

The JOURNAL
OF THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM

VOLUME 60/61, 2002/2003



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The JOURNAL
OF THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM

VOLUME 60/61, 2002/2003



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F. Villard, "Une tête romaine de porphyre," *La Revue du Louvre et des musées de France*, 27 (1977), 235–37.

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Vermeule, *Imperial Art*, 335–68.

Villard, "Une tête romaine," 235.

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All submitted manuscripts are reviewed by members of the Editorial Board, at times in consultation with outside experts. *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum* is published annually; the submission deadline is 1 December for articles to be considered for the next year's issue. Authors have the opportunity to review their manuscripts after editing has been completed and again in galleys. Authors will be billed for any changes to galleys in excess of ten percent of the original cost of typesetting their articles.

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Preface

Since 1938, the Walters Art Museum has continued to produce a scholarly periodical that has provided its curatorial and conservation staff, as well as scholars worldwide, with a valuable forum for the publication of new research. This issue of the *Journal* reflects the museum's recent, active growth, not only in terms of curators and conservators and new acquisitions for the permanent collection, but also with respect to new areas of exhibition activity. The first two essays of this volume focus on material related to the Walters' recent, critically acclaimed exhibition *Origins of the Russian Avant-Garde*. The Walters was the exclusive venue for this groundbreaking exhibition, organized in collaboration with the State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg. The first essay is adapted from a lecture delivered at the Walters during the scholarly symposium organized in conjunction with the exhibition, in which three of the leading American specialists in the field participated. The symposium in its entirety and the current issue of the *Journal* in part were generously underwritten by Stan Rothschild, an ardent collector of Russian avant-garde art and a long-time supporter of the Walters. The second selection is a new translation of a typically provocative manifesto, published here for the first time in English, penned by Mikhail Larionov, one of the early ringleaders of the nascent Russian avant-garde.

Attesting to the inexhaustible opportunities for new research provided by the Walters' extensive and diverse permanent collection are a series of articles, each of which offers new information on objects collected by William or

Henry Walters. Outside scholars have contributed essays on an array of objects from different areas of the collection, from the medieval period to the nineteenth century, including the explication of two bronze Coptic vessels, a new attribution for a series of large-scale eighteenth-century Venetian sculptures that had been mistakenly ascribed to the French school for decades, the possible identification of the artist responsible for an important eighteenth-century papal portrait, and an investigation of a nineteenth-century snuff box. The museum's world-renowned collection of eighteenth-century Sèvres porcelain, thanks to a generous fellowship funded by The Peter Krueger-Christie's Foundation, has been studied and catalogued. We are pleased to present here a sample of the documentation this grant has allowed. A comprehensive, significantly expanded version will be published in future.

Rounding out the issue are short notices on objects recently acquired by the museum. Included are an impressive collection of fourth-century-B.C. South Italian red-figure vases, generously donated by Marilyn and Herbert Scher; a rare Middle Kingdom mummy mask; and a late fifteenth-century devotional icon from Ethiopia—a country whose art has become a new and important area of collecting for the museum, one in which the Walters is at the forefront among American museums.

Eik Kahng
Volume Editor

The Russian Avant-Garde of the 1890s: The Abramtsevo Circle

WENDY SALMOND

The recent Walters' exhibition Origins of the Russian Avant-Garde revealed the degree to which peasant art inspired the painterly innovations of Russian artists ca. 1908–20. This essay compares these achievements with those of an earlier generation of artists, the so-called Abramtsevo circle of the 1890s. Working directly with the peasantry to modernize traditional folk crafts, these older artists represent a very different model for the interaction of professional and folk artist in the early modern period.

In hosting the exhibition *Origins of the Russian Avant-Garde*, the Walters Art Museum offered its public a rarely seen variation on one of the central themes of modern art history, the role of the “primitive” in rejuvenating the western tradition of high art. The curatorial premise was essentially that which the Museum of Modern Art had used in its 1984 exhibition *“Primitivism” in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*, in which works by Picasso, Braque, and their contemporaries were juxtaposed with African tribal art to elucidate a network of formal correspondences.¹ At the Walters, paintings by Kazimir Malevich, Natalia Goncharova, Mikhail Larionov, and a host of less-familiar Russian artists were reunited with the “raw materials” that helped them, ca. 1908–12, to transform themselves from timid students of western art into proudly independent children of the East.

There is a compelling simplicity about these confrontations that the artists themselves would surely have enjoyed, for they were fond of epic dualities. Memorable statements such as Goncharova's “Now I shake the dust from my feet and leave the West. . . . my path is towards the source of all arts, the East” capture the rhetorical flourish of a young generation eager to disassociate itself from a dispiriting national past and an unpalatable present. As John Bowlt and Nicoletta Misler write in the *Origins* catalogue, “their primary goals were to elevate the vulgar and demote the noble, to cancel the presumed differences between high and low. . . .”² and their paintings show how

well they succeeded (fig. 1). An integral part of this process of upending accepted norms of beauty, taste, and reality was reinterpreting the past and editing the present through the lens of their own preoccupations and prejudices.

When choosing Russia's vast peasant population as their initial source of inspiration and imagery, they did so in the knowledge that this was a subject steeped in history, fraught with social conflict, and already well picked-over by previous generations. If Picasso and Braque could approach the tribal mask in blissful ignorance of its origins and meaning, Goncharova and Malevich had consciously to blot out the distracting details of their knowledge (fig. 2). Absorbed in their pursuit of painting's formal aims, they demonstratively ignored “the peasant problem” that had preoccupied so many Russian intellectuals and artists since the early nineteenth century.³ They insisted that their interest was not the subject matter and ethnography of peasant life, but an essence that they found distilled in its artifacts. This they christened *lubochnost'*, a neologism derived from the *lubok* (the hand-colored wood-block print that served the role of pictures in peasant life), but that also encompassed the entire aesthetic and worldview of a Russia rooted in the East (figs. 3–4). “The simple, unsophisticated beauty of the *lubok*,” wrote Aleksandr Shevchenko in 1913, “the severity of the primitive, the mechanical precision of construction, nobility of style, and good color brought together by the creative hand of the artist-ruler—that is our password and our slogan.”⁴

At the same time, they took pains to point out that they alone of their compatriots had tapped this source of national identity, though many before them had muddied and polluted its waters.⁵ They pointedly looked to France for help in seeing the East that lay buried beneath the thin western veneer of modern Russian culture; a lesson in formal values they claimed their own teachers could not provide. It was Cézanne, Matisse, and Rousseau who represented “the aspiration toward the East, its traditions and forms”⁶ and whose works were, by happy coincidence, available to

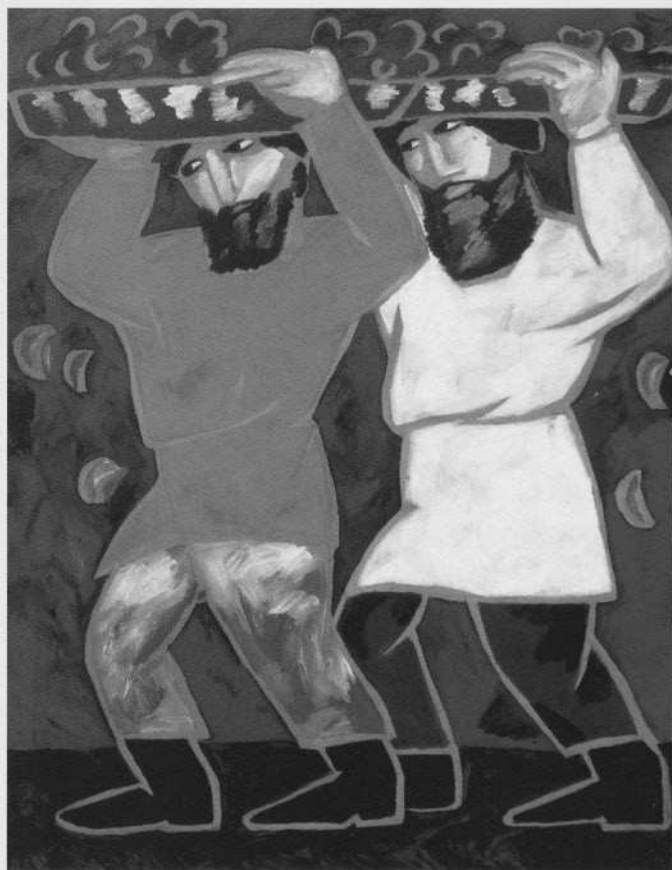


Fig. 1. Natalia Goncharova, *Peasants*, 1911, oil on canvas. St. Petersburg, State Russian Museum.

Russian artists in the Moscow collections of Ivan Morozov and Sergei Shchukin.⁷

It is not hard to understand the contempt these young artists felt for “high” Russian culture and their need to reinvent themselves as “New Barbarians.” Born in the politically oppressive climate of the 1880s, when the aesthetically impoverished social realism of the Wanderers dominated, they embarked on their art education in the early years of the twentieth century, when the introspection and world-weariness of the fin-de-siècle still permeated cultural life.⁸ Yet Moscow in the 1890s offered one truly pioneering cultural phenomenon of which the nascent avant-garde could not have been unaware. As leaders of the drive to resurrect and revive Russia’s peasant crafts, artists like Mikhail Vrubel, Konstantin Korovin, Elena Polenova, Maria Iakunchikova, and Aleksandr Golovin personified the advanced art of the fin-de-siècle.⁹ Their designs for furniture, embroideries, ceramics, decorative painting, and interiors opened up areas of expression that challenged the rationalism of the western mindset and the realism of adulthood. The fact that their designs were fashioned by the hands of peasant men and women underscored the radicalism of their efforts. The “New Barbarians” conspicuous silence about the innovations of their immediate predecessors suggests generational tensions that invite closer attention.¹⁰



Fig. 2. Photo of Russian peasants, late 20th century. St. Petersburg, State Russian Museum.

To the extent that Russia had an Arts and Crafts movement, its home was Abramtsevo, the estate near Moscow of railway magnate Savva Mamontov and his wife Elizaveta. Here, in the early 1880s, the Mamontovs and their artist friends embarked on two new communal activities: collecting examples of peasant carving and textiles in the surrounding villages and launching a carpentry workshop where local peasant boys could learn a craft. When, in 1885, artist Elena Polenova began designing artistic furniture for the pupils to make, the recipe for a national craft revival was created. By giving motifs still alive in the peasant community back to the younger generation, she hoped to “mend the thread” between past and present that the forces of modern life threatened to break.

Initially, Polenova’s work at the Abramtsevo carpentry workshop followed a self-imposed rule of adding nothing that did not come from the daily life of the peasants with whom she worked, as her sketch for a cupboard attests (fig. 5). By the early 1890s, however, she began to compose her own grammar of ornament for peasant craft production, investing it with much of the emotional content that her contemporaries reserved for easel painting (fig. 6). Like her close friend Maria Iakunchikova, the states of mind she evoked—often after listening to music or dreaming—were those of the fin-de-siècle generation: melancholy,



Fig. 3. Lubok. *Spin My Spinner*, 1892, lithograph. St. Petersburg, State Russian Museum.

loneliness, nameless dread, nervous exaltation, a sense of self projected onto nature or merging with it. Traveling frequently to Europe and reading the avant-garde art journals of the 1890s, Polenova responded to the mood of the decade and used her ornament and decorative projects to communicate this liberated subjectivity.

In creating what came to be called the *style russe moderne*, Polenova found in memories of childhood the most authentic primitive feeling available to a "civilized" artist and the direct link to peasant Russia that previous generations had sought in vain. A personal sense of Russian identity could be distilled from one's intense early memories of place (native flora, fauna, and wildlife) just as generations of peasants had done through their crafts. In this respect, designers like Polenova were the original neoprimitivists, rejecting the grown-up world of modern western societies in both their own name and that of the "child peoples" to whom they were drawn. As a writer in *The*

Studio put it, "In material as well as spiritual things, it is sometimes desirable to become as little children. Though ours is an age of enlightenment, much can be learned by contemporary arts and crafts works from the child people of the world."¹¹

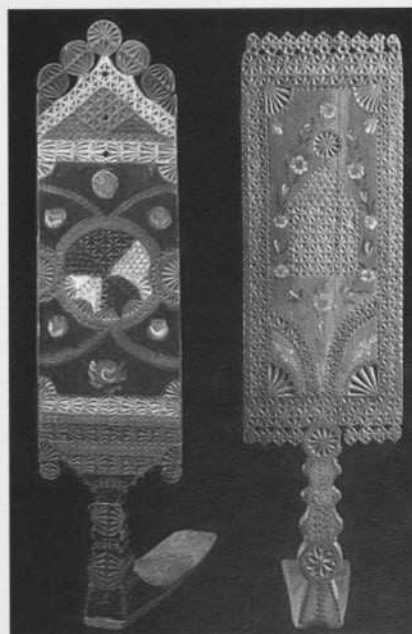


Fig. 4. Two distaffs, (left) early 20th century, (right) 1879, wood with fretwork and paint. St. Petersburg, State Russian Museum.

Measured against the ferocious simplifications that the next generation would devise, Polenova's ornamental fantasies and illustrations for fairy tales perhaps seem rather tame (fig. 7). But to the late nineteenth-century eye, they warned of dangerous things to come. One of her greatest admirers, the critic and arch-nationalist Viktor Stasov, was frankly dismayed by the formal innovations she introduced in her illustrations, seeing in them a rejection of rational thought and healthy realism in favor of a regression to the state of artistic infancy. Of Polenova's lithographs, the simplified style of which she freely admitted was indebted equally to Walter Crane and to the technical limitations of the medium, Stasov asked, "What's the

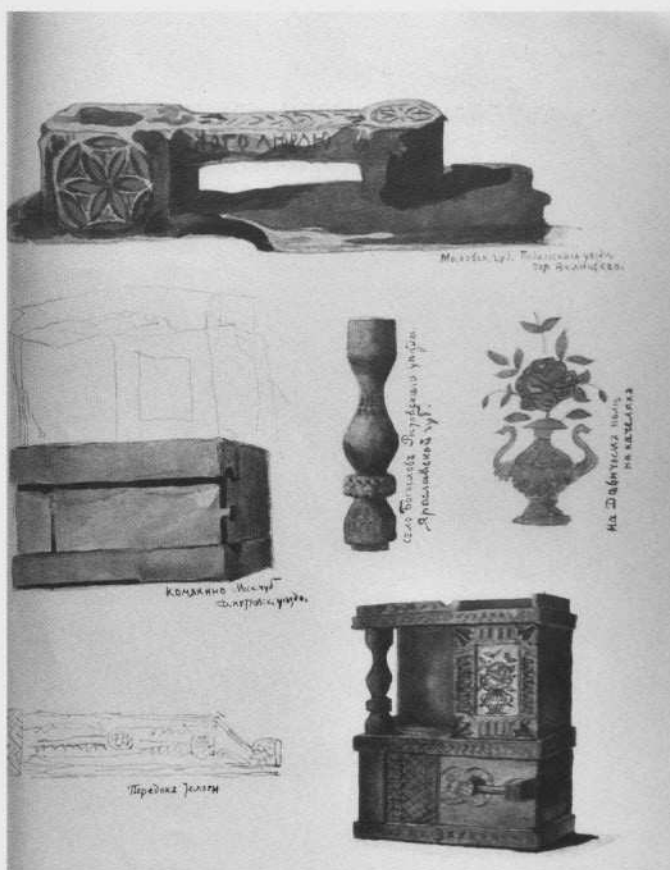


Fig. 5. Elena Polenova, Design for a cupboard, 1885. Reprinted from N. V. Polenova, *Abramtsevo* (Moscow, 1922).

point of using five or six colors when these days you can and should use three or four times as many? Why the uncalled-for economy of means, why this imitation of folksy clumsiness and meagerness?"¹² If complexity was the sign of rational adult thought, then simplicity was as clearly the state of childhood.

The deliberate radicalism of such formal simplification, with its peasant-child analogy, is reflected more clearly still in Konstantin Korovin's cover for the inaugural issue of the St. Petersburg art magazine *Mir iskusstva* ([World of Art], 1899; fig. 8). Once again, Stasov allows us to see it through the "normal" eyes of the day:

The description of a "village" (presumably a Russian one) at the top of the journal's cover consists of Mr. Korovin's treatment of the kind of huts and bushes, the kind of perspective and sky that surely only a three-year-old child could draw, who's grabbed hold of a pencil for the first time and just nonsensically smears the paper. At the bottom of the same cover Mr. Korovin has placed a sort of stamp composed of two intertwined fish that might do quite nicely for the Japanese and for some manufacturer's ointment jars, but which should not dare show themselves in an art magazine (even a bad one).¹³



Fig. 6. Elena Polenova, Ornamental design, 1897-98. Reprinted from *Mir iskusstva* (1899).

Other Abramtsevo regulars followed Polenova into the sphere of decoration, with its liberating possibilities. Golovin, Iakunchikova, Vrubel, and Korovin all took time away from the easel to design ceramics, textiles, furniture, and interiors that were produced by peasant craftsmen and women in workshops run by the Mamontovs, their friends, and relatives.¹⁴ It is all the more striking, then, how diffident the same artists' easel paintings are by comparison, as though the medium were too heavily burdened with conventions. (This is particularly true of Polenova's own paintings.)

An exception is Mikhail Vrubel, who seemed to move effortlessly between ceramics, stage design, decorative (mural), and easel painting. His large canvas *Bogatyr* (1898) was painted at Abramtsevo (fig. 9). In a much-quoted passage of 1891, Vrubel wrote that he found at Abramtsevo "that intimate national note that I so want to capture on canvas and in ornament. It is the music of the whole person, undivided by the abstractions of the regulated, differentiated and pale West."¹⁵ In breaking conventions of good sense and clear seeing—the pulsating forms, dissolved boundaries, and teeming surface evoke both a hallucinatory euphoria and a strong sense of claustrophobia—Vrubel clearly felt that he was turning his back on "the West" and all it stood for.

The criticism most frequently leveled at the *style russe moderne* and its creators was that of fetishizing the handmade



Fig. 7. Elena Polenova, Illustration to *Soroka-vorovka* (Moscow, 1906). Rutgers, NJ, Riabov Collection, Zimmerli Art Museum.

roughness of peasant art. The word *grubost'* (coarseness, crudeness) appears repeatedly in contemporary reviews of the creations of the Abramtsevo workshops and those of their competitors. Members of the St. Petersburg-based World of Art group, early supporters of the Abramtsevo designers, were also quick to tire of their penchant for massive, clumsy forms and grotesque ornamentation. How could a nation whose history and present culture was such a complex hybrid of West and East settle for such a crude and ultimately false identity? In the words of Igor Grabar,

There is a certain charm in clumsiness, in the naïve awkwardness with which the *kustar* [peasant craftsman] carves his simple patterns [and] beneath this clumsiness an artist's soul is often concealed. . . . But then this is the essence of sincerity without an ounce of falsity. But when an artist with refined feelings, who has been brought up differently and above all whose lifestyle is different, imitates this talented *kustar* even down to his weak points, this I refuse to understand.¹⁶

Foreigners saw it otherwise, and when the Abramtsevo circle designed the "Russian Village" at the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle, they scored the first unquestioned victory abroad for a visibly Russian art (fig. 10). Predating the Paris debut of the Ballets Russes by eight years, the Russian

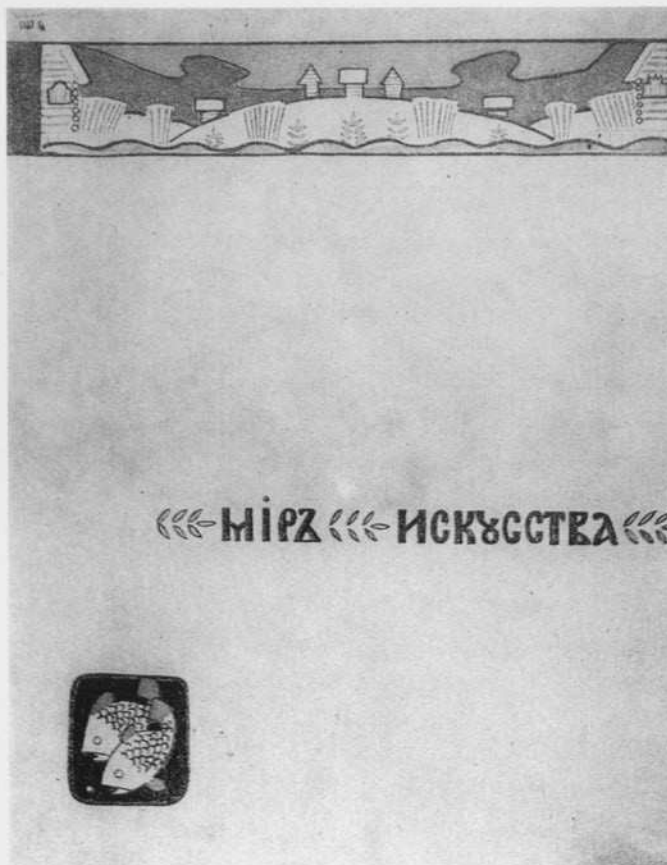


Fig. 8. Konstantin Korovin, Cover to *Mir iskusstva*. St. Petersburg, 1899.

Village showed Russian artists to be at the forefront of the western artist's utopian dreams of a reconciliation between the individual and the communal, of a synthesis of West and East, and of harmony within oneself.

Why did the young painters who took up the peasant theme around 1908 find so little to admire or emulate in the Abramtsevo circle's achievements? This rejection, at least, is what one might conclude from their public adoption of Cézanne, Matisse, and Rousseau as their guides on the path to the East. No doubt there was an element of the young failing to appreciate the struggles and concerns of their parents' generation, and of the familiar breeding contempt. Then, too, so much that had seemed desirable and attainable before 1900—the *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total work of art), the injection of beauty into every corner of life, the dismantling of the boundaries between one medium and another—had simply lost its urgency in the new century.

But it is in their response to and use of the "primitive" that the younger Russian avant-garde was most deeply out of sympathy with that of the 1890s. The exhibition *Origins of the Russian Avant-Garde* presents peasant Russia and educated Russia as two worlds that coexist without interacting—or rather, that interact in one direction only, through the painters' selective appropriation of peasant *lubochnost'*.

True to their French mentors, they embraced a hierarchy of the arts dominated by painting. "Art is for Art's sake," wrote Aleksandr Shevchenko. "It is useless but at the same time it is capable of exciting sensations of the highest order in those people to whose class the artist himself belongs."¹⁷ Functional peasant art might inspire such sensations, but it was the contemporary artist's task to emulate only the essence of its primitive spirit, not its pedestrian forms. Nor was it his or her task to fight against the decline of folk art by actively intervening in its protection.¹⁸

For the artists of the Abramtsevo circle, by contrast, peasant art transcended its aesthetic essence. Though threatened by the industrial age and the encroachment of modern western civilization, it was still a living organism that, with careful cultivation, could be retooled to survive in the modern world. Working with actual peasant craftsmen and -women to foster the best traditions of carving, ceramics, and textiles, Abramtsevo artists and their followers were part of a utopian project that was never purely personal and aesthetic. Touched by the international Arts and Crafts ethos, with its philanthropic impulse and social agenda, they engaged the primitive as an active dialogue between classes in which they attempted



Fig. 9. Mikhail Vrubel, *Bogatyr*, 1898. St. Petersburg, State Russian Museum.

to experience the primitive beyond the confines of easel painting. That they nevertheless brought to this dialogue their own fin-de-siècle subjectivity and injected it into designs for peasant carvers and embroiderers was the tragic flaw in their utopian vision. Working directly with the producers of the primitive, they ultimately came to be seen as an insidious threat to peasant art, killing the goose that laid the golden egg and hastening peasant culture's inevitable demise.

For the generation represented in the Walters' exhibition, the failure of the Abramtsevo circle's attempt to merge the primitive and the modern represented the closing of a door. Yet other, more exhilarating paths opened up—the notorious face-painting, tango-dancing, noise-and-nonsense declaiming stunts of the Cubo-Futurists, into whom Larionov and Goncharova, David Burliuk and Kazimir Malevich retooled themselves around 1912 (fig. 11). The peasant primitive was thus just the first stage on a journey of self-discovery and liberation from the constraints of narrow reason.

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Fig. 10. Interior of the Russian pavilion, Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1900. Reprinted from *L'Illustration*, 5 May 1900.



Fig. 11. Natalia Goncharova with a painted face, 1912. St. Petersburg, State Russian Museum.

NOTES

1. W. Rubin, ed. *"Primitivism" in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*, 2 vols., ex. cat., New York, Museum of Modern Art (New York, 1984).
2. *Origins of the Russian Avant-Garde*, ex. cat., Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, 13 February–25 May 2003 (St. Petersburg, 2003), 28.
3. In a forthcoming monograph, Jane Ashton Sharp argues for a more subtle reading of the political engagement embedded in Neoprimitivism's apparently formalist preoccupations.
4. A. Shevchenko, "Neoprimitivism: Its theory, Its Potentials, Its Achievements, 1913," in J. E. Bowlt, ed., *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism, 1902–1934* (New York, 1976), 48.
5. For an account of the varieties of national revival, see E. Kirichenko, *Russian Design and the Fine Arts, 1750–1917*, compiled by M. Anikst (New York, 1991).
6. Shevchenko, "Neoprimitivism," 53.
7. See B. Whitney Kean, *French Painters, Russian Collectors: The Merchant Patrons of Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Russia* (London, 1994).
8. The early paintings of Larionov (faded blue, lyrical compositions), Kandinsky (the melancholy of deserted estates), and Malevich (fevered Art Nouveau fantasies) reflect their susceptibility to Symbolism and fin-de-siècle subjectivity.
9. The history of this movement is told more fully in W. Salmond, *Arts and Crafts in Late Imperial Russia: Reviving the Kustar Art Industries, 1870–1917* (Cambridge, 1996).
10. For a close analogy in the context of Austria, see C. E. Schorske, "Generational Tension and Cultural Change," in *Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism* (Princeton, NJ, 1998), 141–56.
11. C. L. Mechlin, "Primitive Arts and Crafts Illustrated in the National Museum Collection," *Studio*, 35, no. 17 (July 1908), lxi.
12. Letter from Stasov to Polenova, in E. V. Sakharova, ed. *V. D. Polenov. E. D. Polenova. Khronika sem'i khudozhnikov*. (Moscow, 1964), 567.
13. V. V. Stasov, "Nishie dukhom," *Izbrannye sochineniia*, 3 (1952), 236.
14. On Polenova's design work for the embroidery workshops of Maria F. Iakunchikova, see W. Salmond, "The Solomenko Embroidery Workshops," *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, 5 (Summer 1987), 126–43.
15. Letter from Vrubel to his sister, summer 1891, in M. A. Vrubel, *Perpiska. Vospominaniia khudozhnika* (Leningrad, 1976), 57.
16. I. Grabar, "Neskol'ko slov o sovremennom prikladnom iskusstve v Rossii," *Mir iskusstva*, 1 (1902), 53.
17. Shevchenko, "Neoprimitivism," 53.
18. Notable exceptions are the activity of the Supremus group, formed by Kazimir Malevich in 1916, and the collaboration between artists Olga Rozanova and Nadezhda Udaltsova and the peasant embroiderers at Verbovka and Skoptsy, craft revival workshops that operated in the Ukraine during the 1910s. See Salmond, *Arts and Crafts in Late Imperial Russia*, 180–83.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–4, 9, 11, St. Petersburg, State Russian Museum; fig. 5, reprinted from N. V. Polenova, *Abramtsevo* (Moscow, 1922); figs. 6, 8, reprinted from *Mir iskusstva* (1899); fig. 7, Rutgers, NJ, Riabov Collection, Zimmerli Art Museum; fig. 10, reprinted from *L'Illustration* (1900).

and T

Jacks and Tails

JOHN E. BOWLT

Mikhail Larionov, along with his companion, Natalia Goncharova, was one of the ringleaders of the newly established Russian avant-garde, which came into being during the early decades of the twentieth century. Larionov's proclamation entitled "The Quarrel between 'the Tails' and 'the Jacks'" appeared in the Moscow-based newspaper Golos Moskvyy on 11 December 1911. Translated here for the first time into English, the article, which is really an amalgamation of defiant declarations, rather than a sustained narrative, reflects the rift that had just occurred within one of the first groups of the Russian avant-garde—the Jack of Diamonds. Larionov's rejection of the Frenchifying tendencies of the Jacks resulted in the establishment of the splinter group known as The Donkey's Tail, whose allegiance to the "primitive," eastern qualities of indigenous Russian folk art, became its distinguishing feature.

The succès de scandale of the Russian avant-garde owed much not only to the brave formal resolutions of artists such as Natalia Sergeyevna Goncharova (1881–1962), Mikhail Fyodorovich Larionov (1881–1964), and Kazimir Severinovich Malevich (1879–1935), but also to the public reception of their exhibitions, lectures, and performances. In this regard, the Moscow and St. Petersburg press played a major role in the promotion of the new art, even if most observers remained perplexed or indignant at the often bizarre paintings, sculptures, designs, and manifestoes that suddenly entered exhibitions. Moreover, the titles of these exhibitions and their sponsoring groups, such as the Jack of Diamonds and the Donkey's Tail, provoked the critics, challenged good taste, and "shocked the bourgeoisie," often causing reviewers to dismiss the new art as childish, as amateur, and—much to the liking of Larionov in particular—as primitive. In addition, the many references, whether positive or negative, to the activities of the artists and their affiliations that appeared in newspapers and

journals constitute an invaluable guide to the chronology of the avant-garde, helping us to pinpoint the whereabouts of an individual, the date of an event, or, as in the context of the Jack of Diamonds and the Donkey's Tail below, the reasons for a particular sequence of events.¹

The text below, "Ssora 'khvostov' s 'valetami'" (The Quarrel between the "Tails" and the "Jacks"), is from the newspaper *Golos Moskvyy* ([Voice of Moscow], 11 December 1911, no. 285, p. 5), and is being published here for the first time in English translation. The report—basically, an interview with Larionov—is signed by the pseudonym "Cherri."² The contrary tone of the article, the "personal encounter" with Larionov, the long quotations from Larionov's remarks, and the undisguised antagonism towards the Jack of Diamonds would indicate that "Cherri" may well be a pseudonym for Larionov himself, the moreso as at that time he was the subject, if not the author, of similar articles and interviews in the Moscow press.³ For example, just two days prior to "The Quarrel," the Moscow critic Fedor Mukhortov had published a damning criticism of Larionov's one-man exhibition, also in *Golos Moskvyy*, referring to his art as a "creeping paralysis." Perhaps Larionov intended his commentary here to be a published response.⁴ In any case, Larionov liked to wear coats of different colors, happily inventing and quoting, for example, the poets Bleklov, Semeonov, and Reishpet, in his miscellany *Oslinyi khvost i mishen'* ([Donkey's Tail and Target] n1913)⁵, antedating his paintings,⁶ and even describing a trip to Turkey in 1911 that never took place.⁷

The references in the title, "The Quarrel between the 'Tails' and the 'Jacks,'" are to the members of the Donkey's Tail group and to those of the Jack of Diamonds, two principal catalysts of the early avant-garde. Larionov and his colleagues had founded the Jack of Diamonds towards the end of 1910 and opened the first exhibition on 10 December at the Salon of the Levisson Building, Moscow (through 16 January 1911), at which David Davidovich Burliuk



Fig. 1. Group photograph of the participants of the Donkey's Tail exhibition, Moscow, 1912. Goncharova is at right center; Larionov is on the far left.

(1882–1967), Robert Rafailovich Fal'k (1886–1958), Goncharova, Vasilii Vasil'evich Kandinsky (1866–1944), Petr Petrovich Konchalovsky (1876–1956), Aleksandr Vasil'evich Kuprin (1880–1960), Aristarkh Vasil'evich Lentulov (1882–1943), Malevich, Il'ia Ivanovich Mashkov (1883–1944), Vasilii Vasil'evich Rozhdestvensky (1884–1963), and Mariamna Vladimirovna Verevkina (Marianne Werefkin, 1860–1938), to mention just a few of the thirty-eight participants, contributed paintings and sculptures reflecting the latest artistic trends. While not so called yet, Neo-Primitivism was well represented with pictures such as *Washing Linen* and *Woodcutter* (Goncharova) and *Walk in a Provincial Town* and scenes from the soldier series (Larionov). Although Larionov and his colleagues dominated the show, the first Jack of Diamonds was an eclectic mosaic of styles inasmuch as the "Munich School" (Kandinsky, Gabrielle Münter, Werefkin) and French Cubism (Henri Le Fauconnier and Albert Gleizes) were also included.

With their parallel emphasis on indigenous sources, on the painting of Cézanne, and on the Cubist experiment, the "new barbarians" of the Jack of Diamonds provoked much commentary, one critic accusing it of "Infuriating the viewer's eye."⁸ Certainly, the bright colors, bizarre

subjects, and crude forms were distant from the landscapes and portraits of latterday Realism and the forced aestheticism of Symbolism to which the Moscow public was used; and the very distribution of the paintings (in four uneven rows, packed closely together) irritated and bewildered. Even so, as the article below indicates, the "Jacks" were a group of very different artistic personalities, and the manifest solidarity of their first exhibition did not last. Not surprisingly, by the fall of 1911, Larionov was disheartened by what, in general, he regarded as the stagnation of the group and, in particular, by the strong French orientation of members such as Fal'k, Mashkov, and Konchalovsky. As a result, Larionov seceded from the Jack of Diamonds and, in December (if not in November), founded his new group, i.e., the Donkey's Tail. Although the Donkey's Tail exhibition opened only on 11 March 1912 (at the Moscow Institute of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture), it is clear that Larionov had given much thought to the idea of establishing a new group long before. His friend and colleague, the painter and writer Sergei Pavlovich Bobrov (1889–1974), for example, gave his institutional affiliation as being the Donkey's Tail for his lecture at the All-Russian Congress of Artists in St. Petersburg on 31 December 1911.⁹



Fig. 2. Anonymous, Cover of first Jack of Diamonds exhibition program, Moscow, December 1910.

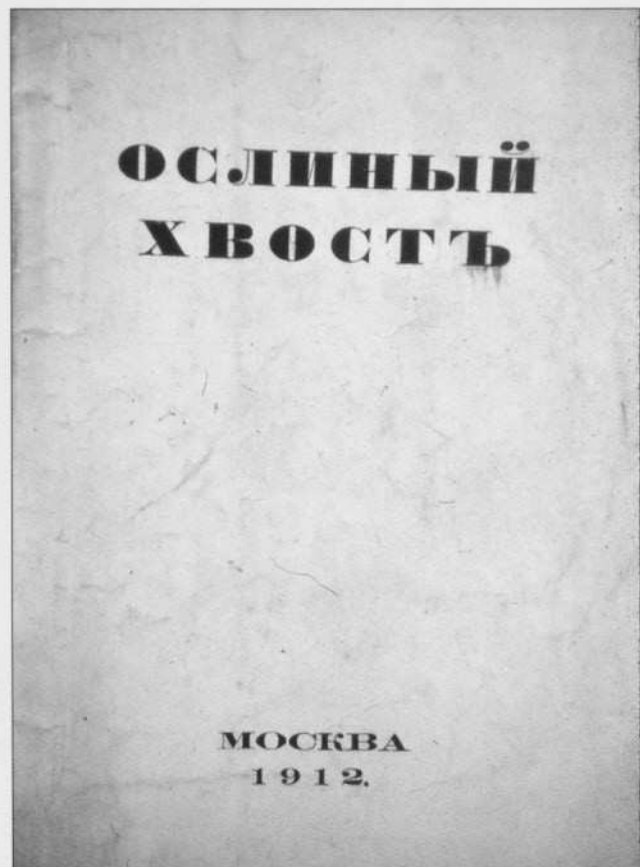


Fig. 3. Anonymous, Cover of Donkey's Tail exhibition program, Moscow, March 1912.

What is also striking about "The Quarrel" is that Larionov even refers to the group that would take over from the Donkey's Tail, i.e., the Target, an observation that confirms Larionov's ability to plan his strategies well in advance. After all, the Target exhibition took place fifteen months after this interview, in March–April 1913, and included new sections of children's art and signboards, as well as most of the "Tails."

That the "Tails" and the "Jacks" had parted company definitively became clear at the debate that the Jack of Diamonds society organized at the Polytechnic Museum, Moscow, on 12 February 1912. As the Cubo-Futurist poet Benedikt Livshits recalls, it was during her lecture on Cubism there that Goncharova condemned the Jack of Diamonds, which "has replaced creative activity with theorizing," inspiring Larionov to issue a "dithyramb to the Donkey's Tail."¹⁰ The debate ended raucously with Larionov walking off the stage to whoops and whistles from the audience. Undaunted, the Jack of Diamonds society went ahead with its second exhibition, opening in Moscow on 25 February 1912, but, of course, without the support of Goncharova and Larionov.

In hindsight, it is hard to award primacy and originality of pictorial enterprise to the "Tails" rather than to the "Jacks." Larionov did promote his abstract style of painting, Rayism,



Fig. 4. Photograph of Goncharova (on left) and Larionov with their faces painted. Reproduced in the journal *Teatr v karrikaturakh* (The Theater in Caricatures), Moscow, 1913, no. 3, p. 9.

