, lot 44.

19. F. R. Conder, *The Doré Gallery: Descriptive Catalogue* (London, 1882), no. 17; the catalogue notes that the painting was signed in black and measured 47 x 78 in.

20. Jerrold, *Doré*, 409.

21. J. Holloway and L. Errington, *The Discovery of Scotland; The Appreciation of Scottish Scenery through Two Centuries of Painting* (Edinburgh, 1978), 111.

Photographs: Figs. 1–3, The Walters Art Gallery. Fig. 4, Reunion des Musées nationaux. Fig. 5, Petit Palais, Paris, photo Bulloz. Fig. 6, St. Louis Art Museum. Fig. 7, The Toledo Museum of Art. Fig. 8, Musée de Grenoble. Fig. 9, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum. Fig. 10, Indianapolis Museum of Art.

Fig. 1. Antwerp Mannerist, *Bathsheba Receiving a Message from King David*, pen and ink on paper, with white highlights, Vienna, Albertina, no. 2996.

Fig. 2. *Bathsheba*, *Rosenwald Hours*, Washington D.C., Library of Congress, Ms. 52, fol. 65.

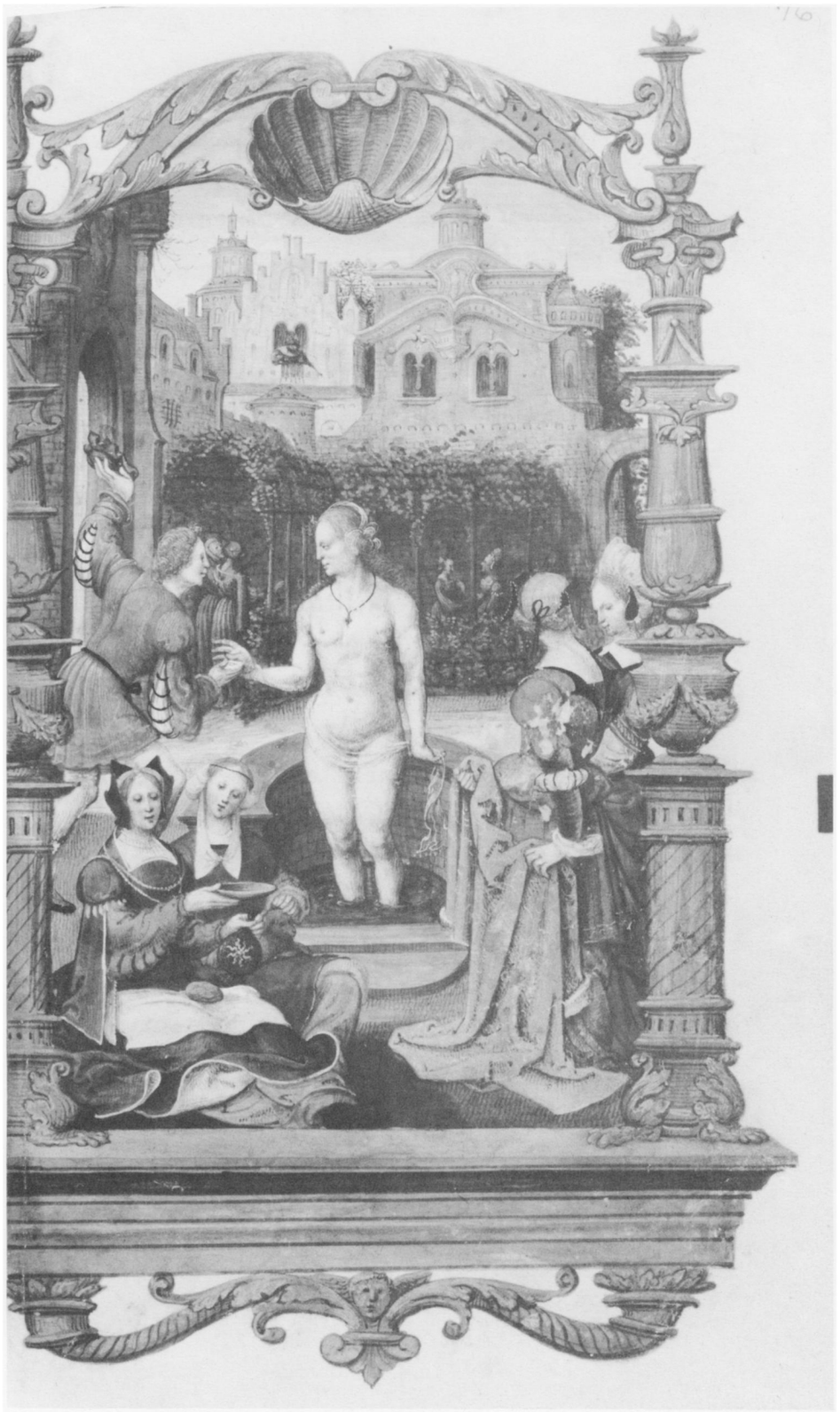

Fig. 3. *Bathsheba, Hours of Jean de Mauléon*, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.449, fol. 76.

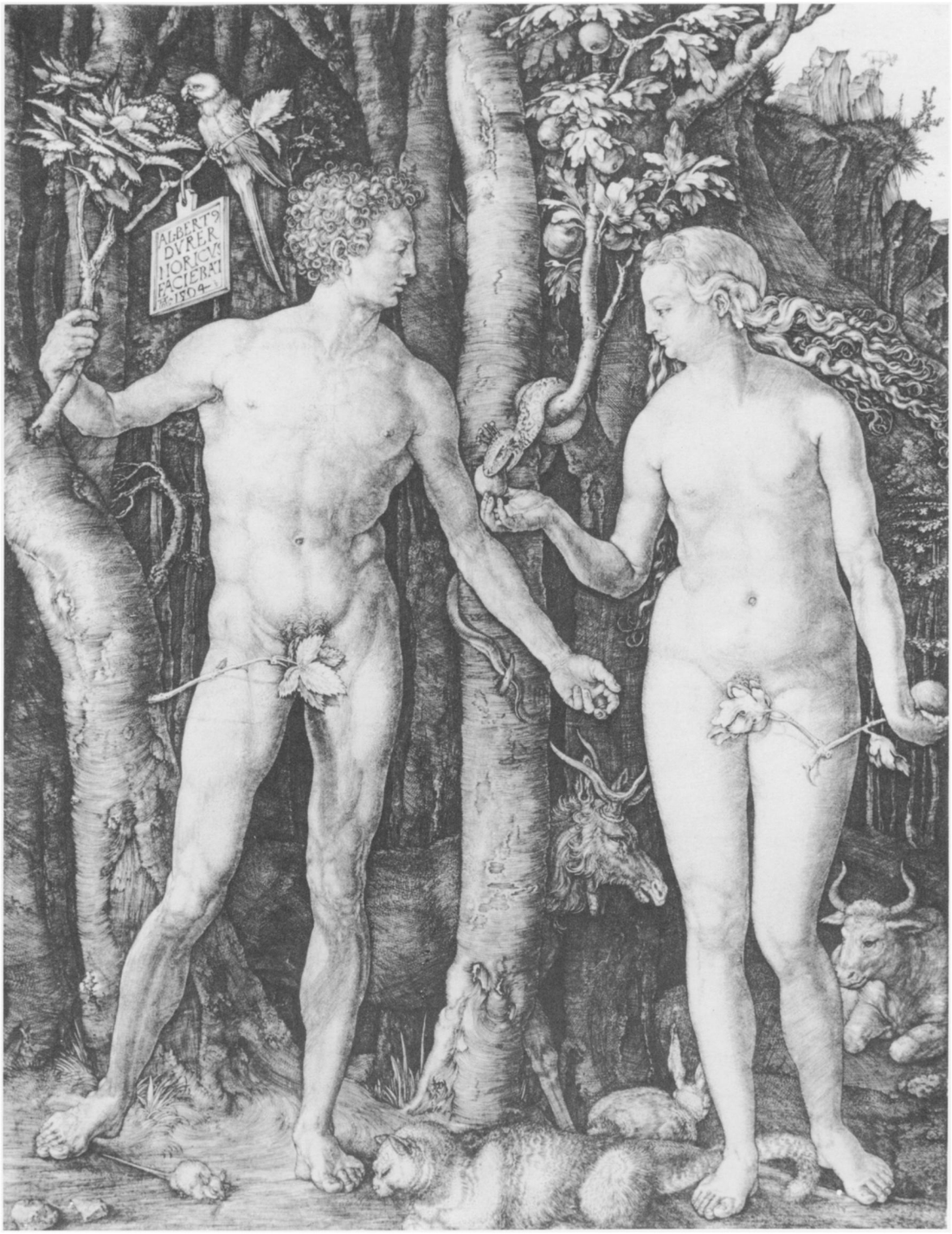

Fig. 4. Albrecht Dürer, *Adam and Eve*, engraving.

Fig. 5. *Bathsheba, Book of Hours*, New York, Ms. Rosenberg 9, fols. 87v–88.

Fig. 6. *Bathsheba, Hours of Anne of Austria*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. N. A. lat. 3090. fol. 73.

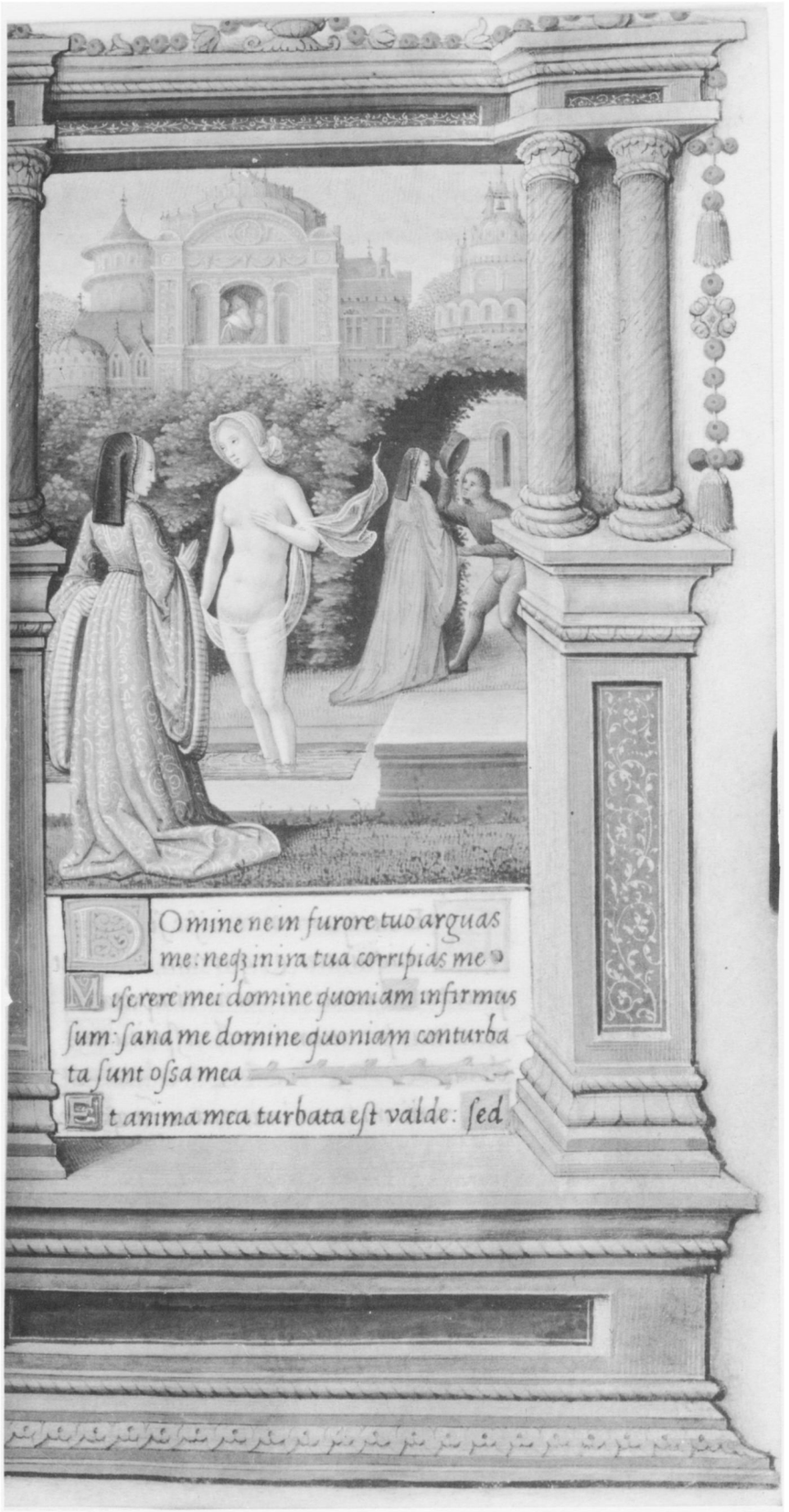

Fig. 7. *Bathsheba, Book of Hours*, London, British Library, Ms. Add. 35315, fol. 52.

Fig. 8. Antwerp Mannerist, *Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl*, pen and ink on paper, with white highlights, Kunstsammlungen der Universität Göttingen.

Fig. 9. *Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl*, *Rosenwald Hours*, Washington D.C., Library of Congress, Ms. 52, fol. 30v.

Fig. 10. *Presentation*, *Rosenwald Hours*, Washington D.C., Library of Congress, Ms. 52, fol. 46v.

Fig. 11. *Presentation, Hours of Jean de Mauléon*, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.449, fol. 55.

Fig. 12. Albrecht Dürer, *Presentation*, woodcut.

