

The J. Paul Getty Museum

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The *Disputà* Plate in the J. Paul Getty Museum and Its Cinquecento Context

Anthony Cutler

In 1983 the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired two silver plates, the first depicting a fisherman with a rod under his right arm removing a fish from a hook (fig. 1), and the second two philosophers, flanked by personifications, in discussion below a now headless, enthroned figure (fig. 2).¹ First exhibited with labels identifying them as works of the sixth century after Christ, they were published as objects of the fifth century.² More recently, they have both been assigned to the fourth century.³ It is clear that considerable doubt surrounds the chronology of these objects: the first purpose of this paper is to suggest a proper date for the plate depicting the Philosophers, which, although a fragment,⁴ is much the more interesting of the two. The Fisherman's rod carries a reel, emphasized like other details on this plate by gilding. Since the fishing reel, to the best of my knowledge, does not appear in either European art⁵ or literature⁶ before 1651, it would seem unlikely that this plate could antedate the seventeenth century. I shall argue that the Philosophers plate, too, is at least a millennium later than the fourth- and fifth-century dates that have been suggested in the literature.⁷

It is of critical importance to the study of late antique art to establish which objects properly belong to this age and

which to the various periods (down to our own time) when its artifacts were copied. Forgery was not the goal, but rather a culturally sanctioned recovery of, or continuity with, the remote past. Such sincere imitations paid homage to the achievement of ancient artists while flattering the taste of clients who, a thousand and more years later, could first recognize and then reproduce late antique achievements.

When an object offers no intrinsic, unassailable particulars as to the date of its manufacture, and especially when it is published as having virtually no provenance,⁸ it implicitly calls into question our conception of what, under such circumstances, *can* be known. Any investigation of this sort depends upon the relationship that we establish between the information—technical, stylistic, iconographic, and above all, ideological—that is available and what is known of the circumstances in which we suppose the object to have been made. Even if the piece represents an addition to our awareness of a period, it should display recognizable traits that connect it with known aspects of that era. If in major respects the object seems alien to one period—a judgment that is of course an expression of the extent of our awareness of that era—it

1. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AM.347 (Fisherman); 83.AM.342 (Philosophers).

2. *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984), p. 258, no. 144.

3. *The J. Paul Getty Museum Handbook of the Collections* (Malibu, 1986), p. 62f.

4. The maximum preserved dimensions are 45 x 28.5 cm. Since a portion of the rim is preserved, the measurable radius indicates that the original diameter of the plate was approximately 49.7 cm.

5. Surveys useful for representations of antique fishing tackle in sculpture are E. Bayer, *Fischerbilder in der hellenistischen Plastik* (Bonn, 1953) and H. P. Laubscher, *Fischer und Landleute. Studien zur hellenistischen Plastik* (Mainz, 1942); for pavements, and especially Nilotic scenes, see K. M. D. Dumbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 25–30, 153, with the older literature; L. Foucher, "Les mosaïques nilotiques africaines" in *La mosaïque gréco-romaine* (Paris, 1965), pp. 137–143; R. DePuma, "The Roman Fish Mosaic" (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1969) and the section on marine imagery in D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, vol. 1 (Princeton, 1947), pp. 596–603.

6. The reel is first mentioned by Thomas Barker, *The Art of Angling* (London, 1651), where it is called a "wind" (cited in J. W. Hills, *A History of Fly Fishing for Trout* [New York, 1922], p. 70). S. K. Vernon (*Antique Fishing Reels* [Harrisburg, Pa., 1985], p. 18, note 2) suggests that the reel is a twelfth-century Chinese invention, found illustrated in Chinese woodcuts of the mid-thirteenth century.

7. Briefer versions of this paper were presented at the annual meeting of the College Art Association in New York (1986) and at the Institute of Classical Studies in London (1987). I am grateful to Marion True, who allowed me to examine the plates at Malibu in 1985, and to Marit Jentoft-Nilsen and Arthur Houghton for further information on technical aspects of the plate. Since then I have received much advice and aid from Marlia Mango, Valentino Pace, David Parrish, John Scarborough, and Barbara Wisch.

8. The plates were first described (note 2) as having been bought on the "European art market." In the *Handbook* (note 3) they are said to have been "found together in the sea." I have been unable to verify with Israeli archaeologists of my acquaintance earlier reports that the plates were found in a wreck off the coast of Israel.



Figure 1. Fisherman plate. Silver, 45 x 28.5 cm (17³/₄ x 11¹/₄ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AM. 347.



Figure 2. Philosophers plate (*Disputa* plate). Silver, 45 x 28.5 cm (17³/₄ x 11¹/₄ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AM.342.



Figure 3. Reverse of the Philosophers plate.



Figure 4. Weight-punch on stand-ring.

may, with a higher degree of probability, belong to another in which its troubling peculiarities are more at home. In the last analysis we are not only defining the nature of the piece but refining our understanding of the time and place of origin that we hypothesize for it. The ultimate test of any notion of authenticity, beyond a normal concern with whether the piece is “genuine,” is the way in which we fit it into an identifiable context. It is not so much the object itself as the limits that we set on it, and our epistemology, that are on trial.

MATERIAL AND EPIGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS

According to the results of X-ray fluorescence of four samples analyzed by the Getty Conservation Institute in March 1986, the plate’s alloy is composed of 93–98% silver, 3.3% copper, 0.7% lead, and 0.5% gold. This composition and the presence of chlorine and bromine in the corrosion layers⁹ are understood in the report as “supportive of the assumed date of origin” and broadly agree with results obtained elsewhere from silver of the fourth and fifth centuries.¹⁰ The British Museum Research Labora-

tory has investigated more than two hundred pieces of late Roman and Sasanian silver, and the general conformity between the results of the tests conducted in Malibu and those obtained in London suggests a prima facie reason to suppose that the material of which the Philosophers plate is composed is of late Roman date. However, until comparable data are available for such periods as the second century after Christ¹¹ and, more importantly, for silver of the Italian Renaissance,¹² the results of the Malibu tests cannot be said to exclude all but a date in the fourth or fifth century. Nor, of course, does the analysis preclude the use of old silver, melted and reworked.

Even less satisfactory as proof of a late Roman origin is the weight-inscription stamped into the plate’s footing. Formed by punching in a manner that was common in the fourth century,¹³ the inscription reads ↑ΙΗΓΟΔ (fig. 4), indicating a weight of 18 (Roman) pounds and 4 ounces. The weight of the plate in its present state is 2547.5 gr or 743 Roman pounds. Even if we allow for its fragmentary state and the fact that portions that appear in the photograph (fig. 2) to be silver are plastic restorations,¹⁴ it is still

9. These could represent the flux used in manufacture, applied polish or lacquer, or salts from immersion or burial. I have not seen the results of a “microprobe analysis” promised in the report of March 1986.

10. See, e.g., J. Lang in K. S. Painter, *The Mildenhall Treasure* (London, 1977), p. 36, and J. Lang, M. J. Hughes, and W. A. Oddy in vol. 1 of *Die spätrömische Silberschatz von Augst*, ed. H. A. Cahn and A. Kaufmann-Heinimann (Derendingen, 1984), pp. 375–378.

11. Such a date for the Philosophers plate was proposed by David H. Wright in public discussion of the paper read in New York (note 7). A second-century date can be rejected almost out of hand. The exact date of the death of Ptolemy, who is represented and identified by inscription

on the plate (figs. 8, 9), is not known. He was still alive in A.D. 174.

12. See below, pp. 29, 31–32.

13. For a classic instance, the Missorium of Theodosius I in Madrid, see R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (Berlin, 1929), p. 235, no. 62, fig. 1, which indicates a weight of 50 Roman pounds (= 16,128 gr). The missorium weighs 1,535 gr, suggesting that the missing 2 Roman pounds belonged to its now-lost foot.

14. This is evident particularly near the center of the plate above the globe, behind the right foot of the figure labeled *Skepsis*, and at ten o’clock, above her scarf.



Figure 5. Skepsis: bust and inscription (detail of fig. 10).



Figure 6. Hermes.

apparent that the object has not lost more than one-third of its original material. The stamp occurs, moreover, in an area that appears to be soldered onto the plate (fig. 4); even if this portion were an original component, the stamp overstates the weight of the silver by a factor of at least two. In all areas, the metal is remarkably thin by late Roman standards. This is evident both from simple measurement¹⁵ and by comparison with a plate of approximately the same size. The David and Goliath dish, now in the Metropolitan Museum, has a diameter of 494 cm, 3 mm less than that which may be estimated for the plate in Malibu on the basis of its preserved area. Yet it weighs 5786 gr,¹⁶ more than twice the weight that one can hypothesize for our plate in its original state.

The thinness of the metal is no doubt the reason why the plate has broken through at the center and lost much of its perimeter. The plate is of course not so thin that the inscriptions on the obverse (figs. 5–8) have left traces on the back. Yet it must be remarked how rare in late Roman silver are stamped, as opposed to incised or repoussé, inscriptions, and, above all, how infrequent are identifying captions. Inscriptions recording the donor of a vessel, or the occasion of his gift, are of course common, but labels attached to figures in order to identify the persons represented are limited to historical personalities¹⁷ or, in apparently a single case, mythological figures.¹⁸ Those on the Malibu plate are composed of letters which, while for the most part exhibiting characteristic serifs, most clearly visible perhaps in the name CKEΨIC (fig. 5), sometimes vary from one area of the plate to another. Thus, the square form of the E in *Skepsis* differs from the lunate initials of the name EPMHC above the seated figure (fig. 6) and on the rim of the plate (fig. 7), as well as from the epsilon in Ptolemy's name (fig. 8). This diversity, as well as the irregular spacing of the letters, suggests that the letters were individually impressed rather than all struck at the same time. Given the fact that stamped inscriptions

15. My notes from 1985 record that the rim, which lacks the folded edge common on late Roman silver, is 5 mm thick; at the headless figure's right shoulder, the plate is 6 mm thick.

16. For this information, which supplements that given in *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century* (exh. cat., ed. K. Weitzmann [New York, 1979], no. 431), I am most grateful to Margaret Frazer. Marlia Mango has pointed out to me that occasionally a weight inscription may refer to vessels in a set of two or more. Thus, the weight of four *scutellae* in the Esquiline Treasure (K. J. Shelton, *The Esquiline Treasure* [London, 1981], p. 81, nos. 5–8) is stamped on the rim of one of them. In this case the number of objects involved is designated: SCVT. IIII. PV (ibid., fig. 19). I have learned from the expertise of John W. Nesbitt in the matter of weight stamps.

17. *Missorium of Aspar* (Delbrueck [note 13], no. 35). Inscriptions on the rims of plates are no less unusual. For one example of this rarity, see A. O. Curle, *The Treasure of Traprain: A Scottish Hoard of Roman Silver Plate* (Edinburgh, 1953), p. 32f, no. 19.

are rare on late antique silver, comparison of the letter forms themselves with those on other vessels is unlikely to produce definitive results. Even when related to late antique epigraphy in general, their evidence is ambiguous. One authority saw in them nothing that precluded either a late Roman origin or a re-employment of such forms during the Renaissance.¹⁹ Another, more resolutely, found them to be utterly uncharacteristic of the fifth and sixth centuries, the two eras to which the plate was first ascribed.²⁰

CONTENT AND FORM

The absence of consensus among epigraphic experts concerning the date of the plate leaves open the question of how the figures depicted on it should be interpreted: the significance of a name in, say, the fifth century could obviously vary from that attached to the same figure a millennium later. Concerning the identity of Ptolemy, there would seem to be little doubt. Despite the impression that he wears a radiate crown, suggested perhaps by an overall photograph of the plate (fig. 2) and maintained by some who know the object only in published, general views, a detail photograph (fig. 8) makes clear that this is not so. At least on this evidence, there is no case for seeing in the figure Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283–243 B.C.) or others of his dynasty who are depicted crowned in this way on their coinage.²¹ There remains a literary argument for the representation of a king in this sector of the plate. A fragment of Pseudo-Manetho, preserved in George Syncellus,²² reports that, in the reign of Ptolemy II, Manetho, “high priest of the pagan temples of Egypt,” copied inscriptions of “Thoth, the first Hermes.” According to this source, Manetho wrote to the king “as you are making researches concerning the future of the universe, I shall place before you two sacred books which I have studied, written by your forefather, Hermes Trismegistus.”²³ It is conceivable, but unlikely, that the plate

18. Ewer with the nine muses (A. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums*, 2nd ed. [Leningrad, 1985], no. 2).

19. I am grateful to Ihor Ševčenko for this opinion, expressed after I had shown him photographs of the plate at the Byzantine Studies Conference in October 1985.

20. I quote *in extenso* the opinion of Guglielmo Cavallo, contained in a personal letter of March 18, 1986: “La scrittura del piatto non può essere attribuita al secolo V o VI giacché mostra caratteri stilistici non reperibile né in quell’ epoca né in età mediobizantina (in particolare, gli ingrossamenti terminali delle aste delle lettere non trovano alcun riscontro possibile). Si tratta di forme grafiche assai artificiose, che tutto lascia credere eseguite in epoca molto tarda.”

21. See N. Boncasa in *Enciclopedia dell’arte antica*, vol. 7 (1974), p. 900, fig. 1008, s.v. Tolomei.

22. *Ecloga chronographica*, ed. G. Dindorf (Bonn, 1829), p. 72.

23. Trans. W. G. Waddell, *Manetho*, Loeb Classical Library, appendix I, p. 210.



Figure 7. Inscription on rim and detail of exergue.



Figure 8. Ptolemy: bust and inscription (detail of fig. 9).



Figure 9. Ptolemy.

depicts this scene. The figure addressing the “king” is labeled Hermes, not Manetho, and Ptolemy is shown, not writing with a stylus, but following words in a book (fig. 9). Were this a Roman or medieval composition, it is improbable that Ptolemy and Hermes would be shown at the same size and on the same level or that the sage would be depicted as inspired while the “king” did the work of checking the text.²⁴

The identification of Ptolemy as the second-century thinker has some bearing upon the significance of the personification behind him (figs. 5, 10). If Skepsis were a creation of late antiquity, the sense of her name would probably be “plan,” “policy,” or “conspiracy,” as the Greek term is used by Patristic authors.²⁵ Instead, both the

24. Where in medieval art an encounter between a ruler and a philosopher is depicted, as in the frontispiece to the *Altercatio Hadriani Augusti et Epicteti philosophi* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. lat. 10291, fol. 176v; reproduced by J. J. G. Alexander in *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum*, ed. R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew [Oxford, 1976], p. 18, pl. 3), the emperor is shown enthroned while the philosopher stands before him.

25. G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1968), p. 1236, s.v. σκέψις.

26. See below, p. 15.



Figure 10. Skepsis.

company she keeps and her gesture²⁶ suggest that she is an embodiment of one of the Attic meanings of the word—“perception by the senses,” “speculation,” “consideration,” or “hesitation” and “doubt,” as in the Sceptic philosophers²⁷—if not a self-conscious revival of such a term. Beyond the observation that her attitude is either complementary or antithetical to that of her unidentified counterpart (fig. 11),²⁸ further precision is not possible. The most that can plausibly be maintained at this point is that she appears at once related to Hermes, on the opposite side of the plate, by the scroll that each holds and by the “closed” figure that she presents in contrast to the “open,” demonstrative gesture of the personification behind him. Conversely, the mobility of the unidentified

27. H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1968), p. 1608, s.v. σκέψις.

28. Like Skepsis, this personification was probably accompanied by an inscription in the now-missing area behind her, but certainty in this matter, implied in the *Handbook* (note 3), p. 63, is unwarranted.

29. See note 2.

30. See H. Sichtermann in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica*, vol. 4 (1961), pp. 2–10, s.v. Hermes, and esp. figs. 2, 13.

31. As opposed to Hermes Psychopompos, who continued to fulfill the “mystical” role later assumed in the Renaissance by the Trismegistus.



Figure 11. Unidentified personification beside Hermes.

personification relates her to Ptolemy, the more active of the two sages.

The identification of Hermes as the Trismegistus, first proposed in 1984,²⁹ would appear virtually assured. His beard, costume, and earnest attitude bespeak a philosopher, unlike the caduceus-bearing god who, while bearded in black-figure painting, had by late antiquity assumed a beardless aspect.³⁰ The difference between the youthful image of the divinity and the austere and balding sage on our plate would seem to be purposeful. Yet absolute confidence as to his identity is not possible, for his appearance cannot be checked against any representation of the Trismegistus in late Roman art³¹—a point not without implications for the dating of the plate. As we

For the Psychopomp as an attendant at an Isiac ceremony in a third-century pavement at Antioch, see D. Levi, "Mors Voluntaria," *Berytus* 7 (1942), pp. 19–55; S. Campbell, *The Mosaics of Antioch* (Toronto, 1988), p. 72, pl. 212. To my knowledge, the only figure in a work of this period that has been interpreted as Hermes Trismegistus is found in the tomb mosaic of Cornelia Urbanilla at Lambiridi (Algeria), which shows an emaciated young man, his hand held by a seated sage (Dunbabin [note 5], p. 139f, fig. 138). J. Carcopino (*Aspects mystiques de la Rome païenne* [Paris, 1942], pp. 207–314) interpreted the older man as the Trismegistus, yet failed to show that the figure in question is any more than a doctor.

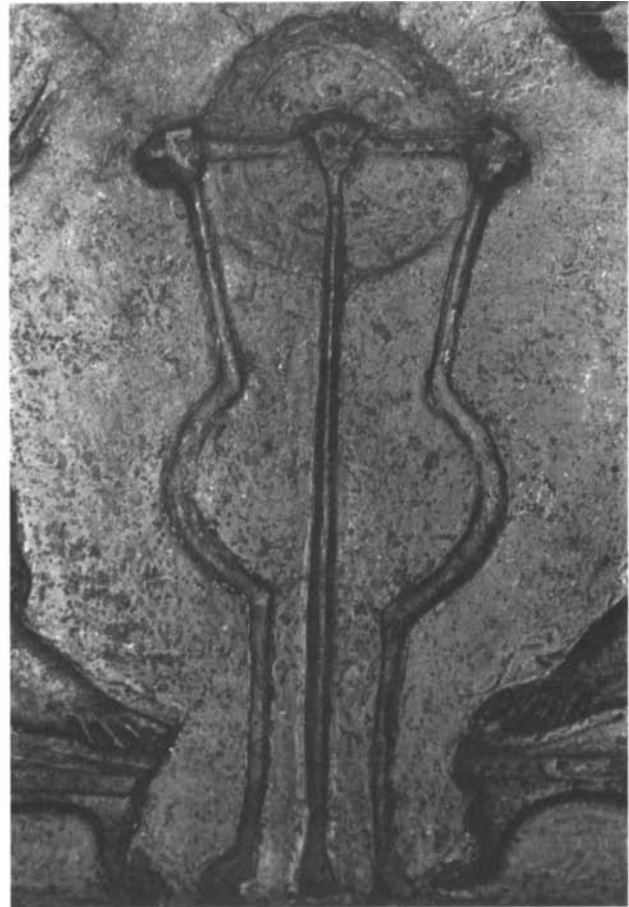


Figure 12. Celestial globe.

shall see, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when images of the sage abounded, he was almost invariably represented with a beard.

The actions of Hermes and Ptolemy and the positions of their legs and feet (which extend to the inner extremities of identical stools) frame an inanimate and symmetrical object, the stability of which serves as a compositional anchor just below the plate's center. This object is a celestial globe³² supported on a stand with three lion(?)—headed legs (fig. 12). Despite its fairly summary representation—for example, no constellations are indicated—it is recognizable as this sort of globe by the circle incised within it and particularly by the gores, drawn as parallel pairs of radii between the inner circle and the

Even less useful for our purposes is a black jasper intaglio in the Cabinet des Médailles (inv. no. H 2587) showing an ibis-headed skeleton raising a serpent in each hand. This figure was read by A. Delatte and P. Derchain (*Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* [Paris, 1964], p. 15, no. 197) as Thoth-Hermes.

32. Not an astrolabe, as it was first described (note 2). An astrolabe is an armillary sphere or disk (figs. 18, 19, 22a, 22b), the adjustable rings of which were used to determine the latitude and longitude of celestial bodies. Without a (movable) meridian circle and (fixed) horizon circle, the coordinates of such bodies could not be obtained. Such circles may



Figure 13. Plate depicting Ajax and Odysseus disputing for the armor of Achilles. Silver, sixth century A.D. Leningrad, Hermitage. From A. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums* (Leningrad, 1985), no. 57.

perimeter of the globe. The legs of the stand (one perpendicular, seen from the front, and two bowed in profile) rehearse a type found in representations of Roman furni-

be represented on the globe to which Urania draws the attention of the astronomer Aratos on the third-century Monnus mosaic now in the Landesmuseum, Trier (K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse des antiken Dichters, Redner und Denker* [Basel, 1943], p. 168f, no. 5). In his *Almagest* (7. 1) Ptolemy mentions a celestial globe (στερεὰ σφαῖρα) constructed by Hipparchus (circa 180–circa 125 B.C.) and prescribes (7.3) that the rings be of hard, unwarped material. For Greek and Roman globes generally, see A. Schlachter, *Der Globus, seine Entstehung und Verwendung in der Antike* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1927), and for their depiction on Roman coins, G. Tabaroni, “Globi celesti e terrestri sulle monete romane,” *Physis* 7 (1965), pp. 317–353. I owe this reference to Judith Field of the Science Museum Library (London), a veritable font of information on ancient scientific instruments. An armillary sphere appears in a fresco from Stabiae now in the Antiquarium there (L. Musso in *Rivista dell’Istituto nazionale d’archeologia e storia dell’arte*, 3rd ser., vols. 6–7 [1983–1984], p. 162 and fig. 11). A Byzantine astrolabe dated to 1062 by inscription is preserved in Brescia (J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Splendeur de Byzance*, exh. cat. [Brussels, 1982], p. 176, no. Br 19). For astrolabes and globes in Renaissance art, see below, pp. 26–27.

33. Thus on a table in a fresco from Herculaneum (G. M. A. Richter,

figure of the first century after Christ;³³ departing from this classical form, a fourth-century version shows even the middle leg of the tripod as bowed, treating this as if it, too,

Furniture of the Greeks, Romans and Etruscans [London, 1966], figs. 570f).

34. H. Stern, *Le calendrier de 354. Etudes sur son texte et ses illustrations* (Paris, 1953), pl. 13, figs. 1–2. Both these later copies of the Calendar of Filocalus render the table beside the personification of December in the same way, increasing the likelihood that the late antique original also “collapsed” space in this manner.

35. Delbrueck (note 13), nos. 9–12, 16f, 21f.

36. A striking exception is the Achilles plate from Kaiseraugst, datable between 337 and 357, where the exergue contains the hero’s weapons (*Age of Spirituality* [note 16], no. 208). This motif is elaborated on a huge plate in the Cabinet des Médailles (W. A. P. Childs, “The Achilles Silver Plate in Paris,” *Gesta* 18 [1979], pp. 19–26), and again in the plate in Leningrad showing Athena deciding the quarrel between Ajax and Odysseus for the armor of Achilles (fig. 13). The Hermitage plate is assuredly a sixth-century work, and the armor on it is related by Bank (note 18, no. 57) to that on the Cyprus plates (*Age of Spirituality*, nos. 425–432), which have control stamps of Heraclius and exergues that relate directly to the subject matter above them.

37. In the *Tetrabiblos* (1.21.47) Ptolemy tells of an ancient manuscript (ἀντίγραφον), “very lengthy in expression and, because of its damaged

were seen in profile.³⁴ Lion-headed legs support thrones on a series of datable objects, the consular diptychs of Areobindus (A.D. 506) through those of Magnus (A.D. 518),³⁵ but the most telling difference between the furniture on these ivories and that represented on the Malibu plate is the absence of any feet on the consuls' footstools. In this respect again, the equipment depicted on our dish appears not so much late antique as classical or deliberately classicizing.

At first glance the aspect of the plate that seems most strikingly to evoke the late Roman world is the exergue, the area below the ground-line in which a bundle of scrolls(?) (fig. 2) and a book and a bowl (fig. 7) appear to float. Common on coins, where they are occupied by a mint mark rather than objects, exergues are comparatively rare on silver plates before the sixth century.³⁶ From this time on, their contents vary considerably. It is possible that the bowl, which supports three orbs, could be a vessel containing a symbolic conjunction of three heavenly bodies; it could equally well be a basket with three apples. The scrolls (if they are that) may indicate Ptolemy's regard for Chaldean and especially Egyptian learning,³⁷ and the book some volume of similar lore. It is this last element that most clearly of any in the exergue suggests a much later origin for the plate. In fourth- to sixth-century art generally, books are shown as objects in precious-metal covers³⁸ or covered in leather and provided with leather thongs or fastening straps, not as bound volumes. They are customarily square in shape (or almost so),³⁹ rather than oblong, and certainly not blind-stamped, with dentelles and deckle-edged pages, features that are characteristic of Italian Renaissance (and more recent) bindings.⁴⁰ In sum, the objects in the exergue can be said to display neither formal qualities that relate them exclusively to the late antique world nor any iconographic

significance beyond a possible vague association with the erudite concerns of the figures above them.

The same is true of the persons and personifications themselves. Figures of Skepsis (figs. 5, 10) are unknown in Hellenistic, Roman, or early Byzantine art. Her first (and, to my knowledge, only) appearance is in a fresco in the Ummayyad audience hall at Qusayr 'Amra, where, named in an inscription, she shares a lunette with female figures identified as Historia and Poiesis.⁴¹ It is possible that this early eighth-century triad, labeled in Greek, is a late expression of Hellenistic thought, but to assert that Skepsis is the Muse of Philosophy⁴² seems rash, given that no such figure appears among the classical muses and is therefore absent from late antique representations of the group.⁴³ The gesture that she makes with her left hand is, by contrast, pervasive. Odysseus raises one finger to his beard in this way on the Achilles plate in Leningrad (fig. 13).⁴⁴ Briseis makes a more hesitant version of the same movement on a plate, also in the Hermitage Museum, with control stamps of Justinian.⁴⁵ Wonderment is expressed with this gesture by one of David's brothers, passed over for anointment as king of Israel on one of the early seventh-century Cyprus plates in New York.⁴⁶ Thereafter, an index finger lifted to the mouth as a sign of contemplation recurs in several Byzantine manuscripts;⁴⁷ in Carolingian art, one of the Magi responds in this manner to Herod's order that they find the Christ child.⁴⁸ The last great period of the sign's currency was the sixteenth century, when it became the symbol par excellence of the melancholy of philosophers and scholars. Applied by Michelangelo to a figure of Harpocrates that he introduced into a drawing of the Holy Family, it was canonized by Alciati as the gesture that epitomized the prudent behavior of *Silentium*.⁴⁹

In contrast to the ubiquity of the gesture, the way in

state, hard to read, which contains a natural and consistent explanation of the order and number of the heavenly signs and of the nativities recorded by the Egyptians."