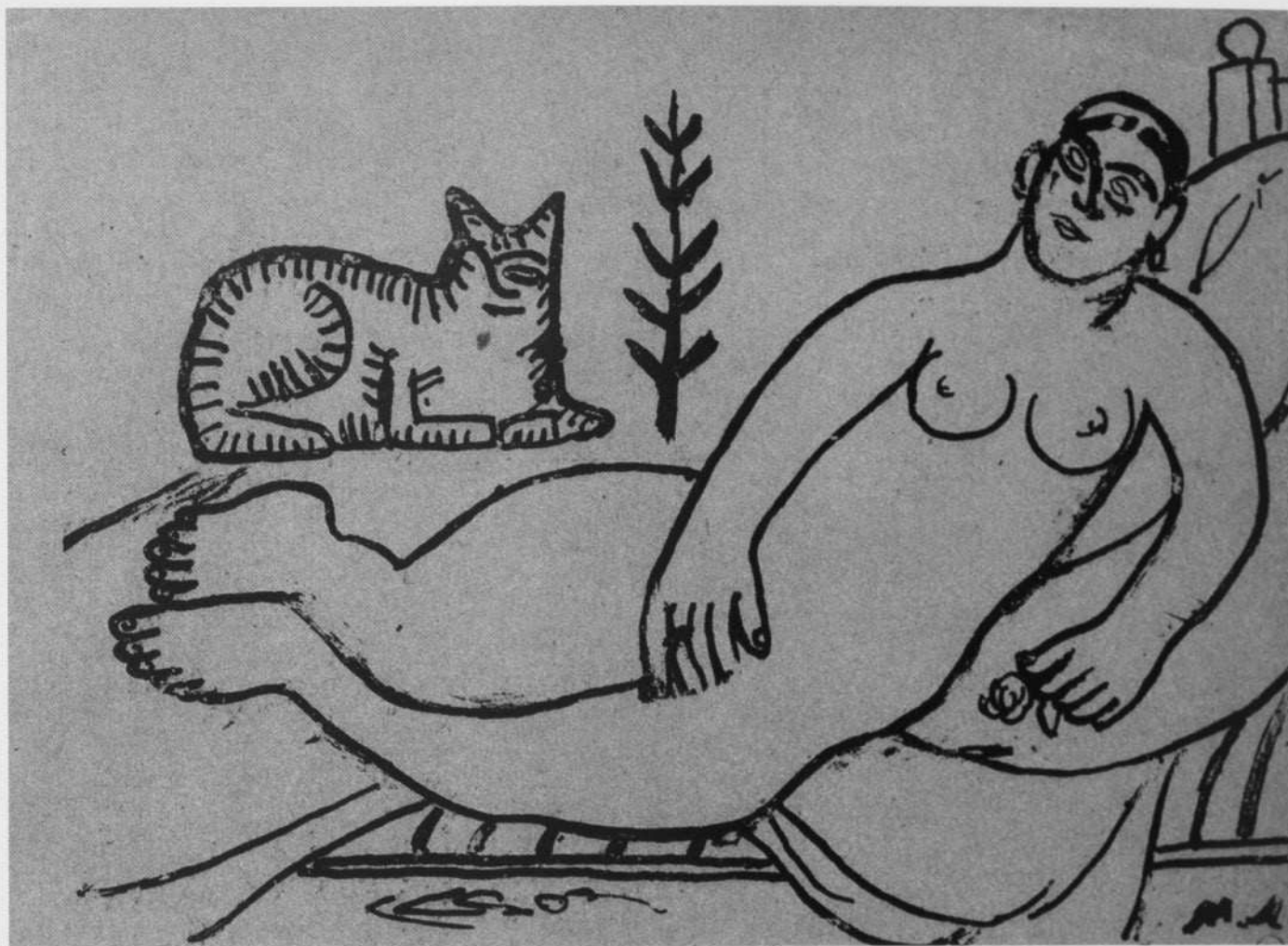


Fig. 5. Mikhail Larionov, *Katsap Venus*, from *16 risunkov N. S. Goncharovoi i M. F. Larionova* (16 Drawings by N. S. Goncharova and M. F. Larionov), 1913, lithograph. St. Petersburg, State Russian Museum.

at his shows and combined high and low by including examples of children's art and signboards in the Target. He used all his exhibitions, including the last in the series that he organized before going abroad (*No. 4*, Moscow, 1914), as performative declarations of intent, rejecting the "Frenchifying" effect of artists such as Fal'k and Mashkov and emphasizing the "Asiatic" links of the new Russian culture.¹¹ However, the Jack of Diamonds also continued to promote the new, inviting Chagall, Aleksandra Eskter (Exter), Kandinsky, Franz Marc, Henri Matisse, Pablo Picasso, Ivan Puni, Tatlin, and many other radical artists to contribute; Malevich even showed fifty-nine examples of Suprematism at the 1916 session.

"The Quarrel" is one of the many newspaper publications of ca. 1910–14 (interviews, reviews, articles) that follow and document the evolution of the early avant-garde in Russia. Even if many of them are superficial and defamatory, they still tell the story in a vivid and topical manner and evoke a keen sense of the eager belief in, and urgent commitment to, the new painting that artists such as Larionov possessed.

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The Quarrel between the "Tails" and the "Jacks"

A split has occurred between the Moscow artists of the extremely leftist tendency.

Hitherto they were advancing towards their goals amicably, fearlessly winning the right to exist.

Last season at the Jack of Diamonds exhibition they were still confederates.

But since then a lot has changed.

Some members of the group are irrepressibly turbulent. They are gripped by an impulse, by a relentless aspiration to advance towards new aims, to new and joyful vistas.

But the others are yes men. They have managed to find certain forms and to establish certain principles and now rest content. They are complacent with success.

Therein lies the main reasons for the split.

Those who have found peace and quiet have settled down in the Jack of Diamonds. They have established a society under that name and want it to always stay like that.¹²

They are: Mashkov, Konchalovsky, Fal'k, and Lentulov.

But the irrepressible, headed by Larionov, are now exhibiting with the Donkey's Tail.

In a published statement Mr. Mashkov, Secretary of the Jack of Diamonds, has put off the Donkey's Tail exhibition until May, but in spite of this it is going to open in mid-January.¹³

Those showing will be: Larionov, Goncharova, Malevich, Bart, Tatlin, Takke, Morgunov, Bobrov, Shevchenko, Rogovin, Skuie, Sagaidachyi.¹⁴

I saw Larionov yesterday at the exhibition of his paintings in the Literary Circle.¹⁵

"You find the split strange?" Larionov says, "Strange that only after a year we have turned up in different camps? I think not. Isn't it true that when you look at something for a long time and try to explain what's right in front of you, suddenly some detail or other will explain everything and with total clarity? Your opinion is made up rightaway. And nothing will change it...."

That's exactly what has happened here.

What is the Jack of Diamonds?

It was I who provided the name.¹⁶ It is fortuitous. Could just as well be something else. Doesn't stand on a strong foundation. Just for last year's exhibition and because this name is, in any case, indispensable.

Back then we imagined that we were one. We all intuited and understood the new paths and the new words the same way.

But we've been burned.

Our tasks—whoever stands with me—is to fathom and expose the essence of things and phenomena by painterly media. In remaining extreme Realists,¹⁷ we do not elaborate particular forms to express our aspirations and do not follow particular canons.

As long as the essence is expressed clearly—form, however, does not play a major role within the confines of feasible reality. That is why our forms often diverge from reality.

People comment that facial features, the position of the body or the outline of the shoulders are ugly.

For those of us who are painting them, these pictures contain no absolute ugliness. There is exaggeration, but without exaggeration we would not be able to express our beliefs very clearly.

Those who have remained behind beneath the banner of the Jack of Diamonds are also Realists. But Realists of the Repin kind or Realists-cum-photographers, if you like.¹⁸ It doesn't mean that you are understanding the soul of an object if you look at it magnified, circumscribe it with a sharp contour, and paint it different colors. The result will be merely a colored photograph. Maybe everything will be genuine and precise therein, but its soullessness turns you off.

To the public and the masses, those who have stuck to the Jack of Diamonds are even stranger, ever wilder. But for us they are finished.

They have been possessed by academism, a kind of academic routine.

So that the young and the new already belong to the past. They are history.

If you are struck by their colors or astonished by their drawing, stop believing! Remember—there's something very familiar here and you've seen it all before. But we should not take anything from the past. Not a single feature, even if it be an ordinary one.

If we do use paints—then we do so not just to paint the surface any old how. It's because we cannot express our moods any other way.

And it is just this connection with the name Jack of Diamonds that is betraying us.

You sense peace and quiet, the need for a comfort zone and a philistine desire to speculate on the registered name.

The public knows the Jack of Diamonds and, of course, will go to it more readily than to any new exhibition.

But we are free.

We used to be the Jack of Diamonds. This year we will be The Donkey's Tail, and next year we will come back as The Target.

Not even united in name

Always young and independent.

NOTES

1. A comprehensive chronology of the careers of Goncharova and Larionov, in particular, including references to reviews and interviews in the contemporary press is to be found in G. Viatte et al., *Nathalie Goncharova. Michel Larionov*, ex. cat., Paris, Centre Georges Pompidou, 21 June–18 September 1995, comp. J. Boissel and E. Basner (Paris, 1995), 226–43.
2. It has not proven possible to decipher the pseudonym "Cherri." The comprehensive Russian index of pseudonyms, i.e., I. Masanov, *Slovar' pseudonimov russkikh pisatelei, uchenykh i obshchestvennykh deiatelei*, vol. 3 (Moscow, 1958), does not carry an entry for Cherri.
3. See, for example, M. L. [=Mikhail Larionov], "Gazetnye kritiki v roli politicii nravov," *Zolotoe runo*, 11–12 (1909 [=1910]), 97–98; "Pis'mo v redaktsiiu," *Nov'*, 29 January 1911; and the interviews with Mikhail Larionov, i.e., [Yu. Baltrushaitis], "'Oslinyi khvost' (iz bsd)," *Rannee utro*, no. 5 (6 January 1912), and in *Protiv techeniia*, 24 December 1911, 5, where Larionov repeats some of the same information as here.
4. F. Mukhortov: "Progressivnyi paralich (vystavka kartin M. F. Larionova)," *Golos Moskvy*, no. 283 (9 December 1911), 5.
5. See M. Larionov, *Oslinyi khvost i mishaen'* (Moscow, 1913), 144–47.
6. This is especially true of Larionov's later years in Paris, when he tended to antedate his creation of the Rayist style (1912) and allied paintings to 1909.
7. On Larionov's "Imaginary Voyage to Turkey," see A. Parton, *Mikhail Larionov and the Russian Avant-Garde* (Princeton, 1993), especially 106–7.
8. M. Voloshin, "Bubnovyi valet," *Russkaia khudozhestvennaia letopis'*, no. 1 (1911), 10.
9. See the rubric of the transcription of Bobrov's lecture, i.e., "Osnovy novoi russkoi zhivopisi," I. Repin et al., *Trudy Vserossiiskogo s'ezda russkikh khudozhnikov*, vol. 1 (Petrograd, 1915), 41.
10. B. Livshits, *Polutoraglaznyi strelets* (1933). English translation in J. Bowlt, trans., *Benedikt Livshits: "The One and a Half-Eyed Archer"* (Newtonville, 1976), 82–84.
11. See, for example, Point No. 6 ("We aspire towards the East") in Larionov's preface to the catalogue of the Target exhibition, i.e., M. Larionov, "Predislavie," *Mishaen'* (Moscow, 1913), 6.
12. Registered as an official society on 1 November 1911, the Jack of Diamonds had its own statute, program of activities, and authority to sponsor cultural meetings such as debates and lectures. With Konchalovsky as its first chair and Mashkov as secretary, the Jack of Diamonds society continued to organize exhibitions and other public events until 1917. For further information, see G. Pospelov, *Bubnovyi valet* (Moscow, 1990).
13. In fact, the Donkey's Tail exhibition opened only on 11 March 1912. Details concerning Mashkov's "published statement" have not been forthcoming.
14. Viktor Sergeevich Bart (1887–1954), Vladimir Evgrafovich Tatlin (1885–1953), Boris Aleksandrovich Takke (1889–1951), Aleksei Alekseevich Morgunov (1884–1935), Aleksandr Vasil'evich Shevchenko (1882–1948), Nikolai Efimovich Rogovin (dates unknown), Illarion Aleksandrovich Skuie (1883–1911), Evgenii Yakovlevich Sagaidachnyi (1886–1961). With the exception of Takke, all took part in the Donkey's Tail exhibition. Other participants there included Marc Chagall.
15. On 8 December 1911 (for one day only), the Artistic-Literary Circle in concert with the Society of Free Esthetics, Moscow, organized Larionov's one-man exhibition of 124 works. For a review, see note 3 above.
16. Larionov does, indeed, seem to have coined the title, although Lentulov, for example, claimed co-authorship. For a discussion of the name and its many connotations, see Pospelov, *Bubnovyi valet*, 99–103. The name "Donkey's Tail" derived from the Paris episode whereby a group of students tied a paintbrush to the tail of a donkey who "painted" a picture, which they then exhibited. See Parton, *Mikhail Larionov and the Russian Avant-Garde*, 39.
17. Larionov, like other avant-gardists, not least Naum Gabo and Malevich, used the word "Realist" to describe his own art. For him, even the abstract system of Rayism was "super-real." See his "Le Rayonisme Pictural," *Montjoie!* (Paris, 1914), no. 4/5/6, 15.
18. Russia's primary Realist painter and a bastion of the Society of Wandering Exhibitions, Il'ia Efimovitch Repin (1844–1930) often polemicized with the avant-garde, even though he recognized their talents and often entertained them at his home.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–4, Los Angeles, Institute of Modern Russian Culture; fig. 5, St. Petersburg, State Russian Museum.

Two Coptic Bronze Vessels in the Walters Art Museum

LESLIE S. B. MACCOULL

Two bronze vessels, bearing dedicatory inscriptions by the church officials who donated them, were probably crafted in northern Egypt between A.D. 700 and about 1000. It is hypothesized that they functioned as containers for bringing the eucharist to sick Christians in their homes.

In the collection of the Walters Art Museum, there are two bronze vessels (acc. nos. 54.2288 and 54.2289) that bear Coptic inscriptions and are decorated with crosses.¹ Presented to the museum by their purchaser, Robert Garrett, before 1941, they are said to have been acquired in Egypt in the 1920s and to be from the Faiyum (though the latter may be simply dealer misinformation).² Though exhibited as early as 1941³ and 1947,⁴ they have not yet been studied in detail; their inscriptions remain unpublished, and their function largely unexplained.⁵ I should like to offer here a preliminary attempt at interpretation.

The larger of the two (54.2289), 8¹¹/₁₆ in. (22 cm.) in diameter, is in the shape of a tripod, with three lobed feet and a flaring flat rim (figs. 1–4).⁶ Around its lower body, below a row of simple inlaid crosses, runs an inlaid dedicatory inscription that can be read as follows:

+ ΠΘ(ΘΕΙ)C I(ΗCOY)C ΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C ΒΩΙΘΙ (=ΒΟΗΘΕΙ)
ΠΕΚ2ΕΜ2Λ (=2Μ2ΔΛ) ΠΕΤΙΩ29 Π2(ΥΠΟ)Δ(ΙΔΚΟΝ)ΟC
CΕΙΗ ΔΜΙΝ (=ΔΜΗΝ)

"O Lord Jesus Christ, help your servant who crafted (/engraved) this, the subdeacon Seiê, Amen."⁷

The minor order of subdeacons is, of course, widely attested in the Egyptian church,⁸ and such a cleric could well have been both craftsman and donor of an object of this kind. The proper name Saiê/Seiê ("beautiful") is attested for the sixth-century Hermopolite nome (the administrative region centered on the city of Hermopolis in Middle Egypt) in P.Lond.Copt. I 1075 (4†)⁹ and 1076 (2→):¹⁰ but this fact may not determine the origin and date of these vessels.

The smaller of the two (54.2288), 5⁵/₁₆ in. (13.5 cm.) in diameter, is decorated on its lower half below a ridge¹¹

with an inlaid zigzag with crosses between the points (figs. 5–8). Above this pattern, but below its slightly flared (and damaged) lip, is an inlaid inscription that can be partially read as follows:

†ΝΔ ΜΕΟΙ Κ(ΥΡΙΕ) ΠΘ(ΕΟC) ΤC† ΔΔΩΟ2[...]ΜΟΔΩ†
ΙΜΕΝΙΤΟ †CΜCΙ 2ΔΗ..ΕCΕΥΩΠΙ

"Have mercy and remember, O Lord God,...
...modotus the doorkeeper and musician (?)... So be it."

These two minor orders, doorkeeper and *psaltês* (singer), are also attested for Christian Egypt.¹² The gap in the inscription seems too large to restore "Hermodotus" as the proper name, and, in any case, that is probably a name type that belongs to too early a period. Although the Walters' accession records suggest that the objects date between the fourth and sixth centuries A.D., that may be too early: the form of the *nomen sacrum* or abbreviated form C(ΘΕΙ)C with the letter *chima* points to a later, early medieval time of origin.¹³ (Or, alternatively, the form with *chima* may be regionally-dialectally linked rather than temporally linked,¹⁴ and may point to an origin in the Delta or perhaps even indeed in the Faiyum.) The vessels may have been crafted at a time and in a place corresponding to the takeover of the Bohairic dialectal variety of Coptic as the vehicular language of Egyptian Christianity.

The fact that Coptic rather than Greek is the language of the inscriptions is noteworthy. We know that there is no hard-and-fast correspondence between language use and Christological confession.¹⁵ While the use of Coptic rather than Greek does not necessarily point to the objects having been made for and dedicated to a non-Chalcedonian Coptic church, such an origin might be more probable in the later period, when the non-Chalcedonian ("Coptic Orthodox") confession was in the majority position in Egyptian Christian society.

Positing an ΕΜΝΟΥΤ or doorkeeper as one of the donors suggests a eucharistic function for the Walters' vessels, especially in view of the fact that the doorkeeper¹⁶



Figs. 1–4. Coptic vessel, bronze. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 54.2289.

was often entrusted with the task of preparing the eucharistic loaf.¹⁷ Thus, I first identified the footed vessel as an *artophorion*, or container for the consecrated bread (although its lid has not survived),¹⁸ and the footless one as a wine container. But further study led me to deduce an even more specialized function.

When the eucharistic sacrament was brought to the house of a sick person, the procedure at the church was to moisten the consecrated bread with some consecrated wine and then place it in an *artophorion*, which was carried to the house. The priest administered communion and then washed his hands by having water from a ewer poured over them into a basin. This water was then given to the sick person to drink.¹⁹ Therefore, it seems more accurate to identify the Walters' vessels (which resemble each other in material and lettering styles) as a "sick call set" consisting of *artophorion*²⁰ and *tisht* (basin).²¹ These partly correspond to the Byzantine *artophorion*²² and half of the *cherniboxeston*, or ewer²³-and-basin pair,²⁴ but are used in a particular way and for a special function. The sizes of the objects are

compatible with these postulated uses: a larger bread container with feet and a smaller vessel for liquid with a stable, flat bottom, both portable and fitting well in the hands.

There is a nice distinction operative here between the "reserved" sacramental elements—consecrated at one eucharist and then put aside—and the (as it were) "portative" sacramental elements being carried out of the church to the dwelling of a sick person.²⁵ During the Coptic middle ages, amid the vicissitudes of Islamic rule and its varying degrees of severity toward the subject faiths, both these practices became increasingly difficult. In the tenth century, Severus of Ashmunein (ca. 920–1000) criticized other confessions (specifically the Chalcedonians [Melkites]) for keeping the eucharist on hand in case of a death, while acknowledging that this had been done in the past.²⁶ Patriarch Christodoulos (1046–1077) went so far as to forbid the reservation of the eucharistic elements altogether, for reasons of safety both of the church members and of the eucharist.²⁷ This may indicate that the Walters' vessels predate Severus of Ashmunein.



Figs. 5–8. Coptic vessel, bronze. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 54.2288.

While it has been documented that the paten and chalice used on church altars for the celebration of the Coptic eucharistic liturgy were consecrated with a prescribed ritual involving signing the vessels with holy oil,²⁸ I am not aware of any written evidence for a procedure to hallow or set apart the vessels used for communion of the sick. However, although there are no data on the origin or historical development of such a procedure, it was probably performed, especially in light of the reverence for bronze and other metal sacramental vessels attested in Coptic sources. The so-called *Canons of Athanasius* (originating in Coptic probably ca. 600 [cf. above, nn. 8, 16], and translated into Arabic in the eleventh century) enjoin reverence for these “living, spiritual” vessels that touch and contain the body and blood of the “living God.”²⁹ The fact that such vessels were dedicated as *ex-votos*, as had been Christian practice since late antiquity, was also noted.³⁰ These objects were painstakingly inventoried and stored by church officials,³¹ who were responsible for rendering account of them to the bishop.³² Although there is no documentation of the

Walters’ vessels specifically in any such records, it seems probable that they were made and dedicated by early medieval Coptic clerics in minor orders to be used as vessels for the ritual of communion of the sick, probably in the post-conquest period (after A.D. 641) when even more careful surveillance over the procedure of the eucharist and especially over the consecrated eucharistic elements was seen by the community to be necessary. Medieval church handbooks came to recommend such caution.³³ A *terminus ante quem* for the crafting and dedication of the Walters’ vessels would probably be the twelfth century. Later than that, one would expect to see spellings using the Coptic letter *hai* (rather than the letter *hori*) for the aspirate, and the use of a more florid and ornamental lettering style.³⁴ Scientific analysis of the physical material of the vessels, including the inlay of the inscriptions, will provide more secure data if and when it can be carried out.³⁵

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NOTES

1. I thank Dr. Gary Vikan, Director of the Walters, for permission to examine the vessels at first hand.
2. I also thank the photo services department of the Walters for photographs and background information from the museum's files.
3. *Pagan and Christian Egypt* (Brooklyn, 1941), 32 (nos. 81 and 82) with illustrations.
4. *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (Baltimore, 1947), 60 (nos. 225 and 226) with plate 45.
5. Though D. Bénazeth, "Metalwork, Coptic," in *Coptic Encyclopaedia* (New York, 1991), 5:1601–2, interpreted the presence of crosses as indicating a liturgical function.
6. Compared to Louvre E11703 by D. Bénazeth, *L'Art du métal au début de l'ère chrétienne* (Paris, 1992), 45.
7. On dedicatory inscriptions, cf. M. Mundell Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium* (Baltimore, 1986), 4–6. Both the "Lord, help" formula and the "Remember" formula are found on all sorts of objects, wearable, portable, and dedicated to churches, all over the Christian East. On inlaid inscriptions, see *ibid.*, 45–47.
8. F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten* (Berlin, 1925–31), 3:407 s.v., with *Supplement 1* (Amsterdam, 1971), 3:442 s.v., and *Supplement 2* (Wiesbaden, 1991), 328 s.v.; E. Wipszycka, "Les ordres mineurs dans l'Eglise d'Egypte du IV^e au VIII^e siècles," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, 23 (1993), 181–215; and W. Riedel and W. E. Crum, *The Canons of Athanasius* (London, 1904, reprint, Amsterdam, 1973), 20–22.
9. For citations of papyri, cf. J. F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Demotic, Latin and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, Beta Version, updated online at <<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>>. In P.Lond.Copt. I 1075, 4^r, Saïê son of Elias, no profession stated, pays 1 keration (900 talents) tax, putting him in the low range of Hermopolite villagers in this sixth-century context: it is hard to judge how well-off a person might have had to be to donate a craft object to the church.
10. F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* (Heidelberg, 1922; reprint, Starnberg, 1988), 357; cf. D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum* (Milan, 1971), 277.
11. Compared to Louvre E 13880 by Bénazeth, *L'Art du métal*, 39.
12. Wipszycka, "Ordres mineurs." For doorkeeper, θυρωρός, cf. *P.Oxy.* I 141 (A.D. 503), *P.Grenf.* II 91 (sixth/seventh centuries), *SPP* VIII 1106 (seventh century). I am not sure about the simultaneous holding of both of these church offices, which does not appear otherwise attested.
13. Cf. W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939), 787b (though the forms can sometimes occur in the same text).
14. R. Kasser, "Langue copte bohairique: son attestation par les inscriptions des Kellia et leur évaluation linguistique," in *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit: Akten des 6. Internationalen Koptologenkongresses, Münster, Juli 1996*, ed. S. Emmel et al. (Wiesbaden, 1999), 2:335–46, here 342. For the rise and dominance of Bohairic (Delta) Coptic as the vehicular language, see N. Bosson, "Les inscriptions," in *Kellia II: L'ermitage copte QR 195, 2: céramique, inscriptions, décors*, ed. P. Ballet et al. (Cairo, 2003), 209–326, esp. 213–29.
15. See, e.g., H. Brakmann, "Neue Funde und Forschungen zur Liturgie der Kopten (1992–1996)," in *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit* 1:451–64, esp. 454–55; and E. Wipszycka, "Le nationalisme a-t-il existé dans l'Égypte byzantine?," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, 22 (1992), 83–128.
16. Cf. Riedel/Crum, *Canons*, 24–25, 37–39; *ibid.*, 20 (§10)–21 listing the seven *tagmata* (orders) of the church from bishop to doorkeeper, and stating that the bishop must pay attention to the doorkeeper and the other minor orders (including the *psaltes*). On p. 22 is the statement that all seven orders from bishop to doorkeeper must perform their duties correctly, and are to be tax-exempt. The duties of the doorkeeper include maintenance of the lamps in the church, and special crowd control in Holy Week (not to admit "scoffers"—after the eighth century probably Moslems—, the excommunicated, or the unruly [*ataktei*, 125, §57]). A doorkeeper counts as a cleric (37, §53) and cannot be accused except with three witnesses. He is also obliged to tithe (50, §83). As is the case for other men in minor orders, the doorkeeper can marry (118, §43), but is not to go in for too much unseemly celebrating at his wedding (in the Coptic recension, dated according to Crum [p. 83] ca. A.D. 600).
17. O. H. E. Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church* (Cairo, 1967), 81.
18. *Ibid.*, 26.
19. *Ibid.*, 86; and Riedel/Crum, *Canons*, 32–33, §36 (cf. 74). According to the Arabic version of the Canons, the communion (*ṣaḡyr*, "secrets") is to be brought only to the moribund, and no well persons are to be given the sacrament. Any well person who tries to force the priest to give him communion is equated to the servant who buried his lord's talent (Matt. 25:14–30 esp. 18, 24–28), "because he did not honor the church" (p. 33).
20. Cf. G. Graf, *Verzeichnis arabischer kirchlicher Termini*, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium Subsidia* 8 (Louvain, 1954), 39 (giving the terms *huqq al-dhakīna* ["box of what is reserved," as in Burmester, *Coptic Church*, 86] or *h. al-munawalāh*) (I thank Kent Rigsby for the reference).
21. Cf. Graf, *Verzeichnis*, 74; and, again, Burmester, *Coptic Church*, 26.
22. Cf. J. Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum* (Venice, 1730; reprint, Graz, 1960), 190. See also J. Duffy and G. Vikan, "A Small Box in John Moschus," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 24 (1983), 93–99, and J. Duffy, "One More μουζικιον," *ibid.*, 37 (1996), 413–18.
23. Either the (non-preserved) ewer in this case was made of breakable ceramic and thus has not survived, or else it may have resembled one of the bronze pitchers (from an earlier period and an origin further south) illustrated in D. Bénazeth and A. Conin, "Un ensemble de bronzes coptes récemment acquis par le Louvre," in *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit* 1:79–86.
24. See M. Mundell Mango, s.v. "Cherniboxeston," in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York, 1991), 1:418 and *idem*, *Silver*, 107, 112–13. The term is attested in the sixth-century document *SPP* XX 151 (provenance unspecified), an account of silver objects.

25. On a medieval source for the former (the reserved sacrament) and its practices, see S. K. Samir, "L'Encyclopédie liturgique d'Ibn Kabar (†1324) et son apologie d'usages coptes," in *Crossroad of Cultures: Studies in Liturgy and Patristics in Honor of Gabriele Winkler*, ed. H.-J. Feulner et al., *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 260 (Rome, 2000), 619–55, here §V B, "La réserve eucharistique chez les Coptes," 646–52, giving the text of Ibn Kabar's *Lamp of Darkness*, chapter 24, section [12] 13, "Sur la conservation [iddihār] de l'eucharistie [qurbān] et de son déplacement [nql] d'un lieu à un autre" (cf. 639).

26. Samir, "Encyclopédie liturgique," 646–47.

27. Samir, "Encyclopédie liturgique," 646 with n. 144.

28. Personal communication from Nora Stene Preston (Oslo), 20 June 2000. The Coptic consecration procedure is preserved only in a very late (fifteenth-century) source: A. Abdallah, *L'ordinamento liturgico di Gabriele V, 880 patriarca copto* (Cairo, 1962), 268–69; cf. G. van Loon, *The Gate of Heaven* (Istanbul, 1999), 115 with nn. 485–86. For the Byzantine ritual, cf. Goar, *Euchologion*, 671–72; and for the Syriac-speaking Melkite rite, cf. S. P. Brock, *Catalogue of the Syriac Fragments (New Finds) in the Library of the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai* (Athens, 1995), 60, no. Sp. 60, where what seems to be sacred vessels have invoked upon them the hovering and overshadowing of the Holy Spirit (with no use of holy oil mentioned, however).

29. Riedel/Crum, *Canons*, 6 (§1), enjoining reverence for bronze altar vessels with a quotation from Numbers 16:36–38, 14–15 (§7), 75.

30. Ibid., 129 with n. 3 ("a vow of bronze"; "a dedication [*anathēma*]"), 137 (with the added proviso that the poor are even more precious than vessels [*anathēmata*], because they are God's image and likeness [cf. 49, §80]).

31. Ibid., 41 (§62) in the Arabic version, stating that all vessels, whether gold, silver, or bronze, are to be kept in the charge of the "lesser steward" (*koui nōikonomos* in the Coptic version, 100, 129, which states that "of all the *anathēmata* [dedicated things] under their hand, a reckoning [*ōp*] shall be made in writing [*eusēh*] in the great church [*noḡ nēkklēsia*, i.e., the cathedral], every *anathēma* that is vowed [*etouna erēt mmoou naf*, sc. to God], and every vow of bronze or gold that is given, all are to be under his power [*exousia*]").

32. Ibid., 41 (§62), 129. The annual account of the inventory is to be rendered at Easter. In the Arabic version of the *Canons*, the writer illustrates the principle that an evil fate will befall those who steal church vessels by narrating a tale "from the days when I was young" about a would-be church plate thief who was frozen to the spot after his theft, unable to move until the church officials arrived (57–58, §90).

33. By the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century, the Coptic believer who had received the eucharist in a church was being warned to behave circumspectly on his or her way home, "not to reveal the mysteries to Christ's enemies or cast pearls before swine": Samir, "Encyclopédie liturgique," 646 with n. 144.

34. Cf. *Coptic Encyclopaedia* 2:580.

35. I thank Dr. Jacques van der Vliet of Leiden University for having a first version of this paper appear in poster form at the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies, Leiden, August 2000. —In loving memory, as always, of Mirrit Boutros Ghali (cf. *L'Art Copte en Egypte: 2000 Ans de Christianisme* [Paris, 2000], 23).

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–8, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.

Antonio Gai's Statues for Palazzo Pisani Rediscovered in Baltimore

GIUSEPPE PAVANELLO

Four imposing limestone statues in the Walters' collection have traditionally been identified as mid-eighteenth-century French works. In fact, there is substantial evidence to suggest that they were the creation of the Venetian sculptor Antonio Gai (1686–1769), and that the figures, allegorical personifications, were part of a series of fifteen statues representing Virtue, the Arts, and the Sciences made in the early eighteenth century for the great staircase of the Palazzo Pisani in Venice.

On the third floor of the Walters Art Museum are four large stone statues representing allegorical figures (27.290–27.293; figs. 1–4). Resting on stone pedestals with curved moldings (19 x 50 x 21 in. [48.3 x 127 x 53.3 cm.]), these limestone statues have been identified as French works from the mid-eighteenth century, probably because they were purchased from Glaenzer and Company after being exhibited at the Paris World's Fair of 1900 by Raoul Heilbronner.

Who was the sculptor and what was their original placement? It should first be noted that they are not French, but Venetian, and that they correspond in style to works by Antonio Gai (1686–1769). They are particularly close to the allegory of Fortitude (fig. 5) from the Venetian church of San Vidal, executed in 1730.¹ There is a close typological affinity in the face of this figure with the faces of two of the Walters' statues, traditionally identified as Euterpe and Clio, and in the mode of animating the rich drapery with folds, waves, and ripples in large planes.

Beyond the numerous stylistic correspondences, there is also other material evidence. The Walters' statues are not finished in the round. The backs are left rough, signs that they were originally placed in niches. Scholars of eighteenth-century Venetian sculpture know that the architect Tommaso Temanza, in his discussion of Antonio Gai in his *Zibaldon*, testifies to the fact that Gai made the statues "in the niches above the stairs which go to the library" in Palazzo Pisani, Venice, near Campo Santo Stefano.² This passage did not escape Camillo Semenzato, the most

important scholar of Venetian seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sculpture, who attributes to Gai the only statue of the group, probably representing Mathematics (fig. 6), that remains at the Palazzo Pisani, now placed in the ground-floor atrium.³

Judging by the now vacant niches (fig. 7),⁴ the statues must have been fifteen in all, six large and nine small. The large niches are over nine and a half feet (three meters) high and between 19 ¹¹/₁₆ and 23 ⁵/₈ in. (50 and 60 cm.) deep: dimensions adequate to accommodate the Walters' statues. Their heights vary from 98–99 in. (248.9–251.5 cm.) (Urania, Clio) to 102 in. (259.1 cm.) (Calliope).

The group of statues was dispersed at the end of the nineteenth century before the building was acquired by the city of Venice in order to become the site of the Liceo Civico Musicale "Benedetto Marcello."⁵ The *Prima Relazione annuale (1892–1893) dell'Ufficio Regionale per la Conservazione dei Monumenti del Veneto* by Francesco Berchet (from which we learn that at the end of the lease of the palace to the city of Venice, the gates would be removed) tells us that the painting on the ceiling of the ballroom and the statues of the great staircase were already sold to the Paris dealer Heilbronner.⁶ Later on, as narrated in the *Terza Relazione annuale (1896) dell'Ufficio Regionale per la Conservazione dei Monumenti del Veneto*, the works of art were removed from the building and allowed to leave Venice "because otherwise they would have had to be paid for, and it would not have been worth it, as they are works of decadence and decline, which did not have value except in the palace for which they were made," according to the judgment of the commission of the Accademia di Belle Arti.⁷ This was a low period for the appreciation of Venetian art of the eighteenth century, considered then to be a period of decadence, described thus also in the otherwise incisive *Storia di Venezia nella vita privata* by Pompeo Gherardo Molmenti, the first edition of which was published in 1880.



Fig. 1. Antonio Gai, Allegorical Figure (perhaps Concordia), early 1720s, limestone. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 27.292.



Fig. 2. Antonio Gai, Allegorical Figure (perhaps Philosophy), early 1720s, limestone. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 27.290.

It can thus be concluded that the buyer of the statues from Palazzo Pisani is the same Heilbronner who displayed them a few years later at the Paris World's Fair, made them known to a larger public, and effected their transfer across the ocean. Recognizing their provenance is also important for better understanding their iconography. The great staircase where they were originally placed opened on to both a receiving room in which there was an immense ceiling painting by Antonio Pellegrini representing *Aurora*, and the library, as described in the already cited text by Temanza.⁸ Pride of the house of Pisani, this library was open to the public two days a week. We have a representation of the whole thanks to an eighteenth-century engraving

centering on the personifications of Merit and Sagacity, and in which two of the famous sculptural groups by Francesco Bertos—gems of the Pisani collection—are placed conspicuously on the pavement on either side (fig. 8).⁹

As in the receiving room, the library contained a ceiling painting by Antonio Pellegrini, this one representing *Minerva who subdues Time and shows the way to Eternity and four allegorical personifications* (the Arts?), also painted in the years 1721–22, now in Marble House, Newport, Rhode Island.¹⁰ One can thus suggest a date of the early 1720s also for the Walters' statues. It is likely that the Procuratore of San Marco, Alvise Pisani, head of the family and future doge, took it upon himself to commission in the same years the sculptures of



Fig. 3. Antonio Gai, Allegorical Figure (perhaps Arithmetic), early 1720s, limestone. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 27.291.



Fig. 4. Antonio Gai, Allegorical Figure (perhaps Military Architecture), early 1720s, limestone. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 27.293.

Antonio Gai for the great staircase, conceived as the grandiose entrance from the Grand Canal, and which culminated in the library. The path of one who climbs those stairs was embellished by the presence of fifteen sculpted figures: personifications of Virtue, the Arts, and the Sciences, according to what can be surmised to be an erudite iconographic program.

The Walters' statues have traditionally been described as four Muses: Clio, the muse of history with a book and scepter (acc. no. 27.290); Calliope, represented placing one foot on a rectangular rock and offering an open book (acc. no. 27.291); Euterpe, with a bundle of rods and a cornucopia in her hand (acc. no. 27.292); and Urania (acc. no. 27.293), holding a compass. Given their original context, however, it is probable

that their iconography can be interpreted differently, especially given the eighteenth-century Venetian habit of juxtaposing the classical muses with secular personifications, invented to reflect contemporary humanistic and civic ideals.

While these are certainly allegorical personifications, it is not necessarily clear what they represent. The figure usually identified as Euterpe can just as well be Concordia (acc. no. 27.292; fig. 1), with a bundle of rods and cornucopia, while the figure traditionally identified as Clio could also represent Philosophy (acc. no. 27.290; fig. 2), with a book and a scepter, posed as if delivering a pronouncement with her right hand raised. It could also be hypothesized that the statue now known as Calliope may be identified as Arithmetic



Fig. 5. Antonio Gai, Fortitude, 1730, marble. Venice, Church of San Vidal.



Fig. 6. Antonio Gai, Mathematics, early 1720s, limestone. Venice, Palazzo Pisani, near Santo Stefano.



Fig. 7. The monumental staircase of the Palazzo Pisani with one of the niches where the Antonio Gai statues once stood.



Fig. 8. View of the library of the Palazzo Pisani, engraving from *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi Operum...* (Venice: Giambattista Albrizzi, 1729).

(acc. no. 27.291; fig. 3), with open book and a small cylindrical hollow object (the handle of a stylus?), and Urania (acc. no. 27.293; fig. 4), as Military Architecture, but there is no conclusive evidence to support either of these possibilities.

In conclusion, with their attribution to Antonio Gai and their illustrious provenance from Palazzo Pisani, the statues at the Walters Art Museum may now be included among the most interesting eighteenth-century Venetian statues: a prestigious group within the larger category of European sculpture preserved in American museums.

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NOTES

Thanks to Maia Wellington Gahtan for her translation of this article into English.

1. C. Semenzato, *La scultura veneta del Seicento e del Settecento* (Venice, 1966), 132, fig. 184; L. Moretti, "Notizie e appunti su G. B. Piazzetta, alcuni piazzetteschi e G. B. Tiepolo," in *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* (1984–85), 383.

2. T. Temanza, *Zibaldone*, ed. N. Ivanoff (Venice/Rome, 1963), 30.

3. Semenzato, *La scultura veneta*, 59, 132, fig. 182. The attribution of this statue to Gai is not accepted by L. Moretti, *I Pisani di Santo Stefano e le opere d'arte del loro palazzo*, in *Il Conservatorio di Musica Benedetto Marcello di Venezia, Centenario della fondazione (1876–1976)* (Venice, 1977), 146 n. 9, fig. 3. It is likely that this statue (5 ft. 9 ³/₁₆ x 14 ³/₁₆ x 14 ³/₁₆ in. [176 x 36 x 36 cm.]), which is in a terrible state of conservation, comes from one of the smaller niches of the palace's monumental installation (7 ft. 2 ⁵/₈ in. [220 cm.] high, 18 ¹/₂ in. [47 cm.] deep). The other statue next to it of mediocre quality, however, is not at all related to Gai.

4. As there are six large niches in the staircase of Palazzo Pisani, the whereabouts of two statues are still unknown.

5. For these developments, see the cited volume on Palazzo Pisani.

6. F. Berchet, *Prima Relazione annuale (1892–1893) dell'Ufficio Regionale per la Conservazione dei Monumenti del Veneto* (Venice, 1894), 31. The ceiling painting of the ballroom is the celebrated, immense canvas of Antonio Pellegrini representing Aurora and the Hours, now in Asheville, Biltmore House (Moretti, *I Pisani*, 164–65, 173–74); G. Knox, *Antonio Pellegrini 1675–1741* (Oxford, 1995), 159, 165, 226. The dating, as in the other example cited in note 10, is unanimously given by scholars to the years 1721–22.