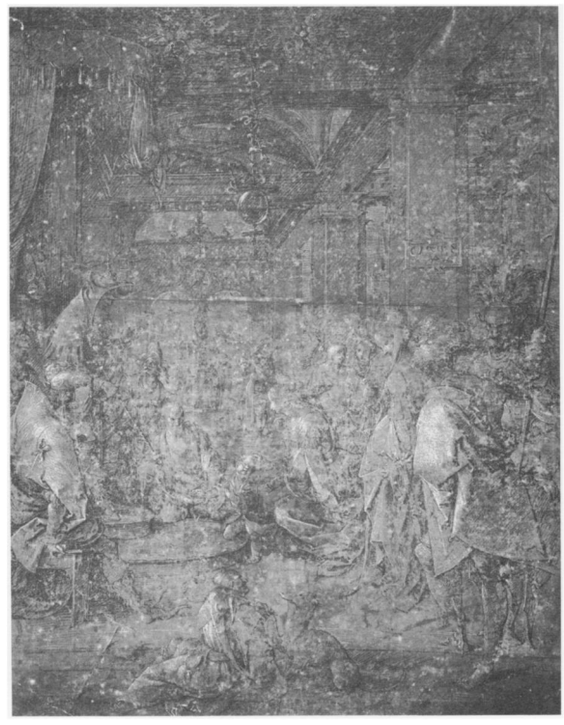

Fig. 13. Antwerp Mannerist, *Trial of Moses*, pen and ink on paper, with white highlights, London, British Museum.

Fig. 14. Antwerp Mannerist, *Trial of Moses*, pen and ink on paper, (copy), Holkham Hall.

Fig. 15. *Presentation*, *Book of Hours*, Paris, Petit Palais, Dutuit Ms. 37, fol. 63v.

Fig. 16. *Presentation, Hours of Anne of Austria*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. N. A. lat. 3090. fol. 56.

Fig. 17. Antwerp Mannerist, *Salome with the Head of John the Baptist*, brush and ink on paper, with white highlights, Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, no. 18.874.

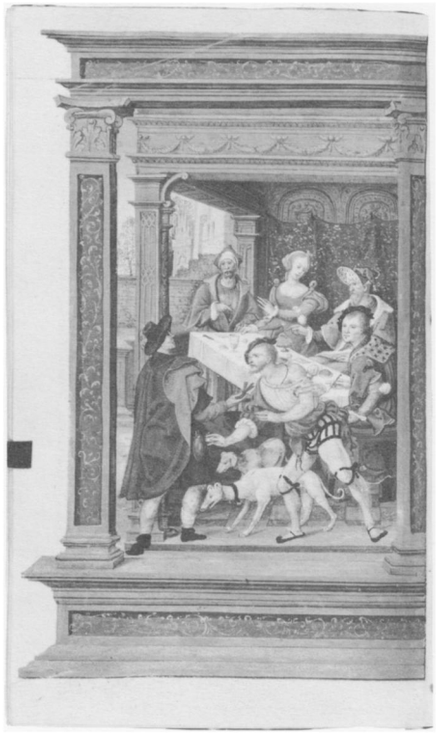

Fig. 18. *Dives and Lazarus, Hours of Jean de Mauléon*, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.449, fol. 90v.

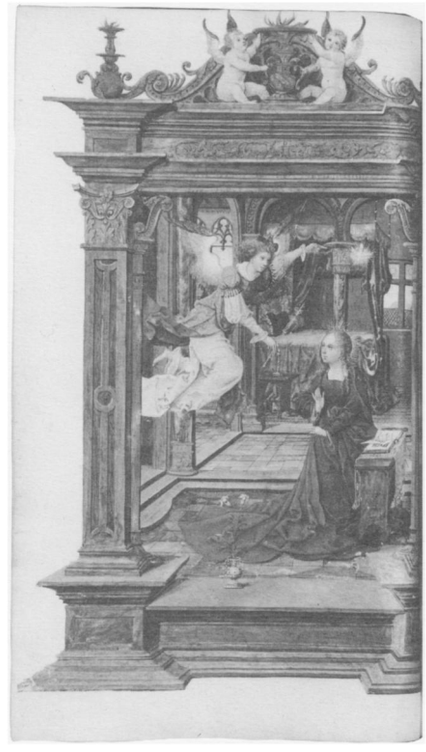

Fig. 19. *Annunciation, Rosenwald Hours*, Washington D.C., Library of Congress, Ms. 52, fol. 19v.

Fig. 20. Jan de Beer, *Annunciation*, panel, ex.-coll. Emden.

Fig. 21. *Annunciation*, *Hours of Jean de Mauléon*, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.449, fol. 32v.

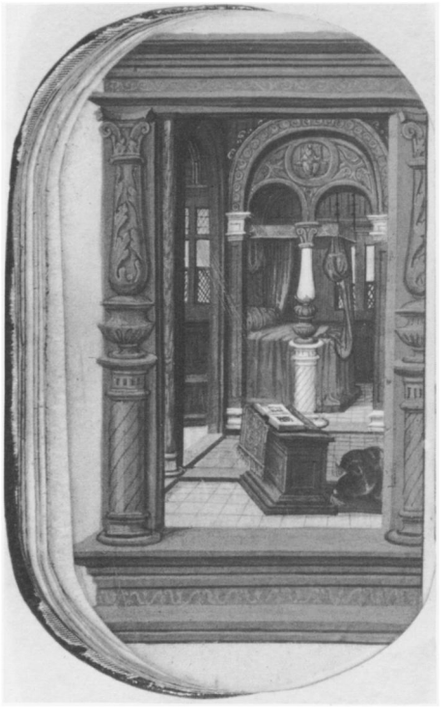

Fig. 22. *Annunciation*, *Book of Hours*, Sotheby's, June 21, 1988, lot 115, fol. 20v.

Fig. 23. *Nativity*, pen and ink (copy), London, British Museum.

Fig. 24. *Nativity, Rosenwald Hours*, Washington D.C., Library of Congress, Ms. 52, fol. 37v.

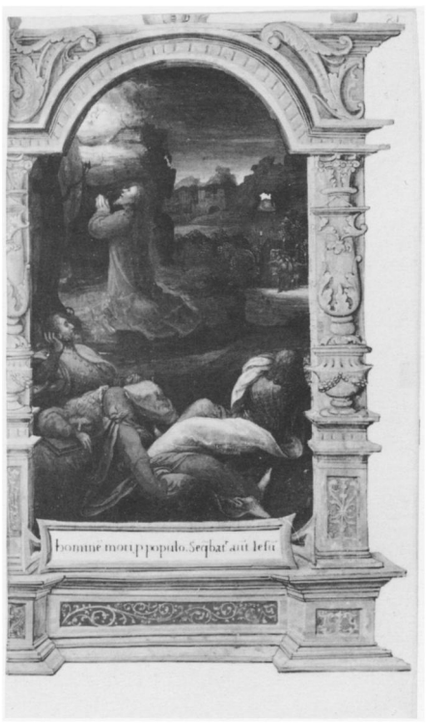

Fig. 25. *Gethsemane, Hours of Jean de Mauléon*, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.449, fol. 21.

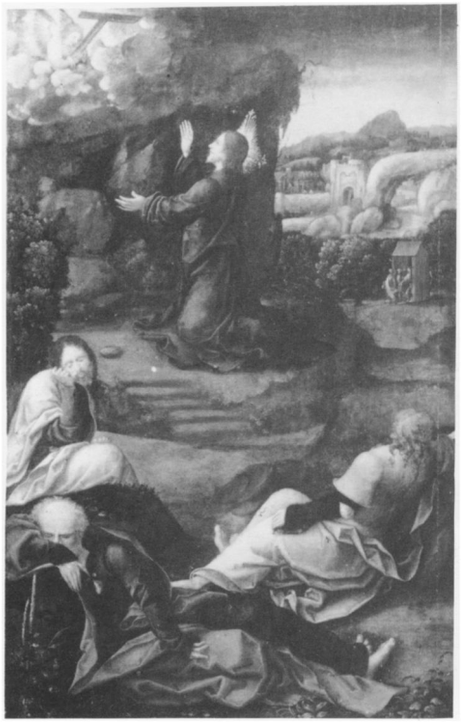

Fig. 26. *Gethsemane*, from the Altarpiece of the *Crucifixion*, panel, Paris, St.-Gervais-et-St.-Protais.

Antwerp Mannerist Model Drawings in French Renaissance Books of Hours: A Case Study of the 1520s Hours Workshop

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The illustrations that accompany this article precede it.

French Renaissance illumination and Antwerp Mannerist drawings are an unexpected combination in a study of manuscript workshop models,[1] but it is exactly this combination that distinguishes the style of the 1520s Hours Workshop from contemporary manuscripts in France. As recent exhibitions[2] have proved, sixteenth-century French manuscripts were extremely numerous and often of the highest quality. Alone among these elaborately decorated codices, the 1520s Hours Workshop miniatures have long reminded astute art historians of Flemish panel painting.[3] By concentrating on the Hours of Jean de Mauléon in The Walters Art Gallery (Walters 449) and the Hours in the Rosenwald Collection (Library of Congress, Ms. 52 [formerly Rosenwald 10]), both datable ca. 1524,[4] this article will trace the use, revision, and interpretation of specific Antwerp Mannerist drawings by illuminators within the 1520s Hours Workshop and discuss the relevance of this discovery in the context of the workshop's activity.

The "1520s Hours Workshop" is a term used to distinguish the group style of several anonymous manuscript illuminators active in the early French Renaissance, probably in the area of Tours. To establish the very existence of this workshop, I have studied elsewhere the secondary elements of the 1520s Hours Workshop manuscripts: format, decoration, and script, finding a recognizable pattern of size, page design, and borders that argues for a close working relationship among the artists and scribes.[5] In that same study the four principal miniaturists active in this workshop were named the Rosenwald Master (figs. 2, 9, 10, 19, 24), the Master of Jean de Mauléon (figs. 3, 11, 18, 21, 25), the Doheny Master (figs. 15, 22), and the Master of the Getty Epistles (figs. 6, 16). Each manuscript is internally consistent in style, but within the masters' distinct visual vocabularies they share compositional and figural models to an important degree. Identification of some of these models and a study of their use in this essay is another step towards defining this workshop as a close-knit and productive, if still maddeningly anonymous, enterprise. As a working hypothesis it will be stated that if a group of miniaturists copied the same model drawings, and if the manuscripts in which these miniatures appear can be traced to the same decorators and scribes, then all of these manuscript artists can be said to belong to the same "workshop," in the sense of a group of artists in a close and regular working relationship.

This essay will treat a very few miniatures in detail, isolated from the books in which they appear, in order to validate generalized statements about their sources. The reader should, however, realize that the miniatures traceable to the 1520s Hours Workshop

number around five hundred, spread through some twenty-five manuscripts,[6] and that to study miniatures out of the context of the codex is only to treat one of their many vital aspects. In the present case study we will find the miniaturists' sources are no longer handy workshop model books, or even exclusively the graphics that seemed to have replaced these. Rather, we will discover that the sources were large finished monochrome drawings from a variety of anonymous Antwerp artists. The small, delicate, and colorful manuscript illuminations of the 1520s Hours Workshop thus reveal, under a thin surface Italianism, a deep debt to Flemish art.

Two questions immediately arise: were these manuscript illuminators (or the miniatures) from Antwerp, or, if French, how did the artists come by drawings such as these? As I have stated in earlier studies, the Rosenwald Master may well have been Flemish, judging from his thoroughly Netherlandish style and consistent choice of Flemish and German iconographical prototypes, but the Hours in which his miniatures appear is French and closely linked with the other productions of the 1520s Hours Workshop. These manuscripts are closely associated with French patronage, with the physical makeup of French manuscripts generally, and with the texts of French Hours. Each of these miniatures is an integral part of the manuscript. How miniaturists came to these Antwerp drawings cannot be answered at this stage; all save visual evidence must remain conjectural and conclusions will of necessity be speculative. First, a general review of the state of the art historical question is in order to demonstrate why these two questions cannot be definitively answered but why it is nevertheless worthwhile to investigate the evidence.

In the visual arts of the Netherlands, France, and Germany the years 1500–1530 were ones of frenetic and inconsistent stylistic change. A wide variety of demands were placed on artists: courts and bourgeois patrons vacillated between a preference for the media and the forms of the Northern fifteenth century and a wholesale importation of Italian art. At the hands of lesser artists the demands of facing a wholly new Italian visual vocabulary without its accompanying ethos and patronage predictably resulted in bizarre combinations. The miniaturists discussed here, as well as the largely anonymous artists of Antwerp, worked in this abundantly creative and eclectic period in the North.

Background: France

Unfortunately, no single study exists to which the reader can be conveniently referred for a coherent synopsis of the whole range of the figural arts in the early sixteenth century in France.[7] In the first three decades of the sixteenth century, just prior to the beginning of the work of Rosso and Primaticcio at Fontainebleau, it is often difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish clearly between "French" and "Flemish" in the rare examples of panel painting in Northern France and Burgundy.[8] For centuries, it had been common for Netherlandish artists to work in France. The court painter to Francis I from 1516 on, the portraitist Jean Clouet,[9] was probably Flemish; Godefroy le Batave, active at the French court as a miniaturist from 1516 until about 1524–1526, was certainly trained in Antwerp and of Netherlandish origin. Although Godefroy's distinctive grisaille miniatures are not related to the work of the 1520s Hours Workshop, in at least one case he did use the same drawing[10] and might have been the channel through which these drawings (and perhaps compatriots) were introduced to French workshops closely linked to the royal domains. Rather than seeing such Netherlandish artistic presence as an exception, we should understand it as a continuum. Despite court-sponsored importations of Italian Renaissance art in early sixteenth-century France,[11] Netherlandish art and artists continued to provide the foundation of painterly style in the less exalted but no less favored realms of miniatures, genre, portraits, and landscapes. There is evidence that paintings from Antwerp were collected at the French court in the 1520s,[12] where they provided a more intimate and accessible visual satisfaction than the complexities of Leonardo or the rhetoric of Raphael.

There is every reason to wonder about the tacitly assumed media primacy of monumental painting in the early sixteenth century in central France. There are astonishingly few surviving panels directly traceable to artists from the Loire Valley and the Ile-de-France. Parisian bourgeois inventories give scant evidence of the existence of panels (or canvases) in private hands. For every *Notre Dame* or *Pietà* listed, there are four or five Books of Hours, both printed and painted.[13] It is noteworthy that the Hours listed as *hystorié* were valued more highly than the inventoried paintings.

In fact, the two-dimensional figural arts had a broader media base. In the late medieval period, manuscripts and stained glass were highly prized, a value system that continued into the early Renaissance. Stained glass painting, in general better documented but virtually unstudied in recent years, filled the large window openings of the late Gothic churches still

under construction in the early years of the sixteenth century.[14] Did this luminescent splendor literally outshine the altarpieces? Some of the same Antwerp Mannerist drawings were used as models in important French stained glass windows in both Paris and Rouen, posing a further complication and added proof that such model drawings were indeed current in French workshops that have no known mutual connection.[15] We are still far from knowing how these models circulated, but the present study will show that they clearly did.