38. As in mosaics in the so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia and Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. For excellent color reproductions, see G. Bovini, *Ravenna* (New York, 1973), pls. 14, 60.

39. The codex held by Clio on the Muse casket from the Esquiline Treasure (Shelton [note 16], pl. 13) is a perfect square; preserved silver book covers attributed by M. E. Frazer (*Age of Spirituality* [note 16], nos. 554f) to sixth-century Syria are more than $\frac{4}{5}$ as wide as they are long.

40. Actual bindings similar to that in the exergue are reproduced by T. de Marinis, *La legatura artistica in Italia nei secoli XV e XVI* (Florence, 1960), no. 1577, pl. 268; vol. 3, no. 2286, pl. 52. For analogous examples of fifteenth-century blind-tooling, see C. Santoro, *I tesori della Trivulziana* (Milan, 1962), pls. 123, 156. The long vertical shape of books depicted in early sixteenth-century Italian painting is well represented by those in Carpaccio's *Saint Augustine in His Study* in the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice (P. F. Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* [New Haven, 1988], pls. 13–14).

41. K. A. C. Cresswell, *Early Muslim Architecture: Ummayyads 622–*

750, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1969), pt. 2, p. 397, pls. 72a–b. In an obvious typographical error, Cresswell expanded the abbreviated inscription to $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\iota\varsigma$, a mistake that is repeated by Almagro (note 42).

42. M. Almagro, L. Caballero, J. Zozaya, and A. Almagro, *Qusayr 'Amra. Residencia y baños omeyyas en el desierto de Jordania* (Madrid, 1975), pp. 64, 88, note 15. Cresswell was more cautious, seeing in the personifications to the left of the window high in the audience hall "two figures symbolizing history and philosophy."

43. Thus on the Muse ewer in Moscow (note 18) and the Muse casket from the Esquiline (note 39).

44. See note 36.

45. Bank (note 18), no. 72.

46. *Age of Spirituality* (note 16), no. 425.

47. K. Weitzmann, *Geistige Grundlagen und Wesen der makedonischen Renaissance* (Cologne, 1963), fig. 23; A. Cutler, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium* (Paris, 1984), fig. 247.

48. W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantiken und des frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz, 1976), no. 223.

49. K. Langedijk, "Silentium," *Netherlands Yearbook for the History of Art* 15 (1964), pp. 3–18. I am indebted to Graham Smith for this reference.



Figure 14. Enthroned figure.

which it is achieved on our plate finds an interesting, if imperfect, analogy in a detail on another of the Cyprus plates. In a general view (fig. 2), Skepsis seems to raise her right hand to her chin without benefit of a right arm; on the plate in Nicosia depicting David's marriage with Michal, the bridegroom and Saul both seem to lack a left arm.⁵⁰ David's limb is presumably intended to be read as concealed by Saul, who stands slightly in front of him, and Saul's, in turn, by his own mantle. But in the case of Skepsis, the "omission" is of a different order. A detail photograph shows that, below the wrist, the slender limb is visible but rendered in a sort of *rilievo schiacciato* (fig. 10),

50. *Age of Spirituality* (note 16), no. 432. This "lack" is observed by E. C. Dodd, "A Silver Vessel in the Collection of Elie Borowski," in *Okeanos. Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko*, ed. C. Mango and O. Pritsak (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), p. 149, fig. 9.

51. H. W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello* (Princeton, 1957), pl. 130f.

52. Painter (note 10), no. 3, figs. 7f.

53. E.g., Atalanta on the Meleager plate in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad (Bank [note 18], no. 83); Diana on a fragment in the same museum (L. Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike* [Berlin and Leipzig, 1929], pl. 10).

54. A. Cutler, "'Roma' and 'Constantinopolis' in Vienna," in *By-*

much as Donatello all but suppressed Christ's left arm in his *Delivery of the Keys to Saint Peter* in order to emphasize the instruments of power that the apostle receives from Christ's left hand.⁵¹ This is only one of several elements on our plate which at first sight evoke late antique treatments of the human figure and drapery but which, relieved of the prior assumption that the plate is a work of the fourth or fifth century, find no less resonant echoes in the art of Renaissance Italy.

The fallen bodice of the garment that lays bare the right breast of Skepsis' counterpart (fig. 11) is a case in point. Such extreme décolletage is a familiar aspect of maenads⁵² and hunting goddesses⁵³ on late Roman silver. At least down to the Carolingian era, it was an enduring part of the iconography of Roma⁵⁴ and was revived by archaeologically minded painters such as Raphael for the personification of Justitia.⁵⁵ In like manner, Skepsis' own slipped shoulder-strap was a motif well known to the creator of the personifications in the tenth-century Paris Psalter⁵⁶ and to many others thereafter. The punched decoration on her feathered cap (fig. 5) and on the headband of her counterpart (fig. 11) is a form of ornament widespread on silver from the fourth to the seventh century, although its range of uses here (it appears on Hermes' mantle and the bench on which he sits [fig. 6], on the footstool of the headless figure enthroned above him [fig. 14], and on the arches on either side of the throne [figs. 10, 11]) suggests a date late in this period, when, as on the Meleager plate in Leningrad,⁵⁷ which has the bust of Heraclius (619–641) on its control stamps, it was applied to costumes, horse fittings, and architecture. Similarly, the general frilliness of the women's garments conjures up the visual *patisserie* of several vessels in the Mildenhall Treasure,⁵⁸ even if one overlooks the fact that on our plate this activity is not limited to hems and scarves but consists throughout of cascades of drapery characterized by long linear crests and deeply shadowed troughs. While the fabric drawn taut over the belly, and thus revealing the navel of the figure seated at the top of the plate (fig. 14), recalls sixth-century works in several media,⁵⁹ for the rich and diverse succession of folds that

zanz und der Westen. Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters, ed. I. Hutter (Vienna, 1984), figs. 1, 13a.

55. Thus the preparatory figure in oil for the frescoes in the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican (S. J. Freedberg, *Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence*, vol. 2 [Cambridge, Mass., 1961], fig. 692, who attributed the figure to Giulio Romano). On Raphael's "creative assimilation" of Roman and Early Christian art, see R. Brilliant, "Intellectual Giants: A Classical Topos and *The School of Athens*," *Source* 3, no. 4 (1984), pp. 1–12.

56. Cutler (note 47), figs. 247f, 257.

57. See note 53.

58. Painter (note 10), figs. 1, 7–8.

descend from his groin to his ankles there is no equivalent in late antique art.

In the last analysis, more important than drapery as a chronological indication are the shapes and proportions of the bodies on which the drapery hangs. Pleats, swags, and flounces may be the most obvious signs of a particular *mode*; yet, if one artist can learn to register these ephemeral qualities, another can imitate them, often centuries later and presumably with no greater difficulty. The representation of the body, on the other hand, is a much more revealing exercise, one that describes not only fashion but fundamental attitudes toward human beings and their place in the world. How we represent our fellows is a powerful witness to how we conceive of ourselves. If this is accepted, it is not the costume but the frames which support these garments that should most clearly indicate when and where these figures belong. One clue to this ambience is immediately available when we recognize the most striking feature of Skepsis and her nameless double. Appreciable only in a full view of the plate (fig. 2), it is the enormous length of their bodies that detaches them from late antiquity and sets them firmly in the environs of Mannerism. Parmigianino's *Foolish Virgins* in the Church of the Steccata at Parma (fig. 15)⁶⁰ displays not only this exaggerated height but also the profiles and slightly vacuous gentleness of the personifications on our plate. The physical types of Hermes and Ptolemy, respectively gaunt and well-endowed, make such figures as Ajax on the Leningrad Achilles plate (fig. 13)⁶¹ or the young goatherd on another well-known dish in the same museum⁶² seem comparatively insubstantial. The Philosophers challenge the confined space available to them rather than hover in an infinite void; as monumental sculptures, they push their attendants back toward the circumference of the plate and make the enthroned figure—whose feet are, in this composition, only inches from their domain—seem all the more exalted and removed from the to-and-fro of the netherworld that they inhabit. So, too, their concentrated psychological energy removes them by many centuries from the suspended animation of late antiquity. Their universe is that of Donatello's apostles or his evan-



Figure 15. Parmigianino (Italian, 1504–1540). *The Foolish Virgins* (detail), circa 1531–1539. Fresco. Parma, Church of the Steccata.

gelists in the tondi of the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo in Florence.⁶³ This does not mean that the plate was a creation of this sculptor or this period; indeed, I shall suggest that it was produced at least fifty years later, and in northern Italy. But it does mean that such figures are inconceivable before Donatello.

If we insist that they are late antique, we should be able to find in that era telling parallels for the physical type, pose, and costume⁶⁴ of the still-unidentified figure at the top of the plate. The identity of this person, and thus the

59. The most obvious comparison is with the seated Athena of the Achilles plate in Leningrad (fig. 13); less close, but with similar emphasis on the abdomen and navel, is the Christ on a diptych in Berlin (Volbach [note 48], no. 137). In this respect, see also the costume of the virgin on the right in figure 15.

60. A. G. Quintavalle, *Gli ultimi affreschi del Parmigianino* (Parma, 1970), pl. 23.

61. See note 36.

62. Bank (note 18), no. 55.

63. Janson (note 51), pls. 194–203, 226, 227b, 230a. In this connection it is worth noting that the figure of Skepsis, in pose, costume, and hairstyle, is essentially the reversal of a minor figure—a woman to the

right of the relief, her face partially obscured—in Donatello's *Miracle of the Speaking Babe* on the back of the high altar at Sant' Antonio, Padua (ibid., pl. 303). I have benefited greatly from Christine Smith's knowledge of Donatello. See also below, p. 31.

64. While I know of no antique or Renaissance analogue for the figure as a whole, the cavernous chest and prominent collarbone revealed by the open tunic strongly recall Francesco di Giorgio's relief of Saint John the Baptist (circa 1475–1485) in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (A. Darr, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture in the Time of Donatello*, exh. cat. [Detroit Institute of Arts, 1985], p. 221f., no. 80).

significance of the plate as a whole, depends upon the proper recognition of a culture that would encourage his representation, and of a context in which Hermes and Ptolemy were seen as meaningful in conjunction.

HERMETICISM IN LATE ANTIQUITY AND THE RENAISSANCE

No later than the second half of the second century after Christ, Hermes was, in several senses, a name to conjure with.⁶⁵ Lucius Apuleius, the author of the *Metamorphoses* and, in medieval opinion, of the *Asclepius* (a Hermetic text apparently composed in the fourth century⁶⁶) possessed a wooden image of the god that figured in his trial for magic practices. The record does not identify this effigy as the Trismegistus, but Apuleius' ensuing *Apologia* reveals a pervasive faith in Hermes not only as patron of magic and learning but as ruler of the universe.⁶⁷ This lofty station exceeds even that accorded to Hermes by Athenagoras of Alexandria (fl. 138–161), perhaps the first Christian to attach the epithet Trismegistus to the sage's name. To this apologist, the Thrice-Great Hermes was a god both in his own right and by virtue of his family connections.⁶⁸ Half a century later, Tertullian's interest in "Mercurius ille Trismegistus," whom he knew perhaps only at second hand,⁶⁹ was limited to his authority on the transmigration of souls. Contemporaneously, if more pragmatically, Galen drew his knowledge of a botanical tract by Hermes "the Egyptian" from the first-century Pamphilus.⁷⁰

The possibility of deriving both theological and practical information from the Trismegistus is to be explained not only by the holistic interests of early Hermeticism but also by uncertainty as to the nature of Thrice-Great Hermes himself. Implicitly denying him the numinous station granted him by the Egyptians, Eusebius still endowed him with considerable antiquity, reporting that it was this Hermes who had caused Cronus to rebel against Uranus⁷¹ but never mentioning him where one might expect such a reference—in his catalogue of pagan cosmogonies and theologies. No less ambivalently, Ammianus Marcellinus saw the "Termaximus," like

Apollonius of Tyana, as possessed of a strong guardian spirit.⁷² Lactantius, too, was unsure whether the Hermetic books were divine revelation or human speculation.⁷³ Providing the fullest account of the Trismegistus to be found in late Roman literature, the authors of the *Institutes* classed him among the prophets, sibyls, and mages, a company apparently ignored by artists until the late fifteenth century, when the Trismegistus was placed at the head of a row of prophets, male and female, in the pavement of Siena cathedral; there he extends to those ready to learn a book inscribed *Suscipite o licteras et leges Egiptii*.⁷⁴ In the face of traditions that saw in Hermes both a man and a god, late antique Hermeticists conceived of *two* Hermes figures, grandfather and grandson. The elder, according to the *Asclepius* (chap. 37), was identical with the Egyptian Thoth; a version of this story, preserved in Syn-cellus,⁷⁵ had Hermes-Thoth inscribe records on tablets that survived the Flood and were then transcribed onto scrolls by Hermes Trismegistus. This distinction, as Fowden has pointed out,⁷⁶ sanctioned the existence of a Hermetic literature in a language other than the sacred tongue of Egypt and allowed the Greek Hermes to retain his traditional role of intermediary between God and men.

This is the role that Hermes assumes on our plate. While his personification points to the figure above, the Philosopher's attention is all on his adversary. Hermes neither reads nor seems to need the text that remains furled in his left hand; with his right, poised above the celestial globe, he gestures, demonstrating his point to Ptolemy, who seeks to corroborate or confute the argument in the book that he holds. As opposed to her counterpart's unequivocal recognition of the enthroned presence, Skepsis meanwhile is hesitant or wrapt in contemplation, a posture that befits Ptolemy's more passive, cautious attitude. It is this pairing, if not antithesis, of the two sages that removes them from the contexts into which late antique writers had set the Trismegistus. The Neo-Platonist Iambichus linked him with the prophet Bitys, seeing in them two stages by which Egyptian

65. The most important recent surveys of the body of Hermetic thought in late antique literature are G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes. A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Cambridge, 1986) and J. Scarborough, "Hermetic and Related Texts in Classical Antiquity" in *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe* (Washington, D.C., 1988).

66. Fowden (note 65), pp. 10, 198.

67. *Apologia* 31, 42, 61–65.

68. Legatio 28.6, ed. W. R. Schoedel (Oxford, 1972), p. 68.

69. Fowden (note 65), p. 198.

70. Scarborough (note 65), p. 22.

71. *Praeparatio evangelica* I.10.17.

72. *Ibid.*, 21.14.5.

73. *Institutiones* 1.6.1, 7.13.4. See Fowden (note 65), p. 29.

74. R. H. H. Cust, *The Pavement Masters of Siena (1369–1562)* (London, 1906), p. 21, pl. 3. See also below, p. 25.

75. See note 22 and, for the textual problems raised by this tradition, Scarborough (note 65), p. 23.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

77. Fowden (note 65), p. 140. A similar position seems earlier to have been taken by Manilius, *Astronomica* 1.25–65, who applauds the "God of Cyllene" (=Mercury) for inspiring kings and priests who found the science of the stars and thus removed men from their previous ignorance. A. M. Wilson ("The Prologue to Manilius I," *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 5 [1985], pp. 283–298) has plausibly suggested Manilius was referring here to the Trismegistus.

theurgy taught that men, without material aids but equipped with intellect and reason, could ascend to the realm of the creator.⁷⁷ Zosimus of Panopolis, among others,⁷⁸ related Hermes to Zoroaster, treating them both as philosophers who, spurning magic, taught that there were other means by which the divine part of man could rise above the limitations of the terrestrial sphere. In the Latin world, and particularly in Christian North Africa, Hermes was understood as one who had glimpsed the truth. Augustine admitted as much, even while associating Hermes' doctrines with those of the Manichean Faustus of Mileum, who held that the predictions of Christ's advent, supposed to be found in the Trismegistus, were more consequential than those of the Hebrew prophets. Augustine likewise rejected the view that Hermes' authority could be equated with that of Orpheus and the sibyls.⁷⁹ Finally, at the beginning of the long process by which the Trismegistus was "sanitized" for Orthodox readers, Cyril of Alexandria saw in him "a Christian before Christ,"⁸⁰ one who acknowledged the three persons of the Trinity and was thus a thinker to be set against Thales, Democritus, Anaximander, and others who "have gone astray and hold opinions mutually opposed."⁸¹

In terms of the Malibu plate's content, remarkable in all these comparisons and contrasts with the Trismegistus is the total absence of Ptolemy. This is the more noteworthy given that the latter's reputation as an astrologer was well established by the fourth century. In his *Apotelesmatica*, a book peppered with references to the *Tetrabiblos*,⁸² Hephaestion of Thebes describes him as "the divine Ptolemy"; on the other hand, on the one occasion when he cites the opinions of the Trismegistus (and then only in one manuscript), he says that they conflict with the opinions of the first-century astrologer Dorotheus of Sidon.⁸³ Were Hermes' views understood in late antiquity to be at loggerheads primarily with those of Ptolemy, one would expect some literary record of such disagreement. Indeed, the differences between them concerning the means and extent to which human beings might apprehend extrater-

restrial forces could hardly be more marked. For Ptolemy, this knowledge depends upon awareness of the configurations of the celestial bodies; for him, knowledge of these leads not only to a correct reading of "their natures in general" but also to the understanding of a man's temperament and fate, deducible from "the ambient at the time of his birth."⁸⁴ All prognostications should not be dismissed because some are in error; we should not in human fashion demand everything of this art but rather join in the appreciation of its beauty, even where it cannot provide the whole answer.⁸⁵ The stars, then, are the source of wisdom; such gnosis is attainable,⁸⁶ but never independently of men's exercise of reason. By contrast, for the Trismegistus, understanding of "the things that are" is vouchsafed only by revelation. The first book of what is today called the *Corpus Hermeticum* starts with Hermes' mind contemplating these "things" (περὶ τῶν ὄντων) while his bodily senses are asleep. In this state:

There appeared before me a Being of enormous size, who appeared limitless in dimension and who called me by my name, and said to me, "What do you want to hear and see, and to learn and know by thinking?" I said, "Who are you?" "I," he said, "I am Poimandres, the Mind of the Sovereign" (ὁ τῆς ἀθθεντίας νοῦς); I know what you want, and I am with you everywhere." I said, "I want to learn about the things that are and to understand the nature of existing things and to know God."⁸⁷

Poimandres changes form, as visions tend to do, and reappears as Light, "which is I, even Mind, the first God, who was before the watery substance that appeared out of the darkness; and the Word (λόγος), which came forth from the Light, is the son of God." Puzzled by this assertion, the Trismegistus is told that he will understand "by looking at what you yourself have in you; for in you, too, the Word is son, and the Mind is father of the World." Poimandres, the first Mind, "that which is Life and Light," turns out to be bisexual. He tells Hermes that he gave birth to another Mind, the demiurge, who in turn made seven "governors," the planets whose orbits en-

78. Fowden (note 65), pp. 124, 203.

79. Truth of some Hermes' ideas: Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 8. 23.60–65; superiority of the Trismegistus to the Old Testament prophets: idem, *Contra Faustum*, ed. J. Zycha (Vienna, 1891), 13.1.15.

80. Scarborough (note 65), p. 182. For knowledge of Hermes Trismegistus in Byzantium and the medieval Latin world, see P. Siniscalco, "Ermete Trismegisto, profeta pagano della rivelazione cristiana," *Atti della Accademia delle scienze di Torino* 101 (1966–1967), pp. 83–116. On the use made of the *Corpus hermeticum* by the sixth-century Greek astrologer Rhetorius, and the ninth-century (?) Byzantine compilation known as the *Liber hermetis*, see D. Pingree in *Okeanos: Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. O. Pritsak and C. Mango (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), pp. 526–528.

81. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 76, col. 556A–C.

82. See the indices auctorum in *Hephaestionis Thebani Apotelesmaticorum libri tres*, ed. D. Pingree (Leipzig, 1973), vol. 1, p. 334 and vol. 2, p. 357.

83. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 253, apparatus criticus. I am grateful to Joseph Cotter for help with the intractable Greek at this point.

84. *Tetrabiblos* 1.2.5.

85. Ibid., 1.2.9.

86. The qualification "and how far" (καὶ μέχρι τίνος) is applied to the possibility of astronomical knowledge in the title of *Tetrabiblos* 1.2.

87. *Corpus Hermeticum*, ed. A. D. Nock and A.-J. Festugière, vol. 1 (Paris, 1946), p. 7. I have slightly modified the translation of J. Scarborough (note 65), p. 26.

compass the sensible world and whose administration is called Destiny.⁸⁸ Ptolemy, too, saw divine, unchangeable destiny portrayed in the movement of the heavenly bodies—the celestial globe is therefore appropriate to both sages—but earthly things are, for him, subject to a natural and mutable fate.⁸⁹

The debate, then, is about the limits and applications of astrology. Ptolemy searches for guidance in the book that he holds, while Skepsis behind him contemplates the enthroned Nous/Poimandres. The figure behind Hermes points to this figure, even as the Trismegistus recounts his vision to the more worldly philosopher. Ptolemy and Hermes are shown on the same level, equals but opposites, because in the *Corpus Hermeticum* the Trismegistus is not a god but a mortal who receives revelation from the divine world, represented on the plate by the figure ensconced above them in a monumental setting. Like Hermes, to whom he has transmitted his doctrine, Nous holds a rolled-up scroll. Otherwise he is at rest, as befits the embodiment of pure Mind, one foot draped inertly over the base of his throne. He presides over what may now justly be recognized as the image of a disputation.

The resemblance between the teaching of Poimandres, cited above, and the opening words of both Genesis and the fourth Gospel may be one reason why, as Fowden points out, the Hermetic corpus was cited more often by Christians than by pagans.⁹⁰ The language of this same initial vision might even explain why Lactantius calls Hermes a prophet of the Christian Logos, while the god of whom the Trismegistus speaks is “the one without a name” (ἄνωυμος).⁹¹ But more to the point is the absence in antique literature of any juxtaposition—let alone confrontation—between the two protagonists on our plate. The seeds of such a development were planted in the medieval West and came to fruition in the Renaissance. The “Public Library” of Florence, founded by Cosimo de’

Medici in 1444, contained no later than 1499 or 1500 (when its first catalogue was prepared) a twelfth- or early thirteenth-century manuscript of “Trismegistus Mercurii; canones Ptolomei, et Apuleius de deo Socratis.”⁹² The first of these is the *Asclepius*, ascribed to Apuleius,⁹³ which does not include Hermes’ vision of Nous. But this gap was filled by the Latin translation of the first fourteen books of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, prepared for Cosimo by Marsilio Ficino in 1463 and published in 1471. Ficino called his version *Pimander*,⁹⁴ a title properly applicable only to the first treatise. Some measure of its reputation is suggested by the fact that Kristeller knew thirty-four manuscript copies, almost all of the fifteenth century. The printed text went through sixteen editions before 1600.⁹⁵ Any man or woman of the Renaissance who consulted the work of the Trismegistus encountered it first via Hermes’ vision; the prestige of the *Pimander* was such that it lent its name to what until the twentieth century did duty for the corpus as a whole.

Shortly before Ficino’s translation gave widespread currency to the vision, Ptolemy’s *Tetrabiblos*, under its Latin name of *Quadripartitum*, had been appended to the work of the Trismegistus, an association that would become commonplace by the middle of the sixteenth century.⁹⁶ This combination stands in contrast to the medieval practice, in which, as distinct codices, these texts had been kept effectively apart. Toward the end of the fifteenth century, another medieval practice was modified to allow for changing fashions in philosophical discourse. The genre of theological *disputatio* was coopted to accommodate the debate concerning the possibility of human dignity in a universe the movements of which were controlled by the stars. Launched by Petrarch a century earlier,⁹⁷ the discussion became a major controversy as a result of increased access to documents of astral determinism such as the *Pimander*. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, that Ficino was one of the first to engage in

88. *Corpus Hermeticum*, vol. 1, p. 9.

89. *Tetrabiblos* 1.3.2.

90. Fowden (note 65), p. 196.

91. *Institutiones* 1.6.4–5. It follows that the uppermost figure on our plate was not necessarily named in a now-lost inscription.

92. B. L. Ullmann and P. A. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence* (Padua, 1972), p. 200, no. 672, now Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale 1.9.39 (=no. 348).

93. Some index of the popularity of this is provided by the fact that the same library, among its 400 books, included two other examples, no. 796 (tenth century) and 797 (twelfth century). Nos. 737 and 740 are copies of Ptolemy’s *Quadripartitum* (= *Tetrabiblos*).

94. *Pimander Mercurii Trismegisti liber de sapientia et potestate dei* (Treviso, 1471). This volume includes the *Asclepius*. The text of Ficino’s translation of the vision may be conveniently consulted in his *Opera omnia*, 2 vols. (Basel, 1576; reprinted Turin, 1959–1962), vol. 2, pp. 1837–1839.

95. P. O. Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Florence, 1956), p. 223. The best account of Ficino’s translation of the *Corpus Hermeticum* and its influence remains F. A. Yates, “The Hermetic Tradition in Renaissance Science,” in *Art, Science and History in the Renaissance*, ed. C. S. Singleton (Baltimore, 1967), pp. 255–274. See also her *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago, 1964). For a broader view, E. Garin, *Astrology in the Renaissance: The Zodiac of Life* (London, 1983).

96. The *Liber Hermetis Trismegisti*, the manuscript of which in the British Library, Harley 3731, is dated 1461, contains repeated references to Ptolemy’s opinions on the positions of the stars. This was edited by W. Gundel, *Neue astrologische Texte des Hermes Trismegistus* (= *AbhMünch* N.F., Heft 12) (Munich, 1936). For sixteenth-century printed examples, see M. Gabriele, *Biblioteca magica dalle opere a stampa della Biblioteca Casanatense di Roma (secc. XV–XVIII)*, exh. cat. (Biblioteca Casanatense, Florence, 1985), no. 148f.