7. Original Italian quotation from *Terza Relazione*: "perché altrimenti si sarebbe dovuto pagarle, e non avrebbe valuto la pena, essendo opere della decadenza, che non avevano valore se non nel palazzo per cui erano state fatte." F. Berchet, *Terza Relazione annuale (1896) dell'Ufficio Regionale per la Conservazione dei Monumenti del Veneto* (Venice, 1896), 79. See also R. Gallo, *Una famiglia patrizia. I Pisani ed i palazzi di S. Stefano e di S. Sira* (Venice, 1945), 136, and Moretti, *I Pisani*, 173 n. 39.

8. The rich library of the Pisani was dispersed at auction in 1810. We know of its contents thanks to three volumes by A. G. Bonicelli, *Bibliotheca Pisanorum Veneta annotationibus nonnullis illustrata* (Venice, 1807). See also Gallo, *Una famiglia patrizia*, 48–49, 133–34.

9. On the groups of statues by Bertos, see Gallo, *Una famiglia patrizia*, 60–62, and, most recently, E. Viancini, "Per Francesco Bertos," in *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte*, 19 (1994), 143, 149–50 n. 5. The engraving representing the library of Palazzo Pisani was kindly brought to my attention by Professor Pietro Verardo. It is included in *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi Operum...*, 14 volumes (Venice, 1729). It is dedicated to the Procuratore of San Marco, Alvise Pisani, whose portrait, drawn by Bartolomeo Nazari and engraved by Francesco Zucchi, is seen in the vestibule.

From what can be understood from the engraving, it does not appear that these two groups by Bertos (representing an "Apollo and Daphne" on the left and a scene of abduction on the other side) can be identified with those in Palazzo Reale in Turin, which generally are considered to have Pisani provenances.

10. See A. Bettagno, "Un soffitto ritrovato di Palazzo Pisani," in *Arte Veneta* 29 (1975), 224–26; Moretti, *I Pisani*, 178–79; Knox, *Antonio Pellegrini*, 159, 165, 248.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–4, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum; fig. 5, Venice, Osvaldo Böhm; figs. 6–7, Giuseppe Pavanello; fig. 8, Venice, published by Giambattista Albrizzi, 1729.

Callet or Prud'hon?:

Concerning a Portrait of Cardinal de Bernis at the Walters Art Museum

OLIVIER MICHEL

In 1771, Cardinal de Bernis, the French ambassador to Rome, commissioned from the painter Antoine-François Callet a life-size portrait, to be accompanied by attributes symbolizing the principal events of his career. The primary version of this portrait is still preserved in France by the descendants of the cardinal, but a good period copy that was once in the Massarenti collection in Rome was bought in 1902 by Henry Walters. Several bust-length copies were made of this painting, one of which was painted by Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, but the copy at the Walters Art Museum is the most complete and, therefore, functions as an important document for the study of eighteenth-century Italian history.

IN MEMORY OF FEDERICO ZERI¹

On 14 August 1771, Charles Natoire, director of the Académie de France in Rome, wrote to his superior in Paris, the marquis de Marigny, superintendent of buildings, to give an account of his institution's activities: "Mr. Calais . . . is now working on a portrait of Cardinal de Bernis, which he is making large and very historiated. The head is already very well done."² A few months later, on 25 March 1772, he added:

Mr. Calais has just finished the portrait of Cardinal de Bernis, which I mentioned to you as he was beginning it. It is as well executed as he could hope for. The statesman [Bernis] is very satisfied with it. All of Rome saw it during His Eminence's conversation days, and it received great applause. Truly, the work of art, which is very historiated, does him a great deal of honor. I am very pleased that this young artist is displaying the progress he has made over the course of his studies and is setting a good example for all his fellow students. The cardinal is very pleased that I am letting you know of the painting's success.³

We know through the *Diario ordinario* that, on the same day, Wednesday, 25 March, "On Wednesday, the honorable

cardinal de Bernis, Plenipotentiary Minister of his most holy Majesty to this court offered a lavish and splendid lunch to the honorable count of Zinzendorff, Prince of the Sacred Roman Empire, who was back from Naples, present the ambassadors of Venice and Malta with various members of the highest ranks of the nobility, the total count at the table was thirty-four."⁴ Thus, there were many admirers of the portrait. Finally, on 14 July 1773, Natoire informed Marigny: "Cardinal de Bernis gave us Mr. Calais's portrait of him as a present. I put it in the portrait hall."⁵ It was still there, in the main hall, when the inventory was done by Vien in 1781,⁶ but it disappeared when the Mancini Palace was plundered on 13 January 1793, following the assassination of the French diplomat Nicolas Jean Hugou de Bassville.⁷

The Walters Art Museum owns a portrait of Cardinal de Bernis (acc. no. 37.245) that Henry Walters acquired in Rome in 1902 as part of the collection of Don Marcello Massarenti (fig. 1).⁸ Attributed to Anton Mengs at the time, it follows a traditional schema very much in vogue in courtly painting of that period, depicting the prelate seated majestically among numerous objects relating to his tastes and career.

In the first place, the location, Rome, is symbolized by a landscape, upper left, with Saint Peter's basilica in the background and part of the Dioscuri from the Quirinal plaza in the foreground. Between them, among the houses, is a cupola, an obelisk, the Antonine column, and cypresses. Noteworthy is the pediment of a church, perhaps San Silvestro in Capite, the site of Cardinal de Bernis's first assignment, which lasted from 1769 to 1774. On the right, the Apollo of Belvedere evokes both Rome and the prelate's artistic and scholarly interests. On the table and at its feet lie various books and objects alluding to poetry, politics, and religion. "[Ho]race, Homer, and Virg[il]" were major models for Bernis, whose light works led Voltaire to nickname him "Babet la bouquetière" [Babet the flower girl, for his "flowery" poetry—trans.]. On the



Fig. 1. Anonymous painting of Cardinal de Bernis after Callet. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 37.245.



Fig. 2. Painting by Callet. Saint-Marcel d'Ardèche.

left, a large book, bearing, precisely, the title "Politics," is placed on a cushion near a globe, and a series of engravings representing vistas of Venice evoke the cardinal's mission to that city between 1752 and 1755, to which the title of a large folder, "Re[port?] Ven[ice]," behind his right elbow, also makes reference. On the table, a letter addressed "To the King," and, above all, a copy of the "Treaty of Versailles 1765" (signed with Austria to seal an alliance against England and Prussia during the Seven Years' War) recall the cardinal's role as ambassador to Madrid in 1755 and 1756, then as secretary of foreign affairs from 1757 to 1758. In 1758, that last mission earned him the collar chain of commander of the Order of the Holy Spirit, which he is wearing over his cape in the portrait. The chain symbolizes his political career, even while pointing us toward his ecclesiastical career. The latter is evoked, of course, by his ceremonial costume, the "capa magna," the biretta, and also by a letter "to O[ur] H[oly] F[ather] Pope Clem[ent]

XIII," a large volume near the table titled "Theology," and especially, under his right hand, "past[oral] Instruc[tions]," probably a reference to the "catechism" he published in 1765 for the diocese of Albi, where he had served as archbishop from 1764 to 1794. Finally, the lion's head decorating the arm of his chair is an obvious allusion to the arms of the family of Pierre de Bernis, "field azure with a gold band, accompanied at the top by a snarling lion of gold, with extended claws."⁹

Is this the painting by Callet that Natoire mentioned in 1771 and 1772? The inventory done after the cardinal's death in 1794 noted "another [painting] measuring ten palms in height and seven wide, representing the deceased cardinal sitting, with its carved and gilt flat frame, ten *scudi*."¹⁰ The dimensions, about 86 x 61 in. (220 x 155 cm.), do not correspond to those of the painting in the Walters Art Museum. Moreover, in Saint-Marcel d'Ardèche, at the home of the Bernis family's descendants, there is a large



Fig. 3. Anonymous engraving after Callet. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

portrait of the cardinal signed "Callet" in the lower left-hand corner and measuring $84 \times 64 \frac{9}{16}$ in. (214×164 cm.; fig. 2), which corresponds to the description just given and to that in the 1794 inventory, except that the upper portion must have been cut or folded at about the forehead of the statue of Apollo.¹¹ It is precisely this painting that is represented, in reverse, in an anonymous engraving housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (fig. 3),¹² which has the same lack of space above the statue's head, unlike the Baltimore painting.

Could the Baltimore painting be the replica that Bernis offered the Académie de France in Rome in 1773? This is unclear as Natoire simply wrote: "His portrait done by Mr. Calais," with no other indications. The inventory of 1781 is no more precise, even though, logically, a full-length, "historiated" portrait might have been the object of a brief description in one instance or the other. The replica mentioned must, therefore, be simply a half-length portrait or bust, like those we will discuss.

Let us now examine a series of portraits, anonymous or attributed to Pompeo Batoni, Anton Mengs, or Pierre Paul Prud'hon, and an engraving by Domenico Cunego after Callet. The first painting is in the sacristy of the cathedral of Albano (fig. 4), where Bernis served as bishop



Fig. 4. Painting by Callet. Albano, sacristy of the cathedral.

beginning in 1774. It depicts the cardinal half-length; the face is very similar to that in Callet's painting, but the pose is slightly different: he is standing, with a letter in his hand addressed "To the King," which indicates his position as French ambassador. The canvas, very fine in its technique, was wrongly attributed to Batoni,¹³ even though it had been exhibited as an anonymous painting in 1959 and 1961.¹⁴ It is probably an autograph replica by Callet.

The second, long believed to have been painted by Mengs (fig. 5),¹⁵ was pointed out to me by Steffi Röttgen, who has for a long time rejected that attribution.¹⁶ It is almost identical to the previous painting, except that the cardinal is holding his biretta instead of a letter. It belongs to the descendants of Chevalier Nicola d'Azara, and we may wonder—as d'Azara was Bernis's fiduciary heir—whether this painting, also of fine quality, is not the one described in the inventory of 1794: "another painting measuring four palms in height, depicting the image of the deceased cardinal of Bernis, in a gilt frame with three tiers of carving, three *scudi*."¹⁷ Its dimensions, $33 \frac{1}{16} \times 25 \frac{9}{16}$ in. (84×65 cm.), roughly correspond to four Roman palms, about $35 \frac{7}{16}$ in. (90 cm.).

The third painting, recently published by Nicole Levis-Godechot (fig. 6),¹⁸ is a partial copy by Prud'hon of the large Callet painting. It is still in the possession of the



Fig. 5. Painting by Callet. Madrid, Urries y Azara collection.



Fig. 6. Painting by Prud'hon after Callet. La Fare collection.

descendants of Bernis's great-nephew Cardinal de La Fare, who had asked his great-uncle for his portrait. Before returning to the history of that copy, let us note that the painting is even closer to the Callet model than the two previous ones. We find in it even the corner of the table, the large book, and the letter on which the prelate rests his right hand, while the left hand holds a section of the "capa magna" in the same way as in the original. In these three paintings, the cardinal seems to be standing rather than seated.

The fourth painting, a bust, is housed at the Musée Toulouse-Lautrec in Albi (fig. 7),¹⁹ and was originally at the archdiocese. It conforms exactly to the Cunego engraving I will discuss, and might even be taken for a copy of it. Nevertheless, its excellent pictorial quality might suggest it is an original replica of the Callet painting, which Bernis could have sent to his former diocese.

The engraving by Domenico Cunego (fig. 8) provides confirmation, if any were needed, with its inscription: "A. Callet pinx. D. Cunego inc."²⁰ This engraving is not dated, but is very different from the one by Pietro Antonio Pazzi, published in the *Calcografia Camerale* in 1758, on the occasion of the naming of a new cardinal.²¹ The latter must have been inspired by an older painting, of which there is only one known copy, located at Versailles, and originally

housed at the Académie Française, to which Bernis was elected in 1744. The painting bears this same date, but demonstrably dates from a later time as it depicts the ribbon of the Order of the Holy Spirit, which Bernis received in 1758.²² The correspondence between the Cunego engraving and the Callet portrait, and the presence of the emblems of the poetry society Arcadia, to which he was elected on 31 January 1773, make it possible to date it to that year or shortly thereafter. Bernis is displayed in all his glory as French ambassador, "bearing arms for the King," as the proud family motto says. The branches that surround the medallion allude to his poetic talent as pastor of Arcadia: the pine and the laurel are depicted, along with a lily, probably an allusion to the state of celibacy required of an ecclesiastic.²³

Let me simply mention in passing several other portraits of the cardinal, all of which seem to be derived from the Callet painting. The marquis of La Baume du Puy-Montbrun, a family associated with the Bernis, owns a portrait that, based on the photograph, appears to be of good quality.²⁴ It should be noted that in this painting the cardinal's face is turned to the right; it, therefore, derived from a print in which the image faces in the reverse direction. Another portrait is housed at the Musée du Périgord in Périgueux; though very similar to the one in Albano, it is original

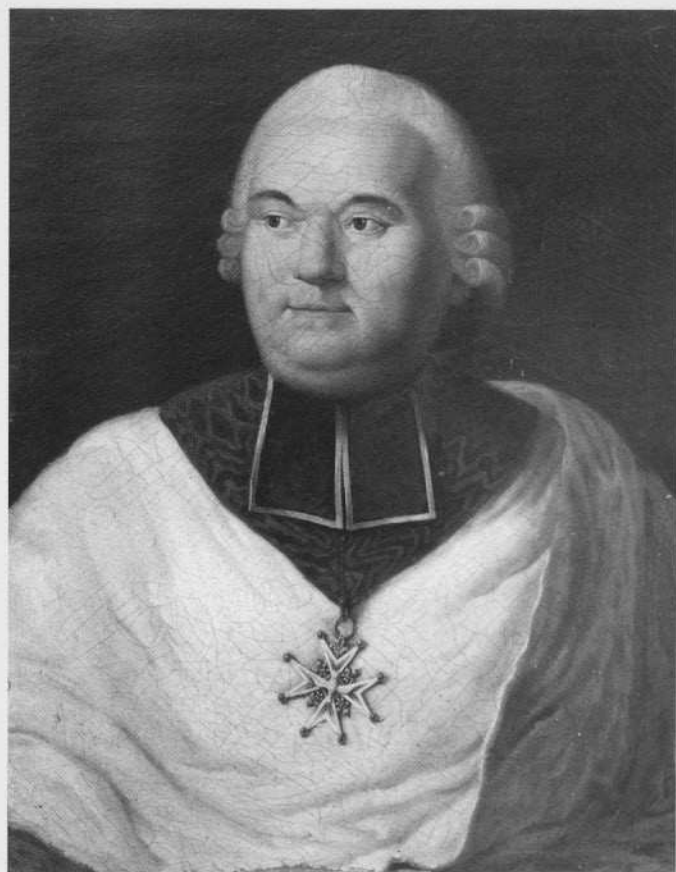


Fig. 7. Painting by Callet (?). Albi, Musée Toulouse-Lautrec.

inasmuch as Bernis is wearing two decorations in addition to that of the Holy Spirit. I was unable to identify them because the painting is hanging very high. It also seems to be of good quality. Finally, the Musée de Béziers possesses an anonymous miniature that may be derived either from the original painting or from the Cunego engraving. It bears the following comments on the back: "Portrait of Cardinal de Bernis, given by him to Abbot Turlot in 1787. Bequest of Abbot Turlot of the Bibliothèque Royale to Count Vien."²⁵

Antoine-François Callet, born in Paris in 1741 (he died in the same city in 1823), was the student of Antoine Boizot²⁶ and won the grand prize for painting in 1764.²⁷ This first led him to the "Ecole Royale des élèves protégés," where the painter Jean-Baptiste Pierre²⁸ was director, and then earned him a "certificate" allowing him to attend the Académie de France in Rome. He arrived in that city on 19 December 1767,²⁹ apparently having made the journey with the sculptor Jacques-Philippe Beauvais.³⁰ He would also work with Beauvais in 1772 after returning to France, decorating the Spinola Palace in Genoa under the direction of the architect Charles de Wailly.³¹ Callet's relationship with Bernis must have begun as soon as the cardinal arrived in Rome as ambassador, as in May



Fig. 8. Engraving by Cunego after Callet. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

Bernis urged Natoire to allow the painter to go to Naples with Chevalier d'Havrincourt, a young officer in the Burgundy regiment who was doing his "grand tour" at the time.³² The director of the academy, who did not want Callet to interrupt his studies, succeeded in keeping him in Rome, and it was the landscape artist Jean Hoüel³³—for whom the trip would be more advantageous—who accompanied d'Havrincourt.³⁴ Could it have been to make up for this missed opportunity that Bernis commissioned a first painting from Callet? In any case, it is clear that the cardinal's patronage of the artist continued, as Natoire mentioned, in a letter to Marigny on 11 June 1771:

Mr. Calais has just presented Cardinal de Bernis with the second small painting he did for His Eminence, who was very pleased with it. He let him know how much with some fifty sequins that were sent to the artist. The cardinal provided the subject, the three Graces, who are naïvely playing with arrows on an altar and with other attributes. They are very modestly attired. This artist is on his way to being a great success.³⁵

We do not know what the first painting was; it was probably not a portrait, but rather a composition like the one described. The posthumous inventory of 1794 shows no trace of it, however.

It is, therefore, during the period immediately following June 1771 that I will place Callet's intense activity as a portraitist in the cardinal's service, up until his departure for Genoa on 8 October 1772,³⁶ with only a short interruption for a trip to Naples around Easter.³⁷ Natoire wrote Marigny on 21 April 1772:

Mr. Calais has just left for Naples, he needs some rest, his health has deteriorated somewhat since he completed the portrait of Cardinal de Bernis. I believe he will leave shortly after that little trip for Genoa, where he will remain for a job Mr. Douailly has procured for him. This architect, in passing through the city, had committed himself to decorating the hall of a distinguished establishment, and Mr. Calais will paint the ceiling; he will find that very agreeable, and along the way will also have an opportunity to make his talents known and to use them to his advantage.³⁸

On 10 June, again writing to the state minister, he added: "Mr. Calais is finishing a work of some sort to get ready for the trip to Genoa, where he will stay, and will work there on a small gallery ceiling that Mr. Douailly procured for him."³⁹ On October 7, he announced Callet's departure: "Mr. Calais has stayed somewhat longer than he planned in Rome, to complete a few works he had started; he is leaving tomorrow to go to Genoa and work there for some time, as I indicated to you in my previous letters."⁴⁰ Could these works, modestly passed over in silence, have been the several unsigned replicas I have enumerated? On all of them, the cardinal's face is consistent with that on the Cunego engraving, and all show a great deal of finesse in the treatment of the lace on the cape. This last detail will be found again in the portrait of Louis XVI, also by Callet, of which, we know, he was not reluctant to make multiple replicas. These copies, though in his hand, were uneven in their quality and sometimes so inferior to the original that, in 1814, the painter sought to retouch a copy of his Louis XVI, whose flaws he himself noticed.⁴¹

On 3 January 1785, the painter Pierre Paul Prud'hon, a student in Rome at the *Etats de Bourgogne*, wrote his teacher Devosges, describing his first contact with Cardinal de Bernis's "conversation." He "asked us to dinner . . . there were prelates, members of the nobility, and many artists, painters, sculptors, architects, and musicians."⁴² A few months later, Bernis was seeking an artist capable of executing a replica of his portrait, at the request of a family member, Abbot Anne Louis Henri de La Fare (Luçon, 1752–Paris, 1829), who was at the time assistant priest to the bishop of Dijon, treasurer of the Holy Chapel in that city and general representative for the clergy at the *Etats de Bourgogne*.

The cardinal, thinking quite naturally of a student from Burgundy, wrote La Fare on 13 April 1785: "I have here the portrait that is the best likeness of me: I will happily have a copy made for you by Mr. Gagnerot⁴³ or another painter."⁴⁴ In fact, it was Prud'hon who received the commission, to which he alluded in a letter to Devosges on 10 January 1786: "I am planning to work on a copy of Cardinal de Bernis's portrait that Abbot de La Fare wants to have. I think His Eminence will easily grant me permission to make a copy of it."⁴⁵ That "permission" was not granted so easily, however, as on 28 March, Prud'hon again wrote to his teacher:

As I told you, I was counting on being able to do, or at least to begin, the portrait of His Eminence in the time the impression⁴⁶ of my canvas would take to dry; but when I went to get permission for it, His Eminence told me, through his nephew or cousin Chevalier de Bernis,⁴⁷ that as the original, which is a painting eight feet high or thereabouts,⁴⁸ is in his apartment, he could not have a copy made while he was still in Rome; that in June, when he retires to Albano because of the bad air in Rome, it could be copied at leisure.⁴⁹

The canvas whose preparation had to dry was the enormous *Glory of the Prince of Condé*, which Prud'hon was to paint for a ceiling of the palace of the *Etats de Bourgogne*, copying and adapting Pietro da Cortona's *Triumph of Religion* from the Barberini Palace. Measuring more than 26 x 13 ft. (8 x 4 m.), it would take him the entire summer of 1786; copying the portrait painted by Callet was, therefore, no longer in question at that time, and it was only the following year, in an undated letter (probably from mid-August 1787), that he again spoke of that work. He complained, first, of the "paltry advantage in making copies from bad originals,"⁵⁰ and added: "Now let's consider the portrait of Cardinal de Bernis that Abbot de la Fare wants so much. I've already taken the necessary steps to obtain permission to paint it; I must begin later, as soon as permission is received, because the cardinal is not in Rome and, as soon as it's finished, I'll send it right to you, as you wish."⁵¹ This time, things proceeded quickly, and, in a letter to Devosges dated, oddly, "6 or 8" December 1787, Prud'hon wrote: "I forgot in the last [letter] that Bertrand⁵² wrote to tell you that the copy of the portrait of His Eminence Cardinal de Bernis was finished and that it is His Eminence himself who has undertaken to send it to Abbot de La Fare. A frame was ordered afterward and as soon as it's finished the portrait will be sent out."⁵³ On 14 February 1788, Prud'hon confirmed this to his teacher, who seems to have been preoccupied with the matter: "Regarding the portrait of his Eminence Cardinal de Bernis, it seems to me I told you that he undertook personally to send it to his nephew or cousin Mr. de La Fare."⁵⁴

Initially, I thought that the painting in the Walters Art Museum was Prud'hon's copy of the portrait painted by Callet, the original of which is still in the possession of Cardinal de Bernis's family. Nicole Levis-Godechot's publication in 1982 of a copy of excellent quality, traditionally attributed to Prud'hon and still in the hands of Cardinal de La Fare's family, destroyed that hypothesis. Might the Baltimore painting be one of the replicas mentioned by Natoire, painted by Callet himself, one of the "few works he had started" and was supposed to complete before his departure? After examining various examples of these portraits, whose high quality has sometimes led to their being attributed to Batoni or Mengs, I am obliged to believe that we are dealing here with a careful copy, probably by a Roman painter, who cannot be identified any more precisely. At the very least, its extreme precision and great legibility make it a valuable historical document, characteristic of a ceremonious and somewhat formal court art typical of pontifical Rome, where a cardinal, whatever his origin, assumed the rank of a prince.⁵⁵

NOTES

1. It was he who, in 1968, attracted my attention to this painting, which he wanted to leave out of his catalogue *Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1976).
2. "Le Sr Calais . . . travaille actuellement au portrait de M. le cardinal de Bernis qu'il fait en grand et fort historié. La tête a déjà [= déjà] bien réussi. . .". A. de Montaiglon and J. Guiffrey, eds., *Correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les surintendants des bâtiments*, vol. 12 (Paris, 1902), 345. Hereafter cited as CD.
3. "Le Sr Calais vient de terminer le portrait de M. le Cardinal de Bernis, dont j'ay eu l'honneur de vous parler lorsqu'il l'a commencé, avec tout le succès qu'il pouvoit désirer. Ce ministre en est très contents. Tout Rome l'a vu les jours que cette Eminence reçoit à sa conversation et a été fort applaudi. Il est vrai que cet ouvrage, lequel est fort historié, lui fait beaucoup d'honneur. Je suis fort aise que ce jeune artiste fasse voir les progrès qu'il a fait dans le cours de ces études et qu'il donne bon exemple parmi tout ces confrères. M. Le cardinal est bien aise que je vous annonce la réussite de cet ouvrage." CD, vol. 12, 369.
4. "Tornato da Napoli in Roma il Sign. Conte di Zinzendorff principe del S. R. I., mercoledì fu trattato a lauto, e splendido pranzo dal Sign. Card. de Bernis, Ministro plenipotenziario di Sua Maestà Christianissima in questa corte al quale intervennero i Signori Ambasciatori di Venezia, e di Malta, con altra primaria Nobiltà, in tutti 34 di tavola." *Diario ordinario*, no. 8356 (28 March 1772), 13–14. "S. R. I." stands for "Sacro Romano Impero." There were many Counts of Sinzendorff who came to Italy, and this one has not been identified. The Maltese ambassador was the so-called "bailli" magistrate de Breteuil; the Venetian ambassador was Alvise Tiepolo.
5. "M. le Cardinal de Bernis nous a fait présent de son portrait fait par le Sr Calais. Je l'ay placé dans la sale des portrait. . .". CD, vol. 12, 438.
6. Ibid., vol. 16 (1907), 442.
7. Nicolas Jean Hugou de Bassville (Abbeville, 1753–Rome, 1793), French diplomat to Rome, had replaced the royal fleur-de-lis with the tricolor cockade of the Republic on the consulate building and outside the Académie de France, sparking a riot during which he was killed.
8. Oil on canvas, 53 ¹⁵/₁₆ x 39 ³/₈ in. (137 x 100 cm.), inv. no. 37-245. On the back are two old numbers, "514" (that of the Massarenti collection in E. Van Esbroek's *Catalogue du Musée de peinture, sculpture, et archéologie au Palais Accoramboni* [Rome, 1897]), and "353," as well as a label, "Pietro Cecconi Principi, via Laurina 27." The painting has been published numerous times under the name of Mengs: in the catalogues of the Walters Art Museum from 1909, 1922, and 1929, in *The Ruins of Rome*, ex. cat., Philadelphia University Museum and Detroit Art Institute, 1960–61 (Philadelphia, 1960), no. 54, and in R. De Leeuw, *Herinneringen aan Italië. Kunst en toerisme in de 18de eeuw* (s'Hertogenbosch, 1985), 17, fig. 8.
9. De La Chenaye-Desbois and Badier, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse* . . . , third edition, vol. 15 (Paris, 1869), 842.
10. "Un altro [quadro] di palmi dieci e sette in piedi, rappresentante il defunto Cardinale in figura sana sedente, e sua cornice piatta intagliata e dorata, scudi 10." L. Vicchi, *Les Français à Rome pendant la Convention (1792–1795)* (Fusignano, 1892), 147.

11. Published in S. Dahoui, *Le cardinal de Bernis, ou la royauté du charme* (Aubenas, 1972), pl. 3; republished in V. Larre, "Le cardinal de Bernis ambassadeur des arts à Rome: Mécène et collectionneur," in *Collections et marché de l'art en France au XVIIIe siècle. Actes de la 3e journée d'études d'histoire de l'art moderne et contemporain*, ed. P. Michel (Bordeaux, 2002), 51–62, fig. 1.
12. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes [Print Room], number N3-D286.334 (18 x 14 ⁹/₁₆ in. [47 x 37 cm.]). This first print is consistent with the painting, except for the right side, which devotes more space to the table and globe. The treatment of the face and hands seems to be unfinished. There is no other known copy of that engraving.
13. A. Bocca, *Il palazzo del Banco di Roma*, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1961), 120.
14. *Il Settecento a Roma, mostra . . .*, ex. cat., Rome, Palazzo delle esposizioni, 19 March–31 May 1959 (Rome, 1959), 322, no. 1410; *I Francesi a Roma*, ex. cat., Rome, Palazzo Braschi, May–July 1961 (Rome, 1961), 226, no. 494. The dimensions of the canvas are 39 ³/₈ x 31 ¹/₂ in. (100 x 80 cm.).
15. *Antonio Rafael Mengs 1728–1779*, ex. cat., Madrid, Museo del Prado, June–July 1980 (Madrid, 1980), 92, no. 36; *The Age of Neo-Classicism* (London, 1972), 909, addenda no. 197.
16. Oral communication confirmed in her book *Anton Raphael Mengs (1728–1779)* (Munich, 1999), vol. 1, 535, "Katalog der abgeschrieben Gemälde," ex. 207.
17. "Altro [quadro] di palmi quattro in piedi, rappresentante la chiarissima memoria del defunto signor cardinale de Bernis, cornice dorata a tre ordini d'intaglio, scudi 3." Vicchi, *Les Français à Rome*, 142. Based on the notarized inventory, which she will publish, Virginie Larre informed me that this painting was in the cardinal's bedroom. Another copy, measuring "palmi tre," which Vicchi did not inventory, was "nell'appartamentino abitato da Monsignore coadiutore d'Albi, de Bernis." (Monsignor François de Pierre de Bernis [Nîmes, 1752–Paris, 1824], coadjutor of the bishopric of Albi in 1784.)
18. N. Levis-Godechot, "Un tableau retrouvé: Un portrait du cardinal de Bernis peint par Prud'hon à Rome en 1787," in *Annales du Midi*, 94, no. 157 (April–June 1982), 209–17. Reprinted in N. Levis-Godechot, *La jeunesse de Pierre-Paul Prud'hon (1758–1796). Recherches d'iconographie et de symbolique* (Paris, 1997), 188–96. The author does not specify the dimensions of the painting, which she describes as being of "an imposing size."
19. Albi, Musée Toulouse Lautrec, oil on canvas, 25 x 21 ⁷/₁₆ in. (63.5 x 54.5 cm.), unsigned and undated, written communication of 27 June 1972, from Jean Devoisins, museum administrator.
20. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, number N2-089.241, 10 ⁵/₈ x 7 ¹³/₁₆ in. (27 x 19.8 cm.). Another print, inv. N2-089.240, is a reduced copy (6 ¹¹/₁₆ x 4 in. [17 x 12 cm.]), facing in the reverse direction from the one by Cunego; it is signed "Ignazio Benedetti incise 1774," and was made in Rome by this printmaker originally from Faenza. Yet another, inv. N2-089.242 (6 x 3 in. [15.8 x 9.5 cm.]), also facing in the reverse direction, was made in Paris by P. Savart. It is described in the *Mercure de France* (April 1778), first part, 181: it must "orner" the "belle suite des hommes de génie gravée par MM. Fiquet et Savart."
21. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, number N2-089.243 (7 ¹³/₁₆ x 6 ³/₁₆ in. [19.8 x 15.7 cm.]).
22. C. Constans, *Musée national du Château de Versailles. Les peintures* (Paris, 1995), vol. 2, 1067, no. 6018, inv. MV 2986, oil on canvas, 24 ¹³/₁₆ x 20 in. (63 x 52 cm.).
23. Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Archivio dell'Arcadia, vol. 8, *Custodia Pizzi, 1772–1791*, fol. 13, no. 146. Bernis took the name "Lirio Cefisio."
24. Published by S. Dahoui, *Le cardinal de Bernis*, pl. 9.
25. "Portrait du cardinal de Bernis, donné par lui en 1787 à l'abbé Turlot. Legs testamentaire de l'abbé Turlot, de la Bibliothèque Royale, à Monsieur le comte Vien." Gouache on parchment, 5 ⁹/₁₆ x 4 ³/₁₆ in. (14.1 x 10.7 cm.), inv. 1392-7012. Abbot François Claude Turlot (Dijon, 1745–Dijon, 1824) accompanied to Italy Abbot Louis Aimé de Bourbon, bastard son of Louis XV (Passy, 1762–Naples, 1787) who died during the course of the voyage. The painter Joseph-Marie Vien (Montpellier, 1716–Paris, 1809) had been made a count by Napoleon I in 1808. Purchased by the museum from the descendants of the artist in 1970. Cf. J. Lugand and J.-P. Vanderspelden, *Ville de Béziers, Musée des Beaux-arts, catalogue, vol. 2, 1960–1976* (Béziers, 1976), 152, no. 693; *Louis XVI et son temps (1774–1788). Bicentenaire de l'Ecole Royale militaire de Sorèze*, ex. cat., Castres, Musée Goya, 8 May–30 September 1976 (Castres, 1976), 26, no. 55. I am indebted for this information to Virginie Larre, to whom I express my gratitude.
26. Paris, 1702–Paris, 1782.
27. We found and published this painting at an exhibition, *Cléobis et Biton, un mythe oublié* (catalogue by Olivier Michel and Renaud Robert), ex. cat., Carcassonne, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 9 June–11 September 1995 (Carcassonne, 1995), 59 and 51, no. 48.
28. Paris, 1713–Paris, 1789.
29. *CD*, vol. 12, 187, "Registry of scholarship students," where the wrong date is given, 19 November for 19 December.
30. Paris, 1739–Paris, 1781.
31. Paris, 1730–Paris, 1798.
32. *CD*, vol. 12, 235 n. 1. This was probably Charles-Philibert-Louis de Cardevacque (Paris, 1743–Briare, 1781). He went to Italy in 1769.
33. Landscape painter, Rouen, 1735–Paris, 1813.
34. *CD*, vol. 12, 245–46.
35. "Le Sr Calais vient de présenter à M. le Cardinal de Bernis le second petit tableau qu'il a fait pour cette Eminence, qui en a été fort contente. Elle luy en a fait sentir l'effet par une cinquantaine de sequiens qu'il luy ont été envoyés. Ce Cardinal luy donna le sujet représentant les Trois Grâces, qui, naïvement s'amuse avec des flèches qui sont sur un autel et d'autres atribus. Elles sont très modestement habillées. Cet artiste est dans le chemin de faire une très bonne réussite." Ibid., vol. 12, 334.
36. Ibid., vol. 12, 400.
37. In 1772, Easter was celebrated on 19 April.

38. "Le Sr Calais vient de partir pour Naples, il a besoin de se reposer, sa santé est un peu altérée depuis qu'il a terminé le portrait de Mr le cardinal de Bernis. Je crois qu'il partira peu après ce petit voyage pour prendre la route de Gênes [=Gènes], où il y séjournera paraport [=par rapport] à un ouvrage que Mr Douailly lui a procuré, cet architecte en passant par cette ville s'est chargé de la décoration d'un salon pour une maison distinguée et le Sr Calais peindra le plafond; cela lui sera fort agréable, tout en chemin faisant il trouve une occasion à faire connaître ses talents et en tirer du profit." Paris, Archives Nationales, O1 1949 (5). Letter published by H. Lapauze, *Histoire de l'Académie de France à Rome* (Paris, 1924), vol. 1, 273, who dates it simply "1772."

39. "Le Sr Calais finis quelque ouvrage pour se disposer après à prendre la route de Gênes, où il y séjournera et y travaillera à un petit plafond de Gallerie que M. Douailly lui a procuré." CD, vol. 12, 385. On this "small ceiling," actually a large fresco, which was unfortunately destroyed in 1943, see L. Réau, "Un chef d'oeuvre de l'art français à Gênes, la décoration du Palais Spinola par de Wailly," in *L'Architecture*, 36 (1923), 219–23, particularly 223.

40. "Le Sr Calais a resté quelque tems de plus qu'il ne croyoit à Rome pour terminer quelques ouvrages commencés; il part demain pour s'aller rendre à Gênes et y travailler quelques tems, comme j'ay eu l'honneur de vous le marquer par mes précédentes." CD, vol. 12, 400.

41. *De David à Delacroix, la peinture française de 1774 à 1830*, ex. cat., Paris, Grand-Palais, 16 November 1974–3 February 1975 (Paris, 1974), 344.

42. "nous a invité à dîner . . . il y avait là des prélats, de la noblesse et beaucoup d'artistes, peintres, sculpteurs, architectes, et musiciens." C. Clément, *Prud'hon, sa vie, ses oeuvres et sa correspondance*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1872), 137.

43. Bénigne Gagneraux (Dijon, 1756–Florence, 1795), who was sponsored by the Etats de Bourgogne, came to Rome in December 1776.

44. "J'ai ici mon portrait le plus ressemblant: j'en laisserai volontiers faire une copie pour vous au Sr Gagnerot ou autre peintre." Levis-Godechot, *Un tableau retrouvé*, 213.

45. "Je compte m'occuper de la copie du portrait du cardinal de Bernis que désire avoir M. l'abbé de La Farre. Je pense que son Eminence m'accordera facilement la permission d'en faire une copie." C. Lamarre and S. Laveissière, *Les Prix de Rome des Etats de Bourgogne, lettres à François Devosges 1776–1792* (Dijon, 2003), no. 128 Pr 7.

46. "Impression," an obsolete technical term still listed by the Littré dictionary in the nineteenth century, designates the first preparatory coating of a canvas, from the Italian *imprimatura*.

47. An unidentified cousin of the cardinal. In the *Liber status animarum* of the Roman parish Santa Maria in Via Lata (Archivio del Vicariato), he is called "Cavaliere de Bernis, nipote," aged 73 years in 1794.

48. About 102 in. (260 cm.).

49. "Je contoais [= comptais], comme j'avois eu l'honneur de vous en prévenir, pouvoir faire ou tout au moins commencer le portrait de son Eminence pendant le tems que l'impression de ma toile mettroit à sécher; mais lorsque j'ai été pour en obtenir la permission, son Eminence m'a fait dire par son neveu ou son cousin le chevalier de Bernis que, l'original, qui est un tableau de huit pieds ou environ, étant dans son appartement, il ne pouvoit pas, pendant le tems qu'il restoit à Rome, en laisser faire une copie; que dans le mois de juin où il se retire à Albane accause du mauvais air de Rome, on pourroit alors le copier à son aise." Lamarre and Laveissière, *Les Prix de Rome*, no. 134 Pr 8.

50. "précieux avantage de faire des copies d'après de mauvais originaux." But what are we to think of Prud'hon's taste when he uses the same expression with reference to Pietro da Cortona at the Barberini Palace, whom he calls "A rather bad painter from the past." Cf. Lamarre and Laveissière, *Les Prix de Rome*, no. 128 Pr 7 n. 125 and no. 134 Pr 8 n. 160.

51. "Venons-en à celle du portrait du cardinal de Bernis que désire si fort Monsieur l'abbé de la Farre. J'ai déjà faits les démarches nécessaires pour obtenir la permission de la peindre; je dois [me] mettre après, aussitôt cette permission reçu, parce que le cardinal n'est pas à Rome et, dès qu'elle sera terminée, Je vous l'enverrait tout de suite, ainsi que vous le désiré." Lamarre and Laveissière, *Les Prix de Rome*, no. 156 Pr 13.

52. Antoine Bertrand (Langres, 1759–Châtenay-Macheron, 1834) received the Prix de Rome for sculpture at the Etats de Bourgogne in 1780.