The carefully preserved, precious objects of a personal, familial nature, such as the Books of Hours, have survived in significant numbers and it is to such manuscripts that this study will turn. The innovative work of Jean Fouquet in the mid-fifteenth century developed the paradigm of the whole Loire Valley style. In the early sixteenth century the powerful works of manuscript illumination recently identified with Jean Poyet's name built solidly on Fouquet's artistic legacy.[16] Poyet's miniatures demonstrate what has been called—for lack of a better term—French classicism, that is, a clear, calm ordering of space, with convincingly articulated figures of a simplified sculptural character. Sophisticated effects of atmospheric and linear perspective (both "horned" and one-point) are deployed with conscious skill, in direct contrast to the Antwerp Mannerist figures (figs. 1, 8, 13, 17, 20,). Contemporary with Poyet and favored by the same royal patrons is the much better known Jean Bourdichon and his anonymous followers, whose lack of interest in three-dimensionality and spatial rhythms made their art easier to imitate both in woodcuts and in miniatures.[17] Sharing Bourdichon's and Poyet's artistic legacy, the Master of Claude de France is pertinent (fig. 7) because of his working links with the 1520s Hours Workshop, and his clear stylistic independence from them.[18]

Background: Flanders

Antwerp, ideally sited for export commerce, was consolidating its lead as the artistic center of the southern Netherlands in the opening years of the sixteenth century. The guild rolls included the most notable painters, such as Quentin Metsys who, while he sustained the time-honored Flemish traditions of meticulous draughtsmanship and painterly craft, paid close attention to Italian art and especially to that of Leonardo.[19] Jean Gossaert, more specifically an Antwerp artist in the service of Phillip of Burgundy, was the first, and for a time the only, Flemish artist to attempt to come to terms with his direct experience of Italy and antiquity.[20] Neither master, however, was directly responsible for the mainly anonymous and pervasive Antwerp Mannerism that grew and thrived during the years of their major works. The genesis of the style itself is not wholly clear; even the term, coined long ago by Max Friedlaender,[21] is a misnomer, but one that continues in current use. Jan de Beer's name is most often affixed to these works, yet even his oeuvre is poorly understood.[22] This essentially late Gothic style is characterized by calligraphically complicated compositions peopled with elongated, theatrically dressed[23] figures animated by improbable poses and repetitive gestures (figs. 1, 8, 13, 17, 20). As a style, Antwerp Mannerism seems to take the graceful linearity of Roger van der Weyden's figures[24] and leave behind the content. The decorative and sometimes extravagant charm of these Antwerp works was the key to their popularity.

The function of the Antwerp drawings studied here[25] and their relation to panel paintings and other media is a complex one. The large finished drawings, such as the *Trial of Moses* (fig. 13) and *Bathsheba* (fig. 1) were probably not studies for paintings, but either finished works of art or careful copies after paintings. No similar woodcuts or engravings are known. The actual sheet of paper the miniaturists (and stained glass workers) in France referred to in their workshops was not necessarily the one cited here. Even today, a few of these drawings survive in several versions. Many are close to, or identical with, panel paintings, which are also known in multiple versions; separate figures or discrete figural groups migrate from one drawing to another. The essence of the Antwerp style seems to have been an ability to "cut out" a pose and reposition it in another composition, recombining it with decorative effect. Thus, background groups are endlessly repeated, the same repoussoire figures fill in a variety of empty corners, and stock poses answer many demands. It is evident to anyone dealing with large numbers of related manuscript miniatures that illuminators had long worked this same way, and the 1520s Hours Workshop group is no exception, as will be seen.

Antwerp Mannerists were not the only active group of artists in the southern Netherlands. It is an odd fact that the prodigious illuminators of Flanders had no effect on the miniaturists of the 1520s Hours Workshop. The manuscripts from the Ghent-Bruges workshops,[26] notably that of Simon Bening, were the treasures of the Hapsburg courts in Spain, Portugal, and Germany—but not of the French. Manuscript illumination in the style of the Antwerp Mannerists does not seem to have been practiced in Antwerp.

Even though two manuscripts recently sold at auction suggest that the 1520s did in fact see some activity in manuscript production, neither codex is relevant to the 1520s Hours Workshop miniatures, although it is well worth noting that one uses the same Vienna *Bathsheba* drawing.[27]

The orientation of Brussels painters around Barent Van Orley, the "Raphael of the North," was broadly influential on two of the masters of the 1520s Hours Workshop, the Doheny Master and the Master of the Getty Epistles, who both worked toward normalizing figural proportions and generalizing costume, often choosing Italian rather than Flemish or German prototypes.[28]

Other Influences

More thoroughly European in influence, easily transported, and certainly less expensive than altarpieces or manuscripts were graphics, especially those of Albrecht Dürer, the exceptional German artist who went farthest toward synthesizing the art and ideals of the Italian Renaissance for a Northern audience. It would not be an exaggeration to say that in Antwerp, at least after Dürer's visit of 1521, his graphics were part of every Antwerp atelier's working models.[29] The situation in the 1520s Hours Workshop must have been similar, judging from the results.[30] Although the 1520s Hours Workshop miniaturists did not exclude the engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi[31] from their repertoires, Dürer's were the most popular, another telling trait in their dependence on the art of Antwerp. Dürer's compositions (figs. 4, 12) are so thoroughly embedded in Antwerp works that it is often all but impossible to separate one from the other. In the context of the present article, in order to concentrate on the evidence of the drawings, I will not attempt a complete analysis of Dürer's influence, but the reader must realize how vitally important it was. Although his woodcuts (and engravings) were copied in stained glass in France,[32] there is no significant trace of his influence in French manuscripts outside those of Godefroy le Batave and the 1520s Hours Workshop.

The Miniatures and Their Models

To establish the sequence of events and stylistic orientation within the 1520s Hours Workshop, it is significant that these Antwerp drawings were most enthusiastically adopted by the two earliest masters whose work can be dated to ca. 1524, the Rosenwald Master and the Master of Jean de Mauléon, and that few Antwerp models were adapted by the slightly later masters. The miniatures in the Rosenwald Hours (figs. 2, 9, 10, 19, 24) are unusually elaborate and large in scale, suggesting a close comparison to panel painting. The graceful figures, dressed in the extravagant mode of the Antwerp Mannerists, are in sharp contrast to the more serene figure types and costumes of the later Getty Epistles Master (figs. 6, 16), whose work dates ca. 1528–1530. However, a close investigation of the range of models in the Rosenwald Hours reveals that many of these same Antwerp drawings are used by these later masters, each in a different way and in a distinctive, individual style. Both the Rosenwald and Walters manuscripts, in addition, have numerous miniatures that relate directly to well-known Flemish paintings of the same period—ones doubtless represented in the workshop by model drawings now lost.[33] To discuss the drawings and miniatures in detail I will treat them by subject.

Bathsheba

Within the 1520s Hours Workshop, no one Antwerp composition seems to have been mined so thoroughly and persistently for motifs than *Bathsheba Receiving a Message from King David* (fig. 1). This carefully finished drawing is in the Albertina.[34] No corresponding panel is known. Three miniaturists of the 1520s Hours Workshop showed an unmistakably detailed familiarity with this specific composition. They reversed, revised, simplified, or glamorized it, each in a different way, yet they made it obvious that this drawing (or one identical to it) played an important role in the genesis of each of their miniatures. The four manuscripts from the 1520s Hours Workshop that contain Bathsheba miniatures are: the Rosenwald Hours (fig. 2); Walters 449 (fig. 3); an Hours in the Rosenberg Collection (Ms. 9, fig. 5); and the Hours of Anne of Austria (fig. 6) in the more Italianate style of the Master of the Getty Epistles.[35]

Bathsheba Bathing was frequently included in Books of Hours in France and Flanders as an alternative to the penitent King David at the heading of the Seven Penitential Psalms.[36] In the Bathsheba compositions, David is, though present, distinctly nonpenitent. Here, he is a barely discernible speck, peering out a window high up in his Flemish step-gabled palace, seeming to point at Bathsheba with his sceptre (figs. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6). In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century French and Flemish Hours, printed and painted, Bathsheba shed more and more clothing, gradually emerging from her hip bath to stand completely nude, as she does in the 1520s Hours.

The Bathsheba miniature with the greatest feel-

ing for space and most generous proportions is that in the Rosenwald Hours. A comparison with the Vienna drawing (figs. 1, 2) shows that the Rosenwald Master has switched the main figure groups and swivelled Bathsheba's torso to the right, while retaining the same direction of her gestures. A young man, replacing the matronly servant of the Vienna drawing, approaches Bathsheba from the left.[37] The standing attendants have changed places with the seated musicians but still face the same direction as they do in the drawing. The "gingerbread" palace of the Vienna drawing has been radically simplified and made more French; the garden entrance is provided with a monumental Renaissance portal; the leafy arbor within the garden itself is made more prominent, and extraneous figures are omitted. However different Bathsheba's crescent-shaped bath may be from the hexagonal pool in the drawing, the slippers and the round table with its accessories are repeated with few changes.

In the Walters Hours of Jean de Mauléon (fig. 3), there is a considerable dependence on the drawing for the entire architectural background. Elements rejected by the Rosenwald Master are used here with creative relish. The odd eyebrow gable stretching across the center of the palace, the fantastic structure surmounting that, and the stepped, pinnacled gable are faithfully repeated from the drawing. In the Walters miniature the two women on the right are attentively copied, even to the folds of the robe held out for Bathsheba. The sinuous pose of the woman facing away from us is a stock figure in Antwerp drawings—in the Vienna drawing she appears in three variants. Like the Rosenwald miniature, but not the Vienna drawing, the "bath" is semicircular and the leafy garden arbor has been extended to turn a corner towards us. The messengers are identically placed and posed, but differently dressed. The delightfully eclectic form of the shell frame surrounding the Walters miniature evokes a Venus motif,[38] but this Bathsheba is no purely classical figure. She is taken directly from Dürer's consciously Italianate 1504 engraving of Adam and Eve (fig. 4).[39] Bathsheba receives her temptation from a human messenger who by his profile recalls Dürer's Adam.

Intermediate in date between the Hours of Anne of Austria and the Rosenwald and Walters Hours is the Rosenberg Hours (fig. 5).[40] This Bathsheba, seated on a three-sided fountain decorated with reliefs, is less elegantly posed than she is in the Hours of Anne of Austria (fig. 6), the miniature with which this has the most in common: note the relation of Bathsheba to the messenger and her gesture of receiving David's compromising note. If the backgrounds of the Vienna drawing, the Walters miniature, and the Hours of Anne of Austria are scrutinized (figs. 1, 3, 6) we find how subtle are the variations of placement of arcade, arbor, castle, and attendant figures. In many ways the Rosenberg is the most faithful to the details of the drawing, especially on the left side where the pilastered corner, the turret, and the Flemish gabled castle over an arcade retain the same relationships, however simplified. The seated repoussoir woman on the right, a familiar pose by now, can be found in the same location in the Walters miniature and the drawing (although standing); the woman seated on the left seems to have been used by the Master of the Getty Epistles, with whom this artist has in common a simplification and compression of composition.

The Rosenwald and Walters manuscripts are not only close in date, but also stylistically the most Netherlandish of the 1520s Hours Workshop manuscripts. Different from these is the Hours of Anne of Austria (fig. 6); yet here, too, we find the Master of the Getty Epistles using the Vienna drawing extensively, and we have noted how carefully he must also have used the Bathsheba miniature from the Rosenberg manuscript (fig. 5). The hexagonal basin in the drawing (fig. 1) reappears with a much more modest fountain shaft behind Bathsheba, who has been provided with a stone bench. The dog of the drawing keeps watch over his manuscript mistress whose attendants gossip instead of serenading or serving. The left side of the Vienna drawing was extensively used for figures and architecture—particularly obvious is the identical turret. However, the entrance into the garden has, as in the Rosenwald Master's miniature, been remodeled in the Renaissance mode. In the Anne of Austria miniature even the minute background details under the arch and in the arcade reveal these forms. The splendidly dressed courtly messenger is brought closer to the foreground in a way typical of the Master of the Getty Epistles where the figural compositions are more centrally focussed. Quite different from the drawing and from the Rosenwald and Walters manuscripts is the costume used in the Hours of Anne of Austria; although hardly simple, the style of the women's coifs and robes, and even the messenger's garment, reflect what contemporary French portraiture[41] tells us of court dress. Whereas the use of Antwerp model drawings in the Rosenwald and Walters manuscripts is fairly obvious, it is less so in the work of the Master of the Getty Epistles. It is the commonality of models and their varying interpretations that constitute vital elements binding this workshop together and defining its identity.

A miniature from the early 1520s, attributed to

the Master of Claude de France (B. L. 35315),[42] sums up the differences between the more purely French Loire school which this epitomizes, and the 1520s Hours Workshop. The Claude Master's *Bathsheba* (fig. 7) no longer follows the prevalent Northern pear-shaped womanly ideal; only her feet remain in the water as she stands gracefully nude, discoursing with her lady-in-waiting who, like the woman who receives David's message at the leafy garden arch, wears rich yet simple garments strikingly different from the multi-layered complications of Antwerp costuming. The modest demeanor of the Master of Claude de France's Bathsheba and her entourage contrasts with the clamor of the court surrounding the Vienna Bathsheba (fig. 1) and would seem to have nothing to do with that drawing. Nevertheless, it is entirely possible that the Claude Master's composition—the placement of the standing nude against the screen of the green arbor—owes something to the Master of Jean de Mauléon (fig. 3). These two miniaturists did work together on the *Epistles of St. Paul* now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[43] It is equally evident that the Claude Master's contact with the 1520s Hours Workshop was not central to his calmer artistic vision, which depends directly on the work of the French miniaturists Bourdichon and Poyet.

Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl

The Antwerp drawing that first set me on the trail of discovery is *Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl*, a large sheet in the collection of the University of Göttingen (fig. 8) that has escaped the attention of scholars of Flemish drawings.[44] Another version, now in Copenhagen, is virtually identical but more highly finished.[45] The Rosenwald miniature (fig. 9) derives directly in both composition and details from one of these two drawings (or identical copies). The vision of Augustus and the Ara Coeli was unusual in an Hours cycle but by no means unknown in France and Flanders where it was interpreted as a prefiguration of the birth of Christ. Following the example of the *Speculum* and the *Golden Legend*, Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl could substitute for the Nativity, Annunciation, or the Adoration of the Magi. The subject was particularly popular during the fifteenth century in Flanders where the staging of the event in a courtyard had become standard.[46] The Rosenwald miniature is oddly placed within the Hours of the Virgin at Lauds, where the Visitation ought to appear. Usually, Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl replaced the Nativity at the hour of Prime.[47]

The contrast between the monochrome Antwerp drawings that have become hard to read with time (fig. 8) and the brilliant fresh Rosenwald miniature (fig. 9) requires detailed scrutiny to find their close similarities. Let us see, point by point, how the drawing was utilized by the miniaturist. In the Rosenwald miniature, verticality has been replaced by rounder rhythms, yet the dependence on the Antwerp model is easy to discern. On the left edge of the miniature, two sharply characterized courtiers, carefully copied but given greater prominence, stare heavenward at the vision of the Virgin and Child on a crescent moon—brought toward the center of the sky—while another, whose pike replaces a banner, looks down at Augustus. In the miniature, this attendant has been given striped stockings and a jaunty French cap. The tall figure on the left edge, craning his neck at his companions and turning away from us, has been taken literally, both in pose and costume, from the drawing. The Rosenwald Master has omitted the large standing figures in the center of the drawing to focus the composition on Augustus and lead us to a middle distance closed off by a pair of distant figures.[48]

The most distinctive part of Augustus's kneeling pose that specifically ties it to these two drawings, and none of the several other drawings of this subject in the known corpus of Antwerp examples,[49] is his protruding lower leg and foot centered at the bottom edge of the composition. The Rosenwald emperor in his sumptuous multi-layered robes appears younger, yet his long-fingered, flaccid hands are identical to those in the drawing; the clothing, faithful in construction, is yet more diversely detailed. The Sibyl, too, is identically posed and as richly dressed as her Antwerp prototype, from the fluttering ribboned sleeves to the gilded round stones threaded in the long cord belt whose ends cross once before trailing on the ground.[50] Her right hand pointing to the vision and her left on the emperor's shoulder are identically drawn in the miniature and the Göttingen sheet. Her slightly bent figure is more solid in the Rosenwald version and similar to the messenger in the Vienna Bathsheba.[51] The stock compositional group of women gossiping on the right is sheltered, in the drawings, by a portico of typical flamboyant complexity. They stand in the open in the Rosenwald courtyard, surrounded by an only slightly exaggerated conglomeration of contemporary vernacular architecture that contrasts with the imaginative pinnacles in the Antwerp drawings. The exuberantly complicated gold frame surrounding the miniature is architecturally very different: with baluster columns fronting pilasters that fancifully support four volutes and a pinna-

cle of shell and dolphins, we are introduced to a much more Italianate decorative mode that, with its Northern structural idiom still intact, rules most of the framings of the Rosenwald and the Walters Hours (figs. 3, 9, 10, 11, 19, 21, 24).

By its vivid colors, the Rosenwald miniature gives weight and presence to its main figures, establishing an easily observed stylistic distinction from the convoluted elongations of the Antwerp drawings and even an obvious contrast with the only known painting of the subject on public view (Vienna, Gemäldegalerie, Akademie der Bildenden Künste), that is much faded, being in tempera on canvas.[52] The Rosenwald Master, more than any other artist in the workshop, used a kaleidoscopic variety of hues that I would like to evoke in words here to give a sense of the decorative play of these sharp bright colors. The Sibyl's blue velvet jacket, punctuated with her floating yellow scarf, covers a long pink underskirt shaded in pale blue. Augustus wears a gold and red tunic and outer ermine-lined robe from which his left leg emerges, clad in red hose, and protected by orange boots. The purse hung on his belt is bright blue. His tight sleeves are pale green and the flowing cuffs are pink. The left-hand standing attendant wearing a violet turban is elaborately layered in a green quilted vest, purple-blue sleeves, and red cape, over dull orange stockings. The sandstone buildings with blue roofs offer a placid Loire Valley contrast to the large flashy figures in the foreground.

The miniature of *Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl* best typifies the Rosenwald Master's individual style that is so clearly distinct from the other masters of the 1520s Hours Workshop. Since this master's work would tend to remain separate if studied in isolation, it is important to continue to investigate how models were shared by other masters in the workshop. The Bathsheba miniatures have provided one example based on the clear adaptation by several masters of a single drawing; the example that follows is more complex.

Presentation

The miniatures of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (figs. 10, 11, 15, 16) have the broadest range of compositions within the 1520s Hours Workshop. Close observation of a few of these will demonstrate their partial dependence on several Antwerp compositions—and Dürer. The Presentation customarily heads the Hours of the Virgin at None.[53] The miniatures, beginning once more with the Rosenwald Master (fig. 10) and the Master of Jean de Mauléon (fig. 11), offer subtle variations on a Flemish prototype that cannot be as clearly isolated as the Bathsheba and the Augustus. The Antwerp drawings (figs. 13, 14, 17) are part of a larger group of intricately varied compositions that blur the lines of dependence by sheer profusion, and prove, in the resulting confusion, the additive compositional techniques of the painters and miniaturists. These works suggest that the number of versions once current was considerable and that specific poses within set iconographic types, in this case the gesture of presentation, could be variously interpreted.

Of all the drawings cited here, the *Trial of Moses*, formerly called the *Judgment of Solomon*[54] (figs. 13, 14) was widely used by a broad range of Flemish painters, a stained glass artist in Paris in 1531,[55] Godefroy le Batave in 1519,[56] one of his anonymous followers in ca. 1526,[57] and the 1520s Hours Workshop. This British Museum drawing, traditionally attributed to Jan de Beer, is large in size and badly abraded, hence difficult to reproduce. A copy in Holkham Hall (fig. 14) omits the right-hand section used several times by French artists, but can help to read the London drawing and expand its left edge. Could the poor state of the British Museum drawing, or for that matter the Göttingen *Augustus*, be the result of workshop use? The Trial figure poses, groupings, and architecture, themselves synthesizing a variety of earlier sources, were eagerly adopted. For example, the elegant standing woman in profile, looking down (figs. 10, 13, 15, 17), so incessantly repeated in Netherlandish art, was popularized by a similar graceful figure in the wing of the Presentation in Rogier van der Weyden's *Columba Altar*.[58] The Antwerp draughtsman must also have known a late fifteenth-century Italian engraving inscribed with Bramante's name. The domical vaults pierced with oculi and the effect of pilasters receding towards a shell niche was a graphic showpiece of perspective that served a number of disparate Northern artists.[59] Last but by no means least, the Antwerp artist also borrowed the heavy beamed ceiling from the Dürer woodcut Presentation (fig. 12). This woodcut, issued singly in 1504–1505, discussed in detail by Büttner, became part of the famed *Life of the Virgin* series eagerly adopted by so many artists throughout Europe.[60]

The woodcut, rather than any known drawing, determines the placement and gesture of the Rosenwald standing Virgin and the key compositional pose of the kneeling woman offering caged doves (fig. 10). The relation of the figures to the sturdy square cloth-covered table presided over by the High Priest likewise depends directly on Dürer's woodcut; even

the secondary figure with the tall taper is retained. What is different in the Rosenwald miniature is the costume of the half-kneeling woman, as well as her pose, more of a curtsy than a kneeling posture. The kneeling woman in the Trial, best seen in its Holkham variant (fig. 14), is one possible source; another will be mentioned further on. In the Rosenwald miniature the double arches and the tasseled conical canopy directly recall the Trial. The Walters miniature (fig. 11) distantly echoes both the Trial and Dürer. The two men's heads on the left can be seen in the Holkham version of the Trial (fig. 14); the full-length standing figure seems a poorly understood repetition of the dramatic seated attendant; the grill in the background and the table in the Walters miniature echo the Rosenwald miniature; the Virgin and the kneeling woman are, in reverse, close to Dürer. However, this Walters miniature leads us to a work that was more probably its direct source and itself derives from the Trial. Although I have briefly discussed this point in an earlier article, it bears repeating in this context.[61]

The Trial composition underlies a Presentation known from a Franco-Flemish painting, recently acquired by the Museé des Beaux Arts in Nancy,[62] that was literally copied in two 1520s Hours Workshop Hours, Fitzwilliam Ms. 134 and Dutuit Ms. 37 (fig. 15);[63] only the tall figure on the left in the painting (itself directly taken from the Trial) is omitted, making it clear that the miniatures depend on each other rather than independently on the painting. Both miniatures belong to the Doheny Master group within the 1520s Hours Workshop.

In an analysis of the Presentation miniature in the Hours of Anne of Austria (fig. 16), Büttner elaborated on its dependence on Dürer.[64] Had he known the Rosenwald miniature (fig. 10), he would have seen how nuanced is this dependency. The contrast between the Rosenwald and the Master of the Getty Epistles miniatures in the Hours of Anne of Austria seems dramatic, as we have noted in discussing Bathsheba (figs. 2, 6), yet a closer look brings out the similarities initially disguised by the change of costume, drapery style, and compositional scale. These similarities are neither coincidental nor generic: the Virgin, the offering, and their placement in relation to the priest, as well as the architecture, mutually depend on Dürer through fundamentally different artistic visions working within the bounds of common workshop practice.

No composition literally replicating the Trial is to be found in the miniatures, but striking details were lifted directly from the drawing. The Rosenwald Master very literally repeated the seated dwarf and dog in the center foreground in his Adoration of the Shepherds. The Master of the Getty Epistles used the same contorted seated figure in his miniature of the same subject in the Hours in the British Library (Add. 35318) and the Morgan Library (M. 452).[65] The Rosenwald Master's Presentation (fig. 10) also reveals a striking similarity to an Antwerp Mannerist drawing in the Louvre representing Salome with the head of John the Baptist (fig. 17).[66] This drawing is itself an amalgam of motifs, but illustrates as well as related works another model the Rosenwald Master may have had at hand. The kneeling figure in the Rosenwald miniature and the curtsying Salome are related in costume, placement, and gesture, although what they are offering is hardly the same.[67] The same fluttering sleeves, layered skirts, and complicated coifs, typical of Antwerp Mannerist art, are consistently used by the Rosenwald miniaturist. The identical standing women on the left in the drawing and the miniature is a frequently repeated compositional group. The Salome drawing, too, seems to be the compositional model used by the Master of Jean de Mauléon in his miniature of Dives and Lazarus (fig. 18).[68] The heads of the rich man and his wife and their placement at table are very similar; Lazarus is substituted for Salome and an exotically dressed foreground servant is added.

Annunciation

The two examples that follow concentrate almost exclusively on the Rosenwald Hours, a manuscript that proves to be the most consistently dependent on traceable Flemish prototypes. The Rosenwald Annunciation (fig. 19) leads directly to a Jan de Beer painting and its several variants (fig. 20).[69] As in the case of the Presentation there is no identical known drawing. Although most other Annunciations in the 1520s Hours Workshop group strive for an Italianate air, including the Walters' (fig. 21), one exception, very recently discovered, repeats the distinctive interior of the Rosenwald Master (fig. 22); were the Virgin present, she would be on the other side of the priedieu but the golden rays indicate that the angel would be as high in the air as in the Antwerp prototype.[70]

An analysis from the ground up reveals the Flemish origins of these miniatures. Each is spatially organized by a distinctive tiled floor marked into rectangular areas by a network of high sills. This insistent motif seems to echo the kind of spatial definitions of the ceilings in Dürer's woodcut and the drawing of the Trial of Moses (figs. 12, 13). The Virgin is thus clearly placed in the foreground and compositionally anchored by the column directly behind her head.

The familiar tall double arches lead to the bedchamber. The Rosenwald artist has done more than just use the structure of this popular composition: he repeated the swoop of the loose bed curtain just behind the Virgin's head, the Gothic tracery of the otherwise simplified window on the far left, the crescent-shaped step over which the angel flies, and the simple benchlike prie-dieu. The figure of the angel, from the frizzy blond hair to the fluttering, gilded dalmatic, is unmistakably Antwerp Mannerist. However, the Rosenwald Virgin, gently turning toward the intruding angel, replies to the salutation with a natural, expressive gaze and gesture completely rethought by the artist and in notable contrast to the generalized, delicate glassiness of the prototype.

The heavy Renaissance frame, on which the traditional vase of lilies rests (fig. 19), is among the most classical in the Rosenwald manuscript and, as in the case of the Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl miniature (fig. 9), is in sharp contrast to the architecture of the miniature it encloses. Facing the miniature and its frame is an elaborately drawn blue and gold *à l'antique* border of candelabra and acanthus. Because of this contrast of styles between the assertive Italian Renaissance borders and the miniatures, it seems safe to suppose that in this manuscript, as in others of the workshop, the painter of the miniatures was not the painter of the decoration. There seems to have been no effort within the Rosenwald manuscript to harmonize frame and what was framed, a natural result of the one having been painted first, by a separate artist, and then passed to the main illuminator whose composition was already fully worked out. It is significant to note that the frame of the Annunciation is repeated in the frontispiece of a French court-commissioned manuscript with a miniature I would attribute, with reservations, to the Getty Epistles Master.[71]

The Nativity

The Rosenwald Nativity (fig. 24) is set apart from others in the 1520s Hours Workshop manuscript group by the unusually tall figures and ample space. Again, a Netherlandish drawing in the British Museum (fig. 23) reflects the model that must have inspired the Rosenwald Master. This drawing, a copy of a sixteenth-century work, establishes the spacious setting of the miniature, taking us back again to the Bramante engraving:[72] the same arches (here oddly shaped) carry high vaults in harmony with familiar Gothic proportions, yet they communicate a sense of Renaissance architecture in Northern terms. The principal figures are directly comparable in the drawing and the miniature; the tall, small-headed angels are grouped about the Virgin in much the same arrangement, and the entering figure of Joseph, his feeble candle dimmed by the brilliance of the Child, are very close.