97. *Rerum senilium* 1.6(7) in *Opera* (Basel, 1554).

the newly intensified debate. His *Disputatio contra iudicium astrologorum*⁹⁸ attacked divinatory astrology, even while allowing as valid the science that traditionally studied the appearance and movement of the celestial bodies. The theme was taken up by Pico della Mirandola, probably under Ficino's influence. Pico had not only two copies of the *Pimander* in his library but also the *Quadripartitum*.⁹⁹ In the second book of his *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricem* (1495),¹⁰⁰ he cites Ptolemy's critique of Egyptian astrology to show that the practitioners of this art are at odds with one another and that therefore astrology could not be a "revealed" science. Yet Ptolemy's own errors were such as to move a philosopher to laughter rather than refutation.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, Pico pointed out, the ancient astronomer was correct, as was Ficino, in insisting that a man's fate depended not only on astral forces but on such factors as law, education, diet, and breeding.¹⁰²

At the end of the fifteenth century, then, the philosophical disputation was firmly established as a basic pattern of intellectual organization. It represented not so much a contest as a *sic et non*, the two sides of a question that must both be heard if the philosopher is to arrive at a resolution. The format continued to appeal in the Cinquecento. Indeed, it became a visual as much as a literary device, entering into the compositional schemes of artists as the external expression of the conception that underlay many of their works. Resolution of the dispute between rival fifteenth-century doctrines may have been the purpose of *The School of Athens*. Yet this *concordantia Platonis et Aristotelis*¹⁰³ depends upon the distinction between the opposed groups of philosophers clustered on either side of the picture, not least because without this disjunction the central importance of its protagonists, and their contradictory if ultimately complementary gestures, would be obscured. Of greater evidential value, perhaps, is the sixteenth-century label that we still apply to another of

Raphael's frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura. Devoid of any sense of discord in a critical matter of Christian doctrine, this demonstration of the Holy Sacrament and of those churchmen who had contributed to the body of canonical truths that surround it was read by Vasari as a *disputa*.¹⁰⁴

Democritus, Heraclitus, Zoroaster, Zeno, and other philosophers and astrologers have all been found in *The School of Athens*. The Trismegistus is missing from its cast of characters as from the ideas that directed its planning. This absence testifies not to the insignificance of Hermes' reputation in Renaissance Rome—the response to the advent in 1484 of Giovanni Mercurio da Correggio, proclaiming himself to be at once the Trismegistus and Christ,¹⁰⁵ is sufficient witness to the contrary—but to the wealth of classical and late antique astrological writings and personalities accessible at the same time as the *Pimander*. If Hermes is absent from the Sala dei Mesi of the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara,¹⁰⁶ he may be depicted in Pintoricchio's frescoes in the Borgia Apartments in the Vatican.¹⁰⁷ If Hermetic notions also underlay this latter program of decoration,¹⁰⁸ that in the Sala di Venti in the Palazzo del Te seems rather to have drawn on the fourth-century astrologer Firmicus Maternus.¹⁰⁹ What matters more for an understanding of the Malibu plate is the way in which its essential theme of divergent philosophical tenets was embodied in a manner well established by the time that it was made and grounded in a set of attitudes dear to the milieu from which it emerged.

THE REPRESENTATION OF PHILOSOPHERS

One aspect of the *Disputa* plate that sets it apart from ancient representations of contests is the identity of the contestants and the subject of their disagreement. Images of artistic strife, most notably that of Apollo and Marsyas,¹¹⁰ are found in Greek art no later than the mid-fifth century B.C.; the Homeric theme of the competition for

98. This unfinished essay, on which Ficino was at work in 1477, was edited by P. O. Kristeller, *Supplementum Ficinianum*, vol. 2 (Florence, 1937), pp. 11–76.

99. P. Kibre, *The Library of Pico della Mirandola* (New York, 1936), nos. 358, 643 (*Pimander*), 709 (*Quadripartitum*).

100. Ed. E. Garin (Florence, 1952). For a discussion of this work of 1495, see W. Shumaker, *The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance: A Study in Intellectual Patterns* (Berkeley, 1972), pp. 19–27.

101. I borrow this formulation from D. C. Allen, *The Star-Crossed Renaissance: The Quarrel about Astrology and Its Influence in England* (New York, 1973), p. 24.

102. *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25.

103. C. G. Stridbeck, *Raphael Studies I: A Puzzling Passage in Vasari's 'Vite'*, University of Stockholm Studies in the History of Art 4 (Stockholm, 1960). See now the modification of this interpretation by Brilliant (note 55).

104. The name depends on the following reading: "un numero

infinito di santi che sotto scrivono la messa, e sopra l'ostia ch'è e sullo altare disputano" (G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi, vol. 4 [Florence, 1879], pp. 335–336).

105. The fullest version of this epiphany, which culminated at the high altar of Saint Peter's, is L. Lazzarelli's *Epistola Enoch* in *Testi umanistici sull' Ermetismo*, ed. E. Garin, M. Brini, C. Vasoli, and C. Zambelli (Rome, 1955), pp. 37–44. For a summary in English, see Shumaker (note 100), p. 234f.

106. A. Warburg, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1932), pp. 459–481, 627–644.

107. Yates, *Giordano Bruno* (note 95), p. 153.

108. M. Calvesi, *Storia dell' Arte* 7–8 (1970), p. 216, fig. 31f.

109. K. Lippincott, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 47 (1984), pp. 216–222.

110. E. Paribeni in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica*, vol. 4 (1961), p. 877, s. v. Marsia.

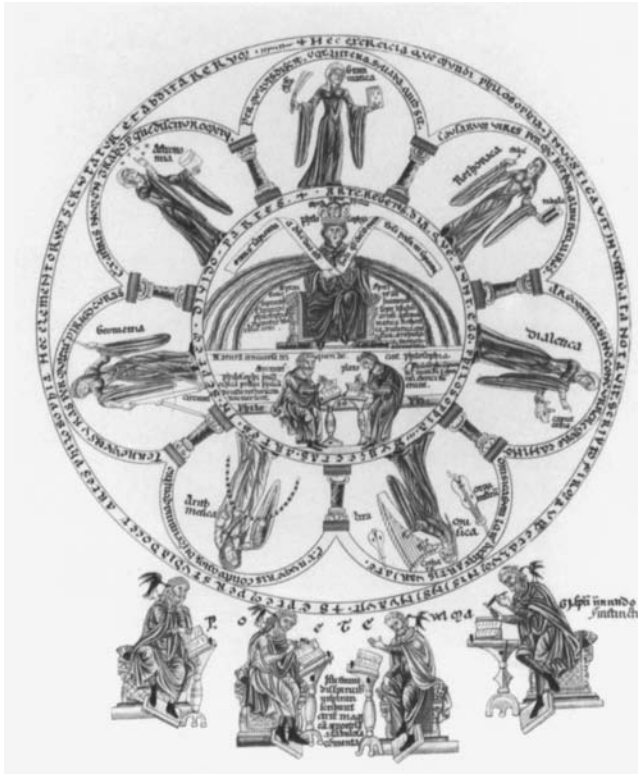


Figure 16. *Philosophy, the Liberal Arts, Poets, and Mages*. Herrad of Landesberg, *Hortus Deliciarum*, end of the twelfth century. Fol. 32r (destroyed). From C. M. Engelhardt, *Hortus Deliciarum* (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1818), pl. 8.

the armor of Achilles continued to adorn luxurious vessels until the sixth century after Christ. Indeed, considered purely formally, the composition of the silver plate in Leningrad—the contenders arranged more or less symmetrically on either side of Athena, seated as arbitrix in the center (fig. 13)¹¹¹—could be said to resemble that of the Malibu dish. But these are struggles in which the protagonists are involved as individuals in their own right, not as representatives of ideas. The loss of personality, even when the figures are named, is a phenomenon of the Middle Ages. In the twelfth century, for example, Herrad of Landesberg's *Hortus Deliciarum* contains an

111. See note 36. A similar organization can be recognized in a large second-century silver plate from Stráže in Slovakia (E. B. Thomas, "Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Silbergegenstände im mittleren Donaugebiet" in *Argenterie romaine et byzantine, Actes de la table ronde, Paris 11–13 octobre 1983* [Paris, 1988], pp. 135f, pl. 11, 2).

112. Herrad von Landesberg, *Hortus deliciarum*, ed. R. Green et al. (London, 1979), no. 33, pl. 18.

113. E. g., the frontispiece of the Psalter of Saint Louis and Blanche of Castile, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 1186, fol. 1v (J. Porcher, *Manuscrits à peintures du XIIIe au XVIIe siècle*, exh. cat. [Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1955], no. 2, pl. 1). This page, serving to introduce the psalter's calendar, depicts an astronomer, with an astrolabe raised toward



Figure 17. Perino del Vaga (Italian, circa 1501–1547). *Philosophers Discussing a Celestial Globe*, circa 1542. Fresco. Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura.

illustration in which Socrates and Plato, seated on a common bench in an exergue below the enthroned figure of Philosophy, are shown as prime exemplars of this pursuit (fig. 16). One part of the inscription beside her throne identifies the liberal arts as the seven streams that flow from Philosophy; its continuation declares that they have their origin in the Holy Spirit. Save for the absence of inspiratory birds, Socrates and Plato are indistinguishable from the evangelist-like *poet[a]e vel magi* seated outside the circle but no less *spiritu immundo instincti*.¹¹² They thus participate in a complex but cooperative venture, a joint undertaking of the sort that links astrologers and

the heavens, seated on a bench between a scribe and a computist holding an abacus.

114. E. Parma Armani, *Perino del Vaga. L'anello mancante* (Genoa, 1986), pp. 191, 286f, fig. 232. I owe the photograph to the kind assistance of Valentino Pace.

115. Identified by Parma Armani (note 114) as the *Death of Archimedes*, the *Siege of Syracuse*, and an allegorical figure of Philosophy.

116. This intensity is all the more marked by the contrast between the picture's obscurity (in all senses) and the luminous marble figure serenely poised on a pedestal to its left. Although she has the naked breast, luxuriant drapery, and bare feet distributed between the personifications on our plate, there would seem to be no reason to see her as

their aides in other medieval representations of the profession.¹¹³

Ironically, the clearest signal of the passing of this age of collaboration is provided by a fresco painted directly below *The School of Athens*. Generally attributed to Perino del Vaga and dated circa 1542,¹¹⁴ it depicts philosophers of various races clustered about a terrestrial globe toward different parts of which the three most prominent figures point (fig. 17). Despite the object of their discussion, to describe them only as geographers would be to underestimate the presumably significant intent of their diverse costumes and complexions and the urgency with which they seek judgment from the presiding figure, seated(?) beside the frame of the picture. Neither Perino's other monochrome paintings in this *basamento*¹¹⁵ nor its relationship (if any) to Raphael's great *concordantia* above suggests a precise meaning for the scene. What is apparent is the sense of discord, the philosophical passion that attends both their disagreement and their search for adjudication.¹¹⁶ My unwillingness to apply to the professions of these sages the narrow terms of a modern discipline derives in part from the context in which they most frequently appear: the illustrated book, which, from the last quarter of the fifteenth century until well into the seventeenth, was the principal medium for the visual expression of astronomical, astrological, prophetic, alchemical, Hermetic, and magical lore. Any thorough survey of the field¹¹⁷ reveals at once the adaptability of the woodcuts that decorate these printed books and of the characters, historical and fanciful, who inhabit their pictures.

A woodcut could often perform double duty. For example, the frontispiece of an astronomical work by Joannes Regiomontanus (1436–1476), the *Epitoma in almagestum Ptolomei* (fig. 18)¹¹⁸ could, with minor adjustments, serve to illustrate the *Theoricarum nouarum textus* of the mathematician Georg von Peurbach,¹¹⁹ Regiomontanus' teacher, some nineteen years later. The illustrator has simply added the figure of Astrologia pointing to Ptolemy, who holds an astrolabe and is now portrayed on his feet in order to balance the composition.

anything more than a caryatid.

117. I have depended mainly on M. Sander, *Le livre à figures italiennes depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530*, 6 vols. (Milan, 1942).

118. Venice, 1496 (ibid., vol. 3, no. 6399; vol. 5, fig. 238).

119. R. Mortimer, *Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts, Part I: French Sixteenth-Century Books* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard College Library, Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, 1964), p. 539f., no. 432.

120. Ptolemy is crowned by virtue of confusion with the Egyptian royal dynasty of that name, a mistake introduced by the Arab astrologer Abu Ma'shar (787–886) and perpetuated by Vincent of Beauvais. Despite the attention drawn to this error by Pico della Mirandola, it became an abiding feature of Renaissance representations of Ptolemy. See the



Figure 18. Ptolemy and Joannes Regiomontanus. Woodcut from Regiomontanus, *Epitoma in almagestum Ptolomei* (Venice, 1496).

The original cut shows Regiomontanus seated and gesturing toward Ptolemy, much in the manner of Hermes on our plate (figs. 2, 6). Ptolemy, crowned as so often in illustrations of the period,¹²⁰ consults a book opened to a thoroughly schematic set of geometrical drawings. On the table between them is a huge armillary sphere and, beneath this, tall Renaissance volumes presumably containing the work that Regiomontanus has epitomized.

The transmission of such imagery could be much faster. In the Harvard College Library there is a copy of the *Sphaera Mundi*, an astrological work of the first half of the thirteenth century by Joannes de Sacrobosco (or Sacrobusto).¹²¹ Printed by Giovanni Battista Sessa in Venice on December 3, 1501, its title page shows Ptolemy,

full discussion by F. Hieronymus, *Basler Buchillustration 1500 bis 1545* (Basel, 1984), p. 578f. The radiate crown worn by Ptolemy in Raphael's *School of Athens* was by no means confined in Renaissance art to the ancient geographer. Cosimo I de' Medici had himself depicted in just such headgear with Eleanor of Toledo (d. 1562) on an agate cameo (P. Barocchi, *Palazzo Vecchio: Committenza e collezionismo mediceo*, exh. cat. [Florence, 1980], no. 287 and photograph on p. 144), presumably based on some antique coin or gem.

121. R. Mortimer, *Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts, Part II: Italian Sixteenth-Century Books* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard College Library, Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, 1974), p. 624f., no. 451.



Figure 19. Ptolemy, Astronomy, and Urania. Woodcut from *Centiloquium* (Venice, 1501).

holding a celestial globe, between seminude personifications of Astronomia and Urania. In this copy the figure of Astronomia has been used as a pattern, as is evident from the pricking holes for transfer evident on the verso of the leaf.¹²² But prepared in this way for later borrowing, Astronomia herself, and indeed the entire cut, were pirated from a quite different book containing translations of the ninth-century Arab astrologer Alubather (-Abū Ma'shar) and the *Centiloquium* of Hermes Trismegistus (fig. 19), issued by the same printer less than ten months earlier (February 23, 1501).¹²³ This borrowed cut is of considerable relevance to our investigation, for though Ptolemy is moved from a lateral to a central position, one of his feet hangs over the edge of his footstool, a detail that has already been identified as a peculiarity of the *Disputa*

122. Ibid.

123. Sander (note 117), vol. 1, no. 212; vol. 5, fig. 272.

124. See above, p. 20. The dangling foot is par excellence an early sixteenth-century conceit. Characteristic examples are provided by Giulio Romano's personifications of Moderatio and Comitas flanking the image of Clement I in the Sala di Costantino (J. Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art: Pontormo, Leo X and the Two Cosimos* [Princeton, 1984], fig. 29).

125. Sander (note 117), vol. 3, no. 6663; vol. 5, fig. 167.

126. See note 36.

127. See note 63.

128. Thus the costume of Ptolemy holding a quadrant, and of



Figure 20. Hermes and "Gerber." Woodcut from G. Grimaldi, *Alchimia* (Palermo, 1645).

plate (fig. 14).¹²⁴ This is the first datable occurrence, to my knowledge, of so unclassical a feature. But most other parts of the picture are purloined from a still-earlier edition of Sacrobosco. Ptolemy, with his extravagantly tasseled cap and the epithet *princeps astronomorum*, is borrowed from a *Sphaera Mundi* printed by Santritter and de Sanctis in Venice on March 31, 1488, while Urania, *musa coelestis*, seen from the rear in the Alubather volume (fig. 19), is a reversal of the same personification in the earlier edition of Sacrobosco.¹²⁵

Quickly made and frequently recycled or pirated, such woodcuts are aesthetically dismal. But if one grants that quantity can be more telling than quality (which is, by definition, rare), then it must be accepted that Ptolemy, Hermes, and the rest of their mystic crew were familiar

Astronomy who accompanies him, in a woodcut in G. Reisch's *Margarita philosophica* of 1504 (E. Poule, *Les sources astronomiques* [Turnhout, 1981], fig. 1).

129. S. Colvin, *A Florentine Picture Chronicle, Being a Series of Ninety-Nine Drawings Representing Scenes and Personages of Ancient History Sacred and Profane* (London, 1898), pl. 51.

130. Thus the unidentified, turban-wearing mathematicians who study a huge, winged celestial globe in the frontispiece to Athanasius Kircher's *Arithmologia sive de abditis numerorum mysteriis* (Rome, 1665) (= Gabriele [note 96], no. 679). One of the last examples specifically of "Mercurius Trismegistus," shown holding an armillary sphere, is in the emblem book known as the *Historia deorum fatidicorum* (= Gabriele

figures in Renaissance imagery, to a degree unknown in the fourth and fifth centuries. The artist of the *Disputà* plate most nearly approaches late antiquity in his depiction of costume. Yet the serpentine hems and intricate drapery of the seated figures surpass in complexity these features on such silver as the Achilles plate in Leningrad (fig. 13)¹²⁶ and come much closer to the cascades of drapery that Donatello poured over the legs of his evangelists in Florence.¹²⁷ On the plate in Malibu and on the earlier bookplates (fig. 18), the garments and headgear of the astrologers remain entirely Western.¹²⁸ This would persist into the sixteenth century. But already in the Quattrocento, as in the image of *Mercurio re d'Egitto* in Maso Finiguerra's *Picture Chronicle*¹²⁹ and until the middle of the seventeenth century,¹³⁰ the philosophers could display thoroughly orientalized features. Thus, Hermes, imperiously pointing to an alembic attended by the eighth-century Arab astrologer Geber (Abu Musa Jabir) in the frontispiece to Grimaldi's *Alchimia* (fig. 20), wears a jeweled turban around his radiate crown and a scimitar at his side.¹³¹ His beard is the attribute that, since the mid-fifteenth century, had distinguished the Trismegistus from Hermes, the gods' youthful messenger.¹³² This is not so much a piece of orientalism as a sign of his remoteness in time: the whiskered sage in the pavement of Siena cathedral stands above a tablet inscribed *Hermis Mercurius Trismegistus contemporaneus Moyse*.¹³³ Insistence on both the historical antiquity and the venerable age of Hermes as an individual would continue throughout the Cinquecento. In his *Idea del Tempio della Pittura* published in 1590, Lomazzo, describing the appearance of Leonardo da Vinci, noted that the painter's long hair, eyebrows, and beard gave the same impression of noble seriousness as did these features when exhibited by "the druid Hermes (*il druido Ermete*) and the ancient Prometheus."¹³⁴ If on the Malibu *Disputà* the seniority of the Trismegistus is suggested more by his loss of hair and gaunt physique (fig. 6), it is worth noting that Lomazzo, who frequently links Hermes with Ptolemy and Plato, refers to him simply as "Ermete,"¹³⁵ an economy (or familiarity) shared by the Greek inscription above the sage's head (fig. 6).¹³⁶



Figure 21. Sperandio (Italian, circa 1425–1504). *King Merodach and the Philosopher Playing Chess*. Bronze medal, circa 1482. University of Wisconsin-Madison, Elvehjem Museum of Art. Gift of Vernon Hall.

The introduction of exotic elements into the clothing and attributes of astrologers and other seers demonstrates that no single image of the philosopher prevailed in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century art. While the poses and costumes and, indeed, the very presence of the personifications on the plate betoken the silversmith's desire to lend a classical air to his subject, no antique model exists for the combination of earnest didacticism and dispassionate absorption that characterizes Hermes and Ptolemy. Taken as a whole—that is, treating their poses and costumes as part of an overall structure—the plate instead recalls North Italian metalwork of the Renaissance. Compositionally akin, if very different in subject, is the reverse of a bronze medal struck by the Mantuan medallist Sperandio in Bologna about 1482 (fig. 21).¹³⁷ It

[note 96], no. 608), first published in Geneva in 1675 and frequently reissued.

131. Gabriele (note 96), no. 568.

132. The beardless young Mercury had become canonical following the return to Italy in 1433 of Ciriaco d'Ancona with a drawing made directly from a Greek relief. See C. Mitchell, "Ex libris Kiriaci Anconitani," *Italia medioevo e umanistica* 5 (1962), p. 297, pl. 21. A typical example is the marble statuette, inscribed MERC(urii) SIMU LAC(rum), carved by the Paduan sculptor Antonio Minelli in 1527 (J. Pope-Hennessy, "A Statuette by Antonio Minelli," *Burlington Magazine* 94 [1952], p. 24–28).

133. See note 74.

134. G. P. Lomazzo, *Scritti sulle arti*, ed. R. P. Ciardi (Florence, 1973), p. 293.

135. *Ibid.*, pp. 177, 218, 219.

136. The fragmentary condition of the plate's rim (fig. 7) of course precludes any similar observation concerning this area.

137. *Catalogue of the Vernon Hall Collection of European Medals* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1978), no. 65; G. F. Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance Before Cellini* (London, 1930), p. 101, no. 393, pl. 72. The obverse of the medal identifies it as struck for Guido Pepoli, count of Bologna. Hill suggested that it should date before 1487, when Pepoli became seneschal general.



Figure 22a. Cover for an astrolabe, with image of Hermes Trismegistus. Second half of the sixteenth century. Milan, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana.



Figure 22b. Interior of figure 22a: Ptolemy.

depicts a game of chess between a philosopher and the evil king Merodach.¹³⁸ The latter, wearing a radiate crown, scarcely responds to the triumphant gesture of the winner, who points with his left hand to the inscription that announces his victory over the tyrant. The philosopher wears even fewer clothes than the Trismegistus but, bearded and austere, sits in a three-quarter position very similar to that of Hermes.

In scale, content, and purpose, the Bologna medal is remote from the Malibu plate; Merodach and the philosopher offer no more than a purely formal resemblance to Ptolemy and Hermes. But there exists in Milan one object, an astrolabe on paper,¹³⁹ that brings these two figures together. On its cover, the Trismegistus turns away from a book-laden table, underneath which is an armillary sphere and a compass, to salute the spectator or perhaps to point to the surrounding legend (fig. 22a). This proclaims that God is the intelligible sphere whose center is everywhere and circumference nowhere. Although his right foot is drawn back and delicately poised as on our plate, Hermes here has a massive beard and is swathed in voluminous garments. Similarly garbed, Ptolemy appears on the astrolabe itself, his instruments at his feet and an open codex on his right knee (fig. 22b). His left arm is raised in a traditional gesture of teaching. The inscriptions here relate only to the use of the device and provide no commentary on the figures chosen to decorate it. Nonetheless, it is of more than passing interest that the only object other than our plate to link Hermes Trismegistus and Ptolemy is a Lombard commission of the second half of the Cinquecento.¹⁴⁰

THE GLOBE AND OTHER FURNISHINGS

The number and variety of astrolabes, spheres, and similar instruments found in painting and book illustration of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries manifest not so much the whims of artists as the authentic concern of intellectuals and patrons with the means by which, it was supposed, foreknowledge and therefore power could be obtained and held. Far from being evidence of transient and modish dabbling in pagan learning, astronomical and astrological frescoes were sponsored by Christian

138. Merodach was the son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings 25:27–30; Jeremiah 52:31–34). H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 539, 541, refers to a report by Jacobus de Cessolis (fl. 1275–1300) that chess was invented in Merodach's reign by a philosopher called Xerses (or Hyerses) by the Chaldeans and Philometer by the Greeks.

139. T. Tomba, "Gli astrolabi della Collezione Setala nella Pinacoteca Ambrosiana," *Atti della Fondazione G. Ronchi* 33 (1978), pp. 636–641.

140. *Ibid.*, p. 637.

141. An excellent survey is offered by Cox-Rearick (note 124), pp. 159–171.

rulers in, for example, the Sala dei Pontefici and the Sala Bolognese in the Vatican, in the cupola of the Chigi chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo and the Sala di Galatea at the Villa Farnesina in Rome, in the Sala dei Venti at the Palazzo del Te in Mantua, and in the loggia of Duke Cosimo de' Medici's Villa Castello.¹⁴¹ Painted signs of the Zodiac, personifications of the planets, and fanciful depictions of classical or Arab philosophers mirrored the passionate interest in horoscopes drawn up for both individuals and cities. Programs in wall painting and horoscopes, customarily based on Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*¹⁴² or the *Mathesis* of Firmicus Maternus,¹⁴³ witness to the applications, both decorative and pragmatic, of ancient and medieval celestial mechanics.

If little of this earnestness is conveyed by the naive woodcuts attached almost at random, as we have seen, to translations of Hermes Trismegistus and the works of Hellenistic and Arab astrologers, as well as to the cogitations of such fifteenth-century mathematicians as Georg von Peurbach and Joannes Regiomontanus, it is still evident in the range and lavishness of programs in churches and palazzi and in the quantity of surviving instruments designed to facilitate access to the astral realms depicted by painters. Some of these artists were themselves responsible for globes that are still preserved; others represented, accurately or summarily, armillary spheres and astrolabes of which the only records are their paintings or reliefs. The globes held by Ptolemy and Zoroaster in *The School of Athens*, for instance, were likely based on those made by "Nicolaus Germanus astrologus" in or shortly before 1477, then lost but rediscovered in 1505.¹⁴⁴ The attribution to Giulio Romano of the globe in the Museo Sacro that bears his name has long been questioned, but the candidates whose names have been substituted were almost always wall painters active in papal Rome, such as Giovanni Antonio Vanosino, who worked on the decoration of the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche in the upper loggia of the Vatican between 1562 and 1585.¹⁴⁵

In its mechanical simplicity—it has only meridian and horizon circles—Giulio's globe is almost as rudimentary as the *Disputà* plate. This minimal equipment would still

provide the coordinates upon which the prediction of celestial events was based. It was this facility that allowed the uses to which the Ptolemaic system was put and the developments in spherical geometry of Peurbach and Regiomontanus. The *Tetrabiblos* presupposes¹⁴⁶ a universe conceived of as a machine consisting of translucent rotating spheres that carry the sun, the planets, and the stars. The penultimate sphere is that of the fixed stars, and, like those enclosed within it, this sphere depends upon the ninth sphere, which is at absolute rest. Being a mechanical concept, the system was easily expressed as a device with one fixed and eight moving circles. On a curving but opaque surface such as a vault or a celestial globe, relative distance from the outermost zone could be indicated by means of linear perspective, a system of visual description perfected in the fifteenth century. There was thus an intrinsic relationship between the methods used by painters and globemakers to represent the three-dimensional classical image of the universe.