53. "J'ai oublié dans la dernière [lettre] que Bertrand a eu l'honneur de vous écrire de vous dire que la copie du portrait de son Eminence le cardinal de Bernis étoit finie, c'est son Eminence ell-même qui se charge de l'envoyer à Mr l'abbé de La Farre. On est après y faire faire un cadre et aussitôt qu'il sera fini on l'enverra." Lamarre and Laveissière, *Les Prix de Rome*, no. 167 Pr 15.

54. "A l'égard du portrait de son Eminence le C. de Bernis il me semble vous avoir dis, Monsieur, qu'il s'étoit chargé de l'envoyer lui même à son neveu ou cousin Mr de La Farre." Levis-Godechot, *Un Tableau retrouvé...*, 214.

55. My thanks to Peter Bowron, Abbot Bernard de Bry, Serge Dahoui, Jean-René Gaborit, Brigitte Gallini, Virginie Larre, Sylvain Laveissière, Daniel Roche, Steffi Röttgen, Marchioness de Zayas, and the staff of the Walters Art Museum who offered me their help: Carol Strohecker, Ursula McCracken, and Eik Kahng. Thanks also to Jane Marie Todd for her translation of the article.

PHOTOGRAPHS: fig. 1, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum; fig. 2, Bourg-St. Andéol, R. and J. Tournayre; figs. 3, 8, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; fig. 4, Rome, Gabinetto fotografico Nazionale; fig. 5, Madrid, Museo del Prado; fig. 6, Paris, Musée du Louvre; fig. 7, Albi, Musée Toulouse-Lautrec.

Glyptic Portraits of Eugène de Beauharnais: The Intaglios by Giovanni Beltrami and the Cameo by Antonio Berini

GABRIELLA TASSINARI

Among the holdings of the Walters Art Museum is a French snuffbox (bearing a hallmark from the years 1819–38) made of horn and decorated with an intaglio portrait of Viceroy Eugène de Beauharnais (1781–1824) by the celebrated engraver Giovanni Beltrami (1770–1854) of Cremona. Another intaglio by Beltrami, probably lost, but known from casts, is practically identical; it bears an inscription referring to a glorious victory in a battle led by Beauharnais during the Russian retreat, on 23 October 1812 at Malo-Jaroslavets. Beltrami made numerous works for the viceroy. An analogous object is a cameo with portraits of Beauharnais and his wife Augusta Amelia, mounted on a tortoiseshell snuffbox now in the Musée national du Château de Malmaison. The cameo is signed by Antonio Berini (1770–1861), a famous Roman engraver who moved to Milan, where he worked for the imperial family, among others. Even though there are numerous portraits of Beauharnais, no others engraved on hardstones are known. The two snuffboxes are a part of the widespread phenomenon of snuffboxes bearing portraits, usually given as gifts by royalty and the nobility, and offer an important contribution to a deeper knowledge of the production of gemstones and snuffboxes in the first half of the nineteenth century.

THE SNUFFBOX IN THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM

The Walters Art Museum has among its holdings a snuffbox with an intaglio portrait of Viceroy Eugène de Beauharnais (3 September 1781–21 February 1824) by the famous Lombard engraver Giovanni Beltrami (Cremona, 1770–1854). The round snuffbox (acc. no. 57.159) is made of horn; the lid is unattached (fig. 1).¹ In the center of the lid is a cornelian intaglio, mounted in a gold frame with a blue enamel border, inserted into a hexagon also outlined in

blue enamel, which contains vegetal motifs and curled leaves. The gold border bears the hallmarks of Paris during the years 1819–38. The manufacturer is not identified, but there is a hallmark in the shape of a vertical lozenge divided in half horizontally by a straight line or bar; in the upper section is a “C,” and in the lower one, a “P.” The intaglio was turned over for mounting on the lid (perhaps to make the smooth surface the visible one), thus reversing Beltrami’s signature, which is complete and runs under the bust, with the letters “E” and “N” to the right and left of the profile, respectively. No information is available about the purchase of this snuffbox by Henry Walters.²



Fig. 1. Giovanni Beltrami, Cornelian intaglio with the portrait of Viceroy Eugène de Beauharnais, set in the center of the lid of a horn snuffbox. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 57.159.

INTAGLIO PORTRAITS OF EUGÈNE
DE BEAUHARNAIS BY BELTRAMI

The intaglio portrays Viceroy Eugène de Beauharnais in profile, with tousled hair parting into long locks combed over his forehead, long sideburns, a round, somewhat large nose, mustache, and slightly parted lips. The viceroy seems withdrawn and somewhat stiffly enclosed (perhaps also due to the high collar) in his elegant military uniform with an appliqué identifiable as the insignia of the Order of the Iron Crown. This is an image of Beauharnais in his "official" guise. The "E" and "N" stand for "Eugène Napoleon."

The fact that this is a portrait of the viceroy is confirmed by a cast of pink plaster on a white ground in the Medagliere, the medals collection of the Civiche Raccolte Numismatiche of Milan (fig. 2). This collection contains a large number of casts made from intaglios and cameos, both ancient and modern, which is for the most part unpublished and is in the process of being catalogued.³ Among its holdings are three cases containing 127 impressions made by the most famous gemstone engraver of the second half of the eighteenth century, Giovanni Pichler, and sixty-six book form double boxes that originally contained 3,600 white scagliola impressions made in the famous Roman workshop of Tommaso Cades.⁴

The cast of the portrait of Beauharnais⁵ is loose in box no. 63, one of the book form boxes. There is no information on the provenance of this box, or for boxes 61 and 62,⁶ all three of which lack an explanatory list of the casts inside them. These may have been made sometime after the purchase of the volumes of the Cades collection now in the Medagliere, since their numbers are a continuation of that sequence. In any case, many of the casts in boxes 61–63, often not mounted, can be linked to engravers and works in Lombardy. Indeed, the majority of the casts in boxes 62 and 63 are of works by Beltrami, many of them made for Count Giovanni Battista Sommariva, whom we shall discuss later.

The cast in the Medagliere provides evidence of an intaglio quasi-identical to the portrait in Baltimore. The differences are the lack of Beltrami's signature and the presence of the inscriptions XXIV OTTOBRE to Beauharnais's left, MDCCCXII to his right, and MA JEROSLAWETZ underneath. These refer to an important episode in Beauharnais's career.

The largest collection of casts of works by Beltrami, in the Museo Civico Ala Ponzone in Cremona,⁷ contains two white impressions of the second intaglio portrait of Beauharnais, the one with the inscription XXIV OTTOBRE MDCCCXII MA JEROSLAWETZ. Thus, the situation in the collection in Cremona is the same as that of the Medagliere in Milan: neither has a cast of the Baltimore intaglio, but only of the one that we shall call the "second"



Fig. 2. Giovanni Beltrami, Plaster cast of an intaglio with the portrait of Viceroy Eugène de Beauharnais. Milan, Medagliere delle Civiche Raccolte Numismatiche.

intaglio for the sake of convenience. We should also note that casts of these two intaglios do not appear in the most famous collection of casts made by Tommaso Cades, now in the Istituto Archeologico Germanico in Rome, accompanied by a manuscript, "Description of a collection of 8,131 enamel casts owned in Rome by Tommaso Cades..."

EUGÈNE DE BEAUHARNAIS

Eugène Rose de Beauharnais was born in Paris on 3 September 1781 to Viscount Alexandre de Beauharnais, an officer in the royal army who was guillotined on 5 Thermidor 1794 (23 July), and his Creole wife Marie Joseph Rose de Tascher de La Pagerie.⁸ His mother later married Napoleon. With this marriage came the change of her first name to Joséphine and the rapid rise of her son Eugène and daughter Eugénie-Hortense Cecile (1783–1837). Young, blond, and handsome, with melancholy, fascinating blue eyes, he was courageous, affable, and well mannered, and a lover of art. The aristocratic Eugène represented a perfect example of amalgamation between the two societies that were coming together in post-Revolutionary France. He participated in the expedition to Egypt (May 1798–October 1799) and distinguished himself at the battle of Marengo (14 June 1800). Upon the proclamation of the empire



Fig. 3. Portrait of Viceroy Eugène de Beauharnais, etching by Paolo Caronni, Milan, 1810. Rome, Museo Napoleonico, MN 6678. From: *Napoleon, Les Bonaparte et l'Italie*, 11 April–30 September 2001, Musée Fesch, Ajaccio, cat. 37.

(18 May 1804), he was named grand officer of the Legion d'Honneur, colonel general of the Garda Hunters, and, on 1 February 1805, at the age of just 24, prince and archchancellor of state, enjoying the title of Most Serene Highness.

Appointed by Napoleon to govern Italy, Beauharnais entered Milan on 16 March 1804. He commanded the processional troops for Napoleon's coronation as king of Italy in Milan Cathedral on 26 May 1805. On 7 June 1805, he was named viceroy (fig. 3). Eugène did not speak Italian, and had never exercised any civilian function or high military command, but he found himself responsible for a state with almost four million inhabitants. The instructions Napoleon gave him for governing,⁹ recommending prudence and circumspection, are evidence of the emperor's esteem.

Eugène married Augusta Amelia Ludovika Georgia, princess of Bavaria (Strasbourg, 21 June 1788–Munich, 22 May 1851), the eldest daughter of Maximilian Josef, elector of Bavaria, in Munich on 13 January 1806. On the occasion of the marriage, Napoleon formally adopted Beauharnais, giving him the name Eugène Napoleon and recognizing him as heir to the kingdom, as Napoleon had no direct heirs. He also received the title of His Imperial Highness Eugène Napoleon of France and was named lieutenant of His Imperial and Royal Majesty, commander in chief of the Italian army, prince of Venice, and governor of the Venetian states, until their union with the Kingdom of Italy (1 May 1806).

The couple's journey to Milan was a triumphal one, as many Italians believed that this event marked a favorable

time for them. Augusta Amelia was immediately more popular and beloved than her husband because of her youth, beauty, manners, and the decorous customs she—a fervent Catholic—imposed on the court.

Eugène took up his new role with zeal. He made up for his lack of experience by hard work. But good sense and honesty were not enough to compensate fully for the limitations of his weak, mild nature. He could do absolutely nothing without first consulting Napoleon, who reserved all decisions on foreign relations, finance, public works, and important nominations for himself. The emperor gave advice, instructions, and orders on how to govern and how to behave. Napoleon did not miss any detail, however minor. For his part, the viceroy reported to the emperor on everything—he carried out, and had others carry out, the emperor's orders.

Eugène wanted to make his kingdom great and keep the Italians happy; but he was in a difficult position, caught in the middle between Napoleon and his subjects, who would have liked the viceroy not to be a tool of the emperor's will. Moreover, the viceroy preferred the French to the Italians, naming only his fellow countrymen to public office; as a result, he was surrounded by an atmosphere of hostility and suspicion.

In any case, Milan did enjoy a period of brilliant social and cultural life and intense building activity.¹⁰ And the viceroy did his utmost to elevate all of the Kingdom of Italy to the level of great nations. He traveled through the provinces often in the course of the year,¹¹ inspecting fortifications and arsenals, establishing schools, and ordering numerous public works and the restoration of monuments.

Eugène was also the commander in chief of the Italian army, and, after the Fifth Coalition, his major activity was in the military field. His first military act as viceroy was to occupy the former Venetian states, but the Austrian army, led by Archduke John of Austria, inflicted a resounding defeat on them at Sacile, in Friuli, on 16 April 1809. Subsequently, Eugène won a number of victories over the Austrians, and it was recorded that he acquitted himself well as a worthy son of Napoleon. At Raab (14 June), he won an important victory over the archduke, so important that Napoleon called it one of the most decisive days for the fate of France.

When Napoleon's marriage to Joséphine was dissolved, Eugène had to proclaim to the senate his consent to the emperor's new marriage, making a speech to the senate members in which he said that Napoleon was their father, and they owed everything to him. Eugène and his wife attended Napoleon's wedding to Marie-Louise on 2 April 1810 and participated in the celebrations in Paris for the birth and baptism of Napoleon's son. In July 1811, he returned to Milan to reorganize the army according to the emperor's orders.

The great moment of Eugène's military life (commemorated in the second intaglio by Beltrami) came in 1812, when he obtained the command of the Italian, French, and Bavarian troops of the Fourth Corps of the army in Russia. The viceroy's return from this Russian campaign is the subject of a poem by Foscolo that sings the praises of the vicereine.¹² Eugène behaved like a hero in the Moskova offensive on 7 September, in the retreat after the burning of Moscow, and distinguished himself brilliantly in the counterattack at Malo-Jaroslavets (also written Malojaroslavetz, Malojaroslavetz, and Malo-jaroslavetz¹³). This episode merits closer attention in light of its importance for Beltrami's second intaglio.¹⁴

On 23 October 1812, the viceroy, at the command of the advance guard of the great army moving southwest, had the Delzons division occupy the town of Malo-Jaroslavets, which was located in an ideal defensive position. The Russian general Koutousov called for a series of partial attacks against Napoleon's army, worn out by cold and hunger. Koutousov wanted simply to bar the road to Kalouga and the access to its southern roads; therefore, he refused to commit the bulk of his troops and declined to send reinforcements to the head of the Russian corps, who wanted to occupy Malo-Jaroslavets. On 24 October, fierce fighting broke out, as both sides knew that the bulk of the armies were drawing near and that this position of strength had to be taken. Eugène employed his last reserves, the Italian division commanded by General Pino. This was the crucial move that determined the Italians' moment of glory. When it was all over, the town remained in the hands of the French and Italians. Encouraged by this success and Koutousov's retreat, Napoleon regained his optimism about the campaign.

Eugène distinguished himself for bravery, and the entire Fourth Corps was marked for glory. Proud of his son, Napoleon praised his talents so highly that the *Journal de l'Empire*, the official organ of the press, proclaimed that the viceroy had invigorated and inspired everyone with his presence and had shown himself a worthy student of the great captain from whom he had learned the art of war. Subsequently, Eugène took command of the Great Army, led the retreat, and attempted to avert disaster, withdrawing without engaging in significant battles and finally establishing a position at Mantua.

After Napoleon's abdication on 6 April 1814, the sovereigns of the coalition offered Eugène the crown of Italy, but he refused the offer, considering it a betrayal of his adopted father. Melzi wrote to the viceroy to inform him of the need to reach a decision: the independence of the Kingdom of Italy was recognized by the treaties, and His Highness would be an independent king. The moment had come for Eugène to proclaim the new kingdom, and the Italians would trust and follow him.

Even though he had been warned of the need to "become Italian," as Melzi advised him, and not to surround himself so completely with the French, who were disliked by the Italians, and was later informed of the unfavorable turn local public opinion had taken, Eugène, irresolute, came to an agreement with the Austrians and begged the indulgence of the allied sovereigns. But Milan rebelled, and the Minister of Finance, Prina, was killed on 20 April. Deeply affected and indignant, Eugène relinquished his power at the age of just 32. On 25 April, he left Mantua, and, on 28 April, the Austrian divisions entered Milan.

With the conclusion of the Congress of Vienna treaty, Eugène gained control of the duchy of Leuchtenberg and the principality of Eichstätt, small territories in Bavaria. He was allowed to be called His Royal Highness and to transmit to his heirs the title of Most Serene Highness. His residences were Leuchtenberg Castle, Eichstätt Castle, the immense and sumptuous Leuchtenberg Palace that he had built in Munich between 1817 and 1821 by the great neoclassical architect Leo von Klenze, and castles at Ismaning and at Eugensberg.

During the Restoration, Eugène's position was not an easy one, because he represented a potential danger for the governments. He had become a legend in France, and he was often a refuge for former collaborators and exiles. Moreover, he had to maintain contact with Napoleon.

His protracted idleness in his gilded exile and memories of his "heroic" past undermined his health. He died of an attack on 21 February 1824, at the age of 42, and was buried with great pomp in the crypt of Michaelskirche in Munich. His inconsolable widow spent the rest of her days tending to her husband's legacy, publishing documents, and ensuring prestigious marriages for her seven children.¹⁵ She was buried alongside her husband.

Significant evidence survives of Beauharnais's intense interest in art and his patronage. At Joséphine's death on 29 May 1814, Eugène inherited the Château de Malmaison, except for a certain number of *objets d'art* assigned to his sister Hortense, sold to Tsar Alexander (who had placed the Beauharnais family under his protection), or to the king of Bavaria. An expert collector, the viceroy devoted great attention to museums, especially the Brera in Milan, where he promoted the formation of a picture gallery open to the public that would house paintings from churches and convents suppressed by Napoleon.¹⁶

Giuseppe Bossi (1777–1815), painter, theoretician, poet, collector, and secretary of the Accademia di Belle Arti in Milan,¹⁷ writes in his Memoirs of frequent contacts

with the viceroy to converse and exchange opinions, for the most part on art and related topics.¹⁸ In 1807, Eugène commissioned Bossi to make a copy of Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper*.¹⁹ Bossi's prolific activity resulted in a cartoon, an oil painting (destroyed during World War II), and the book *Del Cenacolo di Leonardo da Vinci*, published by the Stamperia Reale in Milan in 1810. Bossi recalls visits from Eugène and his wife to look at the copy of Leonardo's fresco, and their satisfaction with his work.²⁰ Another replica of a famous work, made in 1809 for Beauharnais and now in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, is Canova's *Magdalene*, one of his most complex and celebrated sculptures.²¹ Delivered to the prestigious art patron Giovanni Battista Sommariva in 1808, the original was placed in his Paris collection in a setting so effective and so advantageous to its charm that the statue was an enormous success.²²

In his palace in Munich, Beauharnais installed his library and a remarkable collection of paintings, which he opened to the public. In 1819, he bought for this palace a plaster copy of the frieze of the *Triumph of Alexander* by Bertel Thorvaldsen.²³ This was one of the sculptor's most important commissions, received in 1812. The frieze was to decorate a room in the Quirinal Palace and represent Napoleon's arrival in Rome in the guise of a parallel historical event, the entrance of Alexander the Great into Babylonia. Eugène also ordered replicas (which were in production in 1820–22) of the four marble reliefs carved by Thorvaldsen for the façade of the new palace of Christiansborg in Copenhagen.²⁴ In these medallions, Thorvaldsen used allegorical figures to express the concepts of Fortitude, Justice, Health, and Wisdom. For Beauharnais, too, the reliefs presumably conveyed the significance of virtues needed for governing. They were not installed (as was planned) in the palace in Munich, and the year after his death, in 1825, his widow probably sold them to Count Franz Erwein von Schönborn (1776–1840), one of the leading German patrons.²⁵ Augusta Amelia also turned to Thorvaldsen to execute her husband's tomb. He made it with the help of Pietro Tenerani; it was inaugurated in 1830 in Michaelskirche in Munich.²⁶

While alive, Eugène was the object of praise and flattery that was often exaggerated to the point of absurdity.²⁷ He figured in the Napoleonic literature and iconography and in the official works intended to perpetuate the memory of important events of the emperor's reign. Especially given their hyperbolic tone, Eugène may perhaps have feared that Napoleon might be irritated by the level of exaltation directed towards the viceroy.²⁸ Perhaps it is for this reason that he waited until fairly late to commission his own commemorative pieces from artists and did not live long enough to see the works finished, and why his memoirs were left unfinished.

While some historians were excessively laudatory, others vilified Eugène.²⁹ In the years between the fall of the empire and

the return of Napoleon's remains to Paris in 1840,³⁰ a beatific tone characterized most of the works.³¹ But after Eugène's death, texts appeared that were error-ridden, like the well-known *Mémoires* by Marmont (1856–57), which accused him of treason. Beauharnais's children won the lawsuits they brought for defamation, and documents were published to re-establish the truth that Eugène never betrayed Napoleon.

Italian writers were generally more critical because of his dependence on Napoleon and his indecisiveness. A case in point is the novel by Giuseppe Rovani,³² published—it should be pointed out—right after Italian unification, in which Eugène's well-known marital infidelities become the major concern of his government. The viceroy is presented as a womanizer who takes revenge if his advances fail and suspends the woman's relatives from their jobs or blocks their promotions.

In any case, it has been observed³³ that this stereotype of Eugène as the typical French dandy imposed itself on the majority of Italian historians, who in general waver between the two extremes of an idyllic view of the French presence in Italy and of France as a curb to the progress of Italian autonomy.

To conclude, Italian and foreign scholars no longer maintain the thesis of Eugène as a traitor, but they sometimes exaggerate his defects and weakness and blame him for acting—whether by choice or by temperament—with too much moderation.

GIOVANNI BELTRAMI

Giovanni Beltrami (Cremona, 1770–1854) was a noted engraver.³⁴ He was considered one of Cremona's glories and thus was admired and celebrated by his contemporaries, especially by his enthusiastic fellow citizens.

A small number of intaglios and cameos by Beltrami have survived compared to the remarkable quantity mentioned by earlier writers—around 300. The originals of his copious production have in large part been lost; even the Museo Civico Ala Ponzone of Cremona only holds a few intaglios, the gift of Fortunato Turina in 1908, such as *Angelica and Medoro*, *Wealth Conquered by Love*, *The Head of Niobe*, and *Rinaldo and Armida*.³⁵ To this rather small number of surviving originals, we can add another here: the portrait of the viceroy Eugène de Beauharnais at the Walters.

Beltrami's work is documented by the collections of scagliola casts (plaster designed to imitate stone) made by the Roman workshops of Cades and Paoletti and by the larger collection in the Museo Civico Ala Ponzone of Cremona. Beltrami's repertory is rich and varied: from mythological and religious subjects to the works of Canova,

from the most famous ancient intaglios to scenes invented by the engraver himself. Large works are frequent, as was the custom with many engravers of the time, as are replicas of the same subject.

The intaglio with the portrait of Beauharnais fits perfectly into Beltrami's production, which is rich in portraits of important contemporary personages.³⁶ Furthermore, the stone used is cornelian; it has rightly been observed³⁷ that the translucent or transparent stones used by Beltrami, such as topaz, rock crystal, aquamarine, various kinds of agate, and cornelian, gave a see-through effect that enhances the incised figure.

Portraits are among the earliest commissions that made Beltrami's reputation, including representations of persons very close to Beauharnais, like Napoleon and his wife.

Beltrami made three portraits of Emperor Francis I: one for Marchese Persichelli of Cremona, a cameo ordered by the empress in 1825, and another cameo, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.³⁸ The execution of this third cameo is important for a better understanding of Beltrami's method of making portraits. Finished between 1835 and 1840, it was ordered by the widowed empress, who was pleased with it and gave it to the Münz- und Antikenkabinett on 14 April 1840. Beltrami thus made the posthumous portrait working from another model, a bust by the Austrian sculptor Johann Nepomuk Schaller. The commission for the second cameo with a portrait of Francis I was awarded in 1825 personally by the empress, who went to Beltrami's studio in Cremona and attentively examined his many works. She wanted the cameo with the likeness of her husband to accompany another she wore around her neck, a portrait of her father, the king of Bavaria, engraved by Beltrami in 1815. Also, Archduke Charles, Francis I's son, visited Beltrami's studio in Cremona with his wife Sophia of Bavaria in 1825 (6 May).

As in only a few cases is there sufficient information to illuminate the complex relationship between prestigious patrons and gemstone engravers,³⁹ it seems appropriate to cite almost completely all the written evidence of Beltrami's work for Beauharnais, despite some obvious repetition.

Meneghelli, Beltrami's biographer, writes,

The Kingdom of Italy had already arisen, and Prince Eugène, gifted with refined taste, had viewed some of our artist's efforts with a favorable eye. In a very short time, he commissioned from him a necklace of sixteen cameos of scenes from the tale of Cupid and Psyche. And as he knew that to his exquisite skill as an engraver of gemstones was united valor as a draftsman and a fertile imagination, the prince specified that everything had to be the work of his hand, and that the ideas and designs be his....

[Beltrami] assigned the outlines to the court painter, the celebrated Appiani, and having obtained full approval for this, he successfully brought the enterprise to its desired conclusion. And the work was already on its journey towards its contemplated destination when the courier was attacked, and the necklace became the booty of the rapacious hands that had stolen everything. Prince Eugène was saddened by the mishap, but nobly paid Beltrami for his work with a generous hand, as though he had received the cameos, and ordered that another necklace perfectly identical to the first occupy the ingenuity of the talented artist. Such a generous act redoubled his fervor and care, and the new composition, in the opinion of the artist himself, greatly surpassed the first in elegance and exquisiteness. It supremely pleased everyone who saw it; and the Viceroy made a gift of it to Princess Amelia of Bavaria, his wife, who appreciated it very much, and prized it as a precious work.⁴⁰ The applause of a Court brought valuable commissions to our artist, beyond those he received from Prince Eugène himself for numerous portraits, to which he added with great pleasure one ordered from him for the august Mother, Empress Joséphine....⁴¹

Lancetti, another biographer,⁴² conversely, attributes the commission of the sixteen cornelians to Empress Joséphine, to be made into a necklace and other jewels. When the stones were stolen by the robbers, Beltrami replicated the myth on stones sent him by the empress. Lancetti also reports that Beauharnais kept Beltrami "busy almost exclusively for him for a long time."⁴³ Cantú, also, writing about various artists, mentions the portrait engraved by Beltrami for Napoleon and the tale of Psyche for Joséphine, and recalls generally "other works for Eugène, and the courtiers in imitation."⁴⁴

Beltrami gives us another brief indication, fully aware of the honor paid him by the commissions arriving from illustrious and powerful personages, in a letter (Cremona, 15 March 1832) to an unidentified count, probably an influential person residing in Milan:

that I indicate the works made for distinguished personages just as I too would like, on the principle that the world usually attaches great importance to them and proclaims great or little merit in the artists in accordance with the quality of the ones who gave the commissions. Thus since I, in this circumstance, would like to burn some incense to public opinion, I wish to beg you to point out the many works made for the Prince Viceroy, the many portraits carved in stone for the King of Bavaria, the things made for Napoleon and others of that time.

But since the remembrance of such things is not fitting, we shall limit ourselves to my Petrarch in cornelian purchased by H. M. our Sovereign [in 1815]....⁴⁵

The mention of the king of Bavaria, who was Eugène's father-in-law, is in accord with a note about Bavaria by Grasselli, "... for whose Royal Court Beltrami had executed various other works in different periods."⁴⁶

But the most important indications are contained in a manuscript of March 1834 concerning Beltrami, containing information "from his own lips."⁴⁷ This manuscript was sent to the philosopher, art critic, journalist, and writer Defendente Sacchi, who wanted to give information about the artist and published it in the spring of that same year.⁴⁸

Having made some engravings of his own invention, [Beltrami] went to Milan, and the Crown Treasurer M. Hennin, a great art lover and distinguished coin collector, having seen these things, liked them very much and promised Beltrami to present them to the prince, which he did, and since His Highness liked them, they were purchased, and on that occasion he ordered his own portrait, which Beltrami engraved on cornelian with great success. He did other portraits both in relief and carved into the stone, and other things for that Court. Since the Prince wished to have a necklace made for the princess his wife...he commissioned from Beltrami sixteen engravings on yellow cornelian, called "blond," and he chose to represent the tale of Cupid and Psyche, which except for the central piece that was larger, all the others were composed by Beltrami, and for this piece the engraver was sent to Mantua to copy the Wedding by Giulio Romano in Palazzo del Tè. The series of stones was engraved in six months, but all this effort was ill-destined, because it was sent by post, as the Court had requested; the courier was attacked and stripped of everything, and said necklace was stolen as well. As the Prince wanted the work, he ordered a second made on the same theme, and the designs were done by Beltrami which Appiani, the court painter, liked very much. In a short time, the second necklace was made, richly fastened with rubies and diamonds by the jeweler Montefiori. Beltrami undertook a small intaglio, which the Prince desired to have for a ring for himself, and it was meant to represent the Tent of Darius, a work that the valient engravers of southern Italy declined to do. This intaglio received the approval of His Highness and those who have an understanding of art. Besides the manifold works done for this court, Beltrami made numerous works for the court of France and that of Bavaria....

The works that Beltrami remembers with satisfaction are the following. Among the engravings for the above-mentioned court, a cornelian representing Europa sitting in her horse-drawn chariot, followed by major deities, and an Eagle flying above her, bearing laurel crowns above Europa herself; the indicated Tent of Darius, which is worthy of observation because of its small size, since all the figures are illustrated in the most minute detail, and the nature of each figure is well explained.

Unfortunately, despite the frequent references to the activity carried out by Beltrami for Beauharnais, they are not corroborated by actual documentation of the works he executed for the viceroy.

On the other hand, we have a great deal of information, as well as a significant number of works (represented by casts), about pieces made by Beltrami for Count Giovanni Battista Sommariva (Sant'Angelo Lodigiano, 1760–Milan, 1826),⁴⁹ one of the most outstanding and controversial patrons and art collectors in Lombardy in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. A lawyer of obscure origins, ambitious and unscrupulous, Sommariva capitalized on the political upheaval of Napoleon's campaigns to become administrator of Milan (1800–2). Having become very wealthy, but by this point unpopular, Sommariva acquired new social prestige internationally as the patron and protector of the best artists of the time, motivated by a sincere passion but also by the conviction that works of art were an excellent investment. His splendid collections in his Paris houses and his villa (now called Villa Carlotta, at Tremezzo on Lake Como) were well known and a required stop for art lovers, scholars, men of letters, and tourists. Sommariva employed numerous engravers to make intaglios and cameos that reproduced the best-loved works in his collections, carrying these with him on his travels so as never to be separated from them.⁵⁰

Thus, this opportunity to work for the court encouraged some Roman engravers to move to Milan, such as Antonio Berini and Giacomo Pichler (1778–1815), Giovanni's son.⁵¹ Unfortunately, Sommariva's exceptional and precious gem collection is almost completely dispersed, and surviving originals are quite rare, for example, those in the Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan;⁵² knowledge of the collection is dependent in large part upon the Cades, Paoletti, and Giovanni Liberotti collections of casts in Rome.⁵³ Count Sommariva, in competition with the viceroy for splendor,⁵⁴ in Milan, is given merit for launching the career of Giambattista Gigola (Brescia, 1769–Milan [or Tremezzo], 1841).⁵⁵ The

novelty, uniqueness, and charm of miniatures, to which Gigola restored prestige, explain the generosity, familiarity, and preference Sommariva showed Gigola, who made for him portraits, reproductions from paintings, and original compositions;⁵⁶ these qualities also explain his appointment by Beauharnais as miniature portraitist of the viceroy's court.

As for Beltrami, he was mainly assigned the task of reproducing the pictures in Sommariva's collection. His skill is demonstrated in his faithful reproduction, even in the tiniest details, of pictures with complex scenes and numerous figures. Often, Beltrami's works bear an inscription with the painter's name, the year of the painting, the author of the intaglio, its date of execution, and sometimes the city, Cremona, and the patron and/or owner of the work. These intaglios, which number at least forty, were made between 1810 and about 1825.

Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli⁵⁷ rightly points out that the representation of paintings was not a frequent practice among gemstone engravers and that the success obtained with the miniaturization of Sommariva's pictures attracted other commissions of this type for Beltrami, such as the reproduction of paintings for the princely family of Soresina Vidoni and the brothers Bartolomeo and Ferdinando Turina, wealthy entrepreneurs in the province of Cremona⁵⁸ who were art patrons and owners of paintings whose subjects were engraved by Beltrami.

Beltrami's most admired and celebrated intaglios are of paintings, due to his prodigious skill in overcoming technical difficulties in translating between media, the complexity of the subjects he chose to reproduce, and the formal perfection of his finished product. Examples are his masterpiece *The Tent of Darius*⁵⁹ from a famous painting by Charles Lebrun, of 1661, now in Versailles; Leonardo's *Last Supper*,⁶⁰ *Romeo and Juliet's Last Kiss* from the famous painting by Francesco Hayez;⁶¹ and *Jupiter Crowned by the Hours* (or *Olympus*) from the painting by Andrea Appiani, now in the Brera, which took him three years to complete.⁶² His most highly esteemed works were praised for the astonishing skill with which he managed to sculpt numerous tiny figures in such a small space.

Beltrami deeply loved his town, Cremona, where he had his studio, and never wanted to move to Paris, even though Count Sommariva strongly urged him to come, nor even to Milan, where Sommariva had prepared a fine house for him. In Cremona, not only prestigious patrons, like the Soresina Vidoni and Turina brothers mentioned above, but also more modest personages and various families owned stones engraved by Beltrami.

In addition to the series engraved with portraits of illustrious men, ancient and modern, another group by

Beltrami shows his skill as a portraitist. This is the series of metal medallions representing famous personages of the past or contemporaries of Beltrami, now in the Museo Civico Ala Ponzone of Cremona, the Medagliere of the Civiche Raccolte Numismatiche of Milan, and various other public and private collections.⁶³ They are plaques worked only on one side, with a thick frame of dark wood, made without using a press, between 1822 and 1830 in Cremona by Beltrami and Giacinto Zambruni, who perhaps was the smelter. Beltrami is not unique in making both medals and engravings; other famous artists practiced both techniques, such as Benedetto Pistrucci,⁶⁴ Giuseppe and Nicola Cerbara,⁶⁵ and Giuseppe Girometti.⁶⁶ He also produced plaquettes based on his intaglios or cameos, a production that has just recently begun to be studied.⁶⁷ The Museo Civico Ala Ponzone in Cremona has a hinged matrix of Beltrami's *Tent of Darius* and a metal cast made from it, referred to in the museum inventory as "galvanoplastic."⁶⁸

Some of Beltrami's written evidence of his art does survive. An unpublished manuscript booklet of 16 April 1834, entitled *A Bartolomeo Turina della Belle Arti esimio amatore e protettore questi pochi cenni in segno di gratitudine offre l'Incisore Beltrami*,⁶⁹ gives an analytic description of the nine works made for Turina (some of which are now in the Museo Civico Ala Ponzone of Cremona), examining their iconographical and literary sources and mentioning the difficulties he faced in making them (thus implicitly highlighting his own skill).

Given that the two intaglios with the portrait of Beauharnais are almost totally identical, in all probability he made them at the same time. The inscription commemorating Beauharnais's victorious battle enables us to anchor the intaglio to this historical moment. The fact that the inscription is so precise fits into the pattern, already noted above, of many of Beltrami's casts. Thus, we can often assign a precise date to his works. The intaglio with Beauharnais's portrait and inscription can be dated to the period immediately after the battle (the viceroy returned to Milan on 18 May 1813).

In his novel, Giuseppe Rovani⁷⁰ writes that the Italian soldiers returning from the Russian campaign changed their favorable opinion of the viceroy, earlier praised for his sacrifices, constancy, and the fact that he remained alone to protect the retreat, into hatred. Rovani details injustices done to the Italian soldiers by Eugène when they were in competition with the French, the malice with which he prevented General Pino's Italian division from distinguishing themselves, and the other controversies with Pino. Although Rovani set out to create a distinctly negative

picture of the viceroy, the events he relates do not seem to be based on isolated rumors. In fact, a serious clash between the French and Italian divisions is recorded, with regards to the division of an undestroyed warehouse at which the troops had arrived almost simultaneously. Eugène took the side of the French, and a violent quarrel broke out between him and General Pino, giving rise to serious rancor.⁷¹ In another argument with the prince, General Pino listed his faults, rebuking him for the preference he showed to the French and for the sufferings of the Italians who were not recompensed. Eugène accused Pino of insubordination. Pino tried to resign his military commission, but the viceroy would not let him, although their enmity continued.⁷²

The upheaval after the Russian campaign and perhaps also the period of discontent among the Italians limits the time frame within which the second intaglio can be dated. It should be pointed out that the battle of Malo-Jaroslavets is indeed one of the most illustrious in the viceroy's career, but it is also remembered as a glory of the Italian army.

The question remains open as to which intaglio Beltrami made first. There are a couple of plausible hypotheses. Beltrami could first have made the intaglio with the letters E and N and his signature and then the other specifying the battle, perhaps when Eugène was still in Russia and the news of the victory had reached home. On the other hand, this victory could have been the occasion for an "official" commission, and then he could have made a replica later.

In either case, the two portraits are particularly interesting. Very few of Beltrami's portraits are documented by casts, and there are few works that can be dated with certainty during the period when Beauharnais was viceroy. As to the presence of the casts of one of the two portraits of Beauharnais on the Lombard "market" (and its already mentioned absence on the Roman market), it should be noted that casts made from Beltrami's works were in circulation, and various people in Lombardy possessed entire collections of them. Another question—still unanswered—is why only the cast of the second intaglio appeared on the market.

Finally, it is quite probable that the second intaglio was lost. Beauharnais's possessions were widely dispersed: many are in the Swedish royal collections (through the marriage of the eldest daughter); some are in Bavaria; others, in the possession of his Austrian descendants; still others have gone from auction to auction; and the Malmaison has received or purchased some pieces.

At any rate, this intaglio is not present in the extensive glyptic museum of the Staatliche Münzsammlung in Munich.⁷³



Fig. 4. Antonio Berini, agate cameo with portraits of Viceroy Eugène de Beauharnais and Augusta Amelia, set in the center of the lid of a tortoiseshell snuffbox. Malmaison, Musée national du château, MM.40.47.6118.

THE COMED BY ANTONIO BERINI

Another portrait of Eugène appears on a rectangular snuffbox of black tortoiseshell, now in the Musée national du Château de Malmaison (fig. 4).⁷⁴ In the center of its lid is a cameo on a five-layered agate, with profile portraits of Eugène de Beauharnais and his wife, signed by Antonio Berini and set in a gold border of three-lobed leaves. The snuffbox's hallmark is a rabbit head. It is French and dates to 1819 or later; the cameo is dated to 1811–12.

Besides the obvious similarity due to its subject, there are close analogies between the cameo and Beltrami's intaglio. Beauharnais looks to the right, has the same hairstyle, long sideburns, and mustache, and wears his officer's uniform with the insignia of the Iron Crown. The bust is cut off at the same point, showing his shoulder and a large part of his chest. Augusta Amelia is largely hidden by her husband, but her lovely profile is visible, as are her hair, on which rests a large diadem, and her low-cut dress revealing an ample portion of her bosom.

Antonio Berini (Rome, 1770–Milan?, 1861)⁷⁵ stands out as the other great engraver, alongside Beltrami, working in this period. A student of Giovanni Pichler, Berini left Rome between 1802 and 1804⁷⁶ and moved to Milan, where he spent his long and very active career.

His subjects are taken from the rich repertory of motifs used by the engravers of his time, well known and appreciated by the public. Perfectly placed in the Milanese art world, he was famous, respected, and praised as one of the most illustrious and famous artists, as his contemporaries testify.

Defendente Sacchi reports enthusiastically that Berini and Beltrami were the greatest engravers, capable of making cameos as few ancients and none of the moderns were;⁷⁷ Meneghelli, praising Beltrami's works, mentions only Pistrucci and Berini among the famous engravers;⁷⁸ and Berini is labeled "gem of the engravers of gems" in the lithograph with his portrait engraved by Giuseppe Cornienti in 1846.⁷⁹ Characteristics of Berini's intaglios and cameos—praised in the written texts and documented by the pieces we can examine today (and also in part by the one at Malmaison)—are their large size; flowing lines; high quality; attention to detail and to the modeling, often in quite high relief; and the skillful use of the layers of stone to create color effects.