The framing around the Rosenwald Nativity, with its playful curves and heavy cornucopias, volutes, and dolphin-decked columns, is typical of the more Gothic use of Renaissance motifs peculiar to this manuscript and the Walters Hours, as well as to the Antwerp school in general.[73]

Gethsemane

One final example, by no means the last possible one, is a composition that had become so fixed by repetition that to distinguish model and derivation becomes impossible. Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane appears in almost every Hours as part of the Passion. A telling detail, an arm hanging loosely down in a pose of profound slumber, finds an echo in the same subject in a Netherlandish painting now in the Church of St.-Gervais-St.-Protais, Paris (fig. 26). This work may well not have been in France in the sixteenth century nor be as early as the miniature, but, again, it represents a prototype.[74] In the Walters miniature (fig. 25), where the arm of the lower left-hand figure is drawn with a total misunderstanding of the model, the disciple on the right, turning from us in his sleep, is knit into the composition in precisely the same way as in the painting. Even details of the background, the castlelike gate and the pierced rock on the right, are similar. The comparison reveals the use of a common model, not a direct dependence of one work on the other. Yet it indicates again how much these miniatures have in common with Flemish panel painting.

The Gethsemane comparison also serves to underline how long these compositional models persisted in French manuscript painting. In the 1540s, the decorative systems were transformed into the highly wrought strapwork fantasies in the Fontainebleau style, but the miniatures themselves did not always undergo a similar metamorphosis. The Hours of Claude de Guise (Arsenal Ms. 654) contains a miniature of Gethsemane far closer to the St. Gervais painting than either of the earlier miniatures cited. The miniature in question belongs with the late work of the Getty Epistles Master showing that the artist never totally abandoned his Flemish sources.[75]

Conclusion

The present article has demonstrated in detail how indebted the 1520s Hours Workshop was to the art of Flanders, specifically to Antwerp Mannerism. In this, the workshop broke with the strongly developed French Loire Valley style that ran from Fouquet through Poyet to the Master of Claude de France and opened itself to Flemish currents that already ran strongly in stained glass painting and panel painting. The workshop moved away from the extreme example set by the Rosenwald Master to a group style that assimilated the prototypes he may have introduced into a pictorial vision that was at once more French and more Italianate. What has been shown here is that the use of Flemish models, however assimilated and altered, persisted. As stated at the beginning of this article, all save visual evidence must remain conjectural: we do not know exactly how the model drawings were acquired nor how they circulated—but it is clear that they did. I have suggested that Godefroy le Batave, active at the French court from 1516 until at least 1524, could have been one conduit and it is equally possible that he attracted other Antwerp artists to work as miniaturists—the Rosenwald Master, for example.

The Antwerp model drawings were used in a workshop whose masters' styles and compositional approaches were varied. No other French manuscript workshop followed their example. As stated in the introduction, the identification of the model drawings and an investigation of their use constitutes an important aspect of establishing the community of artistic style within the workshop. The implications of the popularity of Flemish works in French illumination in the 1520s reinforces what scholars of paintings have long known about the Flemish component in French art.[76]

Büttner categorized the French borrowings from Dürer as characteristic of the French reception of Dürer's graphics;[77] we would put it differently and tie it more closely to media and use. The miniaturists' use of Dürer is a continuation of traditional workshop practice employing model books now composed of woodcuts and engravings, grouped with a thematic continuity. Dürer's Life of the Virgin series, after all, roughly paralleled the sequence of illuminations in conventional Books of Hours. These graphics were an easily available and obvious choice to artists throughout Europe. French illuminators had looked to graphics before. The example of the miniaturist Robinet Testart's painting over Israhel van Meckenem's Passion engravings in the Hours of Charles of Angoulême in the late 1480s is a somewhat extreme but important instance.[78]

The Antwerp drawings we have cited are independent and separate, not from a series, and not from one artist; in the case of Bathsheba and Augustus they are not standard scenes in a cycle. How they arrived in France remains to be established. Could these drawings represent now-lost paintings or windows that the illuminators were consciously trying to recall in their miniatures? With this case study of a manuscript workshop in mind, then, scholars may look more closely at documents, especially concerning the movement of works of art in Flanders and France, and be more conscious of the strength of the Flemish tradition in the arts of book illumination and stained glass in France.

NOTES

1. No synthetic study of manuscript workshop models exists for the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For the earlier period generally, see R. W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books* (Haarlem, 1963) [new edition forthcoming].

2. Three recent exhibition catalogues, basic to the study of late French manuscripts, are used here for general references: J. Plummer, *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420–1530* (New York and London, 1982) (hereafter, Plummer, *Last Flowering*); T. Kren, ed., *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts: Treasures from the British Library* (New York, 1983) (hereafter, *Renaissance*); R. Wieck et al., *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York, 1988) (hereafter, Wieck, *Time*).

3. The Netherlandish style of the Rosenwald Hours was noted by W. von Seidlitz, "Die illustrierten Handschriften der Hamilton-Sammlung zu Berlin," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 8 (1885), 94–110; on 104, the Tiburtine Sibyl was compared to the painting in Vienna (see below, note 46), then attributed to Lucas van Leyden. This generally accurate stylistic observation was not pursued in subsequent entries as the Rosenwald manuscript passed through later sales trailing erroneous attributions to Italian masters or to the French publisher Geofroy Tory. The miniaturists of the 1520s Hours Workshop also painted royal secular manuscripts: A.-M. Lecoq, *François I imaginaire: Symbolique et politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française* (Paris, 1987), 248 and 477 (hereafter, Lecoq, *François I*), accurately characterized these as Antwerp Mannerist in style. V. Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1927); *Supplément* (Mâcon, 1943), 43 (hereafter, Leroquais, *Heures*), observed that the Book of Hours now in Paris, B. N. Smith-Lesouëf Ms. 42 (I include this in the Doheny Master group), was very influenced by Flemish art and linked the manuscript to two of the secular manuscripts subsequently discussed by Lecoq; see also below, note 71. The Sotheby's entry for Rosenberg Ms. 9, sale July 13, 1977, lot 77, essentially repeated Leroquais. A preliminary

treatment of the Antwerp drawings in relation to these miniatures is in M. Orth, "Progressive Tendencies in French Manuscript Illumination: 1515–1530. Godefroy le Batave and the 1520s Hours Workshop," Ph.D. diss., N.Y.U. Institute of Fine Arts, 1976, 363–374.

4. On Walters 449, see Wieck, *Time*, 207, no. 77; L. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* II (forthcoming); Plummer, *Last Flowering*, 102, no. 130. Hours for the Use of Toulouse. Vellum, 168 leaves, 169 x 98 mm, with 16 large, 5 small, and 12 calendar miniatures.

On the Rosenwald Hours, see Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, *The Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection: A Catalog of the Gifts . . . to the Library of Congress, 1943 to 1975* (Washington, D.C., 1977), where the number is changed from 10 to 14 (hereafter, *Rosenwald Collection*); the new catalogue, by S. Schutzner, has given it the number 52: *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Books in the Library of Congress: a Descriptive Catalogue. I: Bibles, Liturgy, and Books of Hours* (Washington, D.C., 1989). Hours for the Use of Rome. Vellum, 113 leaves, 226 x 141 mm, with 16 large and 26 small miniatures. I am indebted to Kathleen Mang for allowing me to consult the entry. The large size of this manuscript is unique in the 1520s Hours Workshop Books of Hours; I would compare it to a quarto printed book.

On dating: the Easter calendar of Walters 449 begins with 1524. The patron for whom it was made, Jean de Mauléon, became bishop of St. Bertrand-de-Comminges in 1523 and probably commissioned his Hours at that time. He proudly had the miniaturist paint the two saints John flanking St. Bertrand, on a folio preceding the Hours proper. The identification of the manuscript with Jean de Mauléon was only recently made by F. Avril who visited Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges and discovered that the monograms and devices in the nave vault and choir were identical to those found throughout Walters 449. I am indebted to F. Avril for this information and to L. Randall for sharing the details with me. The date of 1524 in the Rosenwald Hours appears on the frame of the miniature of Job, fol. 79v.

5. M. Orth, "French Renaissance Manuscripts: The 1520s Hours Workshop and the Master of the Getty Epistles," *Getty Journal*, 16 (1988), 33–60 (hereafter, Orth, "Getty Epistles").

6. There are (to date) fourteen known Books of Hours with from 20 to 50 miniatures each; three *Epistles of Paul*, a Pontifical, and seven secular works listed in Orth, "Getty Epistles," appendix A.

7. A. Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France 1500 to 1700*, 3rd ed., rev. (Harmondsworth, 1973), first published in 1953, is stronger in its documentation of architecture and sculpture.

8. For studies of the problems of French and Flemish artists in the paintings of this period, see M. Laclotte, "Quelques retables bourguignons du XVI^{e} siècle," *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art Presented to Anthony Blunt on His Sixtieth Birthday* (London, 1967), 83–85; relevant entries by Laclotte and J. Foucart in *Le Seizième siècle européen*, (Paris, Petit Palais, 1965), especially 269–275; 289–292 (exhibition catalogue); J. Foucart, "Nouvelles acquisitions de peintures des écoles du Nord," *Revue du Louvre* 5/6 (1979), 370; M. Laclotte, in M.-C. Leonelli, M.-P. Vial, H. Pichou, *La Peinture en Provence au XVIe siècle* (Marseilles, 1987), 14–15. For a summary of the state of the question for the French fifteenth century, see A. Châtelet, "Art français et art flamand: les échanges dans le domaine pictural," *La France de la fin du XVe siècle*, Colloque de Tours, 1983 (Paris, 1985), 225–235; esp. 231–235.

9. P. Mellen, *Jean Clouet* (London, 1971) (hereafter, Mellen, *Clouet*).

10. M. Orth, entry 24, *Renaissance*, 183; see below, note 56.

11. J. Cox-Rearick, *La Collection de François I*, Les dossiers du département des peintures, 5 (Paris, 1972), with bibliography. See remarks by L. Silver, "The State of Research in Northern European Art," *Art Bulletin*, 68 (1986), 518–535; especially 531–532.

12. J. Guiffrey, "Articles extraits des comptes du XVI^{e} siècle relatifs à des tableaux ou à des objets d'art acquis pour la collection royale, 1520–1529," *Nouvelles archives de l'art français*, 2nd. series, I (1879), 38–44: documents, 43–44, relating to the purchase, in 1528 and 1529, of Flemish paintings. Also, in a broader context, see J. Adhémar, "French Sixteenth Century Genre Paintings," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 8 (1945), 191–195. Work in progress on the art market in Flanders (by J. Wilson and D. Ewing) should soon expand our understanding of how works circulated.

13. E. Coyecque, *Recueil d'actes notariés relatifs à l'histoire de Paris et de ses environs au XVIe siècle*, I (1498–1545), (Paris, 1905), for example, nos. 243, 251, 252, 258, 259, 593, 594, 596, 598, 609, 610, 612, all from the 1520s.

14. See volumes 1, 2, and 3 of the French Corpus Vitrearum, série complémentaire, *Les Vitraux de Paris, de la Région Parisienne, de la Picardie, et du Nord-Pas-de-Calais* (Paris, 1978) (hereafter, Corpus Vitrearum, *Vitraux de Paris*); *Les Vitraux du Centre et des Pays de la Loire* (Paris, 1981); *Les Vitraux de Bourgogne, Franche-Comté, et Rhône-Alpes* (Paris, 1986).

15. See below, notes 55 and 66.

16. See Plummer, *Last Flowering*, 83–89; J. Backhouse, "French Manuscript Illumination 1450–1530," in *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts*, T. Kren, ed. (New York, 1983) 147–150, 163–168, 175–180 (hereafter, Backhouse, *Rennaisance*); and *idem*, "The Tilliot Hours: Comparisons and Relationships," *The British Library Journal*, 13 (1987), 211–231. The discussion of the masterful miniatures of Poyet is far from finished.

17. J. Backhouse, entry 21, *Renaissance*, 163–168; Plummer, *Last Flowering*, 83, no. 107.

18. C. Sterling, *The Master of Claude, Queen of France, a Newly Defined Miniaturist* (New York, 1975); Plummer, *Last Flowering*, 99–101, nos. 127–128. On the links with the 1520s Hours Workshop, see Orth, "Getty Epistles," 51–53.

19. L. Silver, *The Paintings of Quinten Massys* (Montclair, N. J., 1984).

20. J. R. Judson, "Jan Gossaert, the Antique, and the Origins of Mannerism in the Netherlands," *Netherlandish Mannerism* (Stockholm, 1985), 14–20.

21. M. Friedlaender, "Die Antwerpener Manieristen von 1520," *Jahrbuch der Königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 37 (1915), 65–91 (hereafter, Friedlaender, "Manieristen"); *idem*, *Early Netherlandish Painting: The Antwerp Mannerists: Adriaen Ysenbrant*, H. Pauwels, ed., H. Norden, trans., XI (New York and Washington, 1974), 14–21 (hereafter, Friedlaender, *Early Netherlandish Painting*).

22. D. Ewing, "The Paintings and Drawings of Jan de Beer," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1978, is the only systematic monograph (hereafter, Ewing, "De Beer"). He established De Beer's death date as 1528, or before. Alas, the University Microfilm edition renders the plates of Ewing's dissertation useless.

23. K. Belkin, *Rubens: The Costume Book*, Corpus Rubenianum, 24 (Brussels, 1980), 176–178, cogently remarks on artists' use of pattern and model books as the sources for the distinctive Antwerp Mannerist costumes.

24. Especially those singled out by E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 278, 281, 288, as Italianate: the Salome in the St. John the Baptist Altar, the standing onlooker in the Tiburtine Sibyl wing of the Bladelin Altar, and the female attendant in the right wing of the

Columba Altar (cf. below, note 58).

25. E. Starcky, "A Propos d'un dessin maniériste anversois," *Revue du Louvre*, 2 (1981), 96–102, perceptively discussed Antwerp drawings and their interchangeable motifs. N. Beets, "Dirick Jacobsz. Vellert, Schilder van Antwerpen. III: Vroege teekeningen," *Onze Kunst*, 13 (1908), 165–180 (hereafter, Beets, "Vellert"), brought together under Vellert's name a number of the drawings discussed in this article although the attributions have long been, in most cases, dismissed, even by their author.