In order that the globe might be suspended yet moved through any plane, some form of support was necessary. The simplest type would be a broad-based foot carrying an axial shaft that connected the poles (fig. 18).¹⁴⁷ The Malibu plate, as we have seen, exhibits the more elaborate form of a tripod. This mode of support is applied to the miniature celestial sphere depicted beside the personification of Astrology on the tomb of Sixtus IV.¹⁴⁸ Completed in 1494 by Antonio Pollaiuolo, a goldsmith, painter, and maker of bronze statuettes *all'antica*, this relief shows the globe resting on a tripod with legs bent as in our *Disputà*; it rests on a table, together with a tall codex open to a quotation derived from the *Tetrabiblos* and other sources.¹⁴⁹ Both the tripod stand and the context are of concern here, for most Renaissance depictions of globes, unlike surviving specimens, are shown either as attributes held in the hand,¹⁵⁰ as in *The School of Athens*, or as objects resting on the ground without any visible means of support (fig. 17).

For the benches on either side of the globe, I have found no good analogies in antique or Renaissance art. But the latter era is clearly signaled by the huge throne on which Nous/Poimander sits (fig. 2). Although such an elevated

142. *Ibid.*, pp. 168, 200f.

143. See note 109.

144. J. Ruysschaert, "Du globe terrestre attribué à Giulio Romano aux globes et au planisphère oubliés de Nicolaus Germanus," *Bollettino dei monumenti, musei e gallerie ponteficie* 6 (1986), p. 95.

145. J. Hess, "On Some Celestial Maps and Globes in the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 30 (1967), pp. 406–409.

146. At *Tetrabiblos* 11, Ptolemy refers to his earlier Σύνταξις on astronomy, which is undoubtedly the *Almagest*. The summary that follows has drawn on H. von Bertele, *Globes and Spheres* (Lausanne,

1961), esp. p. 11.

147. See above, p. 23.

148. For the ancient use of this type, see P. W. Lehmann, *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 11f, 209f, pl. 38.

149. L. D. Ettlinger, *Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo* (Oxford, 1978), p. 148, no. 20, fig. 128. Her eyes fixed on the celestial realm, Astrology wears very full garments; another of these personified Artes, Prospetiva, has one bare breast, like Hermes' companion, and holds an astrolabe.

150. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

position suggests some sort of ancient apotheosis, this type of seat, framed by monumental piers, was given to worthies of all sorts in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and the first quarter of the Cinquecento. In Federigo da Montefeltro's study at Gubbio, Astronomy and other personifications were painted by Justus of Ghent in precisely this fashion;¹⁵¹ Giulio Romano's thrones for the popes in the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican¹⁵² are set within niches between huge cornice-bearing piers. Resting on the left pier of the throne in the *Disputa* plate is the bottom of a curtain. While the corresponding area and all above it on the right side are lost, the vestige that is still preserved suggests that in its original state the plate showed Nous revealed between parted drapes hung from some sort of superstructure. The image of Clement I in the Sala di Costantino is disclosed in this way by curtains drawn open by two female attendants.¹⁵³

THE USE OF GREEK IN RENAISSANCE METALWORK

Were the *Disputa* plate a work of late antiquity, its most idiosyncratic aspect would be its inscriptions. Their letter forms have been considered above and found to yield at the most uncertainty and at the least a difference of opinion.¹⁵⁴ It still remains to test whether their presence is consistent with, if not characteristic of, Italian metalwork in the century (1475–1575) that has emerged as the most likely period for the plate's manufacture. Unfortunately, in contrast to the considerable amount of recent and excellent work on Greek books produced in Italy,¹⁵⁵ the subject of Greek inscriptions on Renaissance works of art generally has not excited the interest of epigraphers; the problem of motivation—why, beyond the obvious and banal desire to suggest erudition, was Greek used?—has scarcely been raised. It is beyond the scope of this paper to explain so widespread a phenomenon. Nonetheless, without some appreciation of this background, any discussion of our plate would lack an essential constituent.

The copying of Greek texts by Greeks for Greeks in Italy needs no justification. Scholars such as Bessarion sponsored scores of manuscripts in their own language. If

their desire to perpetuate and propagate the Orthodox faith is adequate to account for the rash of Gospel books written in Italy after the Byzantine diaspora, the proliferation of editions of classical literature is likewise sufficiently explained by textual concerns that long antedate the Renaissance.¹⁵⁶ The problem becomes critical in situations in which books and objects were partly or wholly inscribed in Greek for patrons whose knowledge of the language may have been spotty or nonexistent. This seems to have been the case with a work revered by and repeatedly copied for humanists from the time of its creation down to the late sixteenth century. The prototype of a gold medal showing on its obverse the emperor Heraclius learning of Chosroes' capture of the True Cross in Jerusalem (fig. 23a) and, on the reverse, his restoration of the relic to the Holy City (fig. 23b), reverts to about the year 1400; its creation may be associated with the journey to Western Europe (1402–1403) during which the emperor Manuel II Palaeologus sought help against the Turks.¹⁵⁷ Both sides of the medal carry Greek and Latin inscriptions, unlike its counterpart, depicting Constantine the Great, which is inscribed only in Latin. The Greek was only partially understood by Robinet d'Estampes, who in 1413 recorded gold versions of both medals in the collection of Jean, Duke of Berry.¹⁵⁸ The duke acquired these objects in 1402 from a Florentine merchant in Paris, although whether they are of Italian, French, or Netherlandish manufacture remains uncertain; numerous authorities have suggested that they were made for the duke himself.¹⁵⁹ Whoever was the original patron, it seems likely that he (or she) no more fully comprehended the Greek than scholars do today. Yet it was treasured by the duke, who (according to the inventory) surrounded it with sapphires and pearls and attached a golden chain. It was then reproduced in silver, bronze, and lead for humanists who seem to have considered both medals to be authentic antiques.¹⁶⁰ Details from the medals were borrowed by Michelangelo and Titian.¹⁶¹

To dismiss as credulous those who saw in these objects creations of late antiquity is to ignore an essential dimen-

151. Thus the portrait of Ptolemy, paired with Boethius, in the series of *uomini illustri* painted by Justus van Ghent in the studio at Urbino between 1474 and 1476 (W. Bombe, "Justus von Gent in Urbino: Das Studio und die Bibliothek des Herzogs Federigo da Montefeltre," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 1 [1908–1911], p. 118, fig. 15). This coupling of two philosophers on either side of a globe was followed by Bramante in his *Heraclitus and Democritus* in the Brera in Milan (P. Rotondi, *Emporium* 57 [1951], p. 110, fig. 4). By the seventeenth century, the notion of "the philosopher's globe" had become widespread. On this theme, see E. Wind, "The Christian Democritus," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 1 (1937–1938), pp. 180–182.

152. C. H. Clough, "Federigo da Montefeltro's Private Study in his Ducal Palace at Gubbio," *Apollo*, October 1967, pp. 278–287, figs. 8–11.

153. Freedberg (note 55), vol. 2, figs. 697f.

154. Cox-Rearick (note 124), fig. 29.

155. L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1974), pp. 130–142.

156. Above all, D. Harlfinger, *Specimina griechischer Kopisten der Renaissance*, in progress (Berlin 1974–).

157. The best example of this continuity is perhaps provided by the illuminations prepared for printed works such as the *editio princeps* of Homer, Naples, Bib. Nazionale S.Q.IV.G.2 (A. Daneu Lattanzi and M. Debae, *La miniature italienne du Xe au XVIe siècle*, exh. cat. [Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, Brussels (1969)], no. 60), thus perpetuating the manuscript tradition. The miniatures in this copy, presented to Piero de' Medici on Dec. 9, 1488, are the work of Bernardo and Neri de' Nerli.



Figure 23a. *The Emperor Heraclius*. Obverse of a bronze medal, after 1400. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz.



Figure 23b. Reverse of figure 23a.

sion of Renaissance art. If indeed the prototypes (or even their copies) were understood as antiques, this was due in part to their only imperfectly comprehended inscriptions. That Greek was felt to be appropriate for Greek subject matter is more than an unverifiable hypothesis: it is a steady current in a stream of artistic production from the beginning of the Quattrocento until the second half of the sixteenth century. The impulse is evident in the well-known medal cast by Pisanello to commemorate John VIII Palaeologus' visit to the council of Florence and Ferrara (1438–1439),¹⁶² the Greek inscriptions of which are considerably more extensive than those on the Malibu plate. Closer in this respect to our *Disputà* is a bronze relief in Vienna, ascribed to Filarete and datable to about 1450,¹⁶³ depicting the boxing match between Odysseus and Irus (*Odyssey* 18.1–115). Like our plate, this relief was

cast and subsequently punched, but a more obvious resemblance lies in the names of the protagonists, which, together with the name of Antinous, are given in Greek.¹⁶⁴ The lettering here is raised, but stamped inscriptions, as on our plate, are known on another work of Filarete's, a bronze medal bearing his self-portrait.¹⁶⁵

Of sixteenth-century metalwork with Greek and Latin legends, the outstanding example is the gilded silver casket known as the *Cofanetto Farnese*.¹⁶⁶ Made by the Florentine goldsmith Manno di Bastiano Sbarri between 1548 and 1561, it is decorated with scenes from Greek mythology—among them the Calydonian boar and Hercules battling the Amazons—carved in crystal by Giovanni Bernardi. Designs for these panels were attributed by Vasari to Perino del Vaga and other, unnamed artists.¹⁶⁷ The fact that Vasari does not comment on the

158. H. Krohm in *Ex aere solido. Bronzen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. P. Bloch, exh. cat. (Staatliche Museen, Berlin, 1983), pp. 90–96, no. 53.

159. Cited *ibid.*, p. 95.

160. E.g., W. von Bode, *Archiv für Medaillen- und Plakettenkunde* 3 (1921–1922), pp. 1–11.

161. Krohm (note 158), pp. 92, 94.

162. The gesture of agitation expressed by Heraclius holding his beard appears in the *Moses* in San Pietro in Vincoli in Rome, and the allegorical motif on the reverse of the Constantine medal in Titian's *Sacred and Profane Love* (*ibid.*, p. 95).

163. R. Weiss, *Pisanello's Medallion of the Emperor John VIII Palaeologus* (London, 1966).

164. M. Leithe-Jasper, *Renaissance Master Bronzes from the Collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*, exh. cat. (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1986), no. 1.

165. The letter forms include C-sigmas, semi-circular epsilons, and a straight-barréd alpha, as on our plate which, however, lacks the accents of Filarete's relief.

166. E. Molinier, *Les bronzes de la Renaissance. Les plaquettes: catalogue raisonné*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1886), no. 81. Cf. the mold-cast bronzes with Greek inscriptions, vol. 2, nos. 677f. Self-portraiture, particularly in Venice where Greek was more familiar, seems especially to have evoked the use of Greek. For a problematical instance, dated by inscription to August 28, 1522, and closing with the words XEIP BITOPE, see Brown (note 40), p. 232f, fig. 140, who suggests that the picture may be by Carpaccio.

language in which the scenes were identified may indicate that he found nothing unusual in the practice; he himself went on to sign in Greek the great fresco of Gregory XI's triumphal return from Avignon, which he finished in 1573 in the Sala Regia of the Vatican.¹⁶⁸ The impetus for the casket's classical imagery and inscriptions came from Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, whose instrumental role in its creation Vasari recognized.¹⁶⁹

Our knowledge of Bernardi's collaboration on the Cofanetto is due to the correspondence of Claudio Ptolomei (1483/90–1556/57), the "perfect philosopher"¹⁷⁰ who was adviser, and later minister of justice, to Pier Luigi Farnese, Cardinal Alessandro's father. Ptolomei, whose own portrait¹⁷¹ bears a striking resemblance to Ptolemy on the *Disputà* plate, was trained as a jurist but spent most of his time working on philology. His books and those of his associates regularly have Greek names or mottoes on the bindings.¹⁷² He is said to have known Hebrew, Chaldean, Greek, and Latin, and in his letters he discoursed on Vitruvius, Archimedes, and the relative merits of ancient and modern city-building. Among Ptolomei's addressees was Hermete Palavini¹⁷³ (Pallavicino?), about whom nothing else seems to be known. There is no compelling reason to identify these correspondents with the Ptolemy and Hermes on our plate, but the currency of such names epitomizes the cultural atmosphere out of which it could have come.

CINQUECENTO ATTITUDES TOWARD ANTIQUITY

If I am hesitant to ascribe the *Disputà* plate to Rome, it is because other centers offer both better evidence for the creation of metalwork *all'antica* and closer stylistic analogies to the figures on it. The fact that no final judgment on this point can, at present, be rendered is due as much to common modes of transmission—artists throughout northern and central Italy generally practiced the same methods of reproducing ancient forms—as it is to the lack of an identifiable personal style on our plate. The act of derivation, by definition, involves a measure of self-abnegation on the part of the copyist: his characteristic manner was liable to dilution under the influence of the

object which, with varying degrees of fidelity, he was trying to record. Except in the case of the greatest masters, whose personalities shine through the lessons they had learned from antiquity, a shared community of intent—the conscious recovery of lost achievement that looms so large in the literature of the period—similarly tended to bring one craftsman's work closer to that of another, just as it imbued the motives of their patrons to the extent that it makes little sense to try to distinguish the purposes of, say, one humanistic cardinal from another. These cultural norms extended, nonetheless, to liberties which show that slavishness was not considered the prime virtue in an artist. Just as copying requires some self-denial, so the reconstruction of the antique involved gestures of reinterpretation that lend the Malibu plate, like many other Renaissance works, an independent flavor.

Such reworkings can be seen even in the drawings of sarcophagi, a genre which ostensibly set out to reproduce classical works in all their singularity. For instance, a pen and bistre version by Giovanni Battista Franco (fig. 24) of a second-century Muse sarcophagus¹⁷⁴ converts the cupped hand in which Polymnia holds her chin into a gesture closer to that of Skepsis in our *Disputà* (fig. 10).¹⁷⁵ The muse—the figure at farthest left in Franco's drawing—now rests her forefinger across her lips; the attitude helps to sustain the shoulder strap of her bodice, which has slipped, much as it has on our personification. Meanwhile, with her left hand, Polymnia gathers at her waist a garment so full and long that it falls about her feet. Almost all of Franco's muses share this characteristic drapery not only with each other but with Skepsis, and at least three display the idiosyncrasy whereby their navels are indicated even while being covered.

Other drawings by Franco¹⁷⁶ show the flying scarf of Skepsis and the peculiar tilt of the head with upraised eyes that characterize her counterpart as she points to Nous/Poimander. Franco's drapery is usually more flouncy than that on our plate. Even were this not so, it would be unwise to connect this sixteenth-century Venetian draftsman directly with our *Disputà*: through etchings, his¹⁷⁷ and others' interpretations of antique reliefs were widely

167. Now in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples (M. Petrassi, *Gli argentiani italiani* [Rome, 1984], pp. 41f, figs. 240–247).

168. *Vite* (note 104), vol. 5 (Florence, 1880), p. 373. The original commission, according to Milanese's commentary on this passage in Vasari (note 104), p. 373, note 4, came from Pier Luigi Farnese, Duke of Castro. Pier Luigi was the son of the older Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who became Pope Paul III (1534–1549) and was the father of the younger Alessandro (1520–1589).

169. D. Redig de Campos, *I palazzi vaticani* (Bologna, 1967), p. 179, fig. 76. Hardly less elaborate than Vasari's subscription is the pun ΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΣ inscribed on the impresa of his patron, Cosimo I de' Medici and in a treatise on the astrolabe prepared for

him in 1569 (Cox-Rearick [note 124], p. 279, fig. 186).

170. Petrassi (note 167).

171. A. Hobson, *Apollo and Pegasus: An Enquiry into the Formation and Dispersal of a Renaissance Library* (Amsterdam, 1975), p. 38. Hobson's book, especially pp. 37–47, is the only detailed modern account of the career of Claudio Ptolomei. Ptolomei's correspondence (*De le lettere di M. Claudio Tolomei libri sette* [Venice, 1547]) is cited by Milanese (note 168) as the source for Bernardi's work on the Cofanetto.

172. Hobson (note 171), fig. 16.

173. *Ibid.*, pls. 2, 4a–b, 6a–b, 12a.

174. *De le lettere* (note 171), p. 208. This letter, which is a note of condolence concerning the death of one of Hermete's brothers, contains



Figure 24. G. B. Franco (Italian, 1510–1580). Design after a Classical Sarcophagus. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria.

diffused. Nor can one be sure that a Renaissance copy intervened between our silversmith and any ancient models on which he may have drawn. I have suggested that we have no late antique parallels for the composition of the plate and argued that stylistically its figures and furnishings fit the second half of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth much better than they do the fourth or fifth century.¹⁷⁸ But there can be little doubt that the artist's intention, like that of Filarete and Antonio Pollaiuolo on occasion, was to make an object that looked antique. Numerous bronze plaquettes were copied free-hand from antique exemplars or simply cast from their molds.¹⁷⁹ There is no less reason to doubt that ancient gems, accessible in collections like that of the Gonzaga and Medici, and freely available for acquisition at least in Mantua,¹⁸⁰ served as a repertory of motifs which, put together, furnished the elements of larger compositions.

This is the case with the Martelli mirror in London (fig. 25), once ascribed to Donatello but connected by Pope-Hennessy with the circle of Mantegna and Antico.¹⁸¹ Less than half the diameter of the *Disputà* plate and made of silvered and gilded bronze rather than silver, the mirror nonetheless represents essentially the same composition and the same classicizing impulse that I recognize in the work in Malibu. Pope-Hennessy distinguished between the figures that make up the mirror and associated each with gems known to be in Florence or elsewhere in Italy in the last quarter of the Quattrocento, the period to which

he ascribes its manufacture. No less convincingly, he saw in the composition a “programme” in which the protagonists, a satyr and a bacchante, are ideologically related to the ithyphallic herm above them and to the musical instruments, the fruit basket, the wine jar, and the other objects around them, in the spirit of the words inscribed on the tablet in the exergue. We have no way of knowing if the now-fragmentary text that surrounds our plate (fig. 7) once relayed such a message. But the impression of a pastiche, assembled as a coherent whole from distinct parts, is no less conveyed by the *Disputà* than by the paean to fertility that is the theme of the mirror.

If heavenly wisdom rather than bodily fecundity is the topic of the plate in Malibu, this subject finds expression in a bronze plaquette which, like the Martelli mirror, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 26).¹⁸² It depicts the Judgment of Solomon, who appears on a high throne, presiding over the clash between a soldier at left, about to cut the child in half, and the true mother, who rushes forward from the right. Like most such plaquettes, it is too small for inscriptions, but it resembles our plate not only in its composition¹⁸³ but also in the effect of silver imparted by the patina over its pale bronze fabric. The object was designed to function as a lamp cover, as its pear-like shape indicates. But once again it is clearly a programmatic creation: the divinely inspired judge illuminates the conflict between the two claimants; in the exergue, which would have covered the lamp's wick,

no reference to antiquity or works of art.

175. P. P. Bober and R. Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture* (London and New York, 1986), no. 38.

176. The transformation of this particular gesture is by no means confined to this case. See, for example, the putto raising one finger to his lips by Cassiano del Pozzo (1588–1657), *ibid.*, no. 53.

177. L. S. Malke, *Italianische Zeichnungen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts aus eigenen Beständen*. exh. cat. (Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt am Main, 1980), no. 83.

178. *Ibid.* Such cautions apply to matters of iconography as well as style. Perino del Vaga's Philosophers fresco (fig. 17), for example, was copied at least once in a drawing now in Frankfurt (B. Davidson,

Perino del Vaga e la sua cerchia, exh. cat. [Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, 1966], no. 47).

179. Molinier (note 160), vol. 1, nos. 1–62; vol. 2, nos. 740–743.

180. C. M. Brown, “Pictures in the Ducal Palace in Mantua,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 44 (1981), p. 54.

181. J. Pope-Hennessy, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1964), vol. 2, pp. 325–329, no. 359; vol. 3, fig. 350f.

182. E. Maclagan, *Catalogue of Italian Plaquettes: Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1924), p. 24, pl. 8, no. A432–1910.

183. By this time, the triangular arrangement with a seated or enthroned figure at its apex had become quite ordinary. It was still in use in



Figure 25. The Martelli mirror. Bronze, late fifteenth century. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.



Figure 26. *The Judgment of Solomon*. Bronze plaquette, first half of the sixteenth century. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

weapons form a classical trophy celebrating the triumph of wisdom. Maclagan was inclined to attribute the plaquette to Moderno, though he was mindful of earlier ascriptions of similar objects to Antico.¹⁸⁴ Both were bronze sculptors, silversmiths, and restorers of antiques working for Isabella d'Este and the Gonzaga court. Antico (circa 1460–1528) is fairly well known,¹⁸⁵ not least as the author of a series of circular Hercules reliefs in London, one of which is a version of a famous sixteenth-century plate, formerly in the Trivulzio collection in Milan, depicting the hero's struggle with the Nemean Lion.¹⁸⁶ Moderno (fl. 1490–1540), on the other hand, remains too spectral a figure¹⁸⁷ to support the attribution of the *Disputa* plate to him.

In the last analysis it is less important to ascribe the plate to Moderno or to his supposed rival than to appreciate the relevance of Antico's reliefs to the problems raised by our *Disputa*. These bronzes display an attitude toward antiquity at once derivative and independent¹⁸⁸ that is characteristic of both Gonzaga patronage in general¹⁸⁹ and of the Philosophers plate in particular. When to these qualities one adds the composition, widely found in astronomical bookplates of the time, and the cult of Hermetism which reached its height in the generations that immediately followed Ficino's *Pimander*, North Italian humanism of the first or second quarter of the Cinquecento would seem to offer all the conditions necessary for the creation of the *Disputa* plate.

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the second quarter of the seventeenth century, when it was applied by Marco Tullio Montagnara to a ceiling fresco in the nave of SS. Cosmas and Damian, Rome; this depicts the transfiguration of the two saints, set below and to the sides of the Virgin and Child (W. Buchowiecki, *Handbuch des Kirchen Roms. Der Sakralbau in Geschichte und Kunst*, vol. 1 [Vienna, 1967], p. 596).

184. See Maclagan (note 182) for a discussion of the literature.

185. J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, 2nd ed. (London and New York, 1971), p. 84f.

186. London relief: Pope-Hennessy (note 181), vol. 1, no. 356; vol. 3, fig. 348. Trivulzio plate: now Paris, Cabinet des Médailles (*Age of Spirituality* [note 16], no. 139).

187. His name is found only in inscriptions ("opus Moderni") on a few objects and is presumably a sobriquet intended to suggest rivalry with Antico. Unlike the latter, whose real name (Piero Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi) is known, Moderno's is not. See F. Rossi, s.v. Moderno in *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. 23 (Rome, 1951), pp. 524f; J. Pope-Hennessy, *Renaissance Bronzes from the Samuel H. Kress Collection* (London, 1965), p. 42. Most recently on Moderno, see D. Lewis, "The Plaquettes of 'Moderno' and His Followers," *Studies in the History of Art* 22 (1989), pp. 105–141.

188. Cf. the characterization of early Cinquecento sculpture by E. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renaissances in Western Art* (Stockholm, 1960), p. 41.

189. See J. M. Fletcher in *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, ed. D. S. Chambers and J. Martineau, exh. cat. (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1981), pp. 51–64.

A Technical and Analytical Study of Two Silver Plates in the Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum

David A. Scott

INTRODUCTION

In 1983, the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired two silver plates whose age has been the cause of much speculation. One of these plates depicts a fisherman removing his catch from a hook; this plate is partially gilded. The second plate depicts five principal figures, parts of which are now lost due to corrosion; the figures represent philosophers engaged in discussion.

The plates were acquired together and are said to have been found in the Mediterranean, off the coast of Gaza. Figures 1, 2, and 4–6 show the condition of the plates after conservation treatment in 1983. Both of the plates are remarkable because they have surface detail on the front, which would normally be expected to be carried out by repoussé working, but no indications of such working are apparent on the back of the plates. Some of the technical questions that need to be answered in any study of these objects are: How were they made? Could they have been cast to shape? Are they of double-wall construction? Are they engraved? How were the footrings attached? What technical and analytical arguments can be made that will address the problem of whether the plates are Renaissance in date or of Late Roman or Byzantine origin?

There are differing art historical arguments and interpretations as to the date of the Philosophers plate, based on iconographic studies of the figures depicted, while a suggestion has also been made that the Fisherman plate may date from a period later than 1651, based on the apparent depiction of a fisherman's reel. Opposing opinion suggests that the Fisherman plate is late antique,

perhaps dating from the fourth or fifth century A.D. Some interest attaches to the identity of the figures depicted on the Philosophers plate; in the upper zone of the plate a draped figure is shown holding a scroll, while a bearded, muscular figure holding a codex is labeled *Ptolemaios*. Hermes is labeled and shown leaning over a disk or globe-shaped object. Each of these philosophers is accompanied by a female personification. Behind Hermes is a figure whose name is missing because of losses to the plate; part of her clothing is also missing. The other female personification, whose name can be read, is Skepsis.

The art historical context of the Philosophers plate, in particular, has been well discussed by Anthony Cutler, first in a talk given at the College Art Association,¹ then in a more detailed paper that appears in this volume.² In both his talk and his article, Cutler claims that the iconography of the Philosophers plate is not consistent with a date of origin between the second and fourth centuries A.D. but suggests rather that the plates were fabricated in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. However, opinion on the date of origin of these pieces is varied, even within the art historical community. For example, Ernst Kitzinger,³ an authority on Byzantine art, suggests that the Fisherman plate is definitely late antique, while the Philosophers plate belongs to the fourth century A.D. All of the stylistic features of the plate are appropriate for the fourth-century revival of subjects of this kind, a phenomenon that is currently not well understood in art historical terms. Margaret Frazer, for example, has pointed out the importance of Hermes in the late antique period.⁴

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Meyers, Head of Conservation, Los Angeles County Museum of Art; and Graham Martin, Head of the Science Section, Department of Conservation, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

1. A. Cutler, "Authentic Iconography: Ptolemy and Hermes in Malibu, California." Lecture presented at the College Art Association, 1986.