In the Medagliere of the Civiche Raccolte Numismatiche of Milan are eight plaster casts of cameos and intaglios from Berini's Milanese period; seven represent a classic gallery of Illustrious Men (the frequent theme of engravers),⁸⁰ while the eighth is a cast made from an intaglio with a portrait of Tsar Nicholas I (1796–1855), now in the Hermitage.⁸¹ Moreover, in the Cades collection in the Medagliere, there are nineteen impressions from works by Berini, significantly more than the eight in the Cades collection in the Istituto Archeologico Germanico in Rome. There is, however, no impression made from Berini's cameo with the portraits of Beauharnais and his wife in the Cades collection in Rome or in either of the two collections in Milan.

Aside from this cameo, we have no other information detailing the relationship between Berini and Beauharnais. Generally speaking, it is difficult to reconstruct Berini's career, even though sources emphasize his prolific and well-received production.

It is known that Berini worked for the imperial family; a cameo portrait of Napoleon, which was probably a gift for his coronation in Milan as king of Italy, is the subject of an interesting anecdote that establishes a definite (but not the first) date when Berini was in the city, 1805.⁸²

Two cameos survive with a portrait of Napoleon, one in the British Museum,⁸³ and the other in the Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.⁸⁴ Another very beautiful cameo with the portrait of Empress Joséphine is in Vienna at the Kunsthistorisches Museum.⁸⁵ Count Giovanni Battista Sommariva also engaged Berini to create an idealized portrait of him: a cameo now on display in the Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata, in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan.⁸⁶ A shell cameo, commissioned by Sommariva and reproducing a self-portrait by Thorvaldsen, which was in the count's possession around 1818,⁸⁷ has since been lost.

The information on the artist available today comes from Berini's substantial contribution to Sommariva's gem collection.⁸⁸ Unfortunately, the group of intaglios and cameos Berini made for the count has virtually disappeared and is not documented even by the Cades, Paoletti, and Liberotti collections of casts. Nonetheless, on the basis of the information we do have, we can state that an important category of Berini's activity consists of portraits and heads of sacred or pagan figures as well as of historical personages.⁸⁹

The cameo of Beauharnais and his wife, too, confirms Berini's fame as a portraitist, as well as the fact that he had prestigious patrons in Milan. A date of 1811–12 has been proposed for the cameo.⁹⁰ This date can be accepted on the evidence of Eugène's mustache, which he shaved off in 1806 and grew back in around 1811–12.⁹¹



Fig. 5. Jean Urbain Guérin, Portrait of Viceroy Eugène de Beauharnais, oil-painted medallion, 1804–5 (?). Malmaison, Musée national du château. From: *Eugène de Beauharnais honneur et fidélité*, Musée national des Châteaux de Malmaison et Bois Préau, 14 September 1999–3 January 2000, 74, fig. 44.

Fig. 6. Joseph Chinard, Portrait of Viceroy Eugène de Beauharnais, terracotta. Malmaison, Musée national du château. From: *Eugène de Beauharnais honneur et fidélité*, Musée national des Châteaux de Malmaison et Bois Préau, 14 September 1999–3 January 2000, 74, fig. 45.

Fig. 7. Franz Xaver Lösch, Portrait of Viceroy Eugène de Beauharnais, bronze, ca. 1824. Malmaison, Musée national du château. From: *Eugène de Beauharnais honneur et fidélité*, Musée national des Châteaux de Malmaison et Bois Préau, 14 September 1999–3 January 2000, 133–34, fig. 141b.

On the basis of current information, no portraits of Beauharnais engraved on hardstones are known, other than the ones examined here.⁹² It should be noted, however, that, in general, a study of gemstone portraits presents several difficulties.⁹³ The majority of these pieces are in private hands, and very few have been published. In addition, portraits are often not included in the best-known collection of casts, the Cades collection. Finally, famous engravers like Giovanni Pichler (1734–91) and Nathalien Marchant (1739–1816) did not include the portraits they made of contemporaries in the definitive series of their works published as impressions for sale.⁹⁴ And yet, portraits are an important category, as is obvious, of the commissions received by engravers.⁹⁵

The two portraits of Beauharnais engraved by Beltrami and the one made by Berini give us an image of the viceroy in his public, "official," authoritative role—an image that is, without doubt, somewhat cold and impersonal. Both engravers might have captured Beauharnais's image from actual sittings. Berini lived in Milan. Although there is no information about Beltrami's movements, as already noted, the viceroy often traveled throughout the kingdom. There is evidence of visits also to Cremona, for example, in June 1808, when he received local authorities and reviewed the troops.⁹⁶ One of these visits might have included a sitting with Beltrami.

Alternatively, considering the somewhat standardized depiction of the viceroy, both engravers might have worked directly from or been inspired by models such as medals, prints, drawings, or busts.⁹⁷ As for Beltrami, the question remains open as to whether, when reproducing Count Sommariva's paintings, he copied directly from the originals (and, therefore, have traveled to the count's collections) or used, as seems more likely, already existing miniatures of them.⁹⁸

Without attempting here an analysis of the iconography of Beauharnais's portraits,⁹⁷ it is important to give some indications of the context into which the glyptic portraits being examined here take their place. First, as already noted, Eugène was eulogized and his likeness painted and sculpted by the most famous artists during his lifetime; thus, portraits of him—busts or full-length, in official or military dress—are numerous. As a rule, they confirm his fame as a handsome man. Giambattista Gigola, for example, a painter of miniature portraits at the viceregal court, who does not seem to have been a passive conformist to the rules of academic portraiture, left us various images of Eugène, Augusta Amelia, and their children.¹⁰⁰

Noteworthy among the high-quality portraits of Eugène, and similar to the glyptic portraits in the characteristic profile of the nose, the hair combed forward, and long sideburns, is the well-known, splendid drawing signed by Andrea Appiani, now in the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe of the Museo Correr in Venice.¹⁰¹ Refined, elegant, and close to court portraiture, it is nonetheless imbued with a subtle hint of poetry.

Among the vast production, which varies greatly in artistic quality and is often stereotypical and conventional because derived from well-established models, there are some works worthy of note for being closest to the gems examined here.

One example is an oil-painted medallion by Jean-Urbain Guérin, datable to 1804–5, with a profile portrait of Eugène wearing the uniform of a brigadier general of the imperial guard and the insignia of the Legion of Honor¹⁰² (fig. 5). A terracotta medallion by Joseph Chinard, of which other specimens exist¹⁰³ (fig. 6), is so similar that it seems to be a copy. Another example is a print showing Eugène frontally, with his face turned in three-quarters profile.¹⁰⁴ Although different from our gemstone portraits in its presentation of the bust, cut off right below the neck, a bronze medal by Franz Xaver Lösch, dated to the time of the prince's death¹⁰⁵ (fig. 7), is identical in the line of the profile, the nose, slightly drooping mustache, long sideburns, and long locks of hair combed over the forehead. Two sulphides—cameos encrusted in glass—are based on this medal; one in a bottle, possibly by Baccarat, and the other, a plaquette by Baccarat.¹⁰⁶ A crystal cameo in every way similar to the preceding one decorates a wallet given by Eugène to his sister Hortense, dated in the early 1820s.¹⁰⁷

It should be pointed out that when the Napoleonic epic became legend, taking on a popular and almost religious aura, Eugène was absorbed into it. Thus, before and especially after his death, pictures, statues, prints, medals, engravings, plates, boxes, clocks, etc., portrayed him and the major events of his life: the Terror, the battles of Raab and the Moskva, the retreat, the last Italian campaign, his residence in Munich, and also, of course, Malo-Jaroslavets. These works are for the most part difficult to date, as they are often examples of popular art accompanying texts that have little to do with the actual facts.¹⁰⁸

In his posthumous portraits, Eugène is most frequently shown in uniform, wrapped in a full, romantic-looking cloak, like Napoleon. In general, his figure is limited to his head and shoulders, and rarely does he appear with other characters or symbolic objects. If shown full-length, he is often depicted in combat, with his hand on his saber or rifle; if on horseback, he is usually in the position of a general at the head of his troops. Two themes are frequent: the viceroy decorating his soldiers, perhaps derived from images of Napoleon, and his traits of humanity.



Fig. 8. Cardboard, gilt paper, and glass box with the image of Viceroy Eugène de Beauharnais. Malmaison, Musée national du château. From: *Eugène de Beauharnais honneur et fidélité*, Musée national des Châteaux de Malmaison et Bois Préau, 14 September 1999–3 January 2000, 134, fig. 142a.



Fig. 9. Cardboard, paper, and glass box with the image of Viceroy Eugène de Beauharnais. Malmaison, Musée national du château. From: *Eugène de Beauharnais honneur et fidélité*, Musée national des Châteaux de Malmaison et Bois Préau, 14 September 1999–3 January 2000, 134, fig. 142b.

SNUFFBOXES WITH THE PORTRAIT OF EUGÈNE DE BEAUHARNAIS IN THE BROADER CONTEXT OF SNUFFBOX PORTRAITS

In order to place the two snuffboxes with the portrait of the Viceroy into context, we must look for a moment at the phenomenon of snuffboxes bearing portraits, noting only some essential aspects that are useful to the work at hand.¹⁰⁹

In society during the eighteenth century, known as "*le siècle de la tabatière*" (century of the snuffbox), the custom of inhaling tobacco was wildly popular. The practice slowly declined during the course of the nineteenth century, more or less after 1830. Thus, in the eighteenth century, snuffboxes were widespread throughout every level of European society, becoming an indispensable fashion accessory and mark of the social status of their owners. Snuffboxes were made in a wide range of materials, shapes, and sizes, and were decorated with a boundless variety of subjects. Their extensive circulation made them an essential vehicle for the transmission of messages, both public and private. Snuffboxes, therefore, recorded, communicated, and disseminated images of events. Snuffboxes became fashionable gifts as a sign of friendship, admiration, esteem, and gratitude, and also a way of handing out favors.

The French word *boîte* (box) meant a snuffbox, a candy or sweet box, or any of numerous types of cases and containers. The boundaries between the two categories of box and snuffbox became so blurred that, while in the

early eighteenth century the terms "portrait box" and "gold box" or "snuffbox" were used precisely to indicate different objects, by 1770, they had become interchangeable. During the reign of Louis XIV, the *boîte-à-portrait* and the *tabatière-à-portrait* with portraits painted in miniature or engraved on gemstones set into the inside or outside of the box or on both surfaces became widespread.¹¹⁰ Snuffboxes could hold the portrait of one person (as in the case of Beltrami's intaglio) or several members of the same family (as with Berini's cameo), usually images of royalty or nobility. Given their honorific nature, they were made of precious materials, usually gold and diamonds, the number and size of which varied according to the importance of the piece. The height of the portrait boxes was adapted to that of snuffboxes so that the same object could be used for both purposes.

Sovereigns would distribute snuffboxes with their own portraits to the diplomats of various nations as royal gifts. The practice became customary in all the European courts, to the point that the term "diplomatic snuffboxes" was coined. Snuffboxes were considered legal tender, and sometimes foreign ambassadors would receive a sum equivalent to the cost of a diplomatic snuffbox. It is known that official snuffboxes were an essential element of Napoleon's diplomatic life; he lavishly handed out boxes with his portrait or monogram encircled by diamonds. Tsar Alexander I (1801–25), who was very close to Eugène, emulated Napoleon both in his custom of immortalizing



Fig. 10. Cardboard, gilt paper, and glass box with the image of Viceroy Eugène de Beauharnais. Malmaison, Musée national du château. From: *Eugène de Beauharnais honneur et fidélité*, Musée national des Châteaux de Malmaison et Bois Préau, 14 September 1999–3 January 2000, 134–35, fig. 142c.

his image, above all in miniature portraits, often showing him as a young man in military uniform, set in the center of a snuffbox lid frequently surrounded by a frame of diamonds or a laurel wreath, and in his lavishness in giving these boxes as gifts.¹¹¹

The custom of giving *boîtes-à-portrait* was also widespread among the upper aristocracy.¹¹²

There is little information about Beauharnais's attitude towards the phenomenon of snuffboxes, but it is sufficient for maintaining that the viceroy was well aware of the value of snuffboxes as means for granting royal favors and as objects in wide circulation that could play a significant role in the spread of iconographies. Eugène did have Gigola make numerous copies in ivory of his portrait painted by Appiani, which he then had mounted on snuffboxes to give to his friends and supporters. The viceroy was so pleased with the portrait made by Gigola that he immediately commissioned a full-length one to be made, not by copying Appiani's painting, but from life. The portrait met with everyone's favor, and, in particular, that of his wife, for whom it was destined.¹¹³

Satisfied with Bossi's copy of *The Last Supper* by Leonardo da Vinci, and the artist's activity in general, the viceroy and his wife rewarded him with beautiful and valuable boxes and snuffboxes.¹¹⁴ Moreover, Eugène would repay the works sent to him by sending in turn a valuable gift, usually a gold snuffbox with his portrait, decorated with precious stones.¹¹⁵

Another important example, shown in figures 8–11, is the box made of cardboard and gold paper, decorated with the bust of the prince.¹¹⁶

To sum up, snuffboxes with portraits are numerous, revealing a range of ways of composing and framing the portraits. In this sense, the two snuffboxes with Eugène's portraits do not diverge from the norm. In terms of the type of frame and structure, however, I have not found precise comparisons for the snuffbox in Baltimore. There are a great number of snuffboxes that are much more elaborate and richly decorated in comparison with that at the Walters, whose aspect is simple and sober. Among the specimens closest to this one in shape and/or overall structure is the painted and enameled oval medallion with the bust of Charlotte-Marie de Daillon du Lude, duchess of Roquelaure, made probably by Petitot, mounted on the lid of a round Parisian snuffbox made of black tortoiseshell; framing the medallion is an embossed gold rectangle with cut corners, decorated with flowers and leaves and edged with a thin line of blue enamel.¹¹⁷ Another portrait by Petitot appears on the lid of a round Parisian snuffbox made of lacquered gold with a tortoiseshell border, a miniature of Madame de Sévigné, whose initials appear on the bottom of the box (1765–66).¹¹⁸ Another Parisian piece is a beautiful snuffbox made by Gabriel-Raoul Morel (ca. 1809–13), rectangular in shape and made of gold, with vegetal scrolls and a thin enamel frame around a female profile engraved in agate.¹¹⁹ Analogous in their simplicity are an oval ivory snuffbox with a miniature portrait of an unidentified sitter, from Paris (1775–81),¹²⁰ and a rectangular one of gold with a miniature of King George IV (1821), bearing the hallmark C. J. B. and made in London in 1817.¹²¹

As to the snuffbox with Berini's cameo, there, too, precise comparisons have not been found. Among similar boxes, it is worth mentioning some made of tortoiseshell and gold.¹²²

The manufacture of snuffboxes is closely bound to the glyptic arts; frequently, cameos and intaglios, whether ancient or modern and sometimes signed, were mounted on the lids of snuffboxes. And, too, sometimes "pastes" reproducing works by famous engravers like Giovanni Pichler¹²³ were used instead of real stones.

To cite just a few examples (especially among the pieces signed by engravers of this period), there is the famous cameo of the triumph of Tsar Alexander I by Benedetto Pistrucci on the lid of a gold snuffbox embossed with floral arabesques and edged in enamel.¹²⁴ A cameo by Nicola Morelli with a bust of Minerva is mounted on the lid of an oval snuffbox with gold inlay made by Johann Christin Neuber of Dresden.¹²⁵ A piece that Gaspare Capparoni made from a drawing, a portrait

of Marshal Berthier, ordered by his brother the general, to decorate a snuffbox intended as a gift for Napoleon should also be noted.¹²⁶

The British Museum has various snuffboxes of this type: two intaglios, bearing the false signature of *Diskourides*, from the famous collection of Stanislas Poniatowski, with a group of divinities on the lid and Hercules and Atlas on the base of an oval gold snuffbox;¹²⁷ an unsigned cameo with a combat scene, set in a gold frame on the lid of a rectangular box of tortoiseshell and gold (first quarter of the nineteenth century)¹²⁸ and another unsigned cameo with a nanny-goat in an embossed gold frame with an enamel border, on the lid of an octagonal tortoiseshell and gold box by Adrien-Jean Maximilien Vachette, of 1789.¹²⁹ Similarities with the Walters' piece can be seen in an unsigned shell cameo with the bust of Alexander the Great, dated to the early nineteenth century, set in a rectangular plaquette of embossed gold with a scroll motif, on a French snuffbox of tortoiseshell and silver gilt, bearing Mathias Roger's hallmark (ca. 1809–38).¹³⁰

As a rule, a snuffbox could be made by one or several craftsmen, such as the goldsmith, the miniaturist, the ceramicist, etc. Although workshops grew up throughout Europe, working independently and creating new models, contact and exchange among them was frequent and intense, and the various influences intermingled. But France, and Paris in particular, played a central, dominant role. Unrivalled for technical excellence, the French production was so greatly admired and in such demand that the French taste decisively guided the other European craftsmen. And both the snuffboxes being examined here are French.

As to the materials used in the two snuffboxes—horn and tortoiseshell—boxes made of horn and ivory are mentioned as early as 1636, in a text entitled “La Tabaccheide.”¹³¹ Its author, Francesco Zucchi, considered horn to be the most desirable material for snuffboxes. The early and lasting popularity of horn, tortoiseshell, and ivory is certainly due in part to their availability and low cost. Horn could be obtained from local butchers. The major characteristic common to all three materials is their malleability. They could easily be shaped, adapted to a matrix, and pressed, making them ideal for impressed decorations. Therefore, they lent themselves well to experimentation: tortoiseshell was the material used to try out engine turning, or machine-engraved decoration, for the first time, around 1750 in Paris and London. For easier working, horn and tortoiseshell could be softened more rapidly by immersing them in boiling water to which a few drops of olive oil were added.

Tortoiseshell was usually decorated using the piqué technique, i.e., with thin sheets of other materials, for the most part gold, silver, and mother-of-pearl, set into



Fig. 11. Cardboard, gilt paper, and glass box with the image of Viceroy Eugène de Beauharnais. Malmaison, Musée national du château. From: *Eugène de Beauharnais honneur et fidélité*, Musée national des Châteaux de Malmaison et Bois Préau, 14 September 1999–3 January 2000, 135, fig. 142d.

small holes or hollows. Boxes made of pressed horn and tortoiseshell were produced in England and on the continent well into the nineteenth century. Genre and hunting scenes and floral and geometric motifs abound. In England, the horn industry was limited almost exclusively to London, where presumably all of these boxes were made. Tortoiseshell and ivory were widely used in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, also as frames for portraits or other miniatures (horn was rarely used in this manner). In France, during the Revolution and in the years immediately after it, the disbanding of the goldsmiths' guild and the general democratization of taste made gold boxes inappropriate, and tortoiseshell boxes became popular. These are usually round, with unattached lids.

Wooden boxes became common, judging from the known examples, only after the Revolution, and the fashion lasted until shortly after the Restoration, with portraits and subjects often alluding to contemporary events.¹³² It should be emphasized that, as a rule, boxes made of horn, tortoiseshell, ivory, and wood were not signed; it is difficult, therefore, to distinguish the characteristics of any specific manufacture as there was a style common to all of Europe until about 1740.

It has already been noted that the Walters' snuffbox bears Parisian trademarks of the years 1819–38, and that the hallmark of the snuffbox at Malmaison dates to 1819 or later. In both cases, therefore, the stone was inserted into a snuffbox made during a later period.¹³³ On the basis of current

information, and in the absence of a direct comparison, it is not possible at the moment to date precisely the two snuffboxes. They fit perfectly, however, into the overall picture of snuffbox production in the early nineteenth century. We know that neoclassical taste was for round, oval, and rectangular shapes, simplified, regular outlines, and classical decorations. Portrait snuffboxes from the period 1810–15 are often oblong with rounded sides; the lids are embossed with a leaf motif, and decorations feature engine-turned geometric motifs. From 1815 to 1825, snuffboxes of gold-edged tortoiseshell, with a lid decorated with an embossed gold plaque with a central medallion portrait, are common.¹³⁴

If one or both of the snuffboxes with Eugène Beauharnais's portrait were made after his death, they should be linked to the group of works that testify to the favorable opinion of the viceroy that prevailed between the fall of the empire and the return of Napoleon's body to France in 1840.

No matter what their specific date may be, what these exquisite pieces do clearly demonstrate is that there is still much research to be done on the glyptic arts of this diverse and rich artistic and cultural period.

NOTES

I wish to express my deepest appreciation to the Walters Art Museum for accepting my proposal to study the snuffbox and authorizing me to publish it. For all the information concerning the snuffbox, I am indebted to William R. Johnston (Associate Director and Senior Curator of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Art). For authorization to publish the cast by Giovanni Beltrami, now in the Medagliere in Milan, my fervent thanks go to Ermanno A. Arslan (Director of the Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche of Milan). I thank Jérémie Benoit, formerly Conservator of the Musée national des Châteaux de Malmaison et Bois Préau, presently Conservator of the Musée de Châteaux de Versailles, for information concerning the absence at Malmaison of other portraits of Eugène de Beauharnais made by Beltrami and Berini. Special thanks to Rodolfo Martini, Conservator of the Civiche Raccolte Numismatiche in Milan, for his ready willingness and generosity in giving me time, information, and advice. I am grateful to Marina Volonté, Conservator of the archeological collections of the Museo Civico Ala Ponzone in Cremona, for her kind and active collaboration during my analyses of the museum's collection of casts. I thank Ingrid Szeiklies-Weber of the Staatliche Münzsammlung in Munich for the indication about the second intaglio by Beltrami, which is not in Munich, in the museum's large glyptic collection. Heartfelt thanks to Fabrizio Slavazzi of the archaeology section of the Department of Antiquities at the University of Milan for reading this manuscript and offering, as always, valuable suggestions. Many thanks also to Susan Scott for the translation of the article. Finally, thanks to my friend Aldo Merlassino.

1. Snuffbox measurements: diameter $2 \frac{3}{16}$ in. (5.5 cm.), blue enamel border $1 \frac{5}{16} \times 1 \frac{3}{16}$ in. (3.3×3 cm.). Intaglio measurements: $\frac{13}{16} \times \frac{11}{16}$ in. (2.1×1.7 cm.). As I was not personally able to examine the snuffbox, I am indebted to William R. Johnston, Associate Director and Curator of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Art, for all the information concerning it.

2. On the gems left by Henry Walters, along with the rest of his collection, to the city of Baltimore in 1931, and the passage of some famous pieces from the Bessborough to the Marlborough collections, later put up for sale, some of which were purchased by Walters, see D. K. Hill, "The Classical Collection and its Growth," *Apollo*, 153 (1974), 352–59; D. K. Hill, "From Venuti and Winckelmann to Walters," *Apollo*, 162 (1975), 100–3; D. Scarisbrick, "Henry Walters and the Marlborough Gems," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 39 (1981), 49–58; G. Platz-Horster, "Der 'Ölgieser' des Gnaio Granat in der Walters Art Museum," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 51 (1993), 11–21.

3. A first mention of the Milanese collection of casts appears in M. Gualdoni, "Le collezioni di calchi di gemme e cammei del Medagliere di Milano: note per il catalogo," *Rassegna di Studi del Civico Museo Archeologico e del Civico Gabinetto Numismatico di Milano*, 37–38 (1986), 87–93. A portion of the casts of the works by Giovanni Pichler has now been published in G. Tassinari, "La collezione di impronte di intagli e cammei di Giovanni Pichler nel Medagliere delle Civiche Raccolte Numismatiche di Milano: i ritratti," *Rassegna di Studi del Civico Museo Archeologico e del Civico Gabinetto Numismatico di Milano*, 67–68 (2001), 87–136.

4. For information concerning the purchase of the Cades collection, see Gualdoni, "Le collezioni di calchi di gemme e cammei del Medagliere di Milano," 88 n. 6, 92. On Tommaso Cades (1772–1840) and the enterprise of his casts, see Z. Giunta Di Roccagiovine, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 16 (Rome, 1973), 72, with bibliography.

5. Cast measurements: length $1 \frac{1}{8} \times$ width $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (2.8×2.3 cm.); it is surrounded by a gold band on which is written "n. 19."

6. Gualdoni, "Le collezioni di calchi di gemme e cammei del Medagliere di Milano," 88 n. 6, 92.

7. The group of casts of Beltrami's works in the Cremona museum is essentially unpublished. Only some of them have appeared in print, for example, in F. Mazzocca, ed., *Neoclassico e troubadour nelle miniature di Giambattista Gigola*, exhibition catalogue, Milan, Museo Poldi Pezzoli (25 October 1978–14 January 1979) (Florence, 1978), 58–59, fig. 17, 84, fig. 43; G. Tassinari, "An Intaglio by Giovanni Beltrami and Some Considerations on the Connection between Plaquettes and Gems in the Late Eighteenth Century–Early Nineteenth Century," in *Classicism to Neo-classicism: Essays Dedicated to Gertrud Seidmann*, eds. M. Henig and D. Plantzos, BAR International Series, 793 (1999), 203, figs. 3, 6.

8. For an exhaustive treatment of Eugène de Beauharnais and the people connected with him, see *Dernière campagne de l'Armée franco-italienne sous les ordres d'Eugène Beauharnais 1813 et 1814, par le chevalier S. J. témoin oculaire* (Paris, 1817); *Mémoires sur la cour du Prince Eugène et sur le Royaume d'Italie pendant la domination de Napoléon Bonaparte par un français attaché à la cour du Vice-Roi d'Italie* (Paris, 1824); G. Lombroso, *Galleria militare. Vite dei marescialli, generali ed ammiragli Francesi, Italiani, Polacchi, Tedeschi, Russi, Prussiani e Spagnoli che hanno comandato in capo gli eserciti e le flotte dal 1794 al 1815* (Milan, 1841), 507–34; C. Cantù, *Grande Illustrazione del Lombardo Veneto*, vol. 1. *Storia e descrizione di Milano e Pavia e loro contorni* (Milan, 1858), 253–73; C. Cantù, *Il principe Eugenio. Memorie del Regno d'Italia*, I–IX (Milan, 1865); F. Cusani, *Storia di Milano dall'origine a' nostri giorni*, V–VI, VII, 1–277 (Milan, 1867; 1873); Arthur-Lévy, *Napoléon et Eugène de Beauharnais* (Paris, 1926); M. Vox, *Correspondance de Napoléon. Six cents lettres de travail (1806–1810)* (Paris, 1948), 113–14, no. 181, 218, no. 294, 325, no. 500 and passim; M. Roberti, *Milano capitale napoleonica. La formazione di uno stato moderno 1796–1814*, I (Milan, 1946–47), 164–65 and passim, II, passim; É. Franceschini, in

Dictionnaire de Biographie Française, 5 (Paris, 1951), 1090–93; E. Rota, "Milano napoleonica," in *Storia di Milano*, XII (Milan, 1959), 2–350 (especially 204–350); O. Aubry, *Napoléon* (Montrouge, 1961), passim; A. Palluel, *Dictionnaire de l'Empereur* (Condé-sur-Escaut, 1969), 435–40 and passim; F. De Bernardy, *Eugène de Beauharnais* (Paris, 1973); C. Capra, *L'età rivoluzionaria e napoleonica in Italia 1796–1815* (Turin, 1978), 160, 167–68 and passim; E. Tessadri, *Il viceré Eugenio di Beauharnais* (Milan, 1982); R. Blémus, *Eugène de Beauharnais (1781–1824). L'honneur à tout vent* (Paris, 1993); Napoleon, *Più in basso del tuo cuore. Lettere d'amore a Giuseppina*, ed. L. Scaraffia (Rome, 1994); C. Capra, "Dalla Repubblica Cisalpina al Regno Italico," *Antichi Stati. Regno Italico (1805–1814)* (Milan, 1997), 13–37; *Eugène de Beauharnais honneur et fidélité*, ex. cat., Musée national des Châteaux de Malmaison et Bois-Préau, 14 September 1999–3 January 2000; *Napoleon, Les Bonaparte et l'Italie*, ex. cat., Musée Fesch, Ajaccio, 11 April–30 September 2001, 21–29, 125, 135; A. Pillepich, *Milano capitale napoléonienne 1800–1814* (Paris, 2001); F. Mazzocca, A. Morandotti, E. Colle, *Milano neoclassica* (Milan, 2001); C. Capra, F. Della Peruta, F. Mazzocca, *Napoleone e la Repubblica Italiana (1802–1805)*, ex. cat., Rotonda di via Besana-Milan, 11 November 2002–28 February 2003; G. Tassinari, "Il progetto dell'incisore di gemme Giovanni Battista Dorelli per l'istituzione di una Scuola d'incisione di cammei (1806)," *Studi Monzesi*, 12 (2002), forthcoming, with further bibliography. For ease of exposition, I have referred to these texts throughout, without inserting specific notes.

It should finally be mentioned, of course, that Eugène de Beauharnais appears in the vast bibliography on Napoleon and his historical period.

9. See most recently, *Eugène de Beauharnais honneur et fidélité*, 145–46.

10. For an overview of the extraordinary artistic and cultural climate of Milan in this period, with particular reference to the glyptic arts, as the background for the project prepared by the engraver Dorelli (a Roman transplanted to Milan) for the establishment of a cameo engraving school and addressed to the viceroy himself, see Tassinari, "Il progetto dell'incisore di gemme Giovanni Battista Dorelli," with bibliography.

11. See, for example, his numerous movements in A. Comandini, *L'Italia nei Cento Anni del Secolo XIX (1801–1900) giorno per giorno illustrata*, I (Milan, 1900–1).

12. U. Foscolo, *Le Grazie*, second hymn, ll. 233–312. Note that the first version was enlarged by the insertion of lines on Eugène's valor.

13. Considering the general difficulty of transcribing "hard" Russian names, it is easy to understand why Beltrami distorts it a bit.

14. On the episode, see Lombroso, *Galleria militare*, 521–24; Cantú, *Il principe Eugenio*, VII, 73–77 (Eugène's report to Napoleon on the battle); Cusani, *Storia di Milano*, VI, 382–84; Comandini, *L'Italia nei Cento Anni*, I, 596; Arthur-Lévy, *Napoléon et Eugène de Beauharnais*, 196; L. Madelin, *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire, La Catastrophe de Russie*, XII (Paris, 1949), 226–30 (with a meticulous analysis of the tactics); Rota, *Milano napoleonica*, 293; N. Nicolson, *Napoleone in Russia* (Milan, 1987), 174–78; *Eugène de Beauharnais honneur et fidélité*, 94–96, no. 78 (picture by Albrecht Adam, 1815).

15. For an examination of his children and their prestigious marriages, see most recently, *Eugène de Beauharnais honneur et fidélité*, 31–33, 122–25.

16. For an examination of Beauharnais's policy of incentives for manufacturing, the establishment or development of art schools, and his Milanese commissions, see Tassinari, "Il progetto dell' incisore di gemme Giovanni Battista Dorelli."

17. On Bossi's multifaceted activity, see S. Samek Ludovici, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 13 (Rome, 1971), 314–19.

18. G. Nicodemi, *Le memorie di Giuseppe Bossi* (Busto Arsizio, 1925), 35, 37, 80, 87–88.

19. Nicodemi, *Le memorie di Giuseppe Bossi*, 20–23.

20. Nicodemi, *Le memorie di Giuseppe Bossi*, 53, 58, 60, 63, 70.

21. G. Pavanello, *L'opera completa di Antonio Canova* (Milan, 1976), 101, no. 87; G. Pavanello, G. Romanelli, eds., *Antonio Canova* (Venice, 1992), 163–65, nos. 80–81 (clay and terracotta bozzetti), 254–55, no. 125 (original, Genoa, Museo di Palazzo Bianco), 256–57, no. 126 (replica made for Beauharnais) (essential bibliography).

22. See F. Haskell, "Un mecenate italiano dell'arte neoclassica francese," in *Arte e linguaggio della politica e altri saggi* (Florence, 1978), 113; F. Mazzocca, "G. B. Sommariva o il borghese mecenate. Il "cabinet" neoclassico di Parigi, la galleria romantica di Tremezzo," in *Itinerari. Contributi alla Storia dell'Arte in memoria di Maria Luisa Ferrari*, II (Florence, 1981), 160–61, 173–75, 282, 292, no. 18 and passim; Pavanello, Romanelli, eds., *Antonio Canova*, 254. The Magdalene had a vast influence on artists and was widely imitated and reinterpreted. See, for example, F. Mazzocca, *Francesco Hayez. Catalogo ragionato* (Milan, 1994), 59, 173–74, cat. no. 93, 84, 231–32, cat. no. 188. The glyptic arts also reveal an echo of the statue's extraordinary popularity; see G. Tassinari, "Incisori in pietre dure e collezionisti a Milano nel primo Ottocento: il caso di Antonio Berini e Giovanni Battista Sommariva," in *Continuità della tradizione classica. Le gemme incise nel Settecento e Ottocento*, seminar, Castello di Udine, 26 September 1998, forthcoming.

23. On the frieze and the various replicas made by Thorvaldsen's workshop for other patrons, see H. Robels, "Thorvaldsen und seine Auftraggeber," in *Bertel Thorvaldsen. Untersuchungen zu seinem Werk und zur Kunst seiner Zeit. Bertel Thorvaldsen. Skulpturen, Modelle, Bozzetti, Handzeichnungen, Gemälde aus Thorvaldsens Sammlungen*, ed. G. Bott (5.2–3.4.1977), II, (Cologne, 1977), 63; B. Jørnaes, "Il patriarca del bassorilievo. Uno sguardo al Thorvaldsen dei rilievi," in *Bertel Thorvaldsen 1770–1844 scultore danese a Roma*, eds. E. Di Majo, B. Jørnaes, S. Susinno, ex. cat., Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, 31 October 1989–28 January 1990 (Rome, 1989), 45–46; Di Majo, Jørnaes, Susinno, eds., *Bertel Thorvaldsen 1770–1844*, 156 n. 22 [B. Jørnaes]; C. Gasparri, O. Ghiandoni, "Lo studio Cavaceppi e le collezioni Torlonia," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'arte*, 16, III series (1993), 145–47, figs. 164–70 (essential bibliography). The most famous replica of the frieze is the one made for Count Giovanni Battista Sommariva, for a very high price, which he ordered in 1818 for his villa of Tremezzo, where it is still, in the main reception room. The frieze, which was not finished until 1828, two years after Sommariva's death, is always mentioned as one of the most prestigious works in the villa. Besides the bibliography cited above, see F. Mazzocca, "G. B. Sommariva o il borghese mecenate," 150–51, 187–88; F. Mazzocca, *Villa Carlotta* (Milan, 1983), 30–32; F. Mazzocca, "Thorvaldsen e i committenti lombardi," in *Bertel Thorvaldsen 1770–1844*, 120–24 (essential bibliography).

24. On the four reliefs for Christiansborg, see B. Jørnaes, "Thorvaldsen's 'Klassische' Periode 1803–1819," in *Bertel Thorvaldsen. Untersuchungen zu seinem Werk*, I, 78, cat. no. 17, 80, cat. nos. 31–33, 82, cat. no. 47; Di Majo, Jørnaes, Susinno, eds., *Bertel Thorvaldsen 1770–1844*, 143–44, cat. nos. 8–9, figs. 8, 8a, 9, 9a [E. Di Majo-S. Susinno] (essential and recent bibliography). For an analysis of the diffusion in the glyptic arts of the bas relief (corresponding to Wisdom) with the myth of Prometheus creating man, to whom Minerva gives intelligence, see G. Tassinari, "Un bassorilievo del Thorvaldsen: Minerva e Prometeo. La sua presenza nella glittica dell'Ottocento e la collezione Poniatowski," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, 23 (1996), 148–76, with further bibliography.