26. T. Kren, *Rennaisance*, 3–85.

27. Sotheby's, June 23, 1987, lot 125, attributed to the Master of Charles V. The much simplified and Germanic *Bathsheba* is illustrated in H. Tenschert, Antiquariat, *Illumination und Illustration von 13 bis l6 Jahrhundert*, Catalogue 20 (Rotthalmünster, W. Germany, 1987), 119. The *Arenberg Missal*, sold Sotheby's December 11, 1984, lot 55, may also have miniatures that originated in Antwerp. The general style, however, is not Antwerp Mannerist in either case.

28. See M. Orth, entry 25, *Renaissance*, 190, and note 31, below. The "Raphaelesque" vision of Van Orley was sparked by the presence in Brussels of Raphael's cartoons for the tapestries of the Acts of the Apostles.

On the artistic orientation of the Van Orley group, see N. Dacos, "Autour de Bernard van Orley, Peeter de Kempeneer et son compagnon," *Revue de l'Art*, 75 (1987), 17–30 (hereafter, Dacos, "Van Orley").

29. J. Held, *Dürer's Wirkung auf die niederländische Kunst seiner Zeit* (Hague, 1931).

30. F. O. Büttner, "Fortwirken in Abwandlung. Zur Verwendung von Vorlagen bei einigen Darstellungen von zwei Szenen aus der Kindheit Christi: Anbetung der Könige und Darbringung im Tempel," *Relations artistiques entre les Pays-Bas et l'Italie à la Renaissance: Etudes dédiées à Suzanne Sulzberger* (Brussels and Rome, 1980), 15–41 (hereafter, Büttner, "Fortwirken"), studies an era when Dürer's graphics seemed to have been in every workshop (see below, notes 60 and 64). He studied the two 1520s Hours Workshop manuscripts in Paris, the Hours of Anne of Austria (B. N. Ms. N. A. lat. 3090) and the Smith-Lesouëf Hours (B. N. Ms. Smith-Lesouëf 42), and clearly saw evidence of significant use of Dürer in both manuscripts.

31. The use of Marcantonio went along with an orientation toward Van Orley. See M. Orth, entry 25, *Renaissance*, 190, figs. 25c and 25d, and also note 28, above.

32. E. Billeter-Schulze, "Zum Einfluss der Graphik von Dürer und Holbein in der französischer Kunst der 16 Jahrhundert," *Basler Zeitschrift*, 62 (1964), 39–73. Manuscripts are not discussed.

33. Notably in the Rosenwald: the Raising of Lazarus, the Carrying of the Cross, the Death of the Virgin, the Mass of St. Gregory, and numerous saints; in the Walters: Christ washing the feet of His Disciples, the Last Supper, the Entry into Jerusalem. The Getty Epistles Master used a Netherlandish drawing of Saint Paul, see Orth, "Getty Epistles," 49.

34. Vienna, Albertina, inv. 2996. Pen and grayish-brown ink with white highlights, on green prepared paper, 292 x 227 mm. O. Benesch, *Die Zeichnungen der Niederländischen Schulen des XV und XVI Jahrhunderts*, Beschreibenden Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der Graphischen Sammlung Albertina, 2 (Vienna, 1928), 10, no. 63, pl. 19. Old attributions include German School, Henri met de Bles, follower of Engelbrechtsz., Master of the Leipzig Cabinet; Benesch ascribed it to the Dutch school and it is thus filed at the Rijksbureau in the Hague. Mentioned by Beets, "Vellert," 170. Illustrated and described in detail in E. Kunoth-Liefels, *Uber die Darstellung der Bathsheba im Bade*, Studien zur Geschichte des Bildthemas (Essen, 1962), 50 (hereafter, Kunoth-Liefels, *Bathsheba*).

1962), 50 (hereafter, Kunoth-Liefels, *Bathsheba*).

35. For the Rosenberg Hours, see Plummer, *Last Flowering*, 103, no. 131. Use of Rome, Vellum, 156 leaves, 144 x 85 mm, with 17 large, 25 small, and 12 calendar miniatures; also illus. in Sotheby's, June 24, 1969, lot 72, and July 13, 1977, lot 77. The Hours of Anne of Austria (Paris, B. N. Ms. N. A. lat. 3090) is discussed in Orth, "Getty Epistles" and Büttner, "Fortwirken." Use of Rome. Vellum, 125 leaves, 146 x 88 mm, with 15 large, 27 small, and 12 calendar miniatures.

36. L. M. J. Delaissé, "The Importance of Books of Hours for the History of the Medieval Book," *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy Miner*, U. McCracken, L. and R. Randall, eds. (Baltimore, 1974), 203–225: 210, n. 12, notes the earliest appearance of this subject in a thirteenth-century *Bible Moralisé* (Oxford, Bodl. 270b). Bathsheba became popular in illuminated Psalters (she is shown nude in the Psalter of St. Louis). The possible connection of this subject with a ritual pre-nuptial bath is discussed by J. Held in "An Antwerp Art Patron and His Collection," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 50 (1957), 53–84; 78–79. Kunoth-Liefels, *Bathsheba*, 50, notes that Bathsheba is transformed into another type of Eve—and we will see the Walters artist actually using Dürer's Eve as a figure type. See also Wieck, *Time*, 97–100.

37. The Vienna servant is a figure type and pose more often used for the Tiburtine Sibyl. See below, note 51.

38. Thematically irrelevant when this same frame is repeated in an Annunciation to the Shepherds in Rosenberg Ms. 9 (fol. 54v), illus. Plummer, *Last Flowering*, fig. 131.

39. E. Panofsky, "Albrecht Dürer and Classical Antiquity," *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (London, 1970), 275–329. Cf. above, note 36.

40. The Rosenberg Hours were tentatively attributed to the Master of Jean de Mauléon (Orth, "Getty Epistles" 46) because of a distinct tightness of drawing, sharp and often caricatural faces in many of the miniatures, and a dependence on Netherlandish prototypes less evident in the work of the Doheny Master. However, the comparison of the Bathshebas here causes me to hesitate and demonstrates the perils of attribution within examples that have a strong group style.

41. Mellen, *Clouet*.

42. See above, note 18.

43. Orth, "Getty Epistles," 51–53.

44. Kunstsammlungen der Universität Göttingen. Pen and black ink with white highlights on green prepared paper, 393 x 233 mm. I discovered a photograph of this drawing in the files of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in the Hague in 1968, but have never seen the actual sheet. See exhibition catalogue by H. Wille, *Handzeichnungen Alter Meister aus dem Besitz der Kunstsammlung der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen*, Duisburg, Wilhelm Lehmbruck Museum, 22 May–27 June, 1965, 32, no. 92.

45. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, ref. Tu 67/3. Pen and black ink with white highlights on grey prepared paper, 405 x 236 mm, known to me only in photographs.

46. M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry, the Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 2 vols. (London, 1967) I, 57, traced its regular appearance in French manuscripts to ca. 1400; cf. 233, 374, 376, note 26, for bibliography. For remarks and bibliography especially pertinent to this article, see R. Trnek, "Das 'Sibyllentüchlein,' in der Wiener Akademiegalerie," *Alte und Moderne Kunst*, 188 (1983), 1–8; 7 (hereafter, Trnek, "Sibyllentüchlein"). I am grateful to Dr. Trnek for sharing her work with me.

47. Wieck, *Time*, examples nos. 58, 64.

48. Familiar in Flemish art since van Eyck's *Rolin Madonna* (Louvre), this pair of figures in the middle distance appeared frequently,

for example: the Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl, *Tiburtine Sibyl and Augustus* (Frankfurt, Staedelsches Kunstinstitut), illus. in Friedlaender, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, III (1968), pl. 84, fig. 74, and the Vienna Akademie painting discussed by Trnek, "Sibyllentüchlein."

49. For two of the most important of these Antwerp drawings, see Trnek, "Sibyllentüchlein," figs. 5 (British Museum) and 7 (Uffizi).

50. The belt crosses twice in the Göttingen drawing, but, like the Rosenwald miniature, only once in the Copenhagen example.

51. Beets, "Vellert," 174, remarked on its relation to the Vienna Bathsheba and to the center figure in a drawing of three women: Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins (inv. 22.586): F. Lugt, *Musée du Louvre: Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du nord. Maîtres des anciens pays-bas nés avant 1550* (Paris, 1968), 29, no. 83 (hereafter, Lugt, *Ecoles du nord*).

52. Trnek, "Sibyllentüchlein." Cf. note 3, above, citing an instance when the Rosenwald miniature was compared to this painting in 1885.

53. On the iconography see Wieck, *Time*, 60; Büttner, "Fortwirken," 25–27.

54. E. McGrath brought the correct title to my attention. It was called a "Judgement of Solomon" by Beets, "Vellert," 167. Ewing, "De Beer," 324, gives it its proper title and removes it from De Beer's certain works. The drawing is in pen, black ink, and white heightening on two horizontally joined pieces of gray prepared paper, 487 x 369 mm. Attributed to De Beer in A. E. Popham, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: V, Dutch and Flemish Drawings of the XV and XVI Centuries* (London, 1932), 4, no. 2 (hereafter, Popham, *British Museum*). Popham called the subject unknown, pointed to Dürer for the articulation of the ceiling, and mentioned the Holkham Hall copy (*idem*, *Old Master Drawings at Holkham Hall*, C. Lloyd, ed. [Chicago, 1986], 127, no 295: pen and brown ink, 390 x 267 mm.). Other attributions include Lucas van Leyden. Friedlaender, "Manieristen," 75, first attributed it to Group B (De Beer) and also called it a "Judgement of Solomon." Cf. *idem*, *Early Netherlandish Painting* XI (1974), 18, pl. 205c. Beets, "Vellert," 167, confused later scholarship by consistently describing the drawing as being on green paper.

55. St.-Gervais-St.-Protais, Paris, Chapel of St. John the Baptist, dated 1531. Beets, "Le peintre-verrier anversois Dirick Vellert et une verrière de l'Eglise St.-Gervais à Paris," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, 21 (1907), 393–396, illus. 394, first pointed this out. The window is wider than the drawing and considerably modified (yet the relationship to the *Trial* is clearly recognizable); the restorer of 1868 added, beneath the window, "Peint par Robert Pinaigrier, 1531." The date is on the stained glass, but there was no such Pinaigrier and the window cannot be connected with a definite master: G.-M. Leproux, "Une famille de peintres-verriers parisiens. Les Pinaigrier," *Fondation Eugène Piot. Monuments et Mémoires*, 67 (1985), 77–109; 77. Illus. in Corpus Vitrearum, *Vitraux de Paris*, pl. IX; the Pinaigrier attribution is repeated, 49.

56. Miniature in the first volume of *Commentaires de la Guerre Gallique*, London, British Library, Ms. Harl. 6205, fol. 43. See M. Orth, entry 24, *Renaissance*, 183, pl. xxx.

57. M. Orth, "The Prison of Love: A Medieval Romance in the French Renaissance and Its Illustration. B. N. MS. fr. 2150," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 46 (1983), 211–221, 220 and fig. 28d.

58. Rogier's Columba Altar (Munich), illus. Friedlaender, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, II (1967), pl. 72.

59. A. M. Hind, *Catalogue of the Early Italian Engravings preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum*, S. Colvin, ed., 2 vols. (London, 1910), 411–412. It has often been noted that the Franco-Flemish Master of St. Gilles used the engraving for his Presentation (Collection Van Beuningen), illus. in R. von Kauffmann Sale, Berlin, 1917, no. 121. Other artists, Holbein and Altdorfer among them, found it equally useful. An Antwerp painting of an Adoration of the Magi is one of the more faithful adaptations of the architecture: Christie's, London, July 10, 1987, lot 55.

60. Büttner, "Fortwirken," 25. Also E. Panofsky, *Dürer* (Princeton, 1955), 101, who noted (as did Büttner, 35, n. 32) that (reversed) outlines of the architecture of this woodcut were used as an example of perspective in the second edition of Viator [J. Pélerin], *De Artificiali Perspectiva* (Toul, 1509), fol. 21v. This practical treatise on perspective was widely used by French artists.

61. M. Orth, "Geofroy Tory et l'enluminure. Deux livres d'heures de la Collection Doheny," *Revue de l'Art*, 50 (1981), 40–47 (hereafter, Orth, "Doheny"); *idem*, entry 25, *Renaissance*, 190, n. 8, and fig. 25b.

62. S. Laveissire, "Un volet de retable du XVI^{e} retrouvé," *Revue du Louvre*, 5/6 (1979), 362–364; Orth, "Doheny," 44–45; cf. Dacos, "Van Orley," fig. 1.

63. Paris, Petit Palais, Dutuit Collection, Ms. 37. Use of Rome, Vellum, 154 leaves, 155 x 88 mm. 17 large, 23 small, and 12 calendar miniatures. E. Dutuit, *La collection Dutuit: livres et manuscrits* (Paris, 1899), 18.

64. Büttner, "Fortwirken," 25–26, 31–32, 36.

65. Illus. *Rosenwald Collection*, 6; *Renaissance*, pl. xxxi; Plummer, *Last Flowering*, fig. 132.

66. Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, inv. 18.874. Brush and black ink with white highlights on green prepared paper, 280 x 208 mm. See Lugt, *Ecoles du Nord*, 28, no. 78. Notes on the verso mention the Vienna Bathsheba drawing and the British Museum Trial. In raking light the lower half can be seen to be marked in large (3.5 x 4 cm) rectangles. This drawing seems to me to have been the model for a French stained glass window originally in the choir of St. Vincent in Rouen, now replaced in the Church of Jeanne d'Arc. The window, by the Beauvais glasspainter Engrand Le Prince, is dated 1526 and was much restored in the nineteenth century, when Salome's legs were made to dance. See F. Perrot, "Les Vitraux de l'ancienne église Saint Vincent remontés place du Vieux-Marché," *Bulletin des amis des monuments rouennais* (July 1978–May 1979), 49–98. Compare also the drawing of Salome now in Weimar, illustrated in Friedlaender, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, XI (1974), pl. 204B, attributed to Jan de Beer.

67. From Beets, "Vellert," 170, onwards the Louvre drawing has been compared with the Berlin (Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. 4350) drawing of the *Beheading of John the Baptist* and associated with the British Museum *Trial*. Cf. Trnek, "Sibyllentüchlein," fig. 6; Ewing, "De Beer," 327, no. 38.

68. See the reproduction of an identical miniature from a different manuscript, presumably one of the 1520s group, but otherwise unknown, in Sotheby's, Dec. 15, 1941, lot 125.