2. A. Cutler, "The *Disputa* Plate in the J. Paul Getty Museum and Its Cinquecento Context." See above, pp. 5–32.

3. E. Kitzinger, private communication with the Department of Antiquities of the J. Paul Getty Museum, May 1989.

4. M. Frazer, private communication with the Department of Antiquities of the J. Paul Getty Museum, April 1986.



Figure 1. Overall front view of the Philosophers plate, following restoration and conservation in 1983. Silver, 45 x 28.5 cm (17³/₄ x 11¹/₄ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AM.342.



Figure 2. View of the reverse of the Philosophers plate. Note the absence of any repoussé working from the reverse. The footring was carefully made; visual examination of it does not reveal any indication of how it was attached.



Figure 3. Print made from an X-radiograph of the Philosophers plate taken at 250KV, 8mA for 2.5 minutes at a distance from source of 50 inches. The figurative detail shows strong contrast due to the thicker silver in these regions compared with the background. The radiograph does not help to answer the question of how the footring was attached, no solder or join being evident.

In this discussion there is an important part to be played by the scientific examination of the two pieces concerned. It is rarely possible to come to a definitive conclusion or to specifically prove that a silver object originated in a particular period. The scientific evidence is important, however, since it can usually provide valuable information that can then be used with curatorial or art historical guidance to arrive at a date of origin that is probable. In some cases all we can say is limited to negative statements, such as that the object cannot be of modern or recent manufacture. In cases like the present one, where there is a conflict between the different perspectives within the art history community, the scientific evidence can be of great assistance in determining whether one date or another is more likely to be correct.

THE PHILOSOPHERS PLATE

When it was acquired, the Philosophers plate was thought to be Roman, with a date between the second and fourth centuries A.D. It is about 32 cm across at its widest point and about 1 mm thick in the background area. The thickness of the silver comprising some of the figures on the plate is greater than 1 mm and is approximately 3 to 5 mm at the maximum. The central portion of the plate is intact with the exception of a small hole, while the rim on three sides is missing, leaving an unprotected, jagged edge. The detail of the figures on the front of the plate was partially obscured by silver corrosion products and substantial calcareous deposits, including shells indicative of a marine burial environment, which required removal during conservation treatment.

The calcareous encrustations were softened with a 30% solution of formic acid in distilled water applied with cotton swabs. The obscuring deposits of silver halides were removed mechanically, aided by the application of an aqueous solution of 15% ammonium thiosulfate. It is possible that the thiosulfate aided the cleaning by partially attacking the silver sulfide layer adjacent to the original surface of the plate.

The conservation work revealed that the surface was in very good condition, with details preserved in a uniform patina. As a consequence of the fragility of the jagged edges of the object, a restricted amount of filling was required, which was undertaken using an epoxy resin (Araldite 502 with 956 hardener). The resin was filled 1:0.25 with Cabosil (fumed silica), which was used to make the resin more viscous and easier to use as a fill material. Graphite powder was added to the resin mix to

produce a suitably dark color. For aesthetic reasons the small hole in the center of the plate was also filled. Final color matching was achieved using acrylic paint in a Liquatex acrylic medium to match the fills to the color of the object surface. Surface cleaning during the conservation revealed the weight measure under the foot of the plate. This inscription refers to the weight of the plate or to the weight of a number of objects. A group weight may have been marked only on one object, so it cannot necessarily be assumed that the inscription on the footing refers to one particular object. The Philosophers plate measures 45 cm by 28.5 cm and weighs 2547.5 grams.

The practical conservation work was carried out between 1982 and 1983 by Anna Bennett,⁵ at that time a conservation intern in the Department of Antiquities Conservation of the Getty Museum.

ANALYTICAL AND TECHNICAL STUDIES OF THE PHILOSOPHERS PLATE

An X-radiograph of the Philosophers plate is shown in figure 3. The details of the surface design stand out in sharp contrast on this radiograph as a result of the greater thickness of the silver in the design and the figures than in the background, where the silver is about 1 mm thick. The radiograph shows the characteristic signs of hammering in the mottled tones of slightly different density, indicating that the plate was not made by the joining together of two halves; neither were the figures applied later as in some Sasanian examples. According to Prudence Harper,⁶ the term "Sasanian" has been rather loosely attached to works of art manufactured between about A.D. 226 and 651 in Iran and southern Iraq as well as parts of Armenia and Georgia. These objects have been extensively studied and will be referred to in this discussion for want of other convincing parallels from the time period in which these plates may have been created.

The footing of the Philosophers plate appears to be very carefully made, so that there is no visual evidence of the way in which it was formed or the manner in which it was attached to the plate. The radiograph does not offer any additional information concerning this important technical question. There is no obvious solder line, nor is there an inseting or joining method that can be confidently asserted to be the method of manufacture. Silver objects, especially those now patinated and corroded, often disguise details of manufacture well. The metal is soft and therefore easy to cut and burnish, and it can be soldered, hammered, cast, or even welded in the solid phase.⁷

5. A. Bennett, conservation treatment report to the Department of Antiquities Conservation, J. Paul Getty Museum, 1983.

6. P. O. Harper and P. Meyers, *Silver Vessels of the Sasanian Period*.

Vol. 1: *Royal Imagery* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1981), pp. 15–24.

7. R. F. Tylecote, *The Solid Phase Welding of Metals* (London, 1968).



Figure 4. Detail of part of the front of the Philosophers plate showing one of the philosophers, labeled *Ptolemaios*. He is holding a stylus, poised over a book. Examination shows that the most likely method of producing the detail was by means of surface carving.

Examination of other silver objects of the fourth to the seventh century A.D. has revealed that a variety of methods could be used to produce a footring. Thomas Chase examined the Sasanian Stroganoff silver plate in the Freer Gallery collection (acc. no. 34.23).⁸ X-radiographic examination showed that the footring had been soldered on. Gibbons, Ruhl, and Shepherd studied another Sasanian silver object in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art (acc. no. 62.150) depicting King

Hormizd II hunting lions; here, too, the footring was soldered on.⁹ E. Foltz has reported on his observations following a detailed study of a "Cyprus" silver plate from Nicosia.¹⁰ He suggests that at one production center, undecorated blanks were hammered from cast ingots into a form closely resembling the final shape. Separately made footrings were inserted into a chiseled circular groove on the reverse and secured by hammering the areas adjacent to the footring, thereby securing the ring. Pieter Meyers has also suggested the same technique, based on his examination of the "Cyprus" plates in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (acc. no. 17.190.396).¹¹ Since it is not possible to obtain a metallographic sample from the junction between the footring and the plate, there is not sufficient evidence in the case of the Philosophers plate to decide how the footring was attached. The X-radiography does, however, clearly show that the plate is not of double construction, and most of the detail of the texture of the plate, which can be seen in the radiograph of figure 3, suggests hammering and working rather than casting. That this is indeed true is shown by the cross-sections that have been taken from both the footring and the broken edge of the plate itself. The cross-section through part of the plate is shown in figures 7 and 8 and reveals a microstructure fairly typical of silver that has undergone many cycles of working and annealing.

The microstructure of the plate can be seen clearly after etching in acidified potassium dichromate solution, and it consists of recrystallized small grains (with ASTM numbers between 7 and 8) and some orientation to the structure along the length of the plate section as a result of working and annealing. Some small, nonmetallic inclusions are present that are probably cuprous oxide, and these too are flattened and elongated along the length of the section. Even after the cleaning of the surface there was still a considerable amount of corrosion that has occurred on the outer surfaces of the silver plate to a depth of about 78 microns. The jagged grain boundaries and extent of corrosion would be very unusual for a Renaissance silver piece and suggest an earlier date of manufacture. In fact, we know from comparable examples of ancient silver that have been studied that grain displacements and discontinuous precipitation occur slowly in silver alloys.¹² These gradual changes are a result of the

8. T. Chase, "The Examination of Two Sasanian Silver Plates," *Ars Orientalis* 7 (1968), pp. 75–93.

9. D. F. Gibbons, K. C. Ruhl, and D. G. Shepherd, "Techniques of Silversmithing in the Hormizd II Plate," *Ars Orientalis* 11 (1979), pp. 163–176.

10. E. Foltz, "Zur Herstellungstechnik der byzantinische Silberschale aus dem Schatzfund vor Lambousa," *Jahrbuch des Roemisch- Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 22 (1975), pp. 221–245.

11. P. Meyers, *Elemental Compositions of the Sion Treasure and Other Byzantine Silver Objects* (forthcoming).

12. F. Schweizer and P. Meyers, "Authenticity of Ancient Silver Objects: A New Approach," *Masca* 1 (1978), pp. 9–10. Idem, "Structural Changes in Ancient Silver Alloys: The Discontinuous Precipitation of Copper," *ICOM Committee for Conservation* (Zagreb, 1978). A. Heywood and P. Croome, "Investigations into the Structure of Ancient Silver Objects." Paper presented at the AIC conference, St. Louis, 1989.



Figure 5. Front view of the Fisherman plate. Some areas of the front surface were gilded by amalgam gilding of foil. The old fisherman is depicted removing his catch from a hook. Silver, 45 x 28.5 cm (17³/₄ x 11¹/₄ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AM.347.

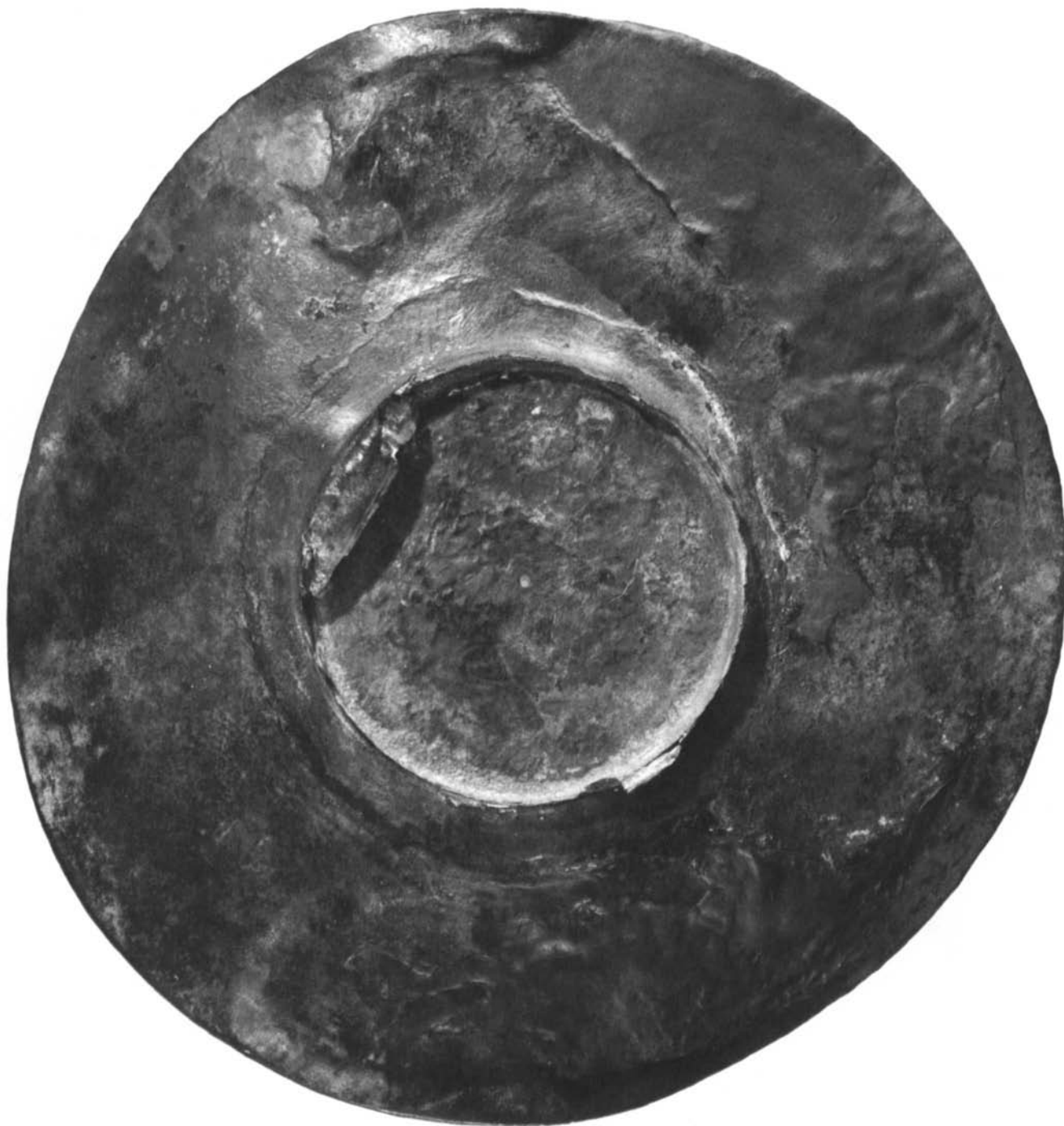


Figure 6. View of the reverse of the Fisherman plate showing part of the footring that is damaged and bent. The plate is shown here after conservation, restored and filled in with synthetic resin.

small copper content of the silver alloy. Copper is usually a deliberately added alloying element and is metastable in solid solution with the silver, resulting in slow precipitation over long periods of time, forming grain boundaries resembling a jigsaw puzzle rather than the straight boundaries usually associated with single-phase alloys. The kind of grain structure that the Philosophers plate reveals is very typical for ancient silver and is not usually developed in alloys that originate from periods as recent as that of the Renaissance.

The question still remains as to how the plate was made, and this now deserves some discussion. Herbert Maryon, writing in 1948, reported on the technical study of a group of fourth-century A.D. Roman silver objects found at Mildenhall, England, and known as the Mildenhall treasure.¹³ One of these silver plates, the Neptune plate, was carefully studied in an attempt to discover how it had been produced. It too has figures in relief design on its front that were not made by repoussé working from the back. Maryon noted, however, that the plate had subtle hollows under each raised figure, and his observations led to the conclusion that the designs on the plate had been fabricated by working solely from the front. He wrote:

[I]f these works were neither cast nor produced by repoussé work, were they carved? To carve the designs upon works such as these it would be necessary to support the work firmly—probably upon a pitch block, possibly upon an anvil. The removal of part at least of the background with chisels would be first undertaken. The carving of the figures and other ornament would follow. Some small amount of chasing and scraping would accompany the carving. Upon removing the dish from its pitch bedding, or lifting it from the anvil, one would find very little evidence upon the underside of the work done from the front.¹⁴

Since the evidence of the slight hollows on the back of the Neptune plate does not support the conclusion that the design was made solely by the carving of the surface, Maryon concludes that the only alternative is that the plate was worked from the front while resting on a hard surface. When the background was hammered down, the metal would have been driven downward and also outward laterally. This lateral pressure would have caused the displaced metal to rise above the original level and show slight rounding from the front, with a hollow developing on the underside.

Maryon was able to reproduce this effect by working

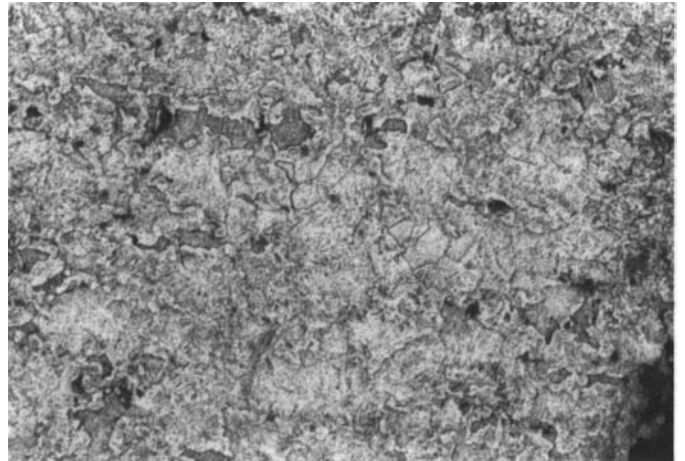


Figure 7. Photomicrograph of part of a cross-section of the Philosophers plate. Note the small grain size, the fine network of the grains, indications of discontinuous precipitation of copper, and the ingress of corrosion into the sound metal. Etched in acidified potassium dichromate; magnification: $\times 84$.

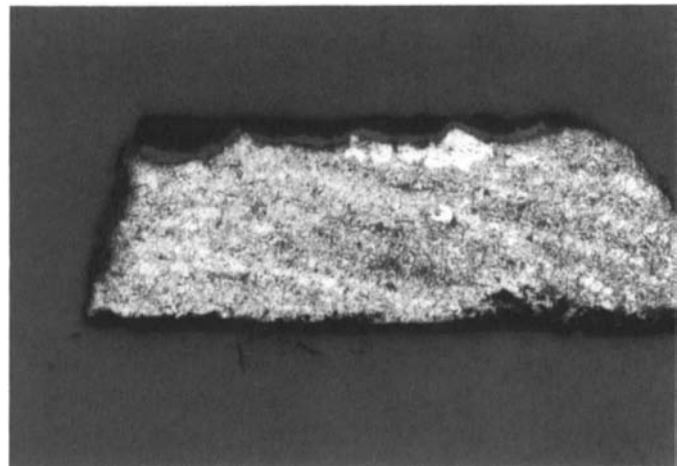


Figure 8. Photomicrograph of part of a cross-section of the Philosophers plate, showing the nature of the grains and grain boundaries. The silver is worked and annealed extensively to shape from the cast ingot. Some segregation, in the form of differing copper content, can be seen passing along the length of the section as a result of the working and annealing of the cast ingot. This is a common feature in ancient silver and does not suggest here that there is any especially close relationship between the cast ingot and the hammered and worked plate.

13. H. Maryon, "The Mildenhall Treasure: Some Technical Problems," *Man* 48 (1948), pp. 25–27, 38–41.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

up a small cast ingot of silver containing about 2.3% copper. The ingot was placed on a steel anvil and was shaped with punches, hammers, and chasing tools, entirely from the front. Using this method, Maryon was able to reproduce all of the unusual features seen on the Neptune dish: the bruised, level background; the slight hollows under the figure; and the uneven background when viewed from the front, which is thinner around the design to emphasize the height of the figures. This method also accounts for the lack of evidence for any working of the plate from the back. There are, however, only slight indications of hollowing under the figures shown on the Philosophers plate, and the background is relatively level, suggesting that if it was worked from the front, then the degree of working was not as pronounced as was the case with the Neptune plate. There is another important difference: while the Neptune plate is about 2.5 mm thick, some of the design on the Philosophers plate is between 3 mm and 5 mm thick, and displacing silver of this thickness to create lowered background and raised design would be difficult to do.

The study of the Hormizd II plate by Gibbons, Ruhl, and Shepherd revealed some interesting aspects of the working and manufacture of Sasanian silver objects in the collections of the Cleveland Museum of Art.¹⁵ Most of the high relief detail was made by the addition of separate pieces of worked silver, but those in low relief were carved to shape from the plate itself. Gibbons, Ruhl, and Shepherd succinctly summarized the differences between metal removal and metal movement:

[R]emoval is characterized by carving, chiseling, grinding, scraping and engraving; operations in which a portion of the silver is cut away from the main body of the metal. Metal movement is illustrated by hammering, sinking, raising, repoussé, crimping, chasing, punching and burnishing, and involves silver which remains part of the body of the metal but is displaced.¹⁶

Here, the thickness of the background is 0.64 mm compared with 1.0 mm in the areas of low relief. The authors were able to remove a small section of silver passing through part of the foreleg of a horse made in low relief. Metallographic study of a polished and etched section was employed to prove that the design of this feature was made by removal of metal rather than by repoussé.

In his technical study of Sasanian silver, Meyers notes that carving was employed, especially for the removal of metal around decorative elements, leaving the decoration

in low relief.¹⁷ Often entire background areas were carved away to obtain the required height of relief in the decoration. In addition, in his study of a number of Byzantine silver objects from the "Sion" treasure in Dumbarton Oaks, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the State Hermitage Museum in Leningrad, Meyers concluded that most of the Byzantine plates with high relief were made by working from the front, followed by a combination of carving, chiseling, chasing, and engraving.¹⁸ On some of these plates centering marks are to be seen on the reverse, but since these are sometimes not round or not in the center of the plate, they were most likely made with the use of a compass in the initial layout of the design of the plate. Thus, surface carving as a technique for creating design is documented in objects from the ancient world—something which is unknown from the Renaissance period.¹⁹ By the time of the Renaissance, silverworking techniques were quite well established; the methods of repoussé working, soldering, chasing, punching, engraving, and casting were well known. Extensive carving of the surface is not a known technique from this period.

The evidence presented here shows that the Philosophers plate was made from a cast ingot of silver, the ingot being extensively worked and annealed to shape the plate, followed by surface carving to create or accentuate the design. The microstructure of the silver in the areas examined suggests a typical striated and heavily worked silver alloy with elongated copper oxide inclusions. Non-metallic inclusions cannot recrystallize during cycles of working and annealing and so act as additional messengers of change from the cast to the worked state. As working proceeds, inclusions tend to become flattened and elongated along the length of the section, and they retain this characteristic even if the silver grains themselves lose all evidence of segregation from the cast ingot. Here we have both forms of evidence to show extensive working, but we must allow the possibility that the metalsmith hammered unevenly from the front so that areas to be carved in relief were already partially formed, or at least not flattened out to the same extent as the background. Since the plate must have been worked, this procedure would have been entirely reasonable, though it is difficult to prove that the metalsmith necessarily followed these steps.

Because it was possible to remove small samples from the plate to study by a variety of analytical techniques, a comparison could be made between the results of non-destructive examination by X-ray fluorescence energy-

15. Gibbons, Ruhl, and Shepherd (note 9).

16. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

17. In Harper and Meyers (note 6), *Technical Study: Part II*, p. 16.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

19. D. L. Carroll, "Tools of the Renaissance Jeweler: A Goldsmith's Workshop in 1576," *Archaeomaterials* 1 (1987), pp. 153–172.

Table 1

X-RAY FLUORESCENCE ANALYSIS BY ENERGY DISPERSIVE METHOD FOR THE PHILOSOPHERS PLATE									
Description of area	% Cu	% Au	% Pb	% Bi	% Br	% Ag	% Fe	Mass balance	Trace elements
Polished no. 1	3.3	0.43	0.66	0.11	0.8	93.1	nd	98.40	Cl
Polished, scrubbed no. 1B	3.3	0.44	0.66	0.13	0.8	98.1	nd	103.40	Cl
Back, unpolished no. 2	2.2	1.50	0.66	0.23	1.5	96.5	<0.10	102.69	Cl, Ca
Back, unpolished no. 3	1.2	2.30	1.10	0.47	7.5	32.3	0.16	105.03	Cl, Ca
Front, unpolished no. 4	1.6	1.30	0.71	0.32	6.0	92.9	0.18	103.01	

dispersive analysis, wavelength-dispersive electron microprobe analysis, and inductively coupled plasma mass-spectrometry. The metallographic samples were removed from the edge of the footring and one of the broken edges of the plate itself. The first set of analyses was carried out by Michael Schilling using energy-dispersive X-ray fluorescence analysis (EDXRF) on polished or unpolished areas of the plate.²⁰ The results of this study are given in Table 1. The elements detected were: copper, gold, lead, bismuth, bromine, silver, iron, chlorine, and calcium. On unpolished surface areas the copper concentration ranges from 1.2% to 2.2%, while polished surface-area analyses found a variation between 3% and 3.3%, substantially higher than the Fisherman plate but quite acceptable for ancient silver. The gold content of the plate is best shown by the polished areas, which contain 0.43% and 0.44% of gold respectively, while iron was not detectable in polished areas and bismuth was found in concentrations between 0.11% and 0.13% and lead at 0.66%. Chlorine and bromine were again found here, originating from surface corrosion of the silver plate.

Electron microprobe analysis was carried out on a polished cross-section for the same range of elements as described previously, with silver, gold, copper, lead, bismuth, zinc, arsenic, antimony, and chlorine being detected. The results of the EPMA analyses are given in tables 2 and 3. Average values of copper at 3.29% afford excellent agreement with EDXRF figures at 3.3%, while significant agreement is also found in the averaged gold content by EPMA, 0.48% compared with 0.435% determined by EDXRF. Average lead by EPMA is 0.67%, while lead by EDXRF is 0.66%. Bismuth as found by EPMA is 0.40%, while bismuth levels found by EDXRF are lower at 0.23%, but bismuth is variable in both sets of analyses, more so than the variation in copper, gold, or lead. Traces of zinc were detected by some of the EPMA spot analyses, but some areas contained no detectable zinc.

The study was completed by semiquantitative inductively coupled plasma-mass spectrometry (ICP-MS), which is capable of detecting a very wide range of elemental impurities. In the present study the following were found: bismuth, cadmium, chromium, gallium, germanium, gold, iodine, lead, palladium, samarium, and silver. Note the absence of any detected zinc and platinum in this sample. The results are given in Table 4.

Neither set of analytical data suggests a modern origin. However, the analyses cannot conclusively differentiate between a Byzantine and Renaissance date, although a Byzantine date is more consistent with the analytical data for zinc, gold, and other trace elements. Gold levels of 4000 to 6000 ppm are unusually high for Renaissance silver, and the zinc levels are rather low for this period. No zinc could be detected by ICP-MS in the Philosophers plate, while zinc was variable and averaged 0.04 by EPMA. Zinc was detected by ICP-MS analyses only in the case of the Fisherman plate at 31 ppm. The reason for the presence of zinc in most Renaissance silver objects is the extensive use of brass in this period; the ready availability of copper containing some zinc therefore raised the trace amounts of this element considerably in the Renaissance.

Meyers has argued that the higher levels of gold impurity associated with ancient silver objects, such as Byzantine silver plates, is caused by the exploitation in antiquity of cerussite lead ores.²¹ Cerussite, or lead carbonate, is associated with the oxidized portions of galena deposits, and the levels of gold impurity concomitant with these weathered ores will be greater than with galena, which would be the more common ore source by the time of the Renaissance.

In view of the controversy surrounding the Philosophers plate, an interesting question arises as to how far the corrosion crust or the patina that is now present on the objects can be used to obtain any idea at all concerning the probable date of manufacture.

20. M. Schilling, "Internal Report on the X-ray Fluorescence Analysis of Two Silver Objects." Getty Conservation Institute report, 1986.