25. On this commission from Beauharnais, see Jørnaes, "Thorvaldsen's 'Klassische' Periode," 80, 82, cat. nos. 31, 2; 32, 2; 33, 2; 47, 2. On von Schönborn's purchase of the reliefs, see K. Bott, *Ein Kunstsammler zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts. Franz Erwein von Schönborn (1776–1840)* (Weimar, 1994), 158, no. 342 (essential bibliography).
26. For an examination of this monument, with drawings, bozzetti, and relative discussions of attribution, and on the serious conflict that arose between Thorvaldsen and Tenerani, resulting in their breaking off relations, see J. B. Hartmann, "La nascita di un monumento neoclassico eseguito a Roma ed eretto a Monaco di Baviera," in *Thorvaldsen a Roma. Documenti inediti* (Rome, 1959), 11–44; Di Majo, Jørnaes, Susinno, eds., *Bertel Thorvaldsen 1770–1844*, 192–96, cat. nos. 57–61 [E. Di Majo-B. Jørnaes-S. Susinno].
27. See the many compositions for the wedding of Prince Eugène and Augusta Amelia: G. Biamonti, *Epitalmio per le nozze del principe Eugenio Napoleone di Francia viceré d'Italia e della principessa Augusta Amalia di Baviera* (Bologna, 1806); G. Gherardini, *Epitalmio* (Milan, 1806); G. Paradisi, *Epitalmio di Ercole e di Ebe* (Milan, 1806); *Cantata per le faustissime nozze di S. A. I. il Principe Eugenio Napoleone di Francia, viceré d'Italia con S. A. R. la principessa Augusta Amalia di Baviera* (Milan, 1806). See also Dupaty, *Divertissement pour le jour de naissance de son Altesse Imperial le vice Roi d'Italie* (Milan, 1807). Another example appears in Comandini, *L'Italia nei Cento Anni*, I, 375: on 19 August, two sonnets were published in *Il Corriere delle Dame* in Milan, one of which was by Urbano Lampredi in honor of Appiani, who had painted a picture with Augusta Amelia pointing out to her eldest daughter the fort of Raab, which her father had captured.
28. Thus, for example, the viceroy ordered the removal from circulation of a text—"Storia della campagna di S. A. I. Eugenio Napoleone di Francia contro l'esercito austriaco"—that was so adulatory as to border on the ridiculous. À propos of this text, in a letter to Napoleon, Eugène wrote that he would never permit publications to appear about him, for he was totally devoted to the service of the emperor (Cantú, *Il principe Eugenio*, VI, 32–33).
29. As an example, see O. Aubry, *Napoléon* (Montrouge, 1961): the Second Empire erroneously chose to draw an exemplary portrait of Eugène, who was mediocre in soul and talent, had proven to be ungrateful and had forgotten what he owed Napoleon, who had showered him with titles and grants.
30. For an analysis of this internationally important event in relation to a snuffbox showing the opening of Napoleon's tomb at St-Hélène, see G. Tassinari, "Un aspetto del collezionismo di 'arti minori' del XVIII e XIX secolo nel territorio lombardo: di alcune tabacchiere e scatole a Varese," in *Studi in memoria di Carlo Mastorgio*, ed. P. Baj (Gavirate [Varese], 2002), 247–55.
31. For an examination of these texts, both Italian and foreign, some of whose authorship is still in debate, see *Eugène de Beauharnais honneur et fidélité*, 37–40.
32. G. Rovani, *Cento anni. Romanzo ciclico* (Milan, 1859–64), books 14–17, passim.
33. *Eugène de Beauharnais honneur et fidélité*, 40.
34. See V. Lancetti, *Biografia cremonese ossia dizionario storico delle famiglie e persone per qualsivoglia titolo memorabili e chiare spettanti alla città di Cremona dai tempi più remoti fino all'età nostra*, II (Milan, 1820), 153–56; L. Manini, *Memorie storiche della città di Cremona*, I (Cremona, 1820), 218 n. 124; G. Grasselli, *Abecedario Biografico dei pittori, scultori ed architetti cremonesi* (Milan, 1827), 34–35; D. Sacchi and G. Sacchi, *Le Arti e l'industria in Lombardia nel 1832* (Milan, 1833), 101; D. Sacchi, "Il glittografo Giovanni Beltrami," *Indicatore ossia Raccolta periodica di scelti articoli tolti dai più accreditati giornali italiani, tedeschi, francesi, inglesi, ecc. intorno alle scienze fisiche, alla letteratura, alle belle arti*, April–May (1834), 247–52; A. Meneghelli, *Dello insigne glittografo Giovanni Beltrami* (Padua, 1839); *L'amicizia creatrice dell'arte glittica per tre leggiadri glittici capolavori di cui l'insigne professore Gio. Beltrami di Cremona fece grazioso dono a Bernardo Bellini, ad Anton Enrico Mortara e a Giovanni Germani in caro pegno d'amicizia*, song by Bernardo Bellini (Cremona, n.d.); F. Robolotti, "Cremona e la sua provincia," in *Illustrazione del Lombardo Veneto* (Cremona, 1859; reprint, Bornato, 1974), 520, 523, 581–83; T. Biehler, *Über Gemmenkunde* (Vienna, 1860), 81; H. Rollett, "Glyptik," in *Geschichte der technischen Künste*, ed. B. Bucher, I (Stuttgart, 1875), 343; J. Meyer, ed., *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, III (Leipzig, 1885), 602; L. Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, I (London, 1902), 69; G. K. Nagler, *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, I (Linz, 1904), 403–4; U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, III (Leipzig, 1909), 278; L. Rizzoli, "Un finissimo lavoro dell'incisore cremonese Giovanni Beltrami (a. 1821)," *Padova*, 8 (1930), 3–6; Mazzocca, *Neoclassico e troubadour*, passim; A. González-Palacios, "Una cornice neoclassica (e una nota su Giovanni Beltrami)," in *Il Tempio del gusto. Le Arti decorative in Italia fra classicismi e barocco. Roma e il Regno delle due Sicilie*, I (Milan, 1984), 201, pl. XXII, figs. 368–70; R. Valeriani, "Di Giovanni Beltrami, glittografo cremonese," *Antologia di Belle Arti*, 35–38 (1988–90), 23–29; K. G. Saur, *Allgemeines Künstler Lexikon*, VIII (Munich-Leipzig, 1994), 552; L. Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner, III (London, 1996), 687; D. Lewis, "The Last Gems: Italian Neoclassical Gem Engravings and Their Impressions," in *Engraved Gems: Survivals and Revivals*, ed. C. Malcolm Brown, Studies in the History of Art, 54, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, Symposium Papers XXXII (Washington, 1997), 297–300; L. Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, "Avea il Marchese Sommariva una sua favorita idea... II. Le incisioni di Giovanni Beltrami," *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma*, 11, n.s. (1997), 111–31; L. Bandera Gregori, "Giovanni Beltrami," in *Cremona - Museo Civico Ala Ponzone, La Pinacoteca. Origine e collezioni*, ed. V. Guazzoni (Cremona 1997), 113–14; Tassinari, "An Intaglio by Giovanni Beltrami," 191–204; G. Tassinari, "Carlo Giuseppe Grassi, incisore in pietre dure e orfice milanese della seconda metà del XVIII secolo," *Archivio Storico Lombardo* (2003, forthcoming).
35. Valeriani, "Di Giovanni Beltrami, glittografo cremonese," 23–26, figs. 2–5.
36. An example of a "private" portrait—a woman with two children—is a rock crystal intaglio in a private collection; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, "Avea il Marchese Sommariva una sua favorita idea... II," 126–27, fig. 6.
37. Ibid.
38. F. Eichler and E. Kris, *Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien* (Vienna, 1927), 221, pl. 79, no. 634.
39. On this topic in general, see P. Zazoff and H. Zazoff, *Gemmensammler und Gemmenforscher. Von einer noblen Passion zur Wissenschaft* (Munich, 1983); G. Seidmann, in *The Dictionary of Art*, XII, 261–65; L. Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, "Collezionisti e incisori in pietre dure a Roma nel XVIII e XIX secolo. Alcune considerazioni," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 2 (1996), 183–97. Among the more specific studies, see, for example, G. Seidmann, "Nathalien Marchant, Gem-Engraver 1739–1816," *The Walpole Society*, 53 (1987), 1–105; L. Pirzio Biroli

Stefanelli, "Giovanni Antonio Santarelli: ritratti della famiglia Bonaparte nelle collezioni comunali," *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma*, 2, n.s. (1988), 55–70; L. Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, "Avea il Marchese Sommariva...una sua favorita idea..." I. Opere di incisori romani documentate nella collezione Paoletti," *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma*, 9, n.s. (1995), 104–16; G. Seidmann, "An Eighteenth-Century Collector as Patron: The 4th Duke of Marlborough and the London Engravers," in *Engraved Gems: Survivals and Revivals*, 263–79; G. Tassinari, *Il carteggio tra l'incisore di pietre dure Giovanni Pichler, Padre Giuseppe Du Fey ed il Principe Alberico Barbiano di Belgiojoso d'Este* (Milan, 2000); Tassinari, "Incisori in pietre dure e collezionisti a Milano nel primo Ottocento"; G. Tassinari, "I ritratti dello zar Nicola I incisi su intagli e cammei," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 66 (2003), forthcoming.

40. The collection in the Museo Civico Ala Ponzone of Cremona holds several casts of the tale of Cupid and Psyche; it is not possible to determine if they pertain to the first or second commission.

41. "Era già surto il Regno d'Italia, e il Principe Eugenio, dotato di finissimo gusto, avea veduto con occhio di compiacenza qualche saggio del nostro artista. Non andò guari che gli allogò una collana di sedici camei, il cui tema esser dovea la storia di Psiche. E perchè sapeva che alla più squisita perizia glittografica accoppiava molto valore nel disegnare, e molta fecondità nella invenzione, così volle che tutto uscisse dalla sua mano, e suoi fossero i pensieri, i disegni. (...) [Beltrami] assoggettò i contorni al pittore di Corte, il celebre Appiani; e avutane una pienissima approvazione, condusse felicemente al desiderato fine l'impresa. E già l'opera viaggiava per la contemplata destinazione; ma il corriere venne aggredito, e la collana pure fu preda di quelle mani rapaci che tutto aveano involato. Increbbe al Principe Eugenio il sinistro; ma nobile retribui a larga mano il Beltrami, come se avesse ricevuto i camei, e ordinò che un'altra collana dell'intutto eguale occupasse l'ingegno dell'abile artista. Un atto così generoso addoppiò il fervore e le cure; e la nuova composizione in eleganza e squisitezza, pel voto del medesimo artefice, di gran lunga su la prima la vinse. Piacque sommamente a quanti la videro; e il Vice-Re ne fece un dono alla Principessa Amalia di Baviera sua Sposa, che assai l'aggradì, e l'ebbe in conto di un prezioso lavoro. Gli applausi di una Corte procurarono al nostro artista delle ordinazioni in buon dato, oltre quelle che s'ebbe dallo stesso Principe Eugenio di molti ritratti, ai quali associò con molto piacere quello che per l'augusta Madre, l'Imperatrice Giuseppina, gli venne ordinato (...)." Meneghelli, *Dello insigne glittografo Giovanni Beltrami*, 9–10.

42. Lancetti, *Biografia cremonese*, 154–55.

43. "...il tenne lungo tempo occupato quasi esclusivamente per se." Ibid., 155.

44. "...altri lavori Eugenio, e per imitazione i cortigiani." Cantù, *Il principe Eugenio*, V, 363. It should be pointed out that H. Gebhart, *Gemmen und Kameen* (Berlin, 1925), 190, only devotes two lines to Beltrami; however, he does mention that he worked for Beauharnais.

45. "...indicassi le opere eseguite per distinti personaggi come io pure amerei per quel principio che il mondo suole attaccarvi molta importanza e dichiarare poco o molto merito in quegli artisti in ragione della qualità di chi hanno date commissioni; volendo io dunque in questa circostanza tributare una fumata di incenso all'opinione dovrei pregarla indicare i molti lavori eseguiti per il principe Vice Re, per il Re di Baviera i molti ritratti scolpiti in pietra: le cose fatte per Nap." ed altri di quel tempo: Ma siccome la ricordanza di cose simili non sta bene così ci limiteremo al mio Petrarca in Corniola acquistato da S. M. il nostro Sovrano [nel 1815]." A. Maestri, *Lettere inedite di incisori in pietre fine nell'autografoteca Campori alla Biblioteca Estense* (Modena, 1908), 12–13.

46. "...per la qual Real Corte il Beltrami in più epoche diversi altri lavori aveva eseguiti." Grasselli, *Abecedario Biografico*, 35. See Comandini, *L'Italia nei Cento Anni*, I; on 12 November 1807, the Bavarian royal couple arrived in Milan.

47. "dallo stesso suo labbro." Manuscript in the University of Pavia Library (Autografi, 7).

48. "...fatte alcune incisioni di suo genio [Beltrami] si portò a Milano, e vedute queste cose dal Tesoriere della Corona M. Hennin, grande amatore delle arti come distinto numismatico assai gli piacquero e promise al Beltrami di presentarle al principe, come fece, e piaciute a Sua Altezza vennero acquistate e in tal circostanza ordinò il proprio ritratto che il Beltrami incise in corniola con buon successo: altri ritratti si in rilievo che in cavo eseguì, ed altre cose per quella Corte. Amando il Principe di far eseguire una collana per la principessa sua sposa... commise al Beltrami sedici incisioni in corniole di color giallo, dette bionde, e ne volle rappresentata la favola di Amore e Psiche, che tranne il pezzo di mezzo che era il più grande, tutte le altre furono di composizione del Beltrami, e per il detto pezzo venne mandato l'incisore a Mantova a copiare le Nozze di Giulio Romano nel Palazzo del Tè. In sei mesi venne incisa quella serie di pietre, ma fu malaugurata tanta fatica, poichè messa in spedizione col mezzo della posta, dietro ordine della Corte, aggredito il corriere e spogliato d'ogni cosa, la detta collana andò pure a ruba. Desiderando il Principe la detta opera, una seconda ne ordinò sullo stesso soggetto e ne furono fatti dal Beltrami i disegni che assai piacquero all'Appiani pittore di quella Corte: in breve tempo anche la seconda collana venne eseguita, che con rubini e diamanti venne dal gioielliere Montefiori riccamente legata. Il Beltrami s'impegnò in un piccolo intaglio, che il Principe desiderava di avere per un anello suo proprio e vi dovea essere figurata la Tenda di Dario, lavoro che venne ricusato da valorosi incisori del mezzo giorno d'Italia: detto intaglio ebbe l'approvazione di Sua Altezza e di coloro che hanno intelligenza dell'arte. Oltre i molteplici lavori eseguiti per quella Corte, il Beltrami fece opere diverse per la Corte di Francia e per quella di Baviera.

...Le opere di cui il Beltrami si sovvienne con soddisfazione, sono le seguenti. Fra le incisioni della nominata Corte, una corniola rappresentante l'Europa seduta sopra il suo carro tirato da cavalli e seguita dalle Deità maggiori, e un'Aquila che le sta sopra in atto di volo, portando corone di alloro sopra l'Europa medesima; la indicata Tenda di Dario che per la sua piccolezza può essere degna di osservazione, essendo spiegate tutte le figure nei più minuti dettagli e ben spiegato il carattere di ciascuna figura." D. Sacchi, "Il glittografo Giovanni Beltrami"; the passages transcribed here appear on pages 249–51. Sacchi's article presents only a few slight linguistic differences from the manuscript.

49. For an analysis of Sommariva's life and various aspects of his patronage, see Haskell, *Un mecenate italiano dell'arte neoclassica francese*, 103–22; F. Haskell, "More about Sommariva," *The Burlington Magazine*, 835 (1972), 691–95; M. Gregori, "Il conte Sommariva e l'Appiani," *Paragone*, 273 (1972), 55–59; Mazzocca, "G. B. Sommariva o il borghese mecenate," 145–293; Mazzocca, *Villa Carlotta*; G. Lise, "Antonio Berini incisore di pietre dure e il legato Sommariva-Seillièr," *Rassegna di Studi e di Notizie*, 13 (1986), 477–96; Mazzocca, *Thorvaldsen e i committenti lombardi*, 113–28 (essential bibliography).

50. See, among others, P. E. Visconti, *Notizia delle opere dell'incisore in pietre dure ed in conchiavi*. Giuseppe Girometti (Rome, 1833), 12–13; Mazzocca, *G. B. Sommariva o il borghese mecenate*, 164 n. 80 and 221–22; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, "Avea il Marchese Sommariva...una sua favorita idea..." I, 105–6.

51. On Giacomo Pichler, see most recently, G. Tassinari, "Lettere di una celebre famiglia di incisori di pietre dure: i Pichler," in *Acme. Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli Studi di Milano*, forthcoming, with preceding bibliography.

52. For an analysis of the vicissitudes of Sommariva's glyptic collection, see most recently, Tassinari, "Incisori di pietre dure e collezionisti a Milano nel primo Ottocento."
53. For the documentation in the Paoletti collection of the works made for Sommariva, see L. Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, "Pietro Paoletti e la sua collezione di impronte. Nota preliminare alla pubblicazione del catalogo," *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma*, 35–37 (1978–80), 13; L. Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, "Camillo e Clemente Pestrini incisori in pietre dure e professori in tenero," *Antologia di Belle Arti*, 35–38 (1988–90), 44–49; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, "Avea il Marchese Sommariva...una sua favorita idea... I"; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, "Avea il Marchese Sommariva una sua favorita idea... II." For the casts from Sommariva's gem collection in Giovanni Liberotti's collection, see Lewis, "The Last Gems: Italian Neoclassical Gem Engravings," 297–300.
54. Mazzocca, "G. B. Sommariva o il borghese mecenate," 185.
55. For an examination of Gigola's life and work, see Mazzocca, *Neoclassico e troubadour*.
56. On the relationship between Sommariva and Gigola, who obtained prestigious international commissions through the count, see Mazzocca, *Neoclassico e troubadour*, 19, 22–23, 238 and passim; Mazzocca, "G. B. Sommariva o il borghese mecenate," 151–52, 184–86.
57. Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, "Avea il Marchese Sommariva una sua favorita idea... II," 125–26.
58. See A. Bellardi Cotella, "I Turina," in *Casalbuttano*, ed. V. Guazzoni (Soresina, 1983), 201–17; V. Guazzoni, *Aspetti artistici tra Ottocento e Novecento*, 220–45.
59. Most recently, Valeriani, "Di Giovanni Beltrami, glittografo cremonese," 23, fig. 1; Bandera Gregori, "Giovanni Beltrami," 113, fig. 115. Another "Tent of Darius" was purchased by the Empress Josephine; see Lancetti, *Biografia cremonese*, 155.
60. Most recently, Tassinari, "An Intaglio by Giovanni Beltrami," 196.
61. *Ibid.*, 197, with bibliographical references.
62. Most recently, *Raccolta di oggetti antichi insoliti e rari*, W. Apolloni (Rome, 1993), no. 40. See the praise of the critic Defendente Sacchi (Meneghelli, *Dello insigne glittografo Giovanni Beltrami*, 20).
63. See Valeriani, "Di Giovanni Beltrami, glittografo cremonese," 28–29; R. Martini, A. Turricchia, *Catalogo delle Medaglie delle Civiche Raccolte Numismatiche di Milano. V. Secoli XVIII–XIX. 3. Stati italiani (1815–1860)* (Milan, 1999), 82–84, figs. 2005–11; Tassinari, "An Intaglio by Giovanni Beltrami," 194, with more complete bibliographical references. Particularly interesting is a wax profile of Napoleon on glass against a black background, made in Cremona in 1824 as the model for a medallion. See G. P. Bernini, in *Maria Luigia Donna e Sovrana. Una Corte Europea a Parma 1815–1847*, ex. cat., Palazzo Ducale, Colorno, 10 May–26 July 1992 (Parma, 1992), 9, no. 27.
64. On Pistrucci, see L. Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, *I modelli in cera di Benedetto Pistrucci*, *Bollettino di Numismatica* monograph, I–II (Rome, 1989), with complete bibliography.
65. On the Cerbaras, see S. De Caro Balbi, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 23 (Rome, 1979), 676–79 (essential bibliography).
66. On Giuseppe Girometti, see most recently, L. Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 56 (Rome, 2001), 599–601; G. Tassinari, in K. G. Saur, *Allgemeines Künstler Lexikon* (Munich-Leipzig); Tassinari, "I ritratti dello zar Nicola I," with preceding bibliography.
67. Tassinari, "An Intaglio by Giovanni Beltrami," 191–204.
68. *Ibid.*, 195, 204, fig. 8.
69. The manuscript is in the Archivio Civico di Cremona (Ms. 352).
70. Rovani, *Cento anni*, book 16, 191.
71. *Mémoires sur la cour du Prince Eugène*, 241; Cantù, *Il principe Eugenio*, VII, 82; Cusani, *Storia di Milano*, VI, 371; Comandini, *L'Italia nei Cento Anni*, I, 566.
72. Cantù, *Il principe Eugenio*, VIII, 287–88; Cusani, *Storia di Milano*, VI, 371.
73. I am grateful to Ingrid Szeiklies-Weber of the Staatliche Münzsammlung in Munich for this indication.
74. Inv. MM.40.47.6118. Published by M. Duchamp, in *Eugène de Beauharnais honneur et fidélité*, 107.
75. On Antonio Berini, see Biehler, *Über Gemmenkunde*, 82; Rollett, *Glyptik*, 342–43; Meyer, *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, III, 622 (H. Rollett); Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary*, I, 74–75; Nagler, *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, I, 451; F. Barberio, "Un grande incisore di pietre preziose: Antonio Berini," *Emporium*, XLIV, 259 (1916), 52–56; Righetti, *Incisori di gemme e cammei*, 47–48; Bulgari, *Argentieri, gemmari e orafi*, I, 146–47; S. Meloni, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 9 (Rome, 1967), 102–3; Lise, "Antonio Berini incisore di pietre dure," 477–96; G. Wiedmann, in K. G. Saur, *Allgemeines Künstler Lexikon*, IX (Munich-Leipzig 1994), 440–41; G. Tassinari, "Antonio Berini (1770–1861). Cartoncino con quattro ritratti di Francesco Petrarca," *Museo in Rivista. Notiziario dei Musei Civici di Pavia*, 2 (2001), 187–91; Tassinari, "Incisori in pietre dure e collezionisti a Milano nel primo Ottocento"; Tassinari, "I ritratti dello zar Nicola I," with further bibliography.
76. In the Archivio di Stato di Milano (Fondi autografi, file no. 90), I found a document signed by Berini, evidence that the engraver was certainly in Milan since 1804. See Tassinari, "I ritratti dello zar Nicola I."
77. Respectively D. and G. Sacchi, *Le Arti e l'industria in Lombardia nel 1832*, 102; D. Sacchi, *Pericolo d'un provinciale a Milano e seconda visita allo studio di Pompeo Marchesi*, in *Miscellanea di Lettere ed Arti* (Pavia, 1830), 369.
78. Meneghelli, *Dello insigne glittografo Giovanni Beltrami*, 7.
79. Tassinari, "Incisori in pietre dure e collezionisti a Milano nel primo Ottocento," fig. 3, with some biographical information and notes on the works of Giuseppe Cornienti.
80. See *ibid.*, figs. 4–10.
81. Tassinari, "I ritratti dello zar Nicola I."
82. Most recently, Tassinari, "Incisori in pietre dure e collezionisti a Milano nel primo Ottocento," figs. 4–10; Tassinari, "I ritratti dello zar Nicola I," with preceding bibliography.
83. C. Gere et al., *The Art of the Jeweller: a Catalogue of the Hull Grundy Gift to the British Museum: Jewellery, Engraved Gems and Goldsmith's Work* (London, 1984), 132, no. 876, pl. 38.
84. Babelon, *Le Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, I, *Les Antiques et les objets d'art* (Paris, 1924), 197, no. 937a; M. Avisseau-Broustet, "Historique de la collection de pierres gravées du cabinet de France aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 2 (1996), 226–27 (both texts are without illustrations).

85. Eichler and Kris, *Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien*, 217, pl. 78, no. 619.

86. Most recently, Tassinari, "Incisori in pietre dure e collezionisti a Milano nel primo Ottocento," fig. 1, with complete preceding bibliography.

87. For an examination of the cameo and the questions connected with it, see *ibid.*

88. On the various aspects of the sometimes rocky relationship between Sommariva and Berini, see *ibid.*

89. See, for example, two cameos in the British Museum, one with a portrait of Alexander the Great and the other of an unknown male figure: Gere et al., *The Art of the Jeweller*, 121, 132, nos. 877–78, pl. 40; two pieces, one with Pericles and Aspasia and the other with a bust of Hadrian, now in Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum: C. C. Vermeule, *Engraved Gems from the Somerville Collection*, ex. cat., The University Museum Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 30 November 1956–31 March 1957, nos. 552, 605 (both references without illustrations). Unpublished pieces, in the Cades collection in the Medagliere of the Civiche Raccolte Numismatiche of Milan, show Hannibal (no. 971), Ptolemy (no. 975), a portrait of a consul (no. 986), and Cicero (no. 987). Furthermore, numerous heads by Berini appear in the sale catalogue of the Sommariva collection in Paris: *Catalogue de la Galerie du Comte de Sommariva, comprenant la collection de tableaux de l'école d'Italie, celle des peintres de l'école française, quelques tableaux d'après les plus grands maîtres et de différentes écoles; belle réunion de pierres gravées, antiques et modernes; groupes et figures en marbre statuaire, dont la Madelaine, un des chefs-d'œuvre de Canova; médailles antiques, miniatures montées en médaillon et différents objets de curiosité*, by Charles Paillet (Paris, 1839), 42–49. For other references to portraits by Berini, see Tassinari, "Incisori in pietre dure e collezionisti a Milano nel primo Ottocento"; Tassinari, "I ritratti dello zar Nicola I."

90. M. Duchamp, in *Eugène de Beauharnais honneur et fidélité*, 107.

91. *Ibid.*, 90.

92. The likelihood that there were other portraits is supported not only by an analysis of the documents mentioned above, but also by the project to establish a school of cameo engraving presented by the engraver Dorelli. We notice that in the calculation of the stones to be furnished to the students, eighteen are reserved to portraits of the viceroy's family. See Tassinari, "Il progetto dell'incisore di gemme Giovanni Battista Dorelli."

93. See Tassinari, "I ritratti dello zar Nicola I."

94. On the formation of Pichler's series, see Tassinari, *Il carteggio tra l'incisore di pietre dure Giovanni Pichler*, 18–20. Portraits represented a substantial and highly appreciated part of Pichler's activity, as testified by his biographers and the numerous portraits in the collection of casts of his works now in the Medagliere of the Civiche Raccolte Numismatiche in Milan. Pichler's Milanese portraits are published in G. Tassinari, *Ducato di Milano. Giuseppe II d'Asburgo-Lorena (1765–1790). Giovanni Pichler: ritratti della famiglia imperiale e della nobiltà lombarda nelle impronte di intagli e di cammei* (Milano raffigurata. Iconografica. Quaderni del Centro Culturale Numismatico Milanese, fasc. 2), (Milan, 2000); Tassinari, "La collezione di impronte di intagli e cammei di Giovanni Pichler." On Marchant's work, see Seidmann, "Nathalien Marchant, Gem-Engraver," 15, 20, containing also an analysis of the reasons that may have led him to make this selection.

95. On portraits in general, see G. Seidmann, "Portrait Cameos: Aspects of their History and Function," in *Cameos in Context, The Benjamin Zucker Lectures, 1990*, eds. M. Henig and M. Vickers (Oxford-Houlton, Maine, 1993), 84–102; Tassinari, "I ritratti dello zar Nicola I."

96. See Comandini, *L'Italia nei Cento Anni*, I, 306.

97. On the question of identifying the models for the portraits, from which the engravers took their inspiration or which they copied, see Tassinari, "I ritratti dello zar Nicola I."

98. See most recently, Tassinari, "An Intaglio by Giovanni Beltrami," 194.

99. For an exhaustive analysis of the images of Beauharnais, see *Eugène de Beauharnais honneur et fidélité*.

100. See, for example, Mazzocca, *Neoclassico e troubadour*, 203, no. 101 (official portrait of Eugène, standing and dressed in his viceregal robes, signed and dated 1805); 29, fig. 14 (portrait of Josephine Beauharnais Leuchtenberg); 30 (portrait of Augusta Amelia with her daughter Josephine); 215 (the viceroy's five children; without illustration).

101. See, among the various publications of this drawing, *Venezia nell'età di Canova 1780–1830*, ex. cat., Venice, Ala Napoleonica, Museo Correr, October–December 1978, 252, no. 339; *Dai Dogi agli Imperatori. La fine della Repubblica tra Storia e Mito*, ex. cat., Venice, Palazzo Ducale, Museo Correr, 14 September–8 December 1997 (Milan, 1997), 112, no. 2.

102. *Eugène de Beauharnais honneur et fidélité*, 74, fig. 44.

103. *Ibid.*, 74–75, fig. 45. Chinard also made a marble bust, of 1806, and a small terracotta one showing Beauharnais full face, in military uniform and in court clothes, respectively; *ibid.*, 90, fig. 70, 103–4, fig. 89a.

104. Comandini, *L'Italia nei Cento Anni*, I, 313.

105. *Eugène de Beauharnais honneur et fidélité*, 133–34, fig. 141b.

106. P. Jokelson, *Sulphides. The Art of Cameo Incrustation* (New York, 1968), 78, fig. 66; 92, fig. 94, first on the right.

107. *Eugène de Beauharnais honneur et fidélité*, 68, no. 32. It is mentioned here that this profile is found again, signed Deprez, Paris, on two glass and bronze pendants, and in a *biscuit* version on a marble paperweight and a hair bracelet that belonged to Queen Josephine of Sweden, the viceroy's eldest daughter.

108. On this topic, see *ibid.*, 35–36 and *passim*. As an example, see Comandini, *L'Italia nei Cento Anni*, I, 347–48: two painted porcelain boxes with gold decorations, made in the manufactory of Giovanni Baroni delle Nove (1811) and offered to the viceregal couple by the viceroy of the district of Bassano. One bears the portrait of Eugène with his troops, and the other, the portrait of Augusta Amelia, with the death of Desaix at Marengo in the background. The case of each one bears a dedication to Eugène and Augusta Amelia, respectively.

109. Far from approaching here an exhaustive analysis of the complex phenomenon of snuffboxes with portraits, I have chosen merely to offer some general information for placing the two snuffboxes into their larger context.

The following are some texts on the subject: *Boîtes et tabatières en or et en or émaillé des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles, provenant d'une collection de Vienne*, public sale in Amsterdam, 2 December 1926; H. Nocq and C. Dreyfus, *Tabatières des Collections du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1930); M. Klar, "Berliner Goldboxen aus Friderizianischer Zeit," *Pantheon*, 9 (1932), 60–62; H. Berry-Hill and S. Berry-Hill, *Antique Gold Boxes. Their Lore and Their Lure* (New York, 1953); I. Finlay, "Scottish Snuffboxes—a Link with America," *Antiques*, 65 (1954), 394–96; P. Jullian, "Comment identifier le vernis Martin," *Connaissance des Arts* (January 1962), 42–49; H. Demorlane, "Les tabatières Louis XV vues sous toutes leurs faces," *Connaissance des Arts* (December 1962), 112–23; H. Tait, "An Anonymous Loan to the British Museum. 2:

- Eighteenth-century Gold Boxes," *The Connoisseur*, 154 (1963), 216–25; L. Ginori Lisci, *La porcellana di Doccia* (Milan, 1963), 51–53, pls. XXIV–XXVII, XXIX, XXXIX–XL; J. J. Bedford, *All Kinds of Small Boxes* (London, 1964); L. Ginori Lisci, "Tabacchiere di Doccia," *Pantheon*, 33 (1965), 90–96; C. Le Corbeiller, *European and American Snuffboxes. 1730–1830* (London, 1966); K. Snowman, *Eighteenth Century Gold Boxes of Europe* (London, 1966); G. Liverani, *Il Museo delle Porcellane di Doccia* (Milan, 1967), passim, pl. XLI; K. Snowman, *Eighteenth Century Gold Boxes of Paris. A Catalogue of the J. Ortiz-Patiño Collection* (London, 1974); K. Snowman, *Gold Boxes and Miniatures of the Eighteenth Century (The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor)* (London, 1975); C. Truman, *French Gold Boxes. Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1977); E. Delieb, *Silver Boxes* (London, 1979); S. Grandjean, *Catalogue des tabatières, boîtes et étuis des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1981); J. Winter, in U. Krempel, R. Lightbown, J. Winter, *Smalti, gioielli, tabacchiere* (Milan, 1981), 64–74; M. G. Branchetti, *Scatole e tabacchiere*, I Nuovi Quaderni dell'Antiquariato 33 (Milan, 1981–91); L. De Mauri, *Ventagli, tabacchiere, scatole, tavolette, astucci, smalti* (Milan, 1984, reprint); D. Mascetti, *Oreficeria del Settecento* (Novara, 1985), 62–79; *Capolavori di Oreficeria della Collezione Thyssen-Bornemisza* (Lugano-Milan, 1989); L. De Maria, "Tra 700 e 800: nel nome del tabacco," *Antiquariato*, 139 (1992), 40–45; *Galanterie. Oggetti di lusso e di piacere in Europa fra Settecento e Ottocento*, ex. cat., Naples, Museo Nazionale della Ceramica "Duca di Martina," 25 October 1997–26 April 1998; Tassinari, *Un aspetto del collezionismo di "arti minori"*; Tassinari, "I ritratti dello zar Nicola I."
110. On snuffboxes with portraits, see Berry-Hill, *Antique Gold Boxes*, 49–56 and passim; Le Corbeiller, *European and American Snuffboxes*, 18–19, 30–31 and passim; Branchetti, *Scatole e tabacchiere*, 49–53; Tassinari, "I ritratti dello zar Nicola I."
111. Among the numerous snuffboxes with his portrait, I mention two made in St. Petersburg (Snowman, *Eighteenth Century Gold Boxes of Europe*, fig. 657; Berry-Hill, *Antique Gold Boxes*, 189, 191, fig. 201) and three gold ones, the first from Paris (1763–64), the second from Vienna (1816), the third from London (1816) (respectively, Le Corbeiller, *European and American Snuffboxes*, fig. 112, fig. 241; *Fine Silver, Objects of Vertu and Russian Works of Art*, New York, Christie's, Tuesday, October 27, 1992, 36–37, no. 80B).
112. See, for example, Tassinari, *Il carteggio tra l'incisore di pietre dure Giovanni Pichler*, 71.
113. Mazzocca, *Neoclassico e troubadour*, 203, no. 101.
114. Nicodemi, *Le memorie di Giuseppe Bossi*, 67, 70, 72, 74, 76.
115. Tessadri, *Il viceré Eugenio*, 310.
116. Eugène de Beauharnais *honneur et fidélité*, 134–35, figs. 142a–d.
117. Grandjean, *Catalogue des tabatières*, 263, no. 391.
118. Snowman, *Eighteenth Century Gold Boxes of Europe*, 46, figs. 333–34.
119. *Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe-Hamburg, Handbuch* 1980, 168, no. 357.
120. Le Corbeiller, *European and American Snuffboxes*, fig. 662.
121. Berry-Hill, *Antique Gold Boxes*, 100, fig. 71.
122. For example, Le Corbeiller, *European and American Snuffboxes*, figs. 228, 291.
123. This is one of the interesting elements concerning snuffboxes that emerged from the examination of the correspondence (21 November 1772–6 March 1782) between Giovanni Pichler and Prince Alberico XII Barbiano di Belgiojoso d'Este (1725–1813), one of the most prominent figures of his time. A letter of 1778 speaks of some "pastes" of works by Pichler that would have decorated snuffboxes belonging to Belgiojoso, made in Paris. See Tassinari, *Il carteggio tra l'incisore di pietre dure Giovanni Pichler*, 70.
124. See Avisseau-Broustet, "Historique de la collection de pierres gravées du cabinet de France," 228–29, fig. 13. On Pistrucci's wax model, see Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, *I modelli in cera di Benedetto Pistrucci*, 82, no. 18.
125. O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems of the Post-Classical Periods in the British Museum* (London, 1915), 12, no. 71.
126. L. Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, "Gaspere Capparoni, scultore in gemme," *Xenia*, 2 (1981), 94.
127. Gere et al., *The Art of the Jeweller*, 124–25, no. 836.
128. *Ibid.*, 132, no. 873.
129. *Ibid.*, 131, no. 872.
130. Grandjean, *Catalogue des tabatières*, 242, no. 348.
131. For an analysis of the boxes, including snuffboxes, in horn, ivory, and tortoiseshell, see Bedford, *All Kinds of Small Boxes*, 43–45; Le Corbeiller, *European and American Snuffboxes*, 83–87; Branchetti, *Scatole e tabacchiere*, 46–47, 64.
132. On wooden boxes, including snuffboxes, see Le Corbeiller, *European and American Snuffboxes*, 88–90.
133. Thus, the "plaques" made by John Obrisset (1691, first record of his life), who specialized in portraits of English monarchs, some of which were copied from medallions, were sometimes incorporated into snuffboxes of a later date. See Le Corbeiller, *European and American Snuffboxes*, 85; Snowman, *Eighteenth Century Gold Boxes of Europe*, fig. 430. An example of a miniature portrait applied later can be seen in *Fine Silver, Objects of Vertu*, 36–37, no. 80D.
134. See Le Corbeiller, *European and American Snuffboxes*, 31.
- PHOTOGRAPHS: fig. 1, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum; fig. 2, Milan, Medagliere delle Civiche Raccolte Numismatiche; fig. 3, Musée Fesch, Ajaccio; fig. 4, Paris, Réunion des Musées Nationaux; fig. 5–11, Malmaison, Musée national du château.

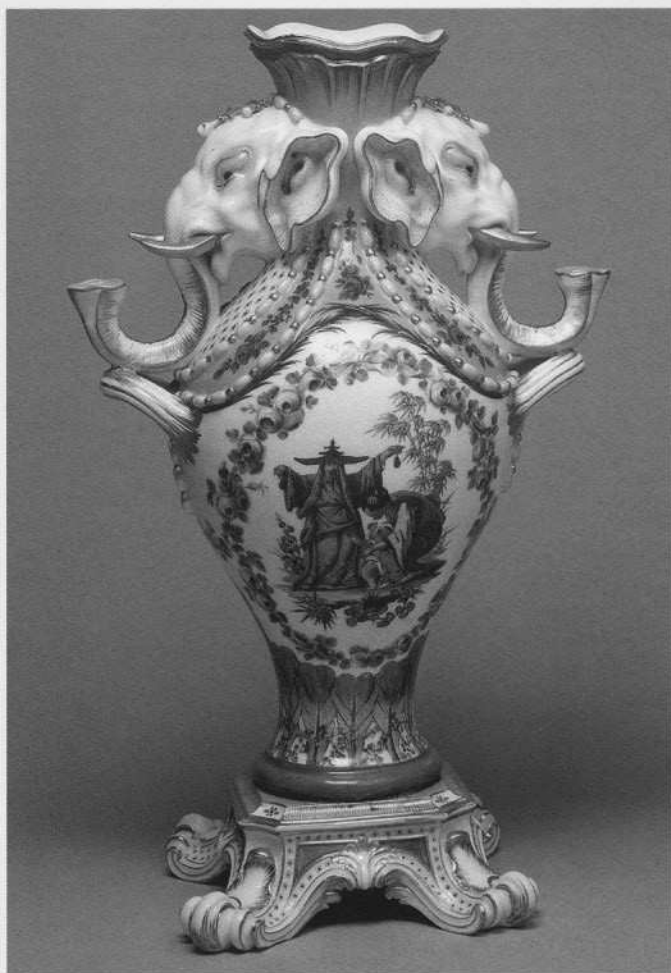
Cataloguing the Eighteenth-Century French Porcelain Collection of the Walters Art Museum

The strengths of the Walters Art Museum are a direct reflection of the collecting habits of its founders: William Walters and his son, Henry. For the older Walters, fine French porcelain was one of his numerous areas of interest in the small-scale decorative arts, which he often acquired on his frequent trips to Europe. A notable purchase was made in 1891, when William bought three magnificent Sèvres vases with an unusual coral red background for the princely sum of 20,000 francs from a Parisian dealer. As it turns out, this was a most serendipitous purchase. It has recently been determined by the chief curator of Versailles, Christian Baulez, based on archival evidence, that these very vases were purchased by Louis XVI in 1782. William's son, on the other hand, approached the collecting of Sèvres more systematically. In 1928, Henry acquired 74 fine pieces assembled by the London dealer, Edwin Marriott Hodgkins, who sold them in one fell swoop to the discerning American.

The collection of Sèvres preserved at the Walters Art Museum has long been acknowledged as one of the most important in the world. Comprising over 200 pieces, it boasts some of the most exquisite examples of eighteenth-century French porcelain. Despite the collection's international reputation, it has never been published in its entirety. While a number of the most famous pieces have been reproduced in the classic literature on the subject, many of these precious examples of France's ascendancy in the

decorative arts remain uncatalogued and inaccessible. It is for this reason that the Walters was particularly pleased to receive funds from the Peter Krueger-Christie's Foundation for the support of a short-term fellowship devoted to this neglected area of the Walters' vast permanent holdings. The fellow nominated, Amy Henderson, is currently finishing her Ph.D. at the University of Delaware. In just four short months, she managed to take research-quality digital photographs of 69 of the finest pieces of Sèvres, some of which have never been published before. She also updated the object files and records, creating the raw material for future study and publication.

Reproduced here is a representative sample of the work accomplished by Ms. Henderson during her fellowship. The multiple illustrations for each object allow the reader to see numerous aspects of each piece, including the designer's and/or decorator's mark found on the bottom. The abbreviated entries provide a brief description of the shape and decoration of each piece, as well as known provenance. The examination and documentation of so many key pieces of this world-renowned collection will provide an invaluable tool to decorative arts scholars worldwide. Ultimately, the Walters will publish a virtual catalogue of this research, thereby allowing scholars and the general public access to one of the most important collections of eighteenth-century French porcelain in the United States.