69. Ewing, "De Beer," 138–140; 269–275, cat. no. 16, listing six versions; the ex-Emden collection painting, presumed to be the original, was last sold at Lempertz, Cologne, April 30, 1954, lot 846. Cf. Friedlaender, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, XI (1974), pl. 19.

70. Sotheby's, June 21, 1988, lot 115 (sold to H. P. Kraus). This enigmatic manuscript with its de-populated miniatures can be placed in the Doheny Master group. I am indebted to T. Kren and C. de Hamel for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

71. On borders and miniatures, see Orth, "Getty Epistles," 42–43.

The frame in question was used in *Les gestes de Blanche de Castille*, Paris, B. N., Ms. fr. 5715, fol. A, verso, illustrated most recently in Lecoq, *François I*, fig. 234. On 478 and a letter of February 20, 1989, Lecoq dates the content of Etienne Le Blanc's text to 1515–1516 and its writing to 1521–1522. Thus, if the manuscript was copied and decorated in late 1522 and 1523, the decoration would just predate the Rosenwald Hours. I had previously dated the *Gestes* to 1525–1526. Cf. above, note 3.

72. Nativity: Popham, *British Museum*, 68, no. 18: pen and brown ink, 287 x 262 mm. On the Bramante engraving, see above, note 59.

73. See remarks on the framings in Orth, "Getty Epistles," 53.

74. Paris, St.-Gervais-St.-Protais, chapel of the Sacred Heart. The information in the church states only that the painting was formerly in the Parisian church of St. Sépulchre. The entire altarpiece of the Crucifixion, now in a plain rectangular frame, presents eight events of the Passion flanking the main subject; Gethsemane is at the upper left.

75. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 654, fol. 91v. (last cahier of the second part), illus. in A. Blum and P. Lauer, *La miniature française aux XVe et aux XVIe siècles* (Paris and Brussels, 1930), pl. XCI. The Arsenal miniature is very close to Morgan M.452 and the Hours of Anne of Austria.

76. Above, note 8. See also N. Reynaud, "Maîtres aux 'noms de convention,'" *Revue de l'Art*, 42 (1978), 41–52; especially 49.

77. Büttner, "Fortwirken," 40.

78. Paris, B. N., Ms. lat. 1172. See Leroquais, *Heures*, I, 104–108.

Photographs: Figs. 3, 11, 18, 21, 25, The Walters Art Gallery. Figs. 2, 9, 10, 19, 24, Library of Congress, Rosenwald Collection. Fig. 1, Albertina, Vienna. Figs. 4, 12, Warburg Institute. Figs. 5 and 14, Courtauld Institute. Figs. 6, 16, Bibliothèque Nationale. Fig. 7, British Library. Figs. 13, 23, British Museum. Fig. 8, Kunstsammlungen der Universität Göttingen. Figs. 15, 17, 26, Bulloz, Paris. Fig. 20, the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague. Fig. 22, Sotheby's, London.

A Still Life by Joris van Son

RUTH SEIDLER
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In 1985 The Walters Art Gallery received as a bequest a large and splendid floral still life signed by Joris van Son (1623–1667),[1] a Flemish master from Antwerp. In the center of rich fruit and flower garlands was a monochromatic vanitas composition. This central portion seemed, in spite of its location, to have little importance in the composition and was overshadowed by the brilliantly rendered garlands (fig. 2). Conservation treatment gave the opportunity not only to remedy this imbalance, which was the result of overpainting, but also to study the painting's technique and its place in the history of Flemish still life painting.

When the *Still Life with Vanitas* arrived at The Walters there was a heavy layer of surface grime covering an extremely dark, brownish natural resin varnish. Study of the painter's technique and the pigment combinations used gave evidence that he intended the painting to have a generally cool tonality; the varnish completely obscured this effect. The grime and varnish, as well as many areas of overpaint, were removed. In addition to restoring the original composition of this painting, the cleaning revealed a vivid still life of splendid colors and rich textures (fig. 1).

Close examination of the painting revealed a roughly semi-circular area of brown paint somewhat more red than the background color in the center of the vanitas (fig. 3). The top edge of this shape passed through the dowels of the hourglass. Since an X-radiograph (fig. 4) did not reveal any changes in the composition in this area, two microscopic cross-sections of the paint layers[2] were taken from the dowel on the left: one within and one above this redder area. Both samples showed the same ground layers followed by the brown paint of the background, but the upper layers differed considerably. Whereas the sample taken from above the reddish area showed the dark browns of the dowel (fig. 5), the sample from the lower portion clearly showed the reddish-brown to be later paint applied over an aged varnish layer (figs. 6, 7). The original paint in this area was a light buff quite unlike the paint color of the dowel.

When the overpaint was removed a near life-size skull was uncovered. In van Son's original composition the hourglass stood behind the skull, the focus of the vanitas. To cover the place the skull had occupied, the parchment document had been awkwardly extended up to the right. At the same time a broken leaf at the right had been made whole to overlap the parchment and a clumsy sprig of flowers had been added. Though skulls were a common feature of vanitas paintings of the seventeenth century, modern taste probably considered it too macabre, and this element was discreetly eliminated from an otherwise pleasing image.

A study of technical aspects of the *Still Life with Vanitas* enhances appreciation of its visual richness. The one feature that most affects the painting's overall appearance is van Son's application and exploitation of the ground layers. A few microscopic cross-sections were taken from the painting to study van Son's technique. These reveal that the medium weight, plain-weave linen canvas was prepared with two ground layers. The first is a moderately thick reddish-

brown layer consisting of red earth with isotropic earth components. Above that is a thinner layer of a middle-grey tone, which contains lead white with charcoal and a small admixture of an earth pigment.[3] Because of the lead content of this grey layer, its uneven application is visible in the X-radiograph of the painting (fig. 4) as broad curving streaks. Though the use of a double ground is quite common in seventeenth-century paintings, the manner in which it is used by the painter and the effect of the uppermost of these layers upon the appearance of the painting vary considerably. Van Son used the grey color of this layer beneath the paint to give his painting a generally cool, pearly tonality and to increase the contrast between the cool, light tones of most of the fruit and flowers and the few fiery-colored ones. In addition, in the areas of the stone wall and niche, the loosely applied brown tones allow the grey to show through intermittently, achieving a weathered quality.

Techniques of paint application varied throughout the painting to attain the many different effects demanded by the subject matter. The brown background was painted first, leaving voids for most of the fruit and flowers, which were painted directly over the ground with their edges slightly overlapping the edges of the background. In this way the grey ground is allowed to impart the pearly tones characteristic of the painting (figs. 8, 10). In contrast, the vanitas composition is painted thinly over the dark brown background (figs. 5, 6), which contributes to its dark, shadowy character. Some leaves were painted directly over the brown background (fig. 9). Other leaves are painted in two layers: the second, apparently applied when the lower was dry, allows the lower tone to show through voids in the upper layer. In some instances a stick was scratched through the wet paint of the upper color, exposing the other to indicate the veins of the leaves. Other techniques used include stippling, a mottled impasto which imparts texture to the orange skin, and extensive glazing. The red cherries, strawberries, and poppies have a flat, lifeless appearance in contrast to the remainder of the composition. In these areas, examination with the stereo-microscope reveals remnants of glazes and scumbles that would have given these details greater dimension but which were probably greatly reduced by an early cleaning. In the blue bow at the top of the painting, an ultramarine glaze was applied over a fully elaborated underpainting in white and grey. This technique gives the bow a particularly brilliant appearance and provides an interesting contrast to the solid blue of the plums, which are rendered in a paint of pure ultramarine.

Van Son's palette is fairly broad, as might be expected of a flower painter. The pigments revealed by analysis include white lead, charcoal, red lake, vermilion (possibly cinnabar), yellow lake, orpiment, lead-tin yellow, red and yellow earths, brown earths (possibly including umber), isotropic earths, ultramarine, and azurite. These are used alone, as seen above, or in combinations of varying complexity. There are, for example, at least three distinct green mixtures, all containing azurite, white lead, and red and brown earths. The proportion of the earth component varies among the mixtures, and one has an addition of lead-tin yellow.

In subject and technique, the *Still Life with Vanitas* is the product of a rich artistic tradition and in many respects it is a typical example of a particular category of still-life painting. However, the composition revealed by conservation treatment may be something of an anomaly within that tradition.

Joris van Son was born in Antwerp in 1623 and died there in 1667. He became a member of the guild of St. Luke in Antwerp in 1643/44 and developed a specialty in still life painting. His known works include several banquet pieces, or *pronkstillevens*, showy compositions depicting tables laden with food, drinking vessels, and exotic collector's items, and some smaller still lifes, which include fruit along with other elements. In addition, there are a number of garlands or wreaths of fruit and flowers, painted separately or in combination. The Walters painting is a particularly rich example of this last category.

By the mid-seventeenth century, still life was a highly developed form of art in the Netherlands, with a sophisticated pictorial and symbolic vocabulary. The genre had developed more or less simultaneously in Holland and Flanders, through the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Emigration to the north by Flemish artists seeking religious freedom and economic opportunities during the Spanish occupation of Flanders enhanced the exchange of talent and ideas, and it is not surprising that the styles of still life paintings of the two centers overlapped considerably with few distinct differences. Generally, however, as van Leeuwen has written, Flemish examples are "more luxuriant and colorful, more decorative and often of larger dimensions"[4]. One compositional type characteristic of Flemish painting, but not commonly found in Holland, was the garland or wreath of flowers and/or fruit. These were popularized by the flower painter Daniel Seghers (1590–1661). There were many variations within the type, but these wreaths generally surrounded a cartouche with a religious scene, often painted by another artist, or a niche with a *trompe l'oeil* sculpture.

Fig. 1. Joris van Son, *Still Life with Vanitas*, oil on canvas, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.2623. Bequest of Mrs. Marcelle J. von Mayer-Denues.

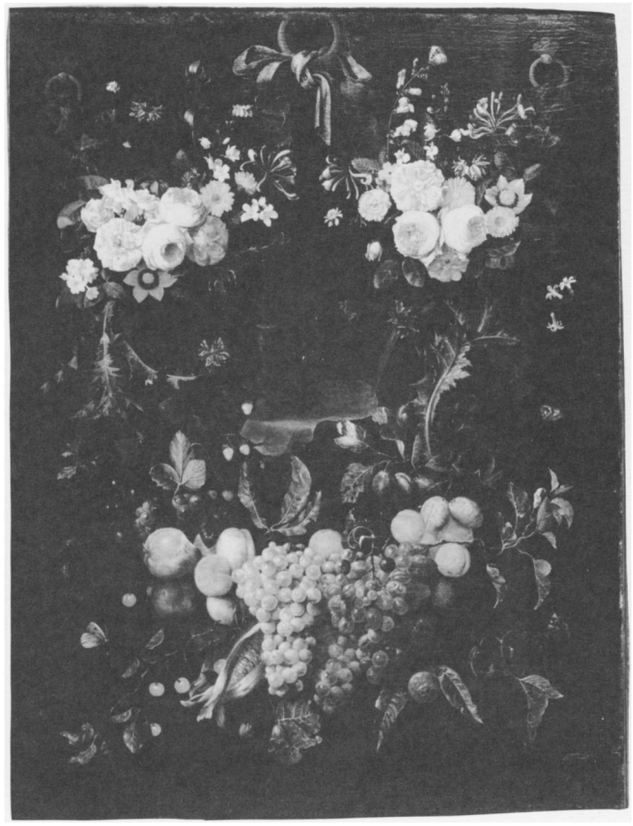

Fig. 2. Figure 1 before treatment.

Antwerp was the center for the production of Flemish still life paintings. Working there, Joris van Son was surrounded by some of the most talented masters of the genre, and his work often reflects that of the most influential painters, Seghers among them. His teacher is unknown; however, on stylistic grounds, it can be said with certainty that of these masters, van Son was most influenced by the work of Jan Davidsz. de Heem (1606–1683/84).

De Heem was born and trained in Utrecht. There he produced compositions with bowls or baskets of fruit and vases of flowers in the precise, intimate manner of the Utrecht still life painters. When he moved to Leiden, his painting changed in style as well as content, conforming to prevailing fashions. Leiden was a center for the production of vanitas still lives, and de Heem, working in a nearly monochromatic manner, concentrated on painting piles of books combined with skulls, candles, or other vanitas elements. In 1636 de Heem moved to Antwerp and with apparent ease again altered his style, adopting a palette and manner consistent with that of painters of the southern Netherlands.

De Heem's paintings dating from after his arrival in Antwerp have the rich coloring and exuberance of Flemish still life compositions. The majority of these works are garlands and wreaths, flower still lifes, or banquet-pieces, occasionally with a bouquet of flowers. Vanitas elements, far less common in Flanders than in Holland,[5] continued to appear frequently in his paintings, carrying on the metaphysical or moralizing content of his Dutch background.

In spite of the strong influence of Seghers in the coloration and composition type, the garlands of the Walters painting are quite different from similar wreaths by the elder painter, which are gracefully constructed of airy blossoms and green tendrils. In van Son's painting the compact grouping of fruit, leaves, and flowers, the attention to modeling, highlights, and texture, and the heavy, sensuous rendering recall de Heem's: ample, heavy, and with the appearance of being full to the point of bursting.[6]

Joris van Son's paintings reflect a familiarity with de Heem's in a number of ways. It has been noted that, in several instances, the introduction of new subject types in the work of van Son follows, by a year or two, the appearance of the same subject in paintings by de Heem.[7] Perhaps the tonality of van Son's works is

Fig. 3. Detail of figure 2 showing area of skull before treatment to remove overpainting.