21. Meyers (note 11).

Table 2

ELECTRON MICROPROBE WAVELENGTH DISPERSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE PHILOSOPHERS PLATE,
POLISHED SECTION OF THE PLATE EDGE

Point	Ag-L	Au-M	Cu-K	Pb-M	Bi-L	Zn-K	Sn-L	As-L	Sb-L	Cd-L	Cl-K	Total
1	93.23	0.63	3.33	0.59	0.48	0.02	0.00	0.12	0.05	0.00	0.60	99.05
2	93.81	0.58	4.33	0.72	0.46	0.01	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.33	100.74
3	95.22	0.50	2.77	0.71	0.46	0.09	0.00	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.35	100.15
4	94.42	0.58	3.49	0.73	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.76	0.00	0.00	0.36	100.36
5	95.28	0.43	3.29	0.73	0.91	0.03	0.00	0.11	0.02	0.00	0.41	101.21
6	94.97	0.44	2.64	0.60	0.26	0.04	0.00	0.38	0.00	0.00	0.45	99.78
7	93.58	0.45	3.45	0.80	0.39	0.09	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.00	0.15	98.99
8	94.46	0.53	3.18	0.46	0.43	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.59	99.68
9	93.86	0.49	3.17	0.73	0.39	0.00	0.00	0.37	0.01	0.00	0.30	99.32
10	94.81	0.51	3.18	0.69	0.36	0.09	0.00	0.05	0.08	0.00	0.12	99.89
11	93.43	0.49	3.38	0.62	0.57	0.04	0.00	0.01	0.07	0.31	0.27	99.19
12	94.71	0.57	3.03	0.76	0.30	0.05	0.00	0.34	0.01	0.00	0.27	100.04
13	93.44	0.37	3.55	0.76	0.00	0.13	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.40	98.66
14	93.96	0.23	3.22	0.66	0.37	0.00	0.00	0.41	0.02	0.00	0.33	99.20
15	92.44	0.41	3.27	0.48	0.59	0.00	0.00	0.26	0.00	0.00	0.23	97.68

Table 3

AVERAGED VALUES AND COUNTING STATISTICS FOR THE RESULTS GIVEN IN TABLE 2
FOR THE PHILOSOPHERS PLATE

	Ag-L	Au-M	Cu-K	Pb-M	Bi-L	Zn-K	Sn-L	As-L	Sb-L	Cd-L	Cl-K	Total
Ave.	94.11	0.48	3.29	0.67	0.40	0.04	0.00	0.22	0.03	0.02	0.34	99.60
+/-	0.82	0.10	0.38	0.10	0.22	0.04	0.00	0.23	0.03	0.08	0.14	0.88
Count												
Stats												
Rel%	0.50	14.11	1.88	9.41	25.41	25.46	25.50	25.50	25.50	24.63	4.29	

In a study concerned primarily with ancient iron objects and copper alloy objects, Johnson and Francis of the Batelle Memorial Institute conducted a study of the corrosion penetration in microns per 1000 years for a whole series of objects gleaned from the archaeological literature.²² The compilation revealed that many copper alloys had a corrosion rate of penetration between 100 and 1000 microns per 1000 years. Work by the present author has suggested that the lower end of this scale is also a rate that applies to some silver alloy objects, if the corrosion penetration of a uniform crust is measured below the surface zone of the object.²³ In the case of a Chimu silver bead from South America, for example, a rate between 50 and 80 microns per 1000 years could be measured, while a medieval Spanish coin gave a corrosion rate of about 30 to 50 microns per 1000 years. This kind of information is obviously of limited applicability, since buried artifacts

from some sites are occasionally found to be completely uncorroded or, in other cases, to be totally converted to corrosion products. But in cases where uniform corrosion penetration can be measured, the approximate time frame may be of some interest. With the aim of applying this data to the two plates under study, one notes that the Fisherman plate has a penetration of 104 microns, while the Philosophers plate has a penetration of about 78 microns.

Sea burial can be quite destructive to silver objects, since the chloride and sulphide ions found in marine environments increase the reactivity of the metal, and the formation of silver sulphide or silver chloride corrosion products does not provide much protection against continued corrosion. As a result, corrosion rates may be much faster than those estimated here. North and MacLeod give estimates of between $5 \times 1/10000$ mm per year to

22. A. B. Johnson, Jr., and B. Francis, "Durability of Metals from Archaeological Objects, Metal Meteorites and Native Metals." U.S. Department of Energy, contract no. EV-76-C-06-1830; Batelle Memo-

rial Institute, Ohio, report no. PNL-3198 UC-70 (1980).

23. D. A. Scott, "The Corrosive Penetration of Copper and Silver Alloys after Long Periods of Burial," 1989 (unpublished manuscript).

Table 4

SEMIQUANTITATIVE INDUCTIVELY COUPLED PLASMA/MASS SPECTROMETRY REPORT ON THE PHILOSOPHERS PLATE

	ppm	Detection limit		ppm	Detection limit
Aluminum	nd<3600	3600	Mercury	nd<8	8
Antimony	nd<17	17	Molybdenum	nd<0.9	0.9
Arsenic	nd<2200	2200	Neodymium	nd<0.9	0.9
Barium	nd<25	25	Nickel	nd<11	11
Beryllium	nd<4	4	Niobium	nd<0.9	0.9
Bismuth	371	1	Osmium	nd<0.9	0.9
Boron	nd<12000	12000	Palladium	8.7	0.9
Bromine	nd<350	350	Platinum	nd<3	3
Cadmium	4.4	0.9	Praseodymium	nd<0.9	0.9
Calcium	nd<2900	2900	Rhenium	nd<0.9	0.9
Cerium	nd<0.9	0.9	Rhodium	nd<0.9	0.9
Cesium	nd<1	1	Rubidium	nd<13	13
Chromium	450	250	Ruthenium	nd<0.9	0.9
Cobalt	nd<0.9	0.9	Samarium	1.3	0.9
Copper	27300	9	Selenium	nd<320	320
Dysprosium	nd<0.9	0.9	Silver	131000	0.9
Erbium	nd<0.9	0.9	Sodium	nd<20000	20000
Europium	nd<0.9	0.9	Strontium	nd<62	62
Gadolinium	nd<0.9	0.9	Tantalum	nd<0.9	0.9
Gallium	11	7	Tellurium	nd<4	4
Germanium	26	7	Thallium	nd<1	1
Gold	2560	0.9	Thorium	nd<0.9	0.9
Hafnium	nd<2	2	Thulium	nd<0.9	0.9
Holmium	nd<0.9	0.9	Tin	nd<13	13
Iodine	225	7	Titanium	nd<77	77
Iridium	nd<0.9	0.9	Tungsten	nd<88	88
Iron	nd<550	550	Uranium	nd<0.9	0.9
Lanthanum	nd<0.9	0.9	Vanadium	nd<2700	2700
Lead	4940	85	Ytterbium	nd<0.9	0.9
Lithium	nd<170	170	Yttrium	nd<0.9	0.9
Lutetium	nd<6	6	Zinc	nd<16	16
Magnesium	nd<390	390	Zirconium	nd<89	89
Manganese	nd<25	25			

Elements not analyzed: all gases, C, P, S, K, Si, Sc, In, Tb
nd = not detected

greater than $1.5 \times 1/100$ mm per year.²⁴ These translate to 0.5 microns per year and 15 microns per year respectively, but in these cases they may have been measuring the total concretion thickness rather than the depth of corrosive penetration into the remaining sound silver grains taken from the original surface of the object, which is the measurement made here.

THE FISHERMAN PLATE

There appear to be many superficial differences between the Philosophers plate and the Fisherman plate. The most striking are the extraordinary thickness of the figures on the Fisherman plate (which approximate 6 mm in maximum thickness), the greater degree of corrosion, and the fact that parts of the design of this plate are gilded (such as the border, fish baskets, drapery, net, and jar with worms and other marine animals). On the other hand, both plates show evidence of having come from a marine environment, and both appear to have designs completed by carving to shape.

The Fisherman plate required very little conservation work at the Getty Museum, even though its surfaces have suffered extensive corrosion. The surfaces had already been cleaned before the object came to the Museum, and two small areas had been filled with epoxy resin. The Fisherman plate was examined carefully on the reverse in the vicinity of the footing, which now appears partially lost and bent out of shape. Indeed, there are some features of the footing that need to be carefully examined. It is not obvious at first sight what the correct interpretation of this area should be. The jagged edge of the footing appears to be a double layer, attached to an inner ring of hard material whose identity is not immediately apparent: it could have been a fill used inside the footing to strengthen it; it could be the remains of an additional metallic component that is now very heavily corroded; or it could be a corrosion crust attached to the metal. To resolve the question, a polished cross-section of this material was studied microscopically under polarized light. This material was found to be a thick corrosion concretion of the footing that incorporates several mineral and quartz grains, together with well-developed needle-shaped crystals of silver halides and the remains of plant stems and other organic debris from the sea burial. Since the condition of the plate before conservation is not known, it now appears probable that the thick crust of corrosion remaining in this area of the footing is representative of the hard corrosion crust that may have cov-

ered much more of the object before mechanical cleaning was undertaken.

From a visual examination it is not at all obvious how the footing was fabricated. However, the X-radiograph (fig. 9) shows that a joint was effected between the two components, with the footing hammered out along the plate itself in a rather uneven fashion.²⁵ No solder can be seen in the area of the joint, but soldering remains the most probable method used to join the two parts.

Samples for study of the Fisherman plate were removed from the footing edge and from an area of the surface near the broken edge. The samples were removed by careful detachment with a jeweller's saw. The polished cross-section reveals the considerable thickness of the corrosion crust (visible in fig. 10). The polished section was etched in acidified aqueous potassium dichromate solution in which the grain structure could be examined. The grain structure of the plate is surprisingly large, with an ASTM number of 3 and prominent, well-developed twinning passing across some of the large grains. These twin lines are predominantly straight, showing that the final stage of manufacture was an annealing operation. Evidence of the hammered-out cast dendritic structure of the original ingot from which the plate was made can clearly be seen orientated along the length of the section, with several banded zones of slightly different concentrations of silver and copper being visible. This evidence suggests that, even if the Fisherman plate was cast approximately to shape from the original ingot, a substantial amount of working and annealing still took place before the plate arrived at its final form. If silver alloys are over-annealed, grain growth may occur, with the result that the worked structure may recrystallize with large grains; these grains are mechanically weak and are generally avoided in the modern mechanical working of these alloys. Over-annealing in both silver and gold alloys is common in both ancient and more modern metalwork; a rise of only 100 degrees centigrade in the annealing temperature may make the difference between a grain size of ASTM number 8 compared with ASTM 3.²⁶ The polished section taken from the footing of the Fisherman plate, shown in figure 11, reveals clear evidence of cold-working in the form of elongated copper oxide inclusions running parallel to the thickness of the silver sheet. The length-to-breadth ratio of these inclusions varies from about 8:1 to 12:1, and this degree of elongation confirms that a considerable amount of working and annealing of the silver footing took place. The size of the grains in the footing

24. N. North and I. D. MacLeod, "Corrosion of Metals," in *Conservation of Marine Archaeological Objects*, edited by Colin Pearson (London, 1987), pp. 94–95.

25. The X-radiography work was carried out by J. Maish and

M. Elston in 1990 using the facilities at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, with the kind assistance of P. Meyers.

26. American Society for Metals, *Metallography and Microstructures*, 9th ed. (Metals Park, Ohio, 1985).

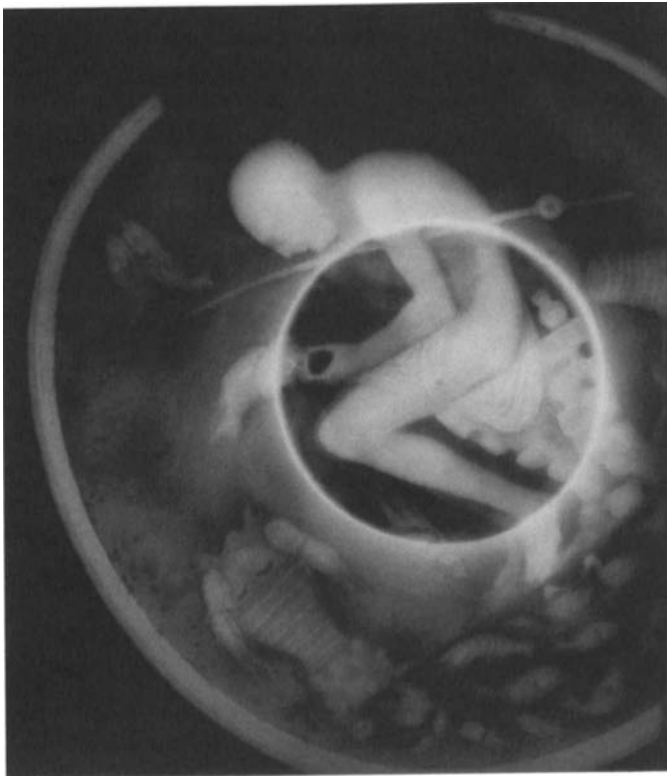


Figure 9. Print made from an X-radiograph of the Fisherman plate taken at 250KV, 8mA for 2.5 minutes at a distance from source of 50 inches. Note the greater thickness of the central Fisherman and also the thickened rim. The area below the line passing across the lower right-hand side of the radiograph is an area of less thick silver, corresponding to the sea in which the fish are depicted swimming. Note the loss to the upper central region of the radiograph, which has been filled in with resin. The radiograph shows that the footing was added to the plate by hammering, probably with a solder addition, although this cannot be seen on the radiograph.

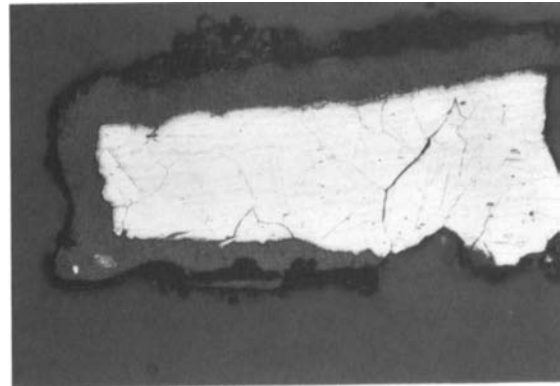


Figure 10. Photomicrograph of part of the Fisherman plate, taken from the broken edge of the plate, showing the depth of corrosive penetration and the preservation of surface detail in the corrosion crust. The section has been etched in acidified potassium dichromate and shows a very large grain size. The squashed dendritic segregation passing along the length of the section of the plate as a result of working and annealing can just be discerned. The fact that this segregation can still be seen shows that the Fisherman plate was worked to shape from a cast ingot of silver. The ingot has undergone considerable deformation to reach the shape that it now has, even if it was cast approximately to shape in ingot form. Magnification: $\times 65$.

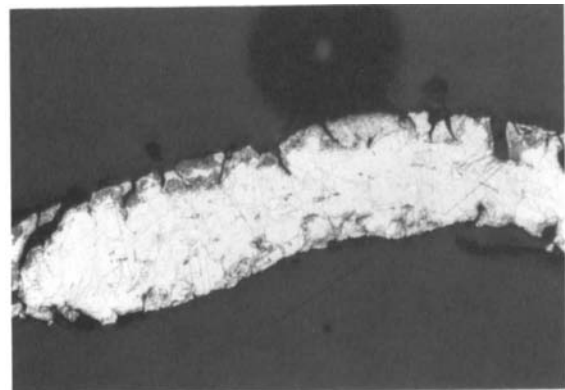


Figure 11. Photomicrograph of part of the footing from the Fisherman plate, which also shows a large grain size. The corrosion crust on the footing has been partially cleaned, and part of the crust is so thick that it incorporates organic material and quartz grains and has broken away from this section. Dendritic segregation cannot be seen here in the etched section, suggesting that working and annealing were more substantial here than on the plate itself. The footing has been extensively worked, but final annealing operations on the finished plate probably resulted in the whole assembly being over-annealed. Magnification: $\times 65$.

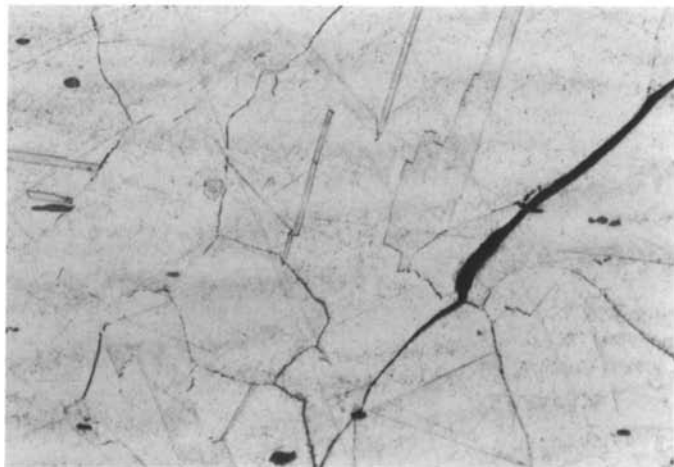


Figure 12. Photomicrograph of part of the large grains of the Fisherman plate, showing prominent twinning in which the twin lines are straight. Note the presence of a pronounced grain inter-crystalline crack, which is partly transcrystalline also, and the discontinuous precipitation of copper-rich areas (dark regions) at the grain boundaries. Etched in acidified potassium dichromate; magnification: $\times 253$.

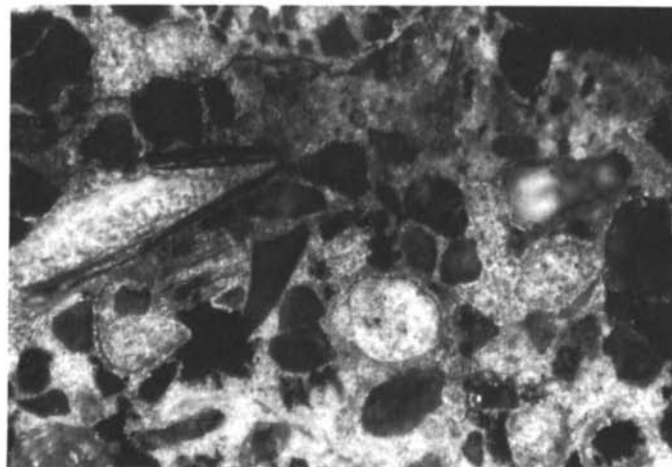


Figure 13. Photomicrograph under partially polarized light of part of the corrosion crust on the inside surface of the footing of the Fisherman plate. The crust incorporates some plant debris, quartz grains, and other minerals in a matrix consisting of silver chloride and silver bromide. The organic plant stems have been preserved by impregnation with silver salts. Un-etched; magnification: $\times 184$.

varies from ASTM 4 to 5, with long, curved grain boundaries.

The fact that the grains are so similar in both the footing of the Fisherman plate and in the plate itself does not help to support the argument that the plate may have been cast approximately to its present shape, since it is quite certain that the footing was worked and annealed to shape. Yet the grains in both are very similar, suggesting that over-annealing is a more likely explanation than a very limited amount of working. (Figures 12 and 13 illustrate the microstructure of the plate and part of the corrosion crust.) There is, however, an astonishing depth of removal of silver between some areas of the background of the Fisherman plate and the design itself. It is hard to accept the theory that all of this silver was removed by carving to shape. However, the scientific evidence gathered thus far does not permit us to postulate more than the crude shaping of different areas of the design by means of hammering from the front. This process would have been completed by carving and, perhaps, by surface chasing, followed by foil gilding. X-ray fluorescence analysis clearly reveals the presence of mercury, and the gilded areas have a thick covering of gold that was probably applied as a foil attached with amalgam.

ANALYTICAL STUDIES OF THE FISHERMAN PLATE

The first set of analyses obtained from the plate were also carried out by EDXRF and the results are presented in

Table 5. On the unpolished front surface of the plate (nos. 3–6) the gold contents are slightly elevated due to the presence of traces of mercury amalgam gilded gold areas, as revealed by analysis number 7 in Table 5.

The elements that were detected in the silver were: copper, gold, lead, bromine, chlorine, and silver. The bromine and chlorine occur here from the corrosion of the plate, in which the existence of AgBr or AgCl accounts for the ubiquitous presence of these two elements. The percentage of copper in unpolished areas of the surface ranges from 0.46% and 0.92% and is generally low due to selective loss of copper from the surfaces as a result of oxidation and corrosion. Examination of polished cross-sections illustrates the extent of this corrosion. The percentage of copper determined on polished areas of the surface in analyses no. 9, 8, and 10B reveals a concentration range between 0.97% and 1.4%, which is still rather low but in an acceptable range for copper content of silver alloys of this kind. The gold concentrations on polished areas are from 0.61% to 0.68%, while the lead concentrations range from 0.57% to 0.67%.

The second set of analyses was carried out by EPMA using a polished cross-section of the plate. The results of this analysis are given in tables 6 and 7. The following elements were detected by electron microprobe analysis: silver, gold, copper, lead, bismuth, zinc, tin, arsenic, antimony, cadmium, and chlorine. Tin and cadmium were generally not detectable since many elements cannot

be analyzed with confidence below the 100 ppm (0.01 wt%) level. There is good agreement between the EDXRF and EPMA analyses for those elements that can be detected by both methods. For example, the average gold concentration by EPMA is 0.59%, while the gold determined by EDXRF is between 0.61% and 0.68%. Apart from a small, lead-rich area detected by EPMA, the lead levels found range from 0.26% to 0.66%. The lead levels determined by EDXRF are slightly higher.

Significant findings of the EPMA data include the determination of zinc, arsenic, and bismuth levels. The zinc level averages 0.03% (although zinc was not detectable in seven of the analyses carried out). It should be noted that the zinc content of silver objects dating from the period between circa A.D. 1525 and 1650 generally shows zinc contents ranging between 0.05% and 2.14%, with many analyses falling between 0.2% and 0.35% zinc.²⁷ The data suggests that the Fisherman plate is unlikely to be of Renaissance date. Detailed analysis was also carried out by means of ICP-MS. The sample size (1–2 mg) was unfortunately rather small for good quantitative data to be obtained, and the results listed in Table 8 are really only semiquantitative. The elements bismuth, cadmium, chromium, copper, gallium, germanium, gold, iodine, lead, palladium, samarium, mercury, neodymium, nickel, platinum, and zinc were detected. The elements iodine, samarium, and neodymium are particularly associated with sea burial and tend to confirm that the environment in which the plates were found was indeed a marine site. Despite being semiquantitative, the lead content at 2880 ppm (0.29%), copper at 7290 ppm (0.73%), and gold at 2190 ppm (0.22%) are all reasonable in the light of the EDXRF and EPMA data.

LEAD ISOTOPE STUDIES

Samples for lead isotope studies were taken from both plates, from the edge of the plate itself in the case of the Philosophers plate and from the footring of the base of the Fisherman plate. These samples were submitted to the United States Department of Commerce's National Institute of Standards and Technology, where they were analyzed for lead isotopes by Robert Vocke.²⁸ The results of this study, together with some comparative data for Byzantine objects that was kindly supplied by Pieter Meyers,²⁹ are shown in Table 9. Lead isotope data has been

used in studies of archaeological and historical metals to try to group them into certain regions or time periods, dependent on the lead ores from which the silver was often extracted. This data is usually presented as a plot of the ratios of lead 208/206 versus lead 207/206. In a recent publication, Reedy and Reedy argue that there are advantages in using fractional lead isotope data for comparative purposes rather than the traditional ratio plots.³⁰ The data for the Byzantine objects that have been studied is probably insufficient to draw a firm conclusion concerning the question as to whether the lead isotope data obtained can be used to determine the date or period of origin of the plates. As far as the author is aware, there is only one published lead isotope datum for any Renaissance silver object, and that is a silver basin after Strozzi.³¹ Based on the very limited data available, the Philosophers plate lead isotope ratios are very close to those of the small group of other Byzantine silver objects that have been analyzed. The Fisherman plate ratios are similar to a ewer handle in the Hermitage Museum, but there is really insufficient data at the present time to comment further on this apart from making the point that the different ratios tend to confirm the impression that the two objects are related by burial context only and were not made from the same silver stock or even necessarily at the same time. The only Renaissance lead isotope data available to the author is very different from these findings, as can be seen from the ratios given in Table 9.

CONCLUSIONS

Some of the evidence presented here suggests that there was probably no great time difference between the manufacture of the Philosophers plate and the Fisherman plate; certainly it is most unlikely that one is Renaissance and the other "late antique." From the condition of the two objects, and the fact that both have been shown by their corrosion crust to contain elements associated with marine burial, it is probable that they were found together. It would follow that if the Fisherman plate is accepted as being ancient, then it is very probable that the Philosophers plate is also ancient.

The Philosophers plate, in particular, illustrates the following points:

- (1) There have been some suggestions that the icon-

27. G. Martin, "Analysis of Silver Objects in the Collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum." Victoria and Albert Museum report, 1987.

28. R. Vocke, "Report on Lead Isotope Analysis for the Getty Conservation Institute," 1990.

29. P. Meyers, personal communication, 1990.

30. C. L. Reedy and T. J. Reedy, "Lead Isotope Analysis for Provenance Studies in the Aegean Region: A Re-Evaluation," in *Materials Issues in Art and Archaeology*, edited by E. V. Sayre, P. Vandiver, J. Druzik, and C. Stevenson (*Materials Research Society Symposium Proceedings* 123 [1988], pp. 65–70).

31. D. A. Scott, "Technological, Analytical and Microstructural Studies of a Renaissance Silver Basin," *Archaeomaterials* (forthcoming).