Acc. no. 48.1796 (front view).

**PAIR OF ELEPHANT VASES
WITH CANDLEHOLDERS
(VASE À TÊTE D'ÉLÉPHANT)**

Sèvres, 1760

soft-paste porcelain

height 12 1/4 in. (31.1 cm.)

acc. nos. 48.1796 and 48.1797

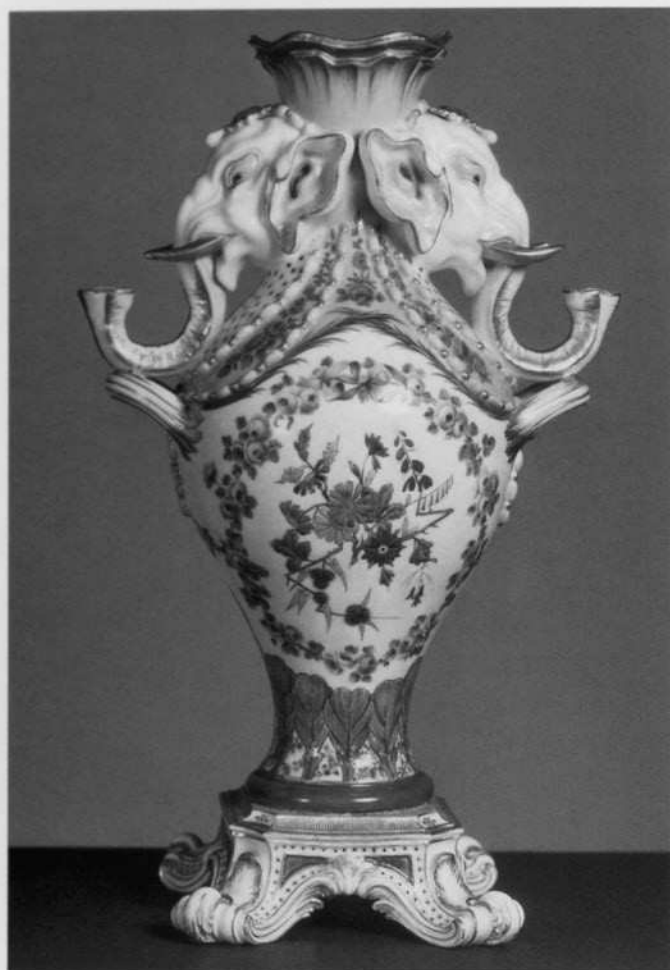


Acc. no. 48.1797 (front view).

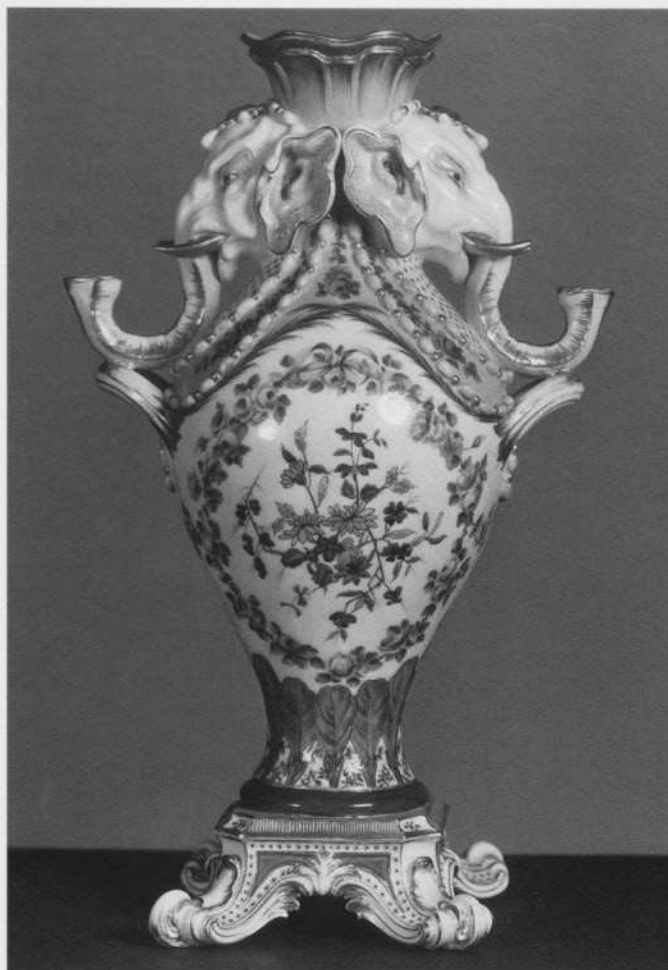
DECORATION: white, rose, green, and turquoise grounds with polychrome chinoiserie scene on front, polychrome floral bouquet and garland on back. The chinoiserie scenes are allegorical representations of the senses of hearing and smell, and are based on engravings by Gabriel Huquier after François Boucher's series of paintings *Les Quatres Éléments*

MARKS: interlaced Ls in blue with date letter H; painter's mark K in blue for Charles-Nicolas Dodin (1734–1803)

PROVENANCE: possibly Madame de Pompadour; Alfred de Rothschild; Almina, Countess of Carnarvon, London; Arnold Seligman, London; Mrs. Henry Walters



Acc. no. 48.1796 (back view).



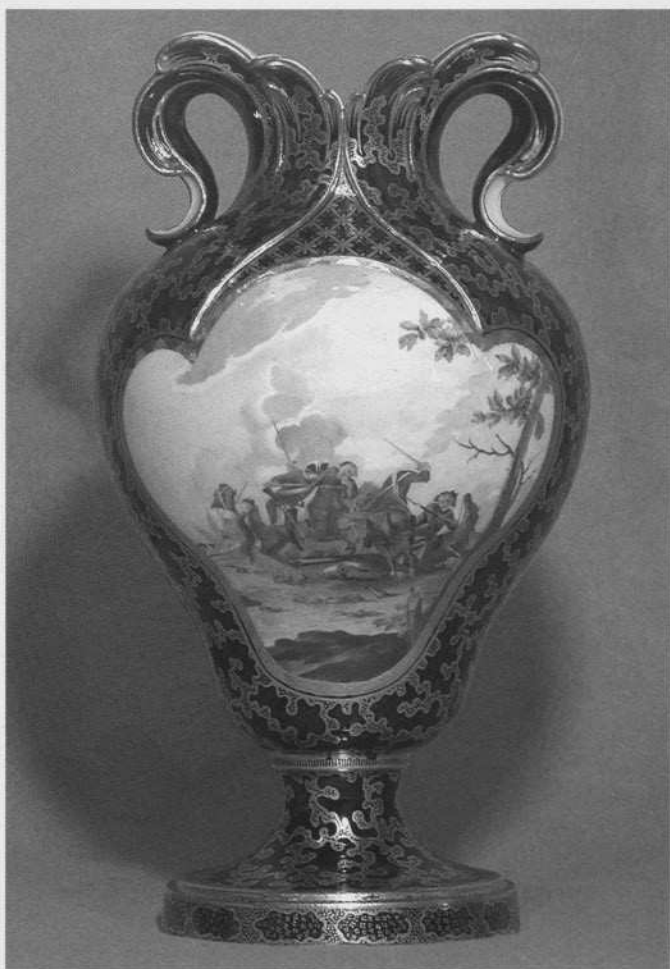
Acc. no. 48.1797 (back view).



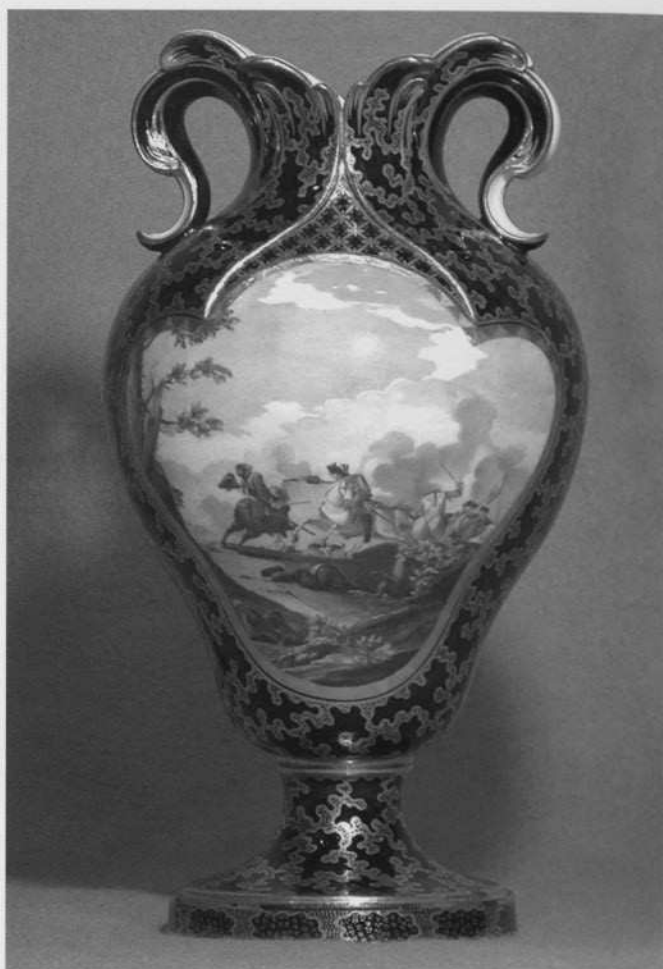
Acc. no. 48.1796 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.1797 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.575 (front view).



Acc. no. 48.576 (front view).

**PAIR OF VASES
(VASE À OREILLES)**

Sèvres, 1762

soft-paste porcelain

height 12 ¹/₈ in. (30.7 cm.)

acc. nos. 48.575 and 48.576

DECORATION: *bleu lapis* ground with polychrome figures in a battle scene on front, polychrome fruit and floral bouquet on back, *vermiculé* gilding

MARKS: interlaced Ls in blue with date letter j; modeler's mark "," in blue for Charles-Louis Méraud *jeune* (ca. 1735–80); painter's mark M in blue for Jean-Louis Morin (1732–80)

PROVENANCE: possibly Baron Schroeder; possibly Lord Chesham; E. M. Hodgkins; A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928; Henry Walters, 1928



Acc. no. 48.575 (back view).



Acc. no. 48.576 (back view).



Acc. no. 48.575 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.576 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.574 (front view).



Acc. no. 48.574 (back view).

VASE WITH COVER
(VASE ANTIQUE FERRÉ)

Sèvres, 1763
soft-paste porcelain
height 17 1/8 in. (43.5 cm.)
acc. no. 48.574

DECORATION: *bleu nouveau* ground with polychrome figures in a pastoral scene on front, three white reserves with polychrome fruit and floral bouquets on sides and back, gilding. The pastoral scene is based on an engraving by Claude Duflos after François Boucher's painting *Ce Pasteur amoureux chante sur sa musette...*

MARKS: interlaced Ls in blue with date letter k; incised modeler's mark of a rectangle; painter's mark K in blue for Charles-Nicolas Dodin (1734–1803)

PROVENANCE: E. M. Hodgkins; A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928; Henry Walters, 1928



Acc. no. 48.574 (marks).





Acc. no. 48.559 (front view).



Acc. no. 48.559 (back view).

**POTPOURRI VASE AND COVER
IN THE SHAPE OF A SHIP
(VASE POT POURRI À VAISSEAU
OR POT POURRI EN NAVIRE)**

Sèvres, 1764

soft-paste porcelain, bases are modern

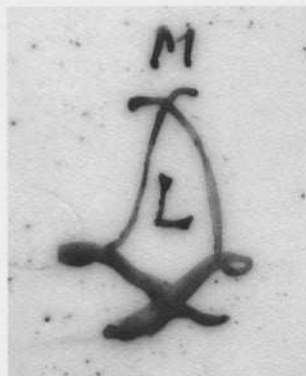
height 15 1/4 in. (38.7 cm.); width 14 1/2 in. (36.8 cm.)

acc. no. 48.559

DECORATION: *bleu nouveau* ground with polychrome shipping scene on front, polychrome trophy on back, gilding

MARKS: interlaced Ls in blue with date letter L; painter's mark M in blue for Jean-Louis Morin (1732–87)

PROVENANCE: E. M. Hodgkins; A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928; Henry Walters, 1928



Acc. no. 48.559 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.637 (front view).

**PAIR OF VASES WITH COVERS
(VASE À JET D'EAU)**

Sèvres, ca. 1765
soft-paste porcelain
height 14 ¹/₈ in. (35.9 cm.)
acc. nos. 48.637 and 48.638



Acc. no. 48.638 (front view).

DECORATION: *bleu nouveau* ground and gilding

MARKS: incised marks R and possibly G&D
(only on acc. no. 48.638)

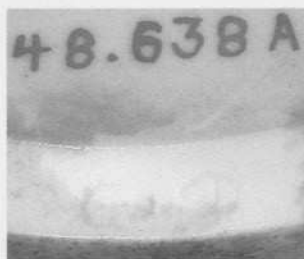
PROVENANCE: possibly Lord Willoughby d'Eresby;
E. M. Hodgkins; A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928;
Henry Walters, 1928



Acc. no. 48.637 (back view).



Acc. no. 48.638 (back view).



Acc. no. 48.638 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.578 (front view).



Acc. no. 48.579 (front view).

**PAIR OF VASES WITH COVERS
(VASE À TÊTE DE LION)**

Sèvres, ca. 1765–70

soft-paste porcelain

height 16 in. (40.6 cm.)

acc. nos. 48.578 and 48.579

DECORATION: *bleu nouveau* ground with grisaille cherubs in broad panel on front, grisaille trophy in broad panel on back, gilding

MARKS: interlaced Ls in blue; incised modeler's mark Cd for Michel-Dorothé Coudray (1718–75) or Charles Dupré (d. 1778)

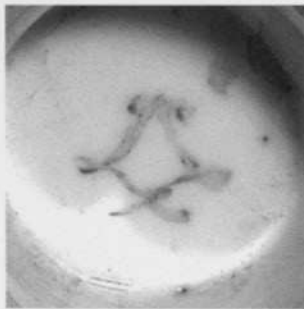
PROVENANCE: E. M. Hodgkins; A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928; Henry Walters, 1928



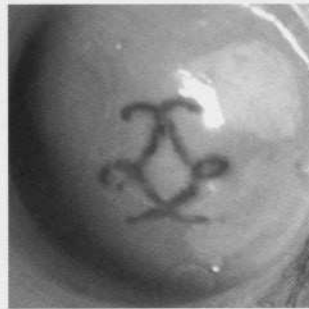
Acc. no. 48.578 (back view).



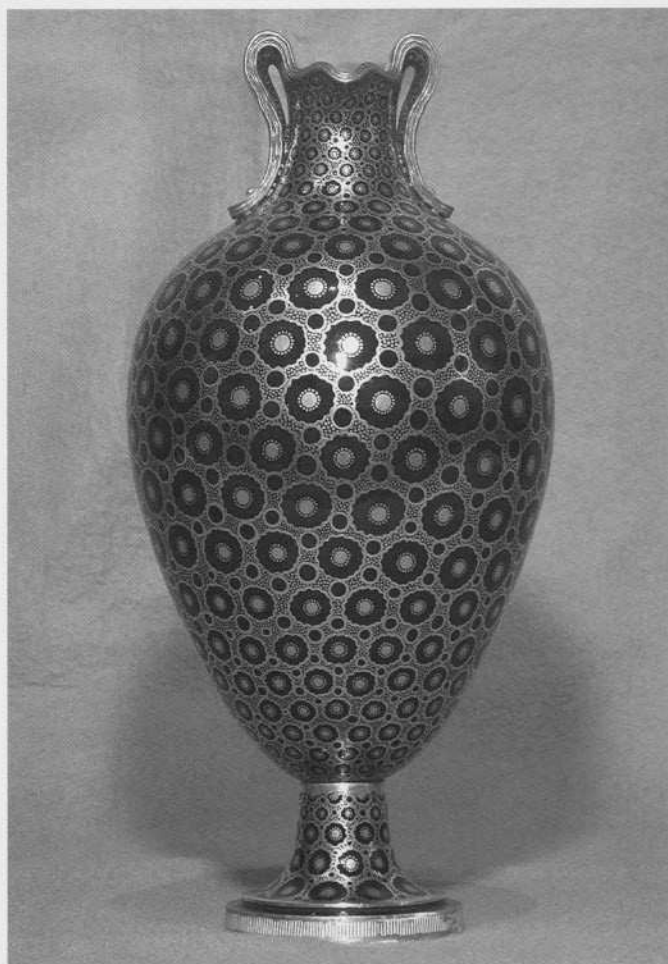
Acc. no. 48.579 (back view).



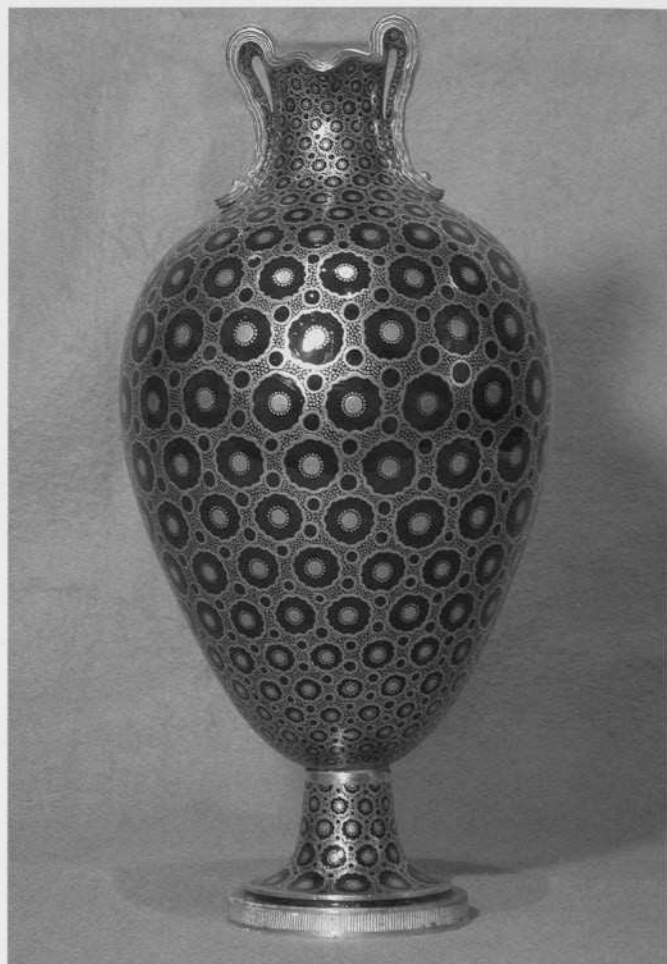
Acc. no. 48.578 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.579 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.607 (front view).



Acc. no. 48.608 (front view).

**PAIR OF OVIFORM VASES
(VASE À OREILLES NOUVEAU)**

Sèvres, 1767
soft-paste porcelain
height 13 1/4 in. (33.6 cm.)
acc. nos. 48.607 and 48.608

DECORATION: *bleu nouveau* ground overlaid with gilding. The gilding forms a lace pattern of *caillouté* roundels with flower-shaped areas enclosing the *oeil de perdrix* motifs of a larger dot encircled by a ring of smaller dots

MARKS: interlaced Ls in blue with date letter O

PROVENANCE: E. M. Hodgkins; A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928; Henry Walters, 1928



Acc. no. 48.607 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.608 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.583 (front view).



Acc. no. 48.583 (back view).

VASE AND COVER
(VASE CASSOLETTA BACHELIER)

Sèvres, 1768
soft-paste porcelain
height 11 ⁵/₈ in. (29.6 cm.); width 12 ¹/₄ in. (31.1 cm.)
acc. no. 48.583

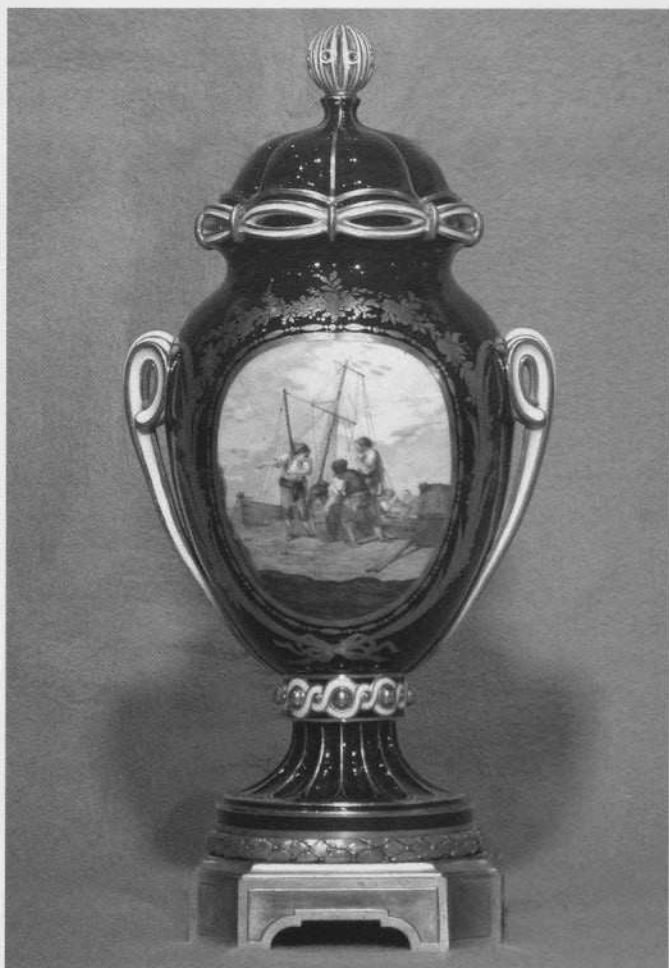
DECORATION: white ground with polychrome figures in pastoral scene on front, three polychrome intertwined wreaths of laurels and roses on back, gilding. The pastoral scene is based on an engraving by Nicolas Dauphin de Beauvais after François Boucher's painting *Le Sommeil interrompu*

MARKS: interlaced Ls in blue with date letter P; incised modeler's mark GL; painter's mark K in blue for Charles-Nicolas Dodin (1734–1803)

PROVENANCE: possibly Baroness Burdett-Coutts; E. M. Hodgkins; A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928; Henry Walters, 1928



Acc. no. 48.583 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.557 (front view).



Acc. no. 48.558 (front view).

**PAIR OF VASES WITH COVERS
(VASE DUPLESSIS À CÔTES)**

Sèvres, 1760s

soft-paste porcelain

height 19 ⁷/₈ in. (50.4 cm.)

acc. nos. 48.557 and 48.558

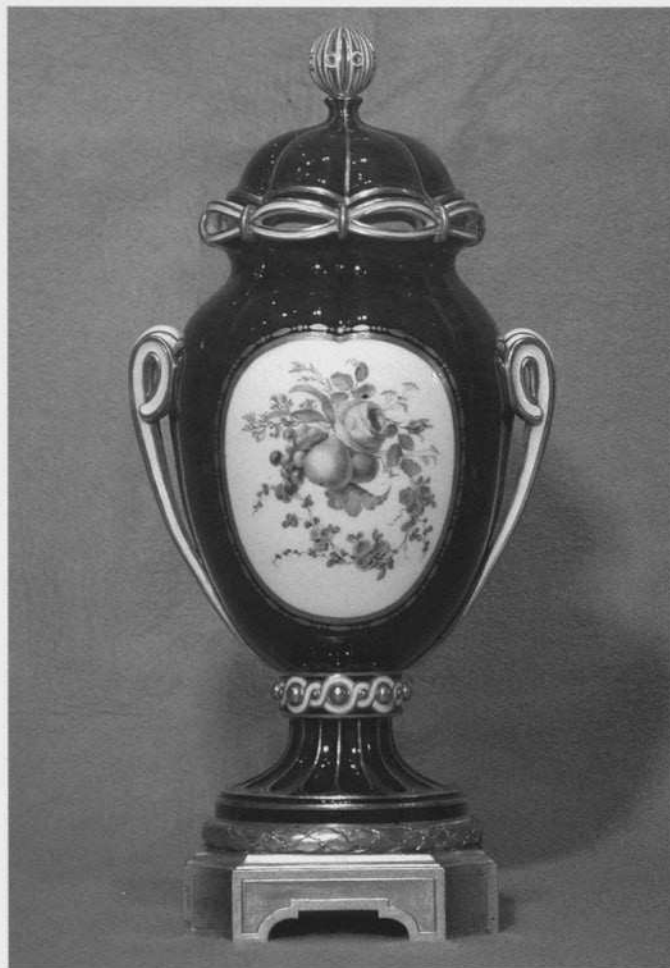
DECORATION: *bleu nouveau* ground with polychrome figures in a marine scene on front, polychrome fruit and floral bouquet on back, gilding

MARKS: painter's mark M in blue for Jean-Louis Morin (1732–87)

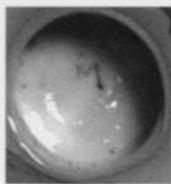
PROVENANCE: possibly collection of Hamer-Bass; E. M. Hodgkins; A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928; Henry Walters, 1928



Acc. no. 48.557 (back view).



Acc. no. 48.558 (back view).



Acc. no. 48.557 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.558 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.569 (front view).



Acc. no. 48.570 (front view).

**PAIR OF VASES WITH COVERS
(VASE À ANSES CARRÉES)**

Sèvres, 1773
soft-paste porcelain
height 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (37.4 cm.)
acc. nos. 48.569 and 48.570

DECORATION: *bleu celeste* ground with
gilded arabesques

MARKS: interlaced Ls in blue with date letter U;
gilder's mark "H" for Michel Barnabé Chauvaux
(1752–88)

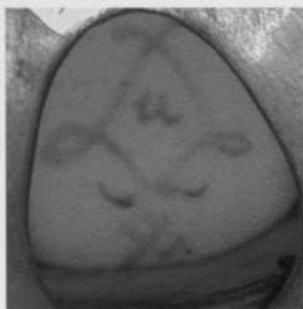
PROVENANCE: Madame Dhainaut; E. M. Hodgkins;
A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928; Henry Walters, 1928



Acc. no. 48.569 (back view).



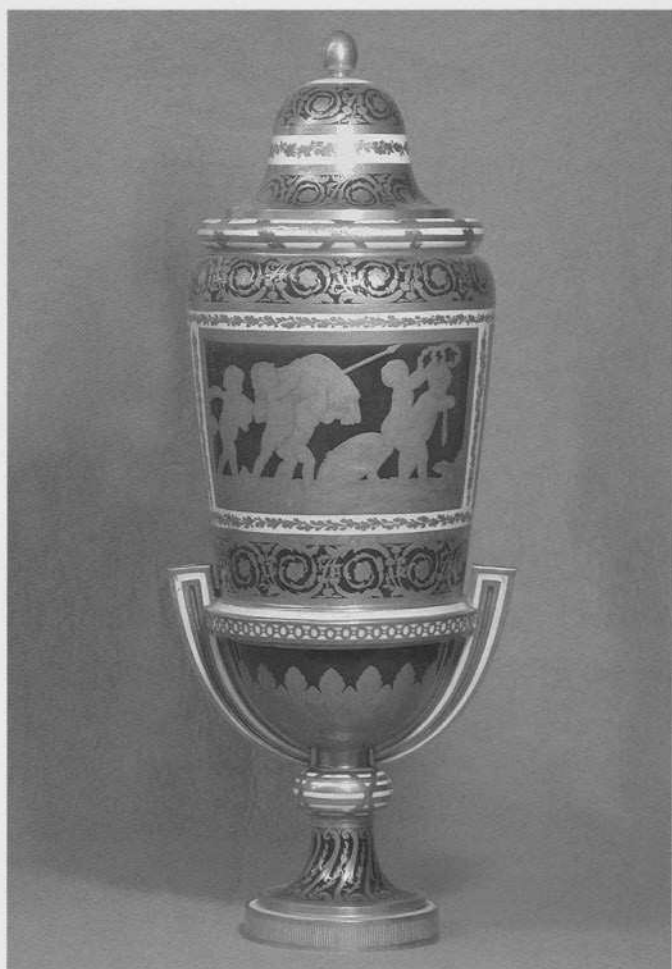
Acc. no. 48.570 (back view).



Acc. no. 48.569 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.570 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.639 (front view).



Acc. no. 48.640 (front view).

**PAIR OF VASES WITH COVERS
(VASE CHINOIS OR À PIED DE GLOBE)**

Sèvres, 1774

soft-paste porcelain

height acc. no. 48.639 19 ¹/₈ in. (48.6 cm.)

height acc. no. 48.640 19 in. (48.2 cm.)

acc. nos. 48.639 and 48.640

DECORATION: dark blue and white grounds with gilded frieze of children on front, gilded cornucopias on back

MARKS: interlaced Ls in blue with date letter V inside cover; painter's mark B in blue for Jean-Pierre Boulanger, *père* (1722–85) (photograph only for acc. no. 48.639)

PROVENANCE: possibly Marchioness of Conyngham; E. M. Hodgkins; A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928; Henry Walters, 1928



Acc. no. 48.639 (back view).



Acc. no. 48.640 (back view).



Acc. no. 48.639 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.560 (front view).



Acc. no. 48.560 (back view).

VASE WITH COVER
(VASE À BANDES OR
VASE FALCONET DE CÔTÉ)

Sèvres, 1776

soft-paste porcelain

height 16 ³/₄ in. (42.6 cm.)

acc. no. 48.560

DECORATION: *bleu nouveau* ground with polychrome figures in shipping scene on front, polychrome floral bouquet on back, gilding

MARKS: interlaced Ls in blue with date letter Y; painter's mark M for Jean-Louis Morin (1732–87); gilder's mark B for Jean Pierre Boulanger, *père* (1722–85)

PROVENANCE: possibly Lady Ashburton; E. M. Hodgkins; A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928; Henry Walters, 1928



Acc. no. 48.560 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.565 (front view).



Acc. no. 48.565 (back view).

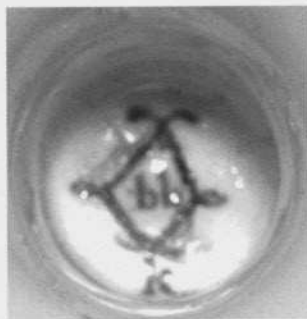
VASE WITH COVER
(VASE COLONNE DE PARIS)

Sèvres, 1779
soft-paste porcelain
height 15 ³/₄ in. (40 cm.)
acc. no. 48.565

DECORATION: turquoise blue ground with polychrome figures in a hunting scene on front, polychrome trophy on back, gilding. The hunting scene is painted in the manner of Philips Wouwermans (1619–68)

MARKS: interlaced Ls in blue with date letter bb; painter's mark K in blue for Charles-Nicolas Dodin (1734–1803); gilder's mark LG in black for Etienne-Henry Le Guay *ainé*, *père* (1719/20–ca. 1799)

PROVENANCE: Earl of Pembroke; Mrs. Lyne Stephe; Baron Schroeder; E. M. Hodgkins; A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928; Henry Walters, 1928



Acc. no. 48.565 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.563 (front view).

**PAIR OF VASES WITH COVERS
(VASE CASSETTE BACHELIER)**

Sèvres, 1779
soft-paste porcelain
height $7\frac{7}{8}$ in. (20 cm.)
acc. nos. 48.563 and 48.564



Acc. no. 48.564 (front view).

DECORATION: turquoise blue ground with polychrome figures in a hunting scene on front, polychrome trophy on back, gilding. The hunting scene is painted in the manner of Philips Wouwermans (1619–68)

MARKS: interlaced Ls in blue and date letter bb; painter's mark K in blue for Charles-Nicolas Dodin (1734–1803); gilder's mark LG in black for Etienne-Henry Le Guay *ainé*, *père* (1719/20–ca. 1799)

PROVENANCE: Earl of Pembroke; Mrs. Lyne Stephe; Baron Schroeder; E. M. Hodgkins; A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928; Henry Walters, 1928



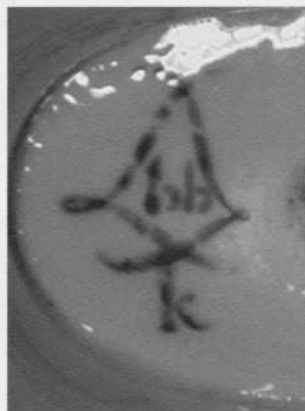
Acc. no. 48.563 (back view).



Acc. no. 48.564 (back view).



Acc. no. 48.563 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.564 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.641 (front view).



Acc. no. 48.642 (front view).

**PAIR OF VASES WITH COVERS
(VASE MARMITE)**

Sèvres, 1779

soft-paste porcelain

height acc. no. 48.641 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (33.7 cm.)

height acc. no. 48.642 13 in. (33.1 cm.)

acc. nos. 48.641 and 48.642

DECORATION: *bleu nouveau* ground with polychrome figures in a fishing scene on front, polychrome garden landscape on back, gilding. The fishing scenes are attributed to the painter Jean-Louis Morin (1732–87)

MARKS: interlaced Ls in gold with date letter bb; gilder's mark 2000 in gold for Henry-François Vincent *jeune* (1753–1806)

PROVENANCE: E. M. Hodgkins; A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928; Henry Walters, 1928



Acc. no. 48.641 (back view).



Acc. no. 48.642 (back view).



Acc. no. 48.641 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.642 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.643 (front view).



Acc. no. 48.643 (back view).

VASE WITH COVER
(VASE MOMIES À ORNEMENTS)

Sèvres, 1779
soft-paste porcelain
height 17 1/2 in. (44.5 cm.)
acc. no. 48.643

DECORATION: *bleu nouveau* ground with polychrome figures in a shipping scene on front, polychrome garden landscape on back, gilding. The shipping scene is attributed to the painter Jean-Louis Morin (1732–87)

MARKS: interlaced Ls in gold with date letter bb; gilder's mark 2000 in gold for Henry-François Vincent *jeune* (1753–1806)

PROVENANCE: E. M. Hodgkins; A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928; Henry Walters, 1928



Acc. no. 48.643 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.568 (front view).



Acc. no. 48.568 (back view).

**OVIFORM VASE WITH COVER
(VASE "C" DE 1780)**

Sèvres, 1781
soft-paste porcelain
height 16 ⁵/₈ in. (42.2 cm.)
acc. no. 48.568

DECORATION: *bleu nouveau* ground with polychrome figures in a mythological scene on front, polychrome garden landscape on back, gilding, jeweled enameling. The mythological scene represents the sacrifice of Iphigenia and is inspired by an engraving by Bernard Picart (1673–1733) in Abbé Antoine Banier's (1673–1741) edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which was first published in 1732 (fig. 1)

MARKS: interlaced Ls in blue with date letter DD

PROVENANCE: E. M. Hodgkins; A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928; Henry Walters, 1928



Acc. no. 48.568 (marks).



Fig. 1. Bernard Picart, *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, after Pietro Testa (1612–50), engraving, from Abbé Banier, *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide*. Baltimore, The John Work Garrett Library of The Johns Hopkins University.



Acc. no. 48.754 (front view).



Acc. no. 48.754 (back view).

TWO-HANDLED VASE

Sèvres, 1782

soft-paste porcelain; gilt-bronze mounts

height 21 1/2 in. (54.7 cm.)

acc. no. 48.754

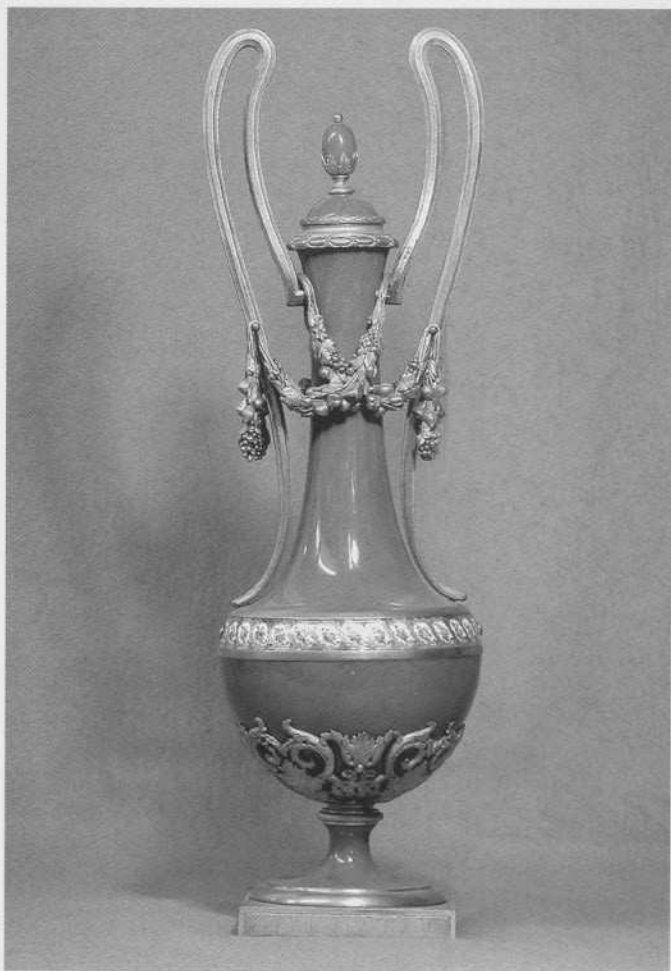
DECORATION: cinnabar red ground with continuous band of small white reserves with polychrome flowers, gilding. Ormolu mounts by the gilder Jean-Claude-Thomas Chambellan Duplessis *fil*s (ca. 1730–83)

MARKS: interlaced Ls in gold with crown above and date letter EE; painter's mark of a flower by Nicholas Schradre (dates unknown)

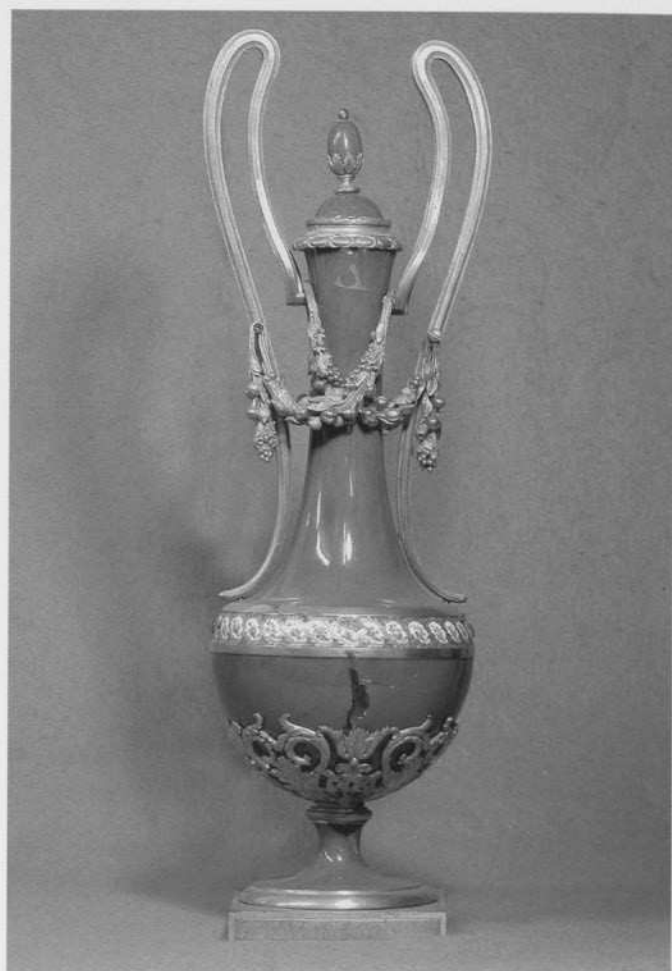
PROVENANCE: Louis XVI, 1782; E. M. Hodgkins; A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928; Henry Walters, 1928



Acc. no. 48.754 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.755 (front view).