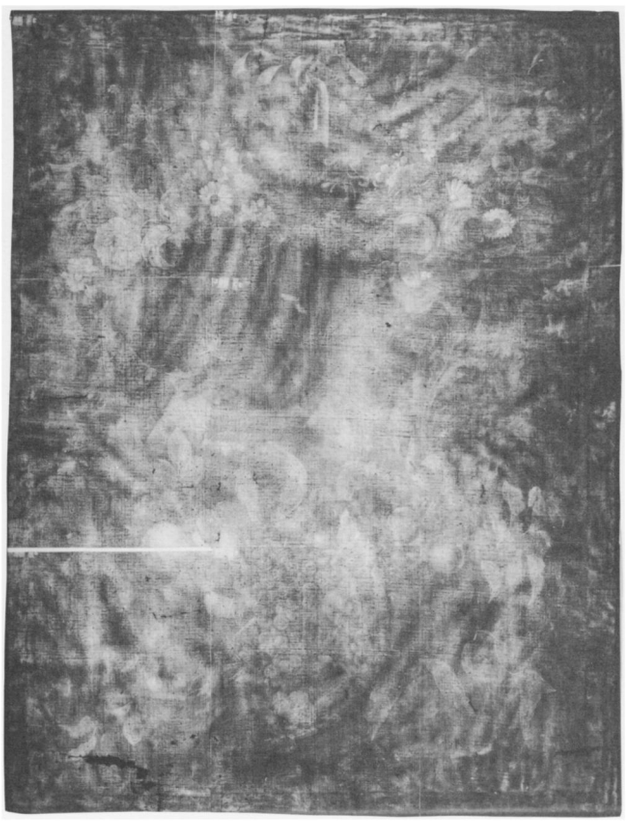

Fig. 4. X-radiograph of figure 2.

more subtle, and the contours somewhat softer; they tend to emphasize the presence of fruit. The similarities between van Son's style and that of de Heem's Antwerp paintings, however, are generally more striking than their differences. In the case of the Walters painting, the extent of de Heem's influence may not be limited to style. The inclusion of the vanitas elements within the composition also reflects the Dutch painter's interests.[8] And, indeed, the monochromatic vanitas, separated by composition, color, and style from the remainder of the painting, recalls the tonal works of de Heem's Leiden period. Though skulls are common in vanitas pictures, the presence of a vanitas with skull within a floral wreath is far less so, and may be unprecedented in Flemish painting.

Collaboration by artists with different specialities was common in the seventeenth century. Garland and wreath paintings were ideally suited for such partnerships, requiring the talents of a fruit and/or flower painter, while providing an open central space for an image of a different sort. Van Son is known to have worked with the Flemish painter Erasmus Quellinus (1607–1678), who is responsible for some of the religious medallions in the centers of most other examples of his wreath and garland paintings.[9] In this case it is difficult to determine whether the vanitas portion is by van Son or another painter. There is a distinct difference in the handling of the paint: the vanitas is looser and less refined. However, this difference might have been an intentional means of further separating the garlands from the still life and an imitation of the style of the Leiden tonalists.

The symbolic content of the vanitas adds resonance to the meaning of the decorative wreath. The metaphorical content of such fruit and flower pieces has long been established.[10] Generally, the overall intention of fruit and flowers in still life paintings, such as this, is to convey the idea of the transience of earthly existence. The juxtaposition of the human skull with the floral motif underscores this meaning,[11] as do the appearance of the weathered stone,[12] the snuffed-out candle, and the hourglass. The signs of decay on some of the fruit, such as the shriveled grapes and the insect-damaged leaves call attention to the futility and passing nature of earthly beauty.

There are other symbolic messages. The numerous butterflies are often considered to be references to Redemption as symbols of the redeemed soul, or to

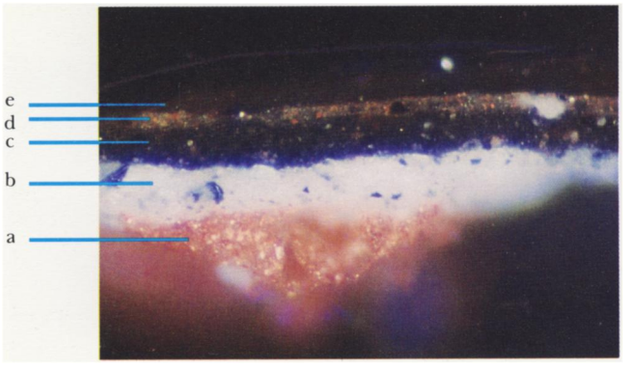

Fig. 5. Cross-section of original hourglass. WAG sample # 920A: a) reddish ground: red and isotropic brown earths; b) grey imprimatura: white lead, charcoal, brown earth; c) dark brown paint: brown earth, coarse charcoal, white lead; d) reddish-brown paint: red and yellow earths, charcoal, white lead; e) brownish varnish (135x).

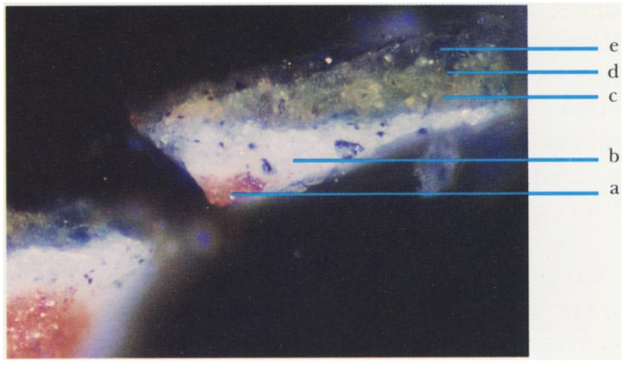

Fig. 8. Cross-section of shadowed leaf. WAG sample #922: a) reddish ground: red and isotropic brown earths; b) grey imprimatura: white lead, charcoal, brown earth; c) darker yellow-green paint: azurite, lead-tin yellow, white lead; d) yellow green: azurite, lead-tin yellow, white lead; e) dark green paint: azurite, red and yellow earths, white lead, charcoal (135x).

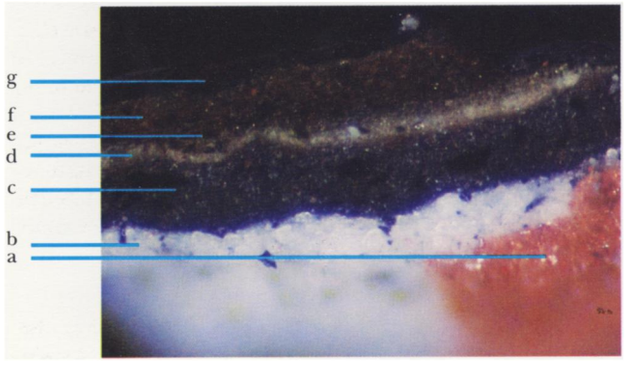

Fig. 6. Cross-section of hourglass dowel painted over original skull. WAG sample #921: a) reddish ground: red and isotropic brown earths; b) grey imprimatura: white lead, charcoal, brown earth; c) dark brown paint: brown earth, coarse charcoal, white lead; d) buff-colored paint: yellow and brown earths; e) varnish; f) brown over-paint: red, brown and possibly yellow earths, charcoal; g) brownish varnish (135x).

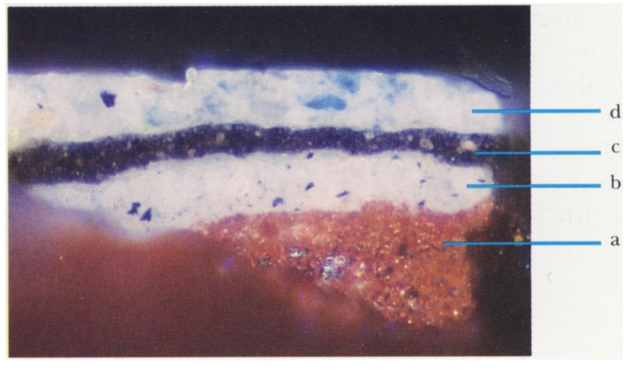

Fig. 9. Cross-section of leaf highlight. WAG sample #923: a) reddish ground: red and isotropic brown earths; b) grey imprimatura: white lead, charcoal, brown earth; c) dark brown: carbon black, azurite, yellow and brown earths, possibly umber; d) light green: white lead, azurite, charcoal, yellow and red earths, possibly umber (135x).

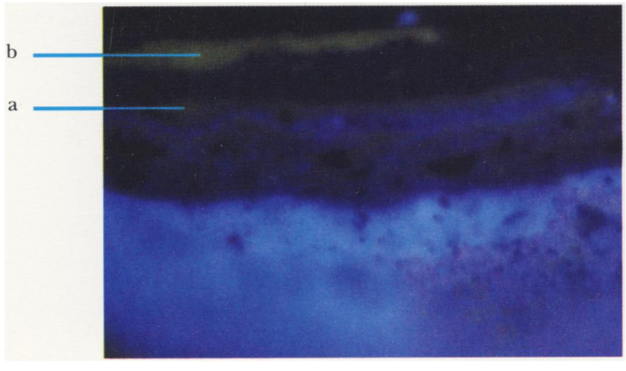

Fig. 7. Cross-section shown in figure 6 under ultraviolet light, showing fluorescence in varnish layers. WAG sample #921: a) early varnish under repaint; b) later varnish (135x).

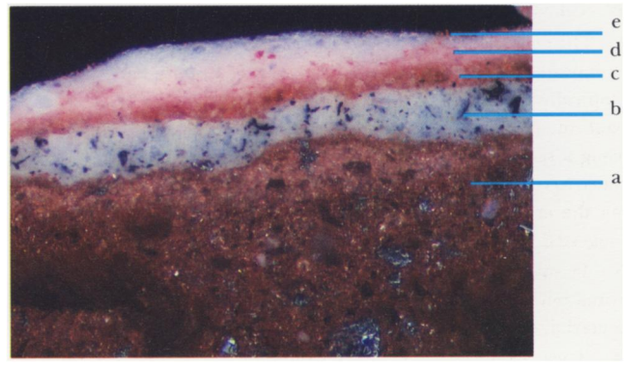

Fig. 10. Cross-section of peony highlight. WAG sample #924: a) reddish ground: red and isotropic brown earths; b) grey imprimatura: white lead, charcoal, brown earth; c) red paint: red lake, white lead; d) pink paint: white lead, red lake; e) trace of red glaze: red lake (135x).

the Resurrection.[13] The combination of fruit and flowers joins references to spring and summer, indicating the cyclical nature of the year; this in turn may also serve as an allusion to the Resurrection, as does the ear of corn.[14] Further metaphorical references can be found through the study of the individual flowers, fruits, and insects.

Van Son's *Still Life with Vanitas* now stands as an unusual and iconographically rich contribution to the genre of flower painting. The study of the painting materials and techniques contributes to our understanding of how these specialized artists used an extensive palette and wide range of painting techniques to achieve the range of colors and visual effects that enrich the genre. The discovery of the skull in the composition has revealed the full extent of its symbolism and has shown it to be a more unusual painting than expected. The new emphasis that the skull gives to the vanitas portion serves as a reminder of the extent to which the exchange of talent and ideas unified Dutch and Flemish art. By giving the center of the painting weight and visual meaning, the discovery has also greatly enhanced the balance of the composition. As a consequence the *Still Life with Vanitas* is a more satisfying and complete painting.

NOTES

1. *Still Life with Vanitas*, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.2623, bequest of Mrs. Marcelle J. von Mayer-Denues; oil on canvas, 123.9 x 92.4 cm. Signed "I. van Son, fecit" at lower right.

2. The cross-sections were mounted in polyester resin and ground to expose paint and ground layers, and then were examined microscopically. Dispersed pigment samples were studied with polarizing light microscopy. Where possible, cross-sections were analyzed using a scanning electron microscope equipped for x-ray fluorescence to confirm pigment identification by elemental analysis. Testing the cross-sections with biological staining for media analysis suggested that ground and paint layers are bound with oil.

3. In some samples potassium was found in the same layers that contained white lead, suggesting, perhaps, an admixture of a bone material (black or white).

4. T. van Leeuwen, "Still-Life painting in the Netherlands: historical facts and facets," in E. de Jongh, *Still-Life in the Age of Rembrandt* (Auckland, 1982), 46 (hereafter, De Jongh, *Still-life in the Age of Rembrandt*).

5. S. Segal, *A Flowery Past: A Survey of Dutch and Flemish Flower Painting from 1600 until the Present* (Amsterdam, 1982), 18 (hereafter, Segal, *A Flowery Past*).

6. Compare a wreath by de Heem in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin (oil on canvas, 120 x 84 cm). See I. Bergström, *Dutch Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1956), fig. 173 (hereafter, Bergström, *Dutch Still-Life Painting*).

7. S. Segal, "Joris van Son," in *Gallery Hoogsteder-Naumann* (New York, 1983), 76–81 (exhibition catalogue).

8. An example of de Heem's use of the skull in a flower and fruit still life is illustrated in S. Segal, *A Prosperous Past: The Sumptuous Still Life in the Netherlands 1600–1700* (The Hague, 1988), 112–116, no. 25 (hereafter, Segal, *A Prosperous Past*).

9. J. De Bruyn, "Samenwerking van de Rubensepigoon Erasmus II Quellinus (1607–1876) met de vruchtenschilder Joris van Son (1623–1667)," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1979), 281–294.

10. Erwin Panofsky demonstrated the symbolic content of everyday objects, including fruit and particular flowers found in some religious representations (*Early Netherlandish Painting* [New York, 1971], 141, 144, 146, 333, 335). Bergström, *Dutch Still-Life Painting*, 154–155, differentiated between "pure" vanitas pictures and other sorts of still lifes with vanitas elements included, and placed these elements within three categories of symbolism, referring to earthly existence, transience of human life, and resurrection to eternal life. In this context he identified the bouquet of flowers as a symbol of transience. More recently, Segal has traced the development of the fruit and flower still life from the use of individual examples as symbolic references in Netherlandish religious paintings; he has examined the significance of particular species and their relationship to vanitas themes. See Segal, *A Flowery Past* and *idem*, *A Fruitful Past: A survey of the fruit still lifes of the Northern and Southern Netherlands from Brueghel till Van Gogh* (Amsterdam, 1983).

11. Bergström, *Dutch Still-Life Painting*, 154.

12. De Jongh, *Still-Life in the Age of Rembrandt*, 205–209, hypothesizes a relationship between the tradition adapted from the Antique of using an architectural niche as the setting for sculpted portraits of the deceased (with or without sculpted representations of their attributes) and the painted niche in Dutch vanitas still lifes as the surrounding for the skull, the reminder of death, and attendant vanitas elements.

13. I. Bergström, "Disguised Symbolism in 'Madonna' Pictures and Still-Life," *Burlington Magazine*, 7 (1955), 307 (hereafter, Bergström, "Disguised Symbolism").

14. Segal, *A Prosperous Past*, 112–113; Bergström, "Disguised Symbolism," 345, and *idem*, *Dutch Still-Life Painting*, 154.