Table 8

SEMIQUANTITATIVE INDUCTIVE COUPLED PLASMA/MASS
SPECTROMETRY REPORT ON THE FISHERMAN PLATE

	ppm	Detection limit		ppm	Detection limit
Aluminum	nd<1700	1700	Mercury	5	4
Antimony	nd<8	8	Molybdenum	nd<0.4	0.4
Arsenic	nd<1200	1200	Neodymium	0.6	0.4
Barium	nd<12	12	Nickel	22	5
Beryllium	nd<2	2	Niobium	nd<0.4	0.4
Bismuth	66	0.5	Osmium	nd<0.4	0.4
Boron	nd<5600	5600	Palladium	4.9	0.4
Bromine	nd<170	170	Platinum	3	1
Cadmium	2.6	0.4	Praseodymium	nd<0.4	0.4
Calcium	nd<1400	1400	Rhenium	nd<0.4	0.4
Cerium	nd<0.4	0.4	Rhodium	nd<0.4	0.4
Cesium	nd<0.6	0.6	Rubidium	nd<6	6
Chromium	230	120	Ruthenium	nd<0.4	0.4
Cobalt	nd<0.4	0.4	Samarium	1	0.4
Copper	7290	4	Selenium	nd<150	150
Dysprosium	nd<0.4	0.4	Silver	71300	0.4
Erbium	nd<0.4	0.4	Sodium	nd<9400	9400
Europium	nd<0.4	0.4	Strontium	nd<30	30
Gadolinium	nd<0.4	0.4	Tantalum	nd<0.4	0.4
Gallium	6	3	Tellurium	nd<2	2
Germanium	14	3	Thallium	nd<0.6	0.6
Gold	2190	0.4	Thorium	nd<0.4	0.4
Hafnium	nd<1	1	Thulium	nd<0.4	0.4
Holmium	nd<0.4	0.4	Tin	nd<6	6
Iodine	35	3	Titanium	nd<37	37
Iridium	nd<0.4	0.4	Tungsten	nd<42	42
Iron	nd<260	260	Uranium	nd<0.4	0.4
Lanthanum	nd<0.4	0.4	Vanadium	nd<1300	1300
Lead	2880	41	Ytterbium	nd<0.4	0.4
Lithium	nd<84	84	Yttrium	nd<0.4	0.4
Lutetium	nd<3	3	Zinc	31	8
Magnesium	nd<190	190	Zirconium	nd<43	43
Manganese	nd<12	12			

Elements not analyzed: all gases, C, P, S, K, Si, Sc, In, Tb
nd = not detected

Table 9

LEAD ISOTOPE DATA FOR THE GETTY MUSEUM'S SILVER PLATES AND DATA FOR SOME OTHER SILVER OBJECTS

Sample no.	Pb isotopic ratios			Museum	Object	Date	Museum Acc. No.
	208/206	207/206	204/206				
LE.230	2.0802	0.8390	0.05338	Hermitage Museum	Ewer (handle)	582–602 A.D.	omega 826
LE.174	2.0704	0.8368	0.05353	Hermitage Museum	Dish with Venus	c. 6th C. A.D. (c. 550 A.D.)	omega 3
BI.10	2.0741	0.8386	0.05363	Metropolitan Museum	“Cyprus” silver plate	c. 6th C. A.D.	17190.394
BI.11	2.0719	0.8380	0.05368	Metropolitan Museum	“Cyprus” silver plate (rim of foot)		17190.396
BI.13	2.0739	0.8383	0.05338	Metropolitan Museum	“Cyprus” silver plate	c. 630 A.D.	52.25.2
112.A.85	2.0736	0.83743	0.053503	Getty Museum	Philosophers plate	c. 4th–6th C. A.D.	83.AM.342
113.A.85	2.0804	0.84215	0.053703	Getty Museum	Fisherman plate	c. 2nd–4th C. A.D.	83.AM.347
188.G.87	2.10381	0.83404	0.05252	Getty Museum	Strozzi basin	c. 1625 A.D.	143.SB.82

ographic detail on the Philosophers plate cannot have been produced in the early centuries A.D. On the other hand, some art historians have drawn attention to the existence of an early renaissance of classical themes during the period around the fourth century A.D. The art historical interpretation of the design is therefore open to differing opinion among experts on the subject.

(2) The penetration of corrosion into the sound silver grains of the Philosophers plate is analogous to the penetration associated with the Fisherman plate. If the Fisherman plate is accepted as being ancient, then it is reasonable to accept the Philosophers plate as being ancient. The depth of corrosive penetration into the sound silver metal would be surprising if the plates were from the Renaissance.

(3) The displaced grain boundaries that are shown by the plate are associated with ancient silver and are not generally found with silver of more recent date, which may be only a few hundred years old. Grain structures of silver of Renaissance date examined by the author can show discontinuous precipitation, but this is usually of the kind associated with heating during annealing or soldering operations rather than the typical grain structures visible in ancient silver. There is, however, no doubt that this subject requires further research.

(4) The Philosophers plate contains a substantial trace of gold; the levels of gold found here are consistent with other objects from the Byzantine or Late Roman period that have been analyzed. Objects from the Renaissance usually have lower levels of gold impurities.

(5) The lack of any zinc content is more typical of ancient silver. Most Renaissance silver contains measurable zinc derived from the copper used as an alloying addition. These levels of zinc are much greater than the 31 parts per million found in the Fisherman plate. No zinc was detected in the Philosophers plate.

(6) The extraordinary method of working the plate by removal of part of the surface by carving is a technique that is known to have been used on Byzantine and Sasanian silverware, but it is not a technique associated with Renaissance methods of silverworking.

(7) Based on the data currently available, the lead isotope ratios for the Philosophers plate are similar to the ratios for some other Byzantine silver objects.

To date, all available arguments cannot scientifically prove a specific date of manufacture for the Philosophers plate or the Fisherman plate. However, I think we are justified in proposing as a strong probability that both of the plates were made in antiquity.

Ancient Repairs of Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum

Maya Elston

In 1983 the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired fragments of a large Attic red-figure kylix that had been damaged and repaired in ancient times.¹ The break occurs at the join of the bowl and stem. A bronze "sleeve" support, 3.6 cm in diameter and 3.4 cm in height and inserted into the stem through the opening on the underside of the foot, indicates an ancient repair (fig. 1). This sleeve, now heavily corroded, has an opening 4 mm in diameter in its center, suggesting that a pin was once attached there, connecting the bowl to the foot.

In 1985 the Museum acquired additional fragments that belong to this reconstructed kylix.² One of these fragments, from the center of the tondo, is pierced with a hole 4 mm in diameter, which corresponds precisely to the opening in the bronze sleeve support (fig. 2).

After a careful examination of the fracture and remains of the ancient restoration, we can draw some important conclusions about the manufacture and repair of the kylix in ancient times. An examination of the ancient repairs found on other Greek vases in the Museum's collection and two belonging to the Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia in Rome will follow these conclusions. This examination of ancient techniques for repairing broken vases will end with some speculations about the reasons for the repairs and several questions concerning vase repair techniques in antiquity.

The two principal parts of the Getty Museum's kylix, the foot and the bowl, were thrown separately on the potter's wheel. During the throwing process, a concentric groove was made on each piece; one is located on the upper surface of the foot, the other on the underside of the bowl (fig. 3). Although these grooves were intended to facilitate the joining of the two pieces, they were not meant to be a true mechanical joint since they do not correspond to one another exactly. When the clay had

dried to leather-hard consistency, the bowl and stem were united, the bond secured with wet clay or slip. It is important to note here that the wet clay did not cover the entire surface of the join but instead was concentrated along the outermost edges, leaving a sizable void between the foot and bowl on the interior. Consequently, the kylix was left exceedingly weak at its most structurally critical point.

The outside profile of the foot was filled and its contour made smooth; when dry, the kylix was then decorated both inside and out. A curious lapse seems to have occurred during the process of decoration. One would think that when the vase was upturned for painting, the gap between the foot and the bowl on the interior of the stem would have been sufficiently conspicuous to warrant correction, yet there is no indication that any additional clay was ever applied to this gap on the interior of the foot.

We cannot know whether this large pot broke immediately after firing or at some later time. In any case, after the damage occurred, the vase was repaired with a mending technique that reinstated the vase's structural integrity while remaining relatively unobtrusive.

This repair consists of two metal elements: the bronze sleeve mentioned above and a pin, now lost, but probably also made of bronze and approximately 4.5 cm in length. The repair seems to have been carried out in the following manner: first, the metal sleeve was worked to fit into the hollow interior of the stem; then a hole was drilled through the center of the tondo; finally, a pin, or rivet, was threaded through the hole and connected to the sleeve within the stem, thereby securing the join (fig. 4).

After the repair was made, the tip of the pin, which was countersunk into the tondo, and the fractured edge of the break were probably filled with clay or grout and finished to disguise the repair. Thus, it was difficult to tell that the

I am very grateful to Jerry Podany for his encouragement and advice. I would also like to thank the staff of the Department of Antiquities, especially Karol Wight and Karen Manchester, to whom I am much indebted for reading, correcting, and editing my text.

1. 83.AE.362. Diam (restored rim): 46.6 cm; Diam (bowl): 20.5 cm. *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984), p. 246, no. 73. A more

thorough consideration of this kylix will be published by Dr. Dyfri Williams, Assistant Keeper, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, The British Museum. His article will appear in a forthcoming volume of the Getty Museum's *Occasional Papers on Antiquities*.

2. 85.AE.385. Greatest extent of the two fragments: 10.8 cm and 21.5 cm. *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987), p. 191, no. 47.



Figure 1. Attic red-figure kylix attributed to the Onesimos Painter. The heavy corrosion on the bronze sleeve inserted into the foot places the repair in ancient times. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AE.362.



Figure 2. Fragments of the tondo of the kylix attributed to the Onesimos Painter. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AE.385.

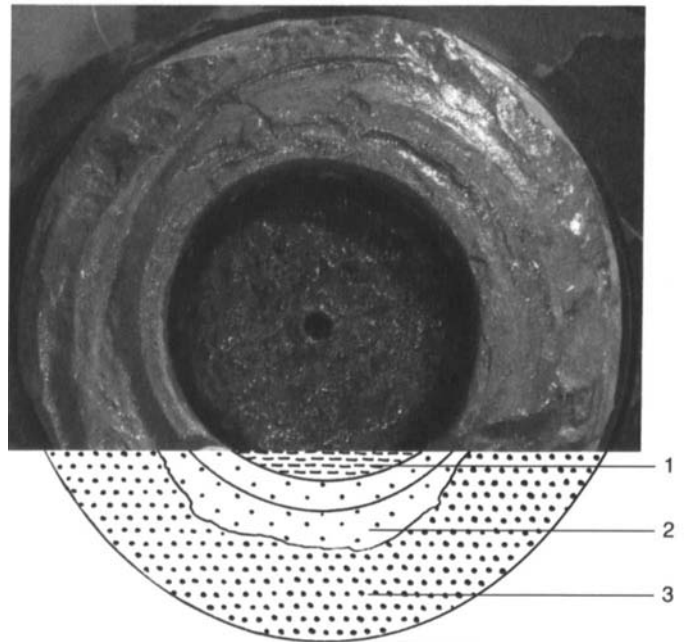


Figure 3. Detail of the upper part of the foot of the kylix by the Onesimos Painter. 1. Bronze sleeve (or cup) and a hole for the rivet at the center. 2. Section of the groove. 3. Added clay to join the bowl to the foot.

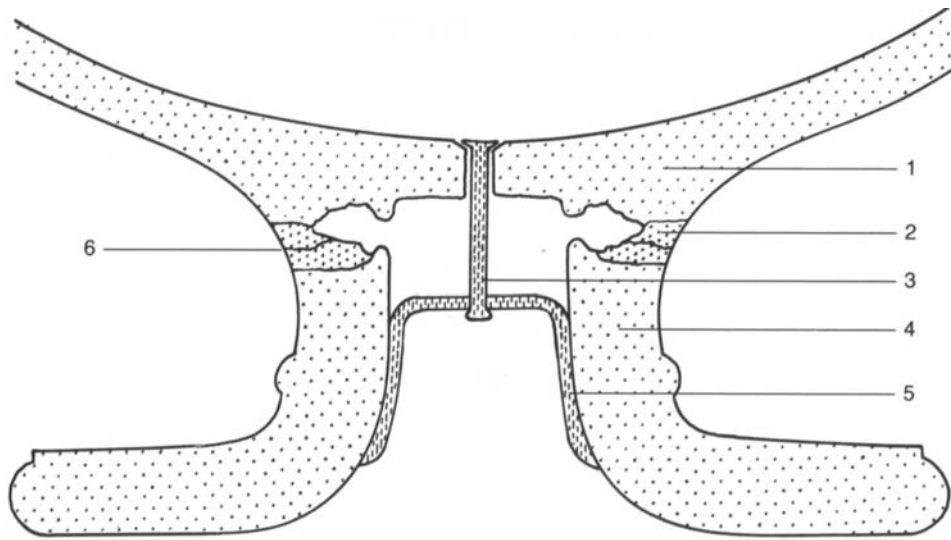


Figure 4. Cross-section of the lower part of the bowl and foot of the kylix by the Onesimos Painter. The elements of the ancient repair are included. 1. Lower part of the bowl and a hole drilled at the center. 2. Added clay. 3. Rivet connecting the bowl to the sleeve. 4. Foot. 5. Bronze sleeve. 6. Area of the fracture. Drawing by author.

object had been damaged and mended. The exquisite artistic quality of this cup, together with its unusually large dimensions and its dedicatory inscription, would indicate that this was a unique object: unobtrusive repair was an aesthetic necessity, and it appears that the major concern was to avoid damaging the decorated surface. However, the rivet was too thin to hold the cup securely. Was some additional support or mount made to keep this oversized kylix balanced during the time when it was on display? Such concern for objects was not unusual in antiquity. When reattaching the foot to the bowl, or the handles to the body of a vase, or when joining together broken sherds, ancient craftsmen seem to have possessed a keen appreciation for the importance of the objects being repaired. Such care suggests that the object was considered important for aesthetic, ritualistic, or monetary reasons.

A particularly interesting method of repairing the foot of a vessel is evident on another vase in the Getty's collection, an Attic red-figure kylix attributed to the Euaion Painter (fig. 5).³ Here the fracture occurred on the lower part of the stem, just below the fillet. The only visible evidence of mending is provided by a bronze disk, 4.5 cm in diameter, found under the foot, and a section of a bronze pin inserted into the stem. The disk has two perforations, each approximately 3 mm in diameter. The

function of these perforations is uncertain, but they may have held the disk in place.

The interior configuration of the repair work became clear when the vessel was examined with X-rays (fig. 6a). A thin sheet of metal, only as wide as the diameter of the stem's interior, was attached (perhaps welded) at a right angle to the upper surface of the disk, which had been shaped to fit snugly into the opening at the base of the stem. Once this was put in place, the mender drilled a hole above the break that went through both the terra-cotta stem and the sheet of bronze within. A pin, also bronze, was then threaded through the holes to hold the two pieces together. Although corroded, all the components of this repair are preserved.

The use of such elaborate techniques to repair the foot of a vase was not uncommon in ancient times.⁴ For example, two vases in the Villa Giulia bear traces of complex ancient repairs. The structural emphasis of the repairs is noteworthy, as is the extensive drilling into the ceramic surfaces of both objects. In one, an Attic black-figure kylix,⁵ the break occurred on the upper part of the stem near the join of the bowl and the foot (fig. 7). The repair probably was effected by inserting a carefully shaped piece of wood into a hole pierced in the middle of the tondo. This wooden element was held in place by two metal pins, or rivets, which were threaded through drilled

3. 86.AE.682. H: 13.2 cm; Diam: 32.1 cm. *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987), p. 162, no. 12.

4. J. M. Hemelrijk, "Plakken, lappen en verlakken." *Vereniging van Vrienden Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam, Mededelingenblad*, nr. 36

(June 1986). I wish to thank Pieter Meyers for translating part of this article for me.

5. Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 50712. *Collezione Castellani, Le ceramiche* (Rome, 1985), pp. 20–21.



Figure 5. Attic red-figure kylix by the Euaion Painter. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.251.

holes, or channels, positioned at ninety-degree angles, both above and below the fracture. The repair on the other vase, an Attic red-figure kylix,⁶ is equally complex. Again, the stem was broken from the bowl. Here the mender carved two channels into the tondo: one is well below the plane of the surface, the other superimposed above it but oriented at a ninety-degree angle (fig. 8). A single hole was drilled at the ends of the two channels. Into each of these channels was inserted a large metal staple, now missing, which held the bowl and foot together.

Within the Getty Museum's collection are many other examples of ancient foot reattachment.⁷ Among these are

6. Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia 50442. This and the preceding cup have not been examined closely; therefore, the drawings represent only a tentative reconstruction.

7. No. 1: 82.AE.125, an Attic black-figure psykter-oinochoe. H: 30.8 cm; Diam: 22.8 cm. The stem of the psykter was damaged in antiquity. Its repair consists of four pairs of lead staples, still partially preserved, that were installed on both sides of the fracture. The extensive corrosion on the staples prevents exact measurement of their diameter, which is approximately 6 mm. The outer wall was also damaged at some point. It was then cut away and its root filed down to form a narrow ridge. No. 2: 81.AE.202, an Attic black-figure cup. H: 7 cm; Diam: 14.6 cm. The foot was broken and repaired in antiquity. A lead support,

a fragmentary Attic red-figure kylix by Douris (fig. 9)⁸ and an Attic red-figure kylix by the Boot Painter.⁹ Both vessels suffered fractures on the upper part of their stems and were repaired using methods that were more common than the elaborate techniques described above. In each, a hole was drilled through the center of the tondo and a rivet, or pin, was threaded through this hole and into the hollow stem. The visible end was countersunk, the other crimped to prevent it from being lost. In this way, the two parts were held together. The pin used to repair the Douris kylix is now missing, but the diameter of the repair hole, 4 mm, indicates its size. The bronze pin in the cup by the Boot Painter is extant, its diameter

probably cast in place, still remains in the side of the stem. A large, irregularly shaped hole, about 7 mm in diameter, was opened into the center of the cup's interior, perhaps to allow hot air to escape during the casting procedure. No. 3: 79.AE.197, a fragmentary Attic black-figure band signed by Amasis as potter and attributed to him as painter. H: 8 cm; Diam: 22.1 cm. A drill hole, 5 mm in diameter, probably once held a bronze rivet.

8. 83.AE.217. H (as preserved): 12 cm; Diam (tondo): 24.1 cm. *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984), p. 245, no. 69.

9. 83.AE.251. H: 9.8 cm; Diam: 24 cm. *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984), p. 245, no. 71.



Figure 6a. X-ray of the kylix by the Euaion Painter; bronze plate seen in side view.

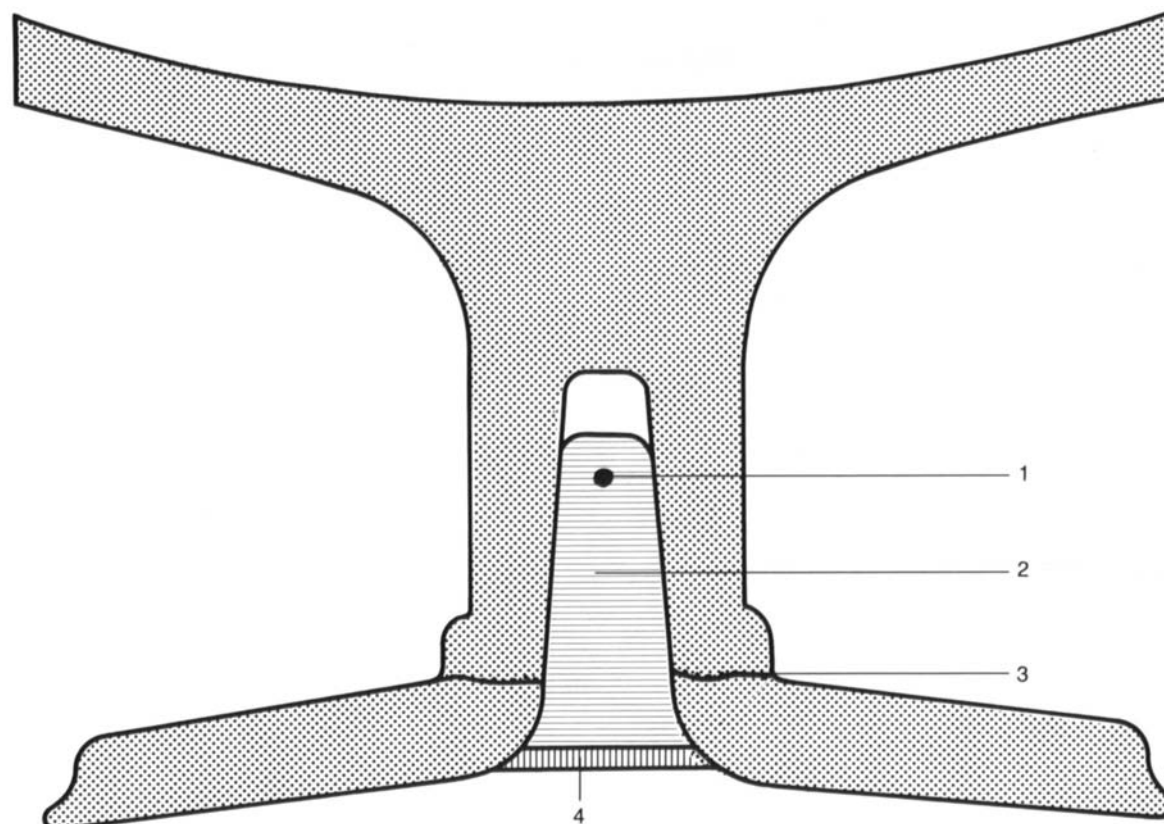


Figure 6b. Cross-section of the repaired foot. 1. Bronze pin crossing the sheet of metal. 2. Sheet of metal. 3. Break. 4. Bronze disk. Drawing by author.

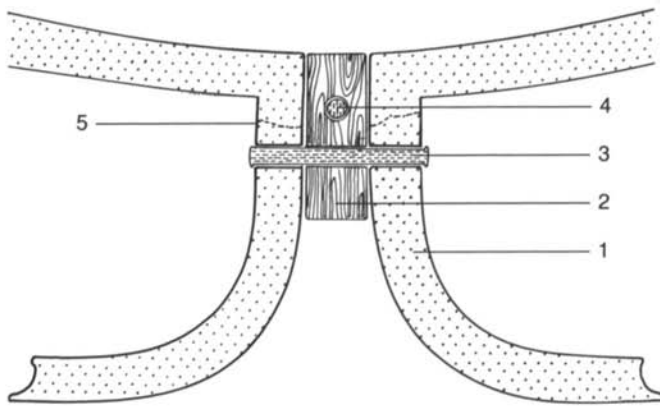


Figure 7. Configuration of the repairs made on a black-figure kylix (Rome, Villa Giulia 50712). 1. Foot. 2. Wood element. 3. Rivet. 4. Second rivet. 5. Approximate location of the fracture. Drawing by author.

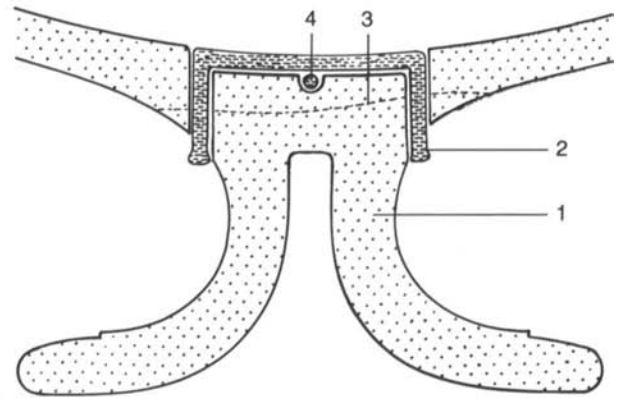


Figure 8. Configuration of the repairs made on a red-figure kylix (Rome, Villa Giulia 50442). 1. Foot. 2. Staple or rivet mounted into the groove. 3. Location of the fracture. 4. Second staple and a groove parallel to the first one. Drawing by author.



Figure 9. Attic red-figure kylix by Douris. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.AE.217.

4 mm, its length approximately 5.5 cm.

Similar techniques were used to fix other parts of broken vases.¹⁰ Fired clay, though brittle and thus easily broken, is otherwise quite durable. As a result, it is not uncommon to find objects that have survived several thousand years after their repair. To mend adjoining parts, a bow- or palm-drill may have been used to make a pair of holes along both edges of the fracture to be fixed. The two parts were held together with bits of metal, either lead or bronze, which are referred to variously as pins, staples, rivets, or clamps, depending on their shape and function. Often these were threaded through the holes, but sometimes they were cast in place. They may have been inset into a channel or groove that had been pre-cut to receive them and the repair later disguised. At other times, the metal repairs rested directly on the surface of the vase. The presence of considerable corrosion on a metal pin is a good indication that the repair was made in antiquity (fig. 10). However, when metal repairs are missing, one can also rely on the drill marks and incrustation to determine when the repair was made (figs. 11–12).

A brief survey of the vase collection of the Getty Mu-

10. J. V. Noble, *The Technique of Painted Attic Pottery* (London, 1988), p. 175.

11. Among these are No. 1: 84.AE.38, an Attic red-figure kylix attributed to the Kleomelos Painter. H: 8.5 cm; Diam: 18.8 cm. Five holes, each with a diameter of 2 mm, located to the left of one handle, indicate ancient drilling. The metal parts are now lost. No. 2: 86.AE.159, an Attic black-figure Little Master lip cup, attributed to the Tleson Painter. H: 8.4 cm; Diam: 13.4 cm. Broken fragments near the handles were reattached in antiquity with now-missing staples. No. 3: 77.AE.46, an Attic black-figure Siana cup, attributed to the Malibu Painter. A few fragments were broken and repaired in ancient times by the usual method of drilling holes and inserting staples. The metal parts have



Figure 10. Magnified view of the extensively corroded staple on a red-figure kylix. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.295.



Figure 11. Magnified view of a drill hole on a black-figure oinochoe. The residual incrustation, the soil deposit, and the shape of the drill hole, made perhaps by a palm-drill, would date the repair to ancient times. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AE.295.

seum reveals just how commonplace and widespread was the repair of ceramic objects in the ancient world.¹¹ On an Attic black-figure Little Master band cup¹² there are numerous drill holes, measuring from 1.5 to 2 mm in diameter. Some occur in pairs, others in groups of three, but all are evidence of a complicated ancient restoration (fig. 13).

An Attic black-figure oinochoe,¹³ shattered in antiquity, also has an extensively pierced surface. Here are five pairs of holes and five single holes, some of which no doubt were once part of a pair. The holes, from 2 to 4 mm in diameter, were drilled through fragments from the body and around the handles. The profile of the drill holes is conical, the larger diameter closest to the exterior face (fig. 14).

While none of the metal parts that fastened the fractures is preserved on the oinochoe, there are traces of five bronze staples still in holes of the same size that were drilled through a broken Attic red-figure bell krater in the Museum's collection.¹⁴ These bronze staples are of the type that would have rested on the surface of the object (fig. 15). Perhaps the same kind of staples were used to reattach the fragments of an Attic red-figure kylix.¹⁵

not survived. No. 4: 86.AE.149, an Attic black-glazed cup-skyphos, attributed to the Cracow Class. H: 10.6 cm; Diam: 16.5 cm. Traces of ancient repair are visible near the handles where five drill holes, each 2 mm in diameter, remain on the fractured area. The metal components are now missing.