Acc. no. 48.756 (front view).

PAIR OF DOUBLE-HANDLED VASES

Sèvres, 1782

soft-paste porcelain; gilt-bronze mounts

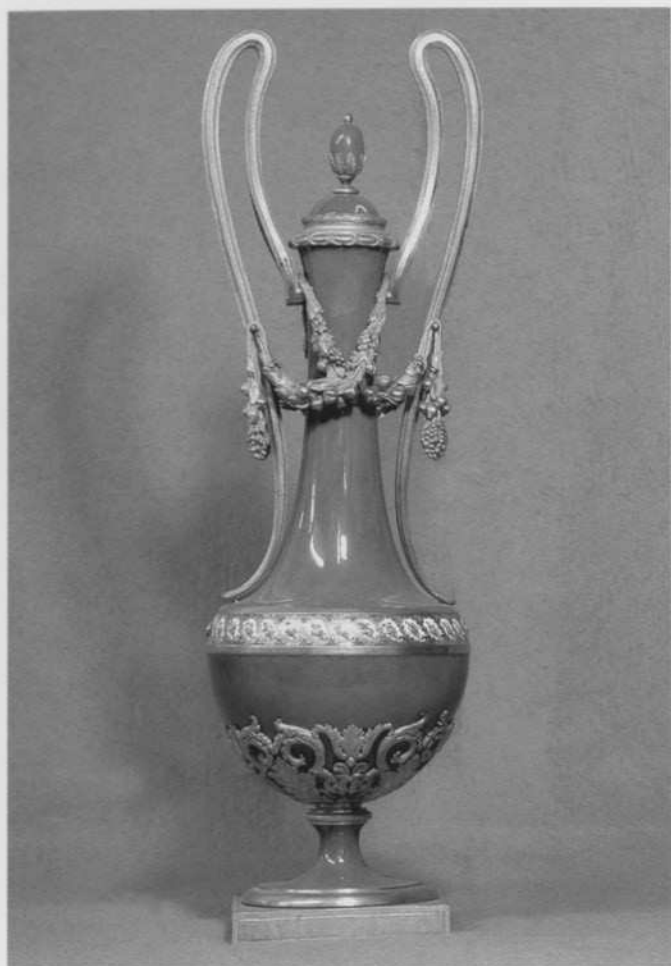
height 18 1/4 in. (46.4 cm.)

acc. nos. 48.755 and 48.756

DECORATION: cinnabar red ground with continuous band of small white reserves with polychrome flowers, gilding. Ormolu mounts by the gilder Jean-Claude-Thomas Chambellan Duplessis *fils* (ca. 1730–83)

MARKS: interlaced Ls in gold with crown above and date letter EE; painter's mark of a flower by Nicholas Schradre (dates unknown)

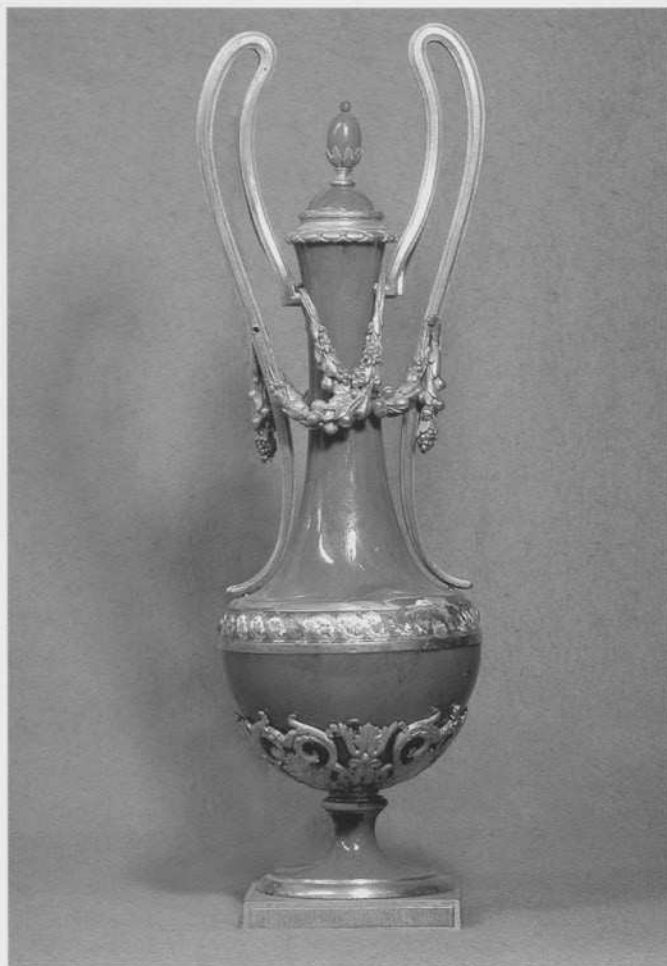
PROVENANCE: Louis XVI, 1782; E. M. Hodgkins; A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928; Henry Walters, 1928



Acc. no. 48.755 (back view).



Acc. no. 48.755 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.756 (back view).



Acc. no. 48.756 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.571 (front view).



Acc. no. 48.580 (front view).

**PAIR OF DOUBLE-HANDLED VASES
AND COVERS (VASE "A" DE 1780)**

Sèvres, 1784

soft-paste porcelain

height acc. no. 48.571 17 ³/₄ in. (45.1 cm.)

height acc. no. 48.580 17 ¹/₄ in. (43.8 cm.)

acc. nos. 48.571 and 48.580

DECORATION: *bleu nouveau* ground with polychrome figures in a mythological scene on front, polychrome floral bouquet on back, gilding. The scene representing Jupiter and Callisto (acc. no. 48.571) is derived from a painting by François Boucher (1703–70). The mythological scene with Venus, Adonis, and Cupid (acc. no. 48.580) is also derived from a painting by Boucher.

MARKS: interlaced Ls in gold with date letter GG; gilder's mark HP for Henry-Martin Prévost (1757–97) [only on acc. no. 48.580]

PROVENANCE: possibly J. C. Sequin;
E. M. Hodgkins; A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928;
Henry Walters, 1928



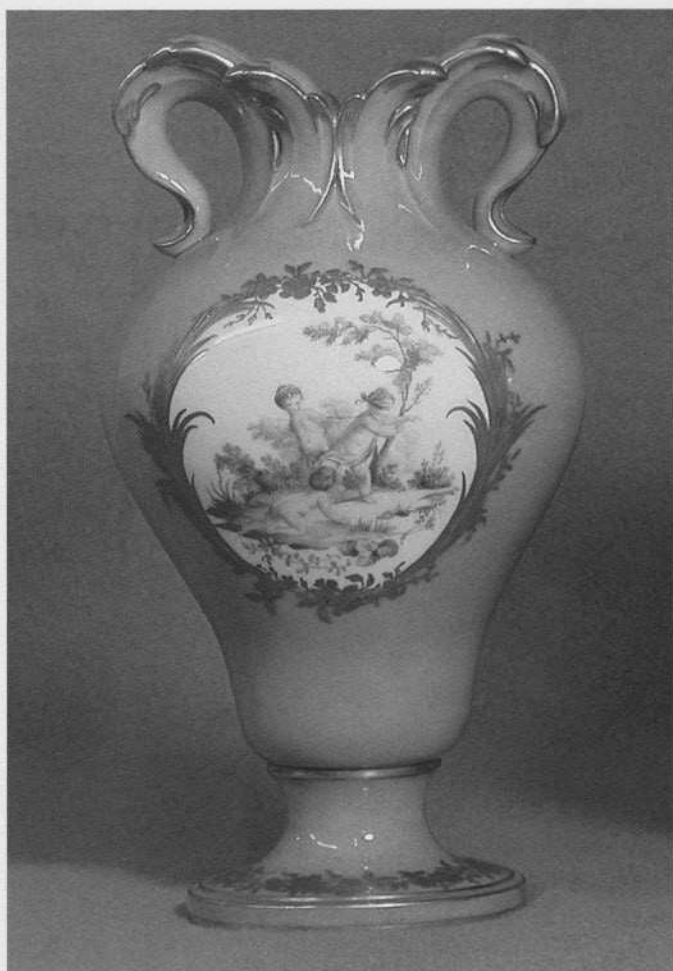
Acc. no. 48.571 (back view).



Acc. no. 48.580 (back view).



Acc. no. 48.580 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.611 (front view).

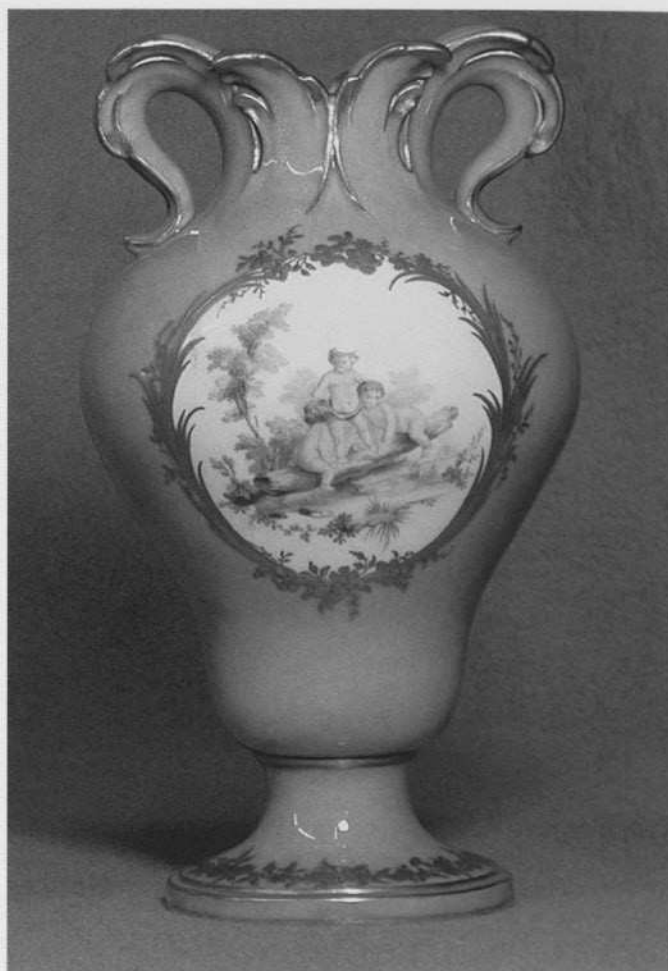
**PAIR OF VASES
(VASE À OREILLES)**

Sèvres, eighteenth century
soft-paste porcelain

height acc. no. 48.611 8 1/2 in. (21.5 cm.)

height acc. no. 48.612 8 1/4 in. (20.9 cm.)

acc. nos. 48.611 and 48.612



Acc. no. 48.612 (front view).

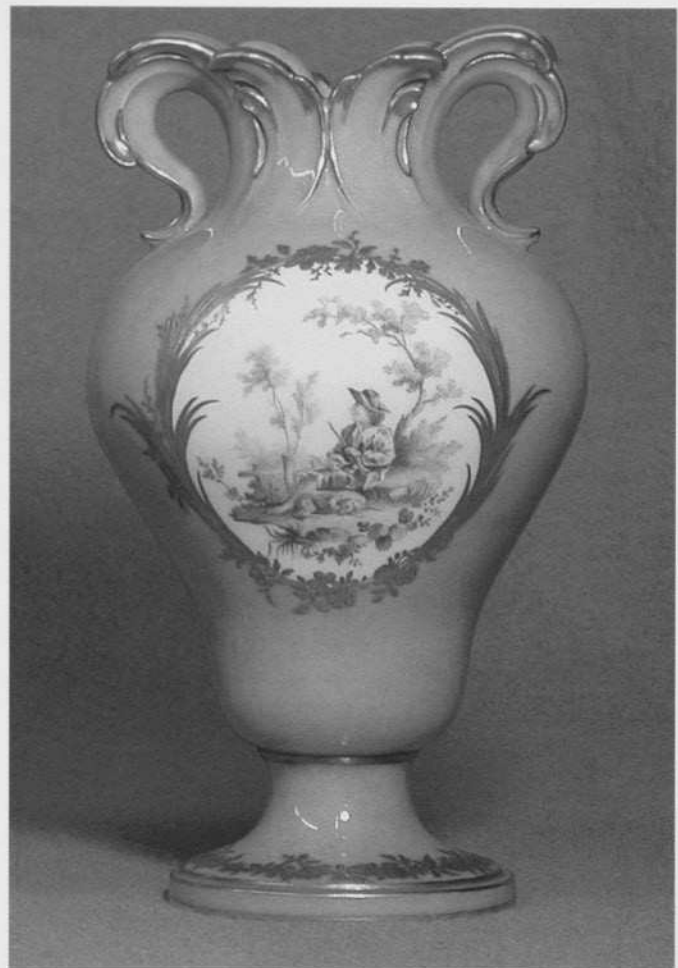
DECORATION: turquoise blue ground with polychrome putti in a landscape on front, polychrome girl with dog and boy with dog on back, gilding

MARKS: interlaced Ls in blue

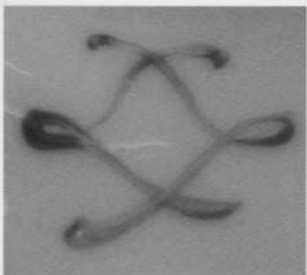
PROVENANCE: E. M. Hodgkins; A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928; Henry Walters, 1928



Acc. no. 48.611 (back view).



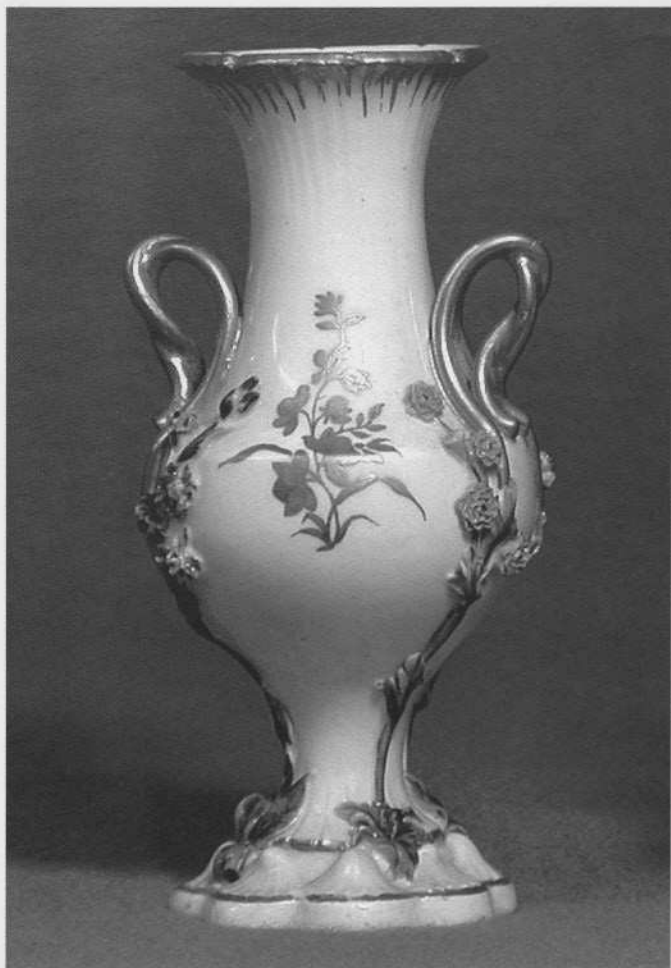
Acc. no. 48.612 (back view).



Acc. no. 48.611 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.612 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.670 (front view).

**PAIR OF VASES
(PROBABLY URNE DUPLESSIS)**

Vincennes, eighteenth century
soft-paste porcelain
height 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (15.8 cm.)
acc. nos. 48.670 and 48.671



Acc. no. 48.671 (front view).

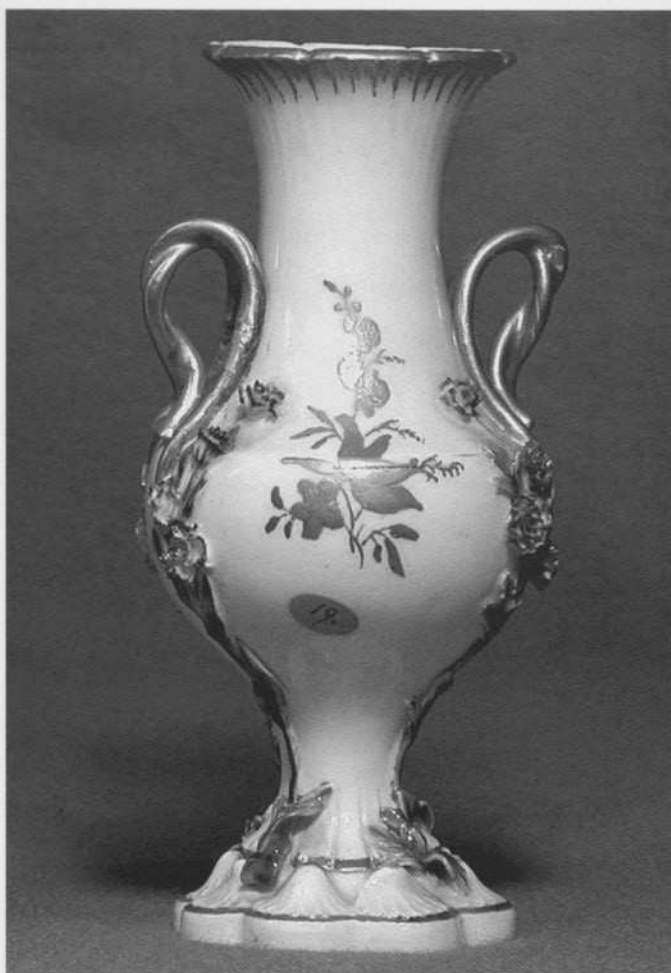
DECORATION: white ground with gilded floral bouquets on front and back, polychrome relief flowers on sides and base, gilding

MARKS: acc. no. 48.670, interlaced Ls in blue with dot below; acc. no. 48.671, interlaced Ls in blue with dot in center and above in blue

PROVENANCE: Henry Walters, 1928



Acc. no. 48.670 (back view).



Acc. no. 48.671 (back view).



Acc. no. 48.670 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.671 (marks).



Acc. no. 48.562 (front view).



Acc. no. 48.562 (back view).

OVIFORM VASE

Sèvres, eighteenth century
soft-paste porcelain
height 16 ³/₈ in. (41.7 cm.)
acc. no. 48.562

DECORATION: *bleu du roi* ground with polychrome figures in a village scene on front, polychrome floral garlands with a bird and butterfly on back, gilding

MARKS: interlaced Ls in blue

PROVENANCE: E. M. Hodgkins; A. Seligman, Rey and Co., 1928; Henry Walters, 1928



Acc. no. 48.562 (marks).

THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM
RECENT ACQUISITIONS



[illegible]

Gift of South Italian Vases from the Marilyn and Herbert Scher Collection

SABINE ALBERSMEIER

Red-figure vases produced by local workshops began to appear in South Italy and Sicily during the second half of the fifth century B.C. Previously, the Greek colonies in *Magna Graecia* had imported pottery products from Athens. But now, workshops in Apulia, Campania, Lucania, Paestum, and Sicily began to establish independent vase production with the support of immigrant potters from Athens. These workshops flourished during the fourth century and developed local styles that introduced numerous new shapes, motifs, and decoration. Two predominant styles were established in Apulian vase painting: the Plain style, with one dominant motif or scene on the vases, and the Ornate style, in which the vases were decorated with multiple colorful scenes and ornaments.

Around 1900, when Henry Walters was acquiring ancient art for his collection, vases from South Italy were not much in favor. Although a vast quantity of objects from nineteenth-century excavations was available, collectors preferred the Archaic and Classical vases from Athens. Consequently, the Walters Art Museum does not have an extensive or comprehensive collection of South Italian vases. An outstanding exception is the Apulian volute krater by the artist known as the Baltimore painter. At the end of the twentieth century, new excavations in South Italy yielded extensive finds and have led to a heightened interest in art from this region.

The Walters Art Museum, therefore, is pleased to announce a recently received gift of nine remarkable fourth-century-B.C. South Italian vases through the generosity of Marilyn and Herbert Scher. While collecting the vases, the Schers communicated extensively with the renowned specialist for South Italian vases Arthur D. Trendall, who attributed some of the pieces to well-known painters from the Apulian and Campanian regions of Italy. The vases are a significant addition to the collection of the Walters as they illustrate perfectly the range of South Italian vase shapes, decoration, and motifs.

The vases were exhibited in winter 2002 in the focus show *Tradition and Innovation: Red-Figure Vases from South Italy* and will now be installed in the permanent galleries. The following account of these pieces is not meant to replace a later scholarly discussion, but is intended to provide an overview of several key pieces. The most impressive piece, a large volute krater, has been attributed by Trendall to the Painter of Copenhagen 4223, a well-known painter who worked around 340–330 B.C. The vase complements one of the masterpieces in the Walters' collection, the famous volute krater by the slightly later Baltimore Painter (acc. no. 48.86), whose works date from 330–310 B.C. Both kraters were made by artists with a taste for large vases and colorful multi-figural funerary scenes typical of the Apulian Ornate style.

RED-FIGURE VOLUTE KRATER (FIG. 1)

South Italian (Apulia), ca. 340–330 B.C.,
by the Painter of Copenhagen 4223
ceramic
height 30 ³/₄ in. (78.1 cm.)
acc. no. 48.2759

SIDE A:

The center of the scene is dominated by a *naiskos* with Ionic capitals on a high pedestal decorated with an acanthus scroll. In the *naiskos*, a deceased warrior is standing on the right with a young servant by his side. The warrior wears a red *chiton* with yellow embroidery, which is belted at the waist. He holds a spear and a shield with his left hand and a *phiale* in his right. His nude servant is about to pour a libation into the *phiale* with an *oinochoe*, while he holds a fillet with his left hand.

The figures on both sides of the *naiskos* carry offerings in honor of the deceased. They all are shown sitting or standing on uneven ground indicated by a dotted line. Various ornaments like fillets and rosettes were used to fill empty spaces between figures.



Fig. 1. Red-figure volute krater by the Painter of Copenhagen 4223, South Italian (Apulia), ca. 340–330 B.C. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 48.2759 (Side A).



Fig. 2. Red-figure bell krater by the Circle of the Tarpoley Painter, South Italian (Apulia), around 380 B.C. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 48.2760 (Side A).

On the upper left sits a female figure facing the naiskos. She wears a chiton, a *sakkos*, a necklace, jewelry, and shoes. In her raised left hand, she holds a patterned *cista*, and in her lowered right hand, a filleted wreath.

Below her stands a naked youth with a large mirror in his raised right hand. He offers a large phiale with a branch with his left hand. His long mantle is loosely draped over his right arm.

On the opposite side, a naked male wears a laurel wreath and sits on his mantle. His head is turned towards the naiskos, and he has a spear and shield. With his raised left arm he offers a dish of cakes.

A woman below is walking or, rather, running towards the naiskos, slightly bent forward to offer a large bell krater with both hands. In front of her head, on higher ground, indicated by dotted line, rests a phiale; at her feet is a large *alabastron*.

The neck of the vase is decorated with a winged male bust wearing a hat (*petasos*). The figure is embedded in elaborate acanthus scrolls. Multiple decorative bands like large wave patterns, berried laurel wreaths, and meanders with crossed squares separate the different parts of the vase from each other.

The large volute handles are accompanied by small swan heads on either side and are decorated with molded white-faced female masks with yellow (Side A) or black hair (Side B) and net-patterned diadems.

SIDE B:

The other side is far less detailed and carefully executed. Here, the central motif is a large grave stele with a fillet wrapped around it and horizontal decoration at its top and bottom. A large *kylix* with a triangular lid is set on top of the stele. Again, the center scene is surrounded by four figures presenting offerings, one male and one female on each side.

On the upper left side, a seated female in a chiton turns her head towards the stele. Her raised right hand supports a patterned *cista*, while her lowered hand holds a filleted wreath. The woman wears a *kekryphalos* and various pieces of jewelry.

A young naked male with a wreath stands below her holding a staff (*thyrsus*) with his right hand and a phiale with a short branch with his left. His mantle is draped over both arms.

On the upper right side, a naked male is sitting on his loosely draped mantle with his head turned towards the stele. He wears a wreath in his dark curly hair and holds a dish with branches and other offerings. His lowered right hand grasps a bunch of grapes.

Parallel to Side A, the woman on the lower left side is shown walking or running towards the stele. She is slightly bent forward while raising a wreath with her right and a mirror with her left hand.

RED-FIGURE BELL KRATER (FIG. 2)

South Italian (Apulia), around 380 B.C.,

by the Circle of the Tarpoley Painter
ceramic

height 19 in. (48.3 cm.)

acc. no. 48.2760

SIDE A:

At left, an old satyr with a short tail, who is bearded but partially bald, stands leaning on a staff. He is naked except for his boots and has his mantle tucked under his left arm. He hands a *skyphos* to a maenad facing him.

The maenad holds a thyrsus with her left hand and stretches out the other hand to receive the *skyphos* from the satyr. She is wearing a short chiton, trousers, boots, and an animal skin on top, which is more common for the goddess Artemis or for an Amazon than for a maenad.

SIDE B:

On the other side, two youths in mantles face each other in conversation. The one on the right is lightly leaning on a staff in his outstretched right arm. All figures are standing on a meander band, and the scenes are framed by a laurel wreath below the rim.

The Tarpoley Painter, named after the previous owner of one of his vases, is the most important painter working in the early Plain style of Apulian vase painting. The bell krater is his favorite vase shape, and Dionysiac themes are very common in his oeuvre. Two or three youths in mantles can be found on the back of most of his vases.

RED-FIGURE BELL KRATER (FIG. 3)

South Italian (Campania), ca. 330–320 B.C.,

by the APZ Painter (Apulianizing Painter)
ceramic

height 15 ⁵/₈ in. (38.7 cm.)

acc. no. 48.2761

SIDE A:

The three women each wear a chiton and a kekryphalos with a fillet. All of them carry offerings destined for a ritual. The seated woman in the middle holds a phiale with offerings in her right hand, as does the woman standing to her right. The standing woman also holds a tambourine in her lowered left hand. The third woman on the left facing them raises a mirror with her left hand.

SIDE B:

This scene with three youths is much less carefully executed than that on Side A. The youths wear wreaths and mantles wrapped completely around their bodies, covering their arms and hands.

Both scenes are framed by a large laurel wreath above and a wave pattern below as well as a large palmette and scroll-work below the handles. Fillets and rosettes serve as filling ornaments.

Groups of youths or women holding various objects can be found on many vases attributed to this painter, who combines Apulian elements with typical Campanian features like the use of white to depict female skin.

RED-FIGURE OINOCHOE

South Italian (Apulia), ca. 330 B.C.

ceramic

height 11 in. (27.9 cm.)

acc. no. 48.2760

The woman wears large earrings, a pearl necklace, and a patterned sakkos. The decorative motifs include a wave pattern on the shoulder of the vase and palmettes on the sides.

RED-FIGURE KANTHAROS

South Italian (Apulia), ca. 320–310 B.C.

ceramic

height 8 in. (20.3 cm.)

acc. no. 48.2763



Fig. 3. Red-figure bell krater by the Apulianizing Painter, South Italian (Campania), ca. 330–320 B.C. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 48.2761 (Side A).

RED-FIGURE KANTHAROS

South Italian (Apulia), ca. 320–310 B.C.
ceramic, painted yellow and white
height 8 ¹/₈ in. (20.6 cm.)
acc. no. 48.2764

The two vases each have a female head facing left on both sides. The depictions of the women are all similar but not identical. They wear large earrings, pearl necklaces, and a richly patterned *saccos*.

These *kantharoi* and the above-mentioned *oinochoe* are typical examples of vases decorated with female heads, a very common motif, especially in later Apulian painting of smaller vases, cups, and plates.

RED-FIGURE PLATE (FIG. 4)

South Italian (Apulia), ca. 340–320 B.C.,
by the Ascoli Satriano Painter
ceramic
height 2 in. (5.1 cm.); diameter 9 ⁵/₈ in. (24.4 cm.)
acc. no. 48.2765

Eros, who is depicted as a naked, muscular youth, sits on a hollow rock and faces a small altar to his left. He has large, detailed wings and wears a fillet, earrings, and sandals. With his right hand, he holds a simple wreath above the altar, while his left arm is stretched out to the back holding a small round object, probably an egg. The scene is framed below with a wave pattern and surrounded by a wreath of detailed ivy leaves.

Many of the vases attributed to this painter came from Ascoli Satriano in North Apulia, which gave him his name. Female heads and depictions of Eros are common in his work.

Fig. 4. Red-figure plate by the Ascoli Satriano Painter, South Italian (Apulia), ca. 340–320 B.C. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 48.2765.



RED-FIGURE FISH PLATE

South Italian (Apulia), late 4th century B.C.
ceramic
height 2 ⁷/₈ in. (7.3 cm.); diameter 8 ¹/₂ in. (21.6 cm.)
acc. no. 48.2766

This type of plate, which was first introduced in Athens in the fifth century B.C., is common in South Italian vase production and was used for serving fish. Three fish, which can probably be identified as a mullet, a flatfish, and a wrasse, are depicted swimming to the left on the inside of the plate. The two mussels between the fish indicate the environment, as does the wave pattern in the center. The depression in the center of the plate is decorated with a rosette, and the outer rim, with scroll-work.

RED-FIGURE KYLIX

South Italian (Apulia), late 4th century B.C.
ceramic, painted red and white
height 2 ¹/₈ in. (5.4 cm.);
width (from handle to handle) 8 ¹/₄ in. (21 cm.)
acc. no. 48.2767

The head facing left on the inside of the cup is an unusual representation of an Amazon wearing a dotted Phrygian cap and a laurel wreath. The scene is surrounded by a wreath of ivy.

Two small figures can be found on the outside of the cup opposite from each other with large palmettes in between: A naked youth with raised arms sitting on his mantle, and a seated woman with a raised left and a lowered right arm. She wears a chiton, a *saccos*, and bracelets.

*The Walters
Art Museum
Baltimore,
Maryland*

PHOTOGRAPHS:
figs. 1–4, Baltimore,
Walters Art Museum.

A Mummy Mask from the Middle Kingdom

MATTHIAS SEIDEL

Due to their extreme fragility, relatively few mummy masks of the Middle Kingdom era have survived in good condition; this fact makes the mummy mask recently acquired by the Walters truly remarkable. The back is almost perfectly preserved, unlike all other known examples from the necropolis of Asyut. The face, however, as well as the wig, has suffered over time a loss of color in some areas. At some point in its history, an initial, unsatisfactory conservation attempt was made. When the museum acquired the mask, it was given a thorough checkup by the conservation lab before it went on view. A detailed account of the conservation treatment will be published in the future.

From the 8th/9th dynasty until the Roman period, mummy masks were one of the most characteristic elements of ancient Egyptian funerary equipment. Such masks were constructed from cartonnage (plaster-soaked linen) that could be molded to the shape of the body and then painted in vivid colors. Although the original burial place of the Walters' mask is not recorded, its general style and all its iconographic detail indicate that it came from Asyut, the capital of the thirteenth nome of Upper Egypt. As at other important sites during the Middle Kingdom, such as Beni Hasan, El Bersha, or Meir, the mummy masks from Asyut share an unmistakable design.



Figs. 1–2. Mummy mask of a high official, Asyut, Middle Kingdom, 11th dynasty, ca. 2000 B.C. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 78.4 (front and back views).

Because it is relatively easy to determine the provenance and general date of mummy masks from Asyut, research should be concentrated on the question of their relative chronology and exact dating within the Middle Kingdom period. Besides enterprises from different excavation missions in the early twentieth century, as well as illegal digs by local people, two major excavations took place at the necropolis of Asyut. One was headed by the French Egyptologist Emile Chassinat in 1903, the other, by the Egyptian nobleman Sayed Khashaba Pascha just a few years later. Many rock-cut tombs belonging to the courtiers of the nomarchs of Asyut were found untouched and still contained their original grave goods. The Walters' mask most likely was discovered during the Khashaba excavations and then sold to the Belgian collector Plaisant J. Nestor sometime between 1920 and 1930. Unfortunately, as Khashaba's work at Asyut was poorly documented, no records remain about related objects found within the tomb. No coffin or statues bearing the name and titles of the tomb owner survive to provide further information about his identity. As has happened so often with artifacts from Asyut, the object has had to tell the story alone.

The face of the Walters' new mask (24 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. [62.87 cm.] high; fig. 1) is rendered in a formal, stylized manner, giving it a somewhat distant expression. The ears are not very well modeled, but the bristles of the full beard, the moustache, and the eyebrows are all carefully stippled in black over a blue background. Other details of the face with its yellow-ocher color are also noteworthy. Inside the whites of both eyes, the artist has indicated the canthi and

the veins with red strokes. The same devotion to precision can be seen in how the structure of the philtrum above the upper lip is indicated. The man wears a voluminous tripartite wig with long, rounded lappets, which are rimmed with a thin band of alternating black and white sections. A broad collar composed of many rows of beads features falcon-headed terminals, which are held in position by strings, which protrude from the wig on the mask's back (fig. 2). A simple necklace with a large oval shaped pearl completes his adornment. Certainly, the most striking feature is the richly ornamented diadem with floral motifs at the center of the forehead. The breast and back shield of the mask are coated with a thin layer of white plaster, and in each lower corner is a hole, through which a string of linen attached the mask to the mummy.

Even if the Walters' mask lacks all its archaeological data, a good deal of evidence can be gained by comparison with other masks from Asyut. It is quite obvious that this mask is similar to two other examples in particular, one in Boston (MFA, 1987.54) and another in Hildesheim, Germany (RPM, 6226). All three share distinctive iconographic details, such as the rimmed lappets of the wigs as well as the rendering of the beards and the eyes. Other elements, such as the collars or the diadems, are similar, but different in detail. These masks can be assigned with confidence to one and the same workshop at Asyut, which specialized in the production of mummy masks during the middle to late 11th dynasty.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–2, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.

A Devotional Icon by Niccolò Brancaleon

MARISA BASS AND C. GRIFFITH MANN

In the early sixteenth century, when the Portuguese chaplain Francisco Alvarez was traveling through Ethiopia, he encountered a fellow foreigner named Niccolò Brancaleon, whose paintings were renowned in Ethiopian court circles.¹ The Walters recently acquired a remarkable work by this artist that illustrates the significance of the cultural interaction between Ethiopian and European artistic traditions.

A native Venetian, Brancaleon left Italy around 1480 and established himself in the Ethiopian imperial court, where he was employed for more than forty years.² During the fifteenth century, Ethiopia's monarchs actively cultivated a relationship with other Christian nations,³ and thus the Italian artist would have joined a handful of Europeans already working under imperial auspices. By adapting his Italian Quattrocento training to accommodate his Ethiopian patrons, Brancaleon combined two distinct traditions to produce a truly original style. His works, often commissioned by the wealthiest members of society, included manuscript illuminations, wall murals, and devotional icons.⁴

The Walters' icon (acc. no. 36.15) depicts the Virgin Mary seated on a straight-backed throne with the Christ Child in her lap (fig. 1). The two hinge holes along its left edge indicate that this panel was once part of a diptych. A similar diptych at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies,⁵ which is also attributed to Brancaleon, suggests that an image of St. George originally accompanied the Walters' painting. Both of these icons, which may be easily cradled in the palm of one's hand (the Walters' icon is $3\frac{7}{8} \times 3\frac{5}{16}$ in. [9.9 x 8.4 cm.]), were designed for use in private devotion.

Brancaleon's Venetian background is readily discernible in his depiction of the Virgin and Child and emerges when his work is compared with a late fifteenth-century Venetian painting from the workshop of Bartolomeo Vivarini (active 1450–91) also in the Walters' collection (acc. no. 37.1218; fig. 2).⁶ Both paintings rely on identical gestures to endow the relationship of mother to child with a sense of elegance and intimacy. In both compositions, Mary extends her left hand towards Christ, holding her smallest

finger apart from the other three. The deep folds of Christ's garment close around the fingers of Mary's right hand, which she uses to steady the infant in the crook of her arm. While Brancaleon's Christ Child is more formal—he actually extends his hand in a gesture of benediction—both children interact directly with the Virgin by turning their shoulders toward her and looking into her face. This kind of attention to the physical relationship between mother and infant, so characteristic of late fifteenth-century devotional paintings in Venice, is a defining feature of Brancaleon's paintings. By transforming a European visual language into a form that was readily comprehensible to his



Fig. 1. Niccolò Brancaleon, *Mary and Christ Child with Angels*, tempera on panel. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 36.15.



Fig. 2. Workshop of Bartolomeo Vivarini, *Madonna and Child*, oil on panel. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 37.1218.

Ethiopian patrons, Brancalion made a profound contribution to Ethiopia's artistic tradition and its ongoing dialogue with outside cultures. The addition of Brancalion's icon greatly augments the scope of the Walters' Ethiopian collection and testifies to the highly sophisticated culture of Ethiopia's imperial court in the late fifteenth century.

*The Walters Art Museum
Baltimore*

NOTES

1. F. Alvarez, *The Prester John of the Indies: A True Relation of the Lands of Prester John being the narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Ethiopia in 1520*, trans. Lord Stanley of Alderly, ed. C. F. Beckingham and G. W. B. Huntingford (Cambridge, 1961), 279.
2. M. E. Heldman, *The Marian Icons of the Painter Fre Seyon: A Study in Fifteenth-Century Ethiopian Art, Patronage, and Spirituality* (Wiesbaden, 1994), 149–50.
3. M. Di Salvo, *Churches of Ethiopia: The Monastery of Nārgā Sellāsē* (Milan, 1999), 43.
4. D. Spencer, "The Discovery of Brancalion's Paintings," in *Proceedings of the First International Conference on the History of Ethiopian Art* (London, 1989), 53–55.
5. IESMus4620. A reproduction of the diptych appears in S. Chojnacki, *Ethiopian Icons: Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University* (Milan, 2000), 191, cat. 181.
6. F. Zeri, *Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1976), vol. 1, 245–46.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–2, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.

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