12. 77.AE.50, unattributed. H: 14.4 cm; Diam: 20.5 cm.

13. 76.AE.93, akin to the Leagros Group. H: 22 cm; Diam: 9.3 cm.

14. 81.AE.149, unattributed. Height without foot: 25.8 cm; Diam (mouth): 31.6 cm.

15. 86.AE.295, attributed to the Tarquinia Painter. H: 12.9 cm; Diam: 29 cm. J. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1963), p. 868, 47 bis.

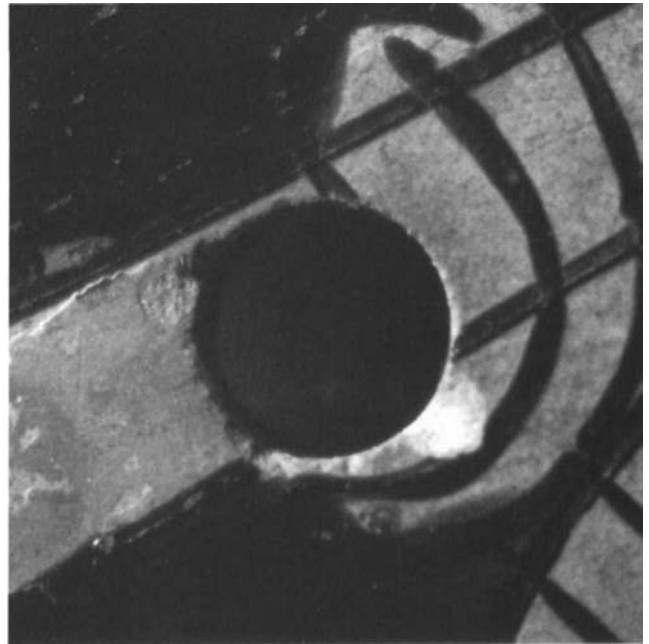


Figure 12. Magnified view of a drill hole on a red-figure kylix by Douris (Cleveland Art Museum 508.15). The precisely cut hole, probably made with a mechanical drill, would date the repair to more recent times.



Figure 13. Little Master black band cup. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.50.



Figure 14. Detail of an Attic black-figure oinochoe. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 76.AE.93.

Three pairs of holes and a single hole provide evidence of mending in antiquity (fig. 16). A comparison with the above-mentioned black-figure oinochoe reveals that the repair of this kylix was made so as to disturb the object's surface as little as possible: the diameter of the holes is only 1 mm.¹⁶

Less concern is apparent in the ancient repair of other objects in the Getty Museum's collection. An Attic red-figure kylix by the Meidias Painter¹⁷ provides an example (fig. 17). Here, to reattach two adjoining pieces, a large channel, 4.3 by .55 cm, was cut into the interior of the bowl. Two holes with differing diameters—one 3 mm, the other 4 mm—were drilled into the channel. One was placed near the end of the channel, the other positioned somewhat toward the center. Perhaps the mender cast a staple in the groove. The presence of other, smaller holes, with diameters of only 1 to 1.5 mm and all preserving traces of the original bronze staples, indicates a different approach to repairing a vase. This suggests that the kylix may have been repaired more than once in antiquity.

Channels for the bronze staples that would have reattached the broken fragments of an Attic black-figure amphora¹⁸ occur on both the body and the foot (fig. 18). Eleven grooves with drill holes at their ends are found on the shoulder. In addition, there are two pairs that correspond to a fracture in the foot. The thin metal staples, or possibly wire, that held the pieces together are now missing.

The method of preparing a groove for bridging staples of this type is well illustrated on the reattached handle of an Attic black-figure neck-amphora (fig. 19).¹⁹ Less symmetrical and not as carefully made are the drill holes on handles of a Panathenaic amphora by the Kleophrades Painter (fig. 20).²⁰ Here, in contrast, the original surface is less disturbed, since the mender did not carve a channel into the vase but evidently opted instead for staples that rested directly on the surface of the amphora. The metal

16. Even smaller are the holes of 86.AE.286, an Attic red-figure kylix type B, attributed to the Brygos Painter. H: 11.2 cm; Diam: 31.4 cm. At present, only two tiny bronze staples provide evidence of an unobtrusive restoration.

17. 82.AE.38. H: 12.4–13 cm; Diam: 35.4–35.5 cm. M. True, "A New Meidian Kylix," *Occasional Papers on Antiquities* 3 (Malibu, 1985), pp. 79–88.

18. 86.AE.73. H: 25.4–26.2 cm. For comprehensive bibliography, see A. Clark, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, fasc. 1 (Malibu, 1988), pls. 22–23 (where he inadvertently notes only 10 pairs of drill holes).

19. 86.AE.85. H: 32.8 cm; Diam: 21.9 cm, attributed to the Bareiss Painter. The repair has been thoroughly described by Moore and Bothmer ("A Neck-Amphora in the Collection of Walter Bareiss," *American Journal of Archaeology* 76 [Jan. 1972], pp. 9–11 and pl. 6, fig. 24). See also Noble (note 10), p. 175, pl. 11, and Clark (note 18), pls. 27–29.

20. 77.AE.9. H: 65 cm; Diam: 40.3 cm. S. B. Matheson, "Panathenaic Amphorae by the Kleophrades Painter," *Occasional Papers on Antiquities* 5 (Malibu, 1989), pp. 95–112.



Figure 15. Attic red-figure krater. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AE.149.

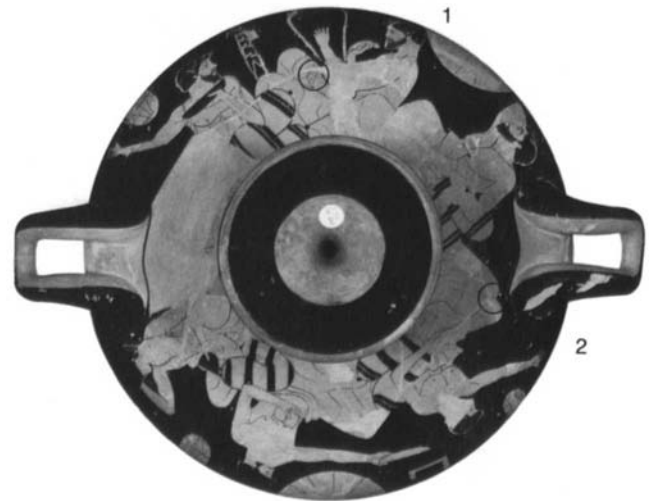


Figure 16. Attic red-figure cup type B attributed to the Tarquinia Painter. 1 and 2: locations of the ancient repair. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.295.



Figure 17. Detail of Attic red-figure kylix by the Meidias Painter. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AE.38.

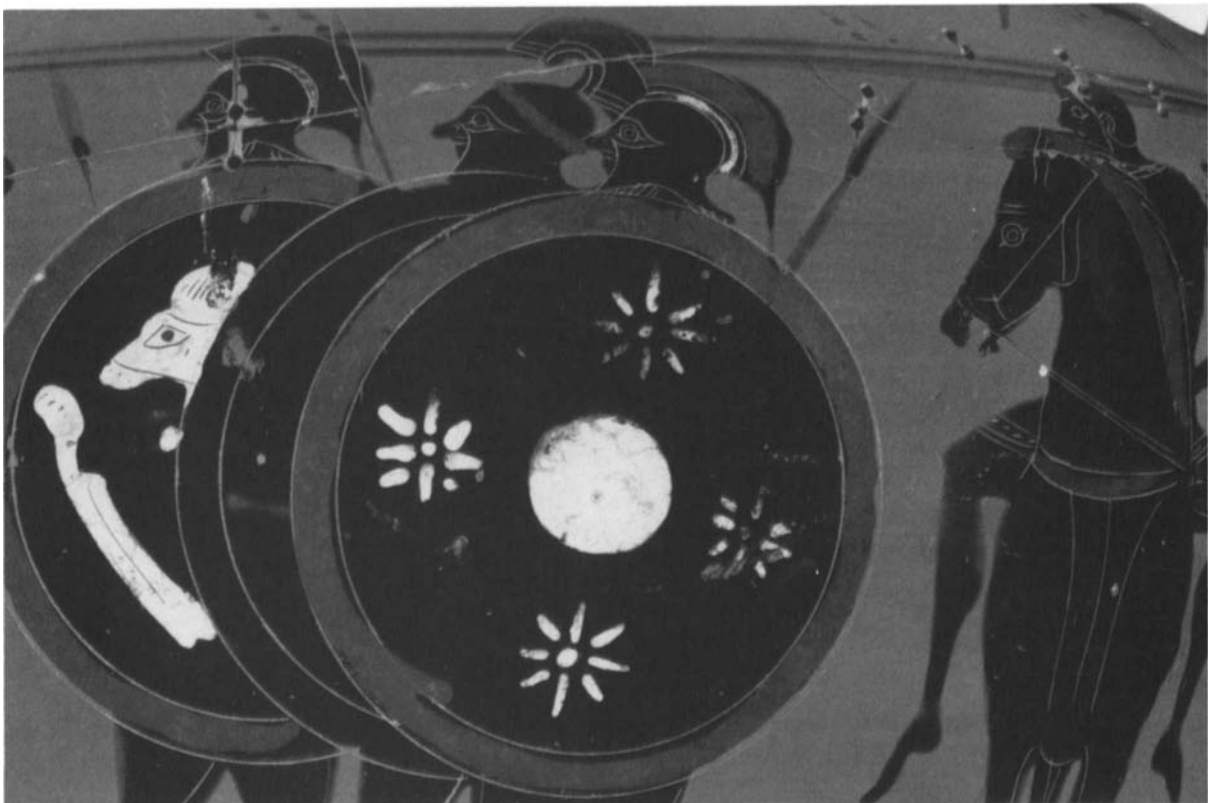


Figure 18. Detail of black-figure neck amphora. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.73.



Figure 19. Detail of black-figure neck amphora. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.85.



Figure 20. Detail of panathenaic amphora by the Kleophrades Painter. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.9.

parts of the repair are not preserved.

In all of the aforementioned instances, the ancient repair work consists of the joining together of broken parts from the same vessel. Yet the Getty Museum's collection also contains numerous examples of vases that were repaired using parts from other vases.

An Attic red-figure pelike²¹ suffered some minor damage in antiquity, with a small opening broken into the wall of the vessel (fig. 21). In the first step of the repair, the area around the break was carefully trimmed, the resulting aperture measuring 4.5 cm in diameter. Then a round sherd from another black-glazed vessel was cut to fit securely into the opening in the wall of the pelike. The alien fragment was secured to the vase with now-missing bridging staples inset into channels (fig. 22). The thickness of the replacement fragment is compatible with that of the pelike. But the spiral marks made when the vessels were turned on the potter's wheel are not parallel and are different on the two surfaces, thus providing proof that the sherd came from a different vase.

A similar technique of repair can be seen on an Attic

black-figure zone cup type A (fig. 23).²² A rim fragment from another cup of the same diameter is joined near one handle by means of staples, now missing. Three pairs of holes, each with a diameter of 2 mm, were drilled through the two parts, and a connecting groove was cut to receive the staples. Less visible on the interior, the repair is more apparent on the exterior because the black glaze of the alien sherd contrasts strongly with the reserved ground and black-figure decoration of the kylix.

Comparable repairs occur on two other objects in the Museum's collection: an Attic black-figure neck amphora (fig. 24)²³ and an Attic red-figure kylix painted by Douris.²⁴ In the former, a replacement neck with similar ornament was carefully selected for the amphora, but the mender of the kylix was less particular about the decoration of his alien fragment. The exterior design of the replacement sherd interrupts the original composition as well as the color balance. The black glaze is lighter and the added red is applied abundantly while, on the cup by Douris, the red color is scarcely used. Even so, the profiles of the kylix and the alien fragment correspond so accu-

21. 79.AE.174, unattributed. H: 26.7 cm; Diam: 12.6 cm.

22. 87.AE.22, painted in the manner of the Lysippides Painter. H: 13.6 cm; Diam: 36.4 cm.

23. Moore and Bothmer (note 19).

24. 84.AE.569. H: 13.3 cm; Diam: 32.4 cm. *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 13 (1985), p. 169, no. 23.

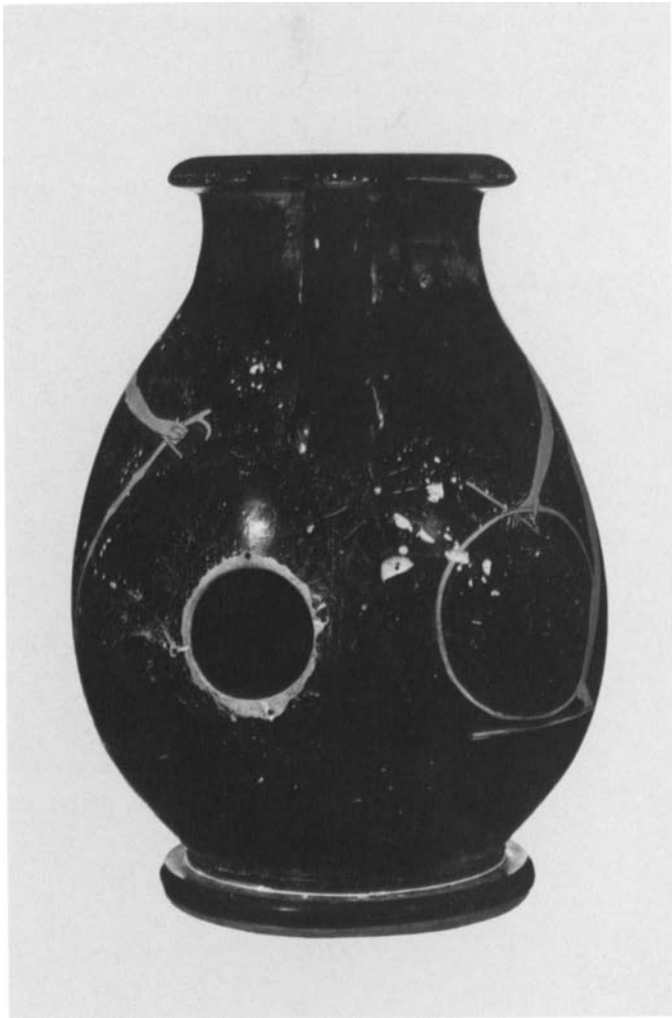


Figure 21. Left: Attic red-figure pelike. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AE.174.

Figure 22. Below: Detail of Attic red-figure pelike showing a pair of drill holes and a groove for the connecting rivet.

Figure 23. Bottom: Attic black-figure type A zone cup. Painted in the manner of the Lysippides Painter. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 87.AE.22.

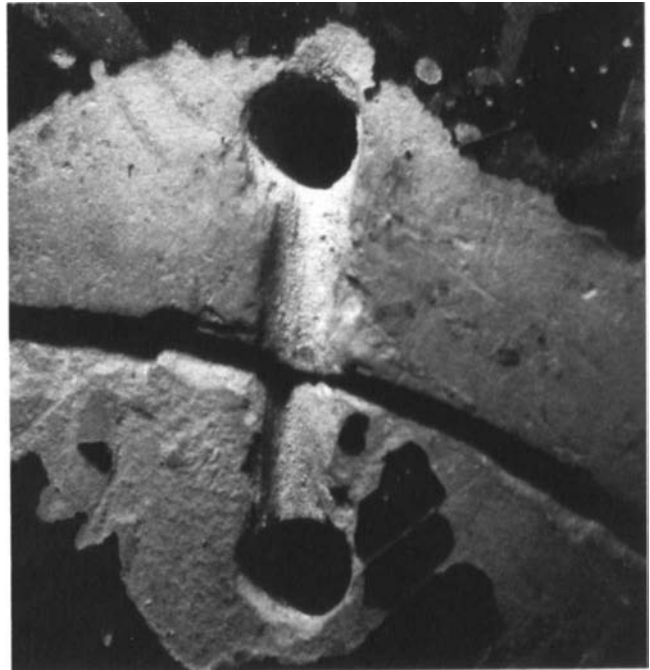




Figure 24. Detail of black-figure neck amphora. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.85.



Figure 25. Detail of black-figure kylix by Douris. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 84.AE.569.

rately that the main difference between them is the discontinuity in the decoration (fig. 25). The remains of two corroded metal staples, used for the attachment of the thinner foreign sherd, are still preserved.

An example of a strong, perhaps excessively strong, structural repair can be seen on an Apulian red-figure bell krater that suffered a break on its body (fig. 26).²⁵ Six large

lead staples, each approximately 5 cm long, were used to join the two pieces (figs. 27–28). Undoubtedly these were cast in place using molds. To make this kind of join, the mender drilled six pairs of holes at different points along the fracture. A clay mold bearing an impression of a staple, or clamp, was placed over the holes, both inside and out, and the molten metal was introduced. No at-

25. 78.AE.256. H: 31.6 cm; Diam: 35 cm. A. Cambitoglu, ed., *Studies*

in Honour of Arthur Dale Trendall (Sidney, Australia, 1979), p. 73, no. 34.



Figure 26. Apulian red-figure bell krater. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 78.AE.256.

tempt was made to disguise the repair. All of its elements survive intact.

In all of the instances cited above, there is no evidence that an adhesive was used in conjunction with the metal pins; elaborate repairs like these suggest that the ancient restorer relied mostly on the structural integrity of a mechanical joint. However, the use of some kind of resin,

such as pine pitch,²⁶ is probable in many cases, though it may have been used more as a sealant than an adhesive.

These examples of ancient repair show variations of simple as well as elaborate techniques, all with an obvious attempt to create a reliable structural support.

Our analysis of these techniques of ancient repair inevitably leads to questions that, as yet, lack definitive an-

26. Noble (note 10).

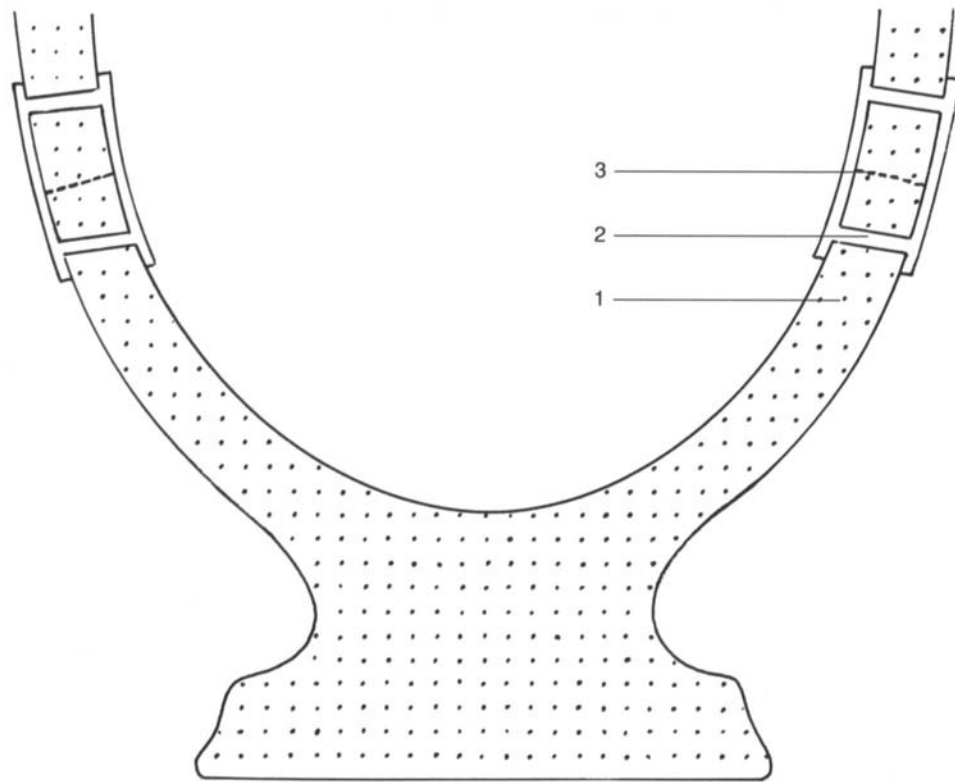


Figure 27. Cross-section of the fractured area of the bell krater. 1. Body of the krater. 2. Lead staples. 3. Break. Drawing by author.

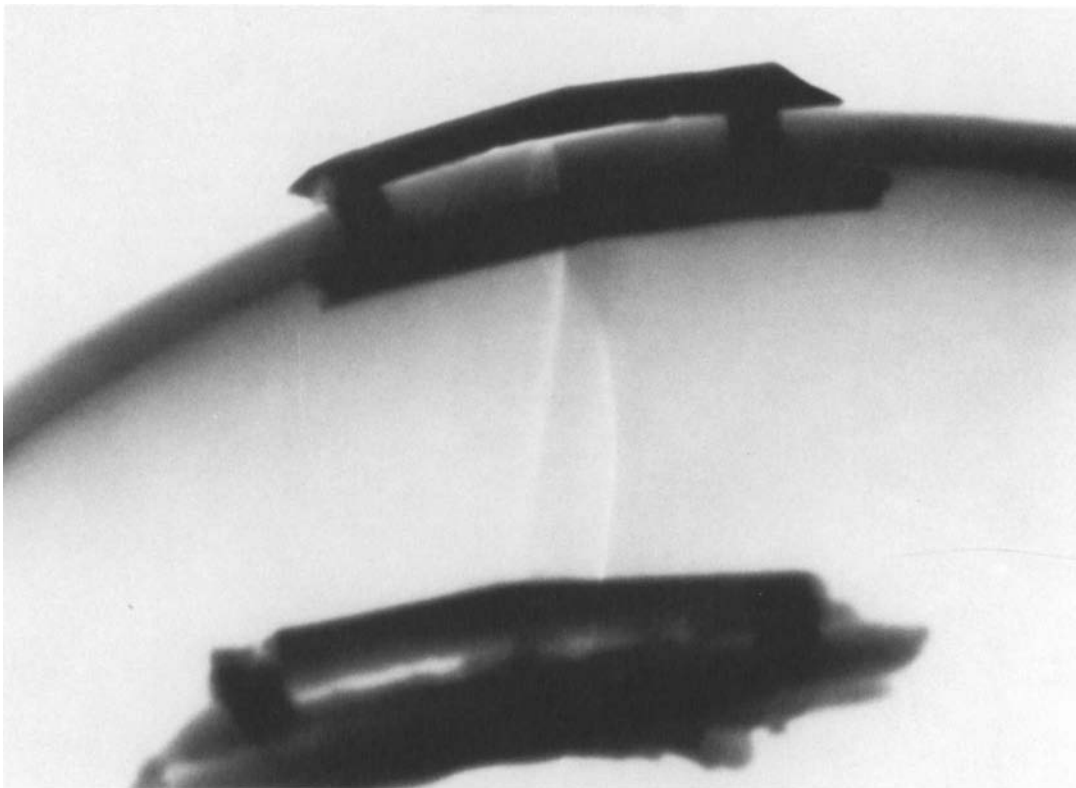


Figure 28. X-ray of the staples on the bell krater.

swers. How was the vase used after its repair? If it was once functional, did it become merely decorative after restoration? If it was originally a ritual object, did it continue to serve the same purpose after it was repaired? More work must be dedicated to studies of drilling tech-

niques, the methods of manufacturing metal components, and analyses of the composition of alloys. All of these areas will require further research; it is hoped that the preceding observations will help stimulate such investigations.

The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

A Neapolitan Book of Hours in the J. Paul Getty Museum

Ranee Katzenstein

On February 26, 1443, Alfonso V (1396–1458), King of Aragon, Valencia, and Majorca, and Count of Barcelona, entered the city of Naples with the pageantry and ceremony befitting a conquering monarch. Alfonso's triumph, won only after seven years of hard-fought military campaigns and adroit diplomatic maneuvering, was the climax of a century and a half of Spanish expansion into the western Mediterranean.¹ With it, Alfonso established a dynasty that would rule the kingdom of Naples until 1501. However, the king's influence went well beyond the political sphere. Alfonso also acted as a powerful catalyst for the interaction of the Catalan and Neapolitan cultures which, thanks to their geographic proximity, important commercial relations, and similar sociopolitical structures, had been drawing steadily closer since the thirteenth century.²

Alfonso himself was "a lover of letters"³ whose own learning and patronage of humanist scholars at his court were eulogized by the literati of his day. The warmest praise may have been that of Giacomo Curlo, who, in a letter to Alfonso's son King Ferrante I, exclaimed: "All Italy is a witness to how great an unparalleled champion and lover of literature he was."⁴ That he collected books from an early age is indicated by the items listed in the

inventories of Alfonso's possessions compiled in Barcelona in 1412 and in Valencia in 1417.⁵ Once installed in Naples, he amassed one of the most renowned libraries of the fifteenth century.⁶ Curlo noted "what care and diligence were shown by him for the purpose of collecting books"⁷ and Bartolommeo Facio, historian and secretary to Alfonso, listed Alfonso's library in the Castel Nuovo as one of the king's celebrated accomplishments in his *De viris illustribus liber*, written in 1456: "He brought together in an amazing manner in his richly adorned library a nearly infinite number of books."⁸ Alfonso not only acquired preexisting works but also commissioned many new volumes to be written and illuminated. In his study of the library of the Aragonese kings of Naples, Tammaro De Marinis describes more than fifty manuscripts produced expressly for Alfonso.⁹

Alfonso's enthusiasm for illuminated manuscripts was shared by others in Naples in the mid-fifteenth century,¹⁰ and it was in this milieu that a book of hours in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Ms. Ludwig IX 12; figs. 1–14) was made.¹¹ Its textual contents are typical of devotional books of this genre. The Museum's manuscript begins with a calendar; then follow the Office of the Virgin (use of Rome), the Short Hours of the Cross, the Office of the Holy Spirit,

I am grateful to Jonathan Alexander, Lilian Armstrong, François Avril, Consuelo Dutschke, Thomas Kren, and John Plummer for their thoughtful comments on the manuscript of this article.

1. J. Lee Shneidman, *The Rise of the Aragonese-Catalan Empire, 1200–1350*, 2 vols. (New York, 1970).

2. For the interpenetration of Catalan and Italian artistic culture in the fourteenth century, see especially M. Meiss, "Italian Style in Catalonia and a Fourteenth-Century Catalan Workshop," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 4 (1941), pp. 45–87.

3. Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Vite di uomini illustri del secolo XV*. Translated by W. G. and E. Waters, under the title *The Vespasiano Memoirs: Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century* (London, 1926), p. 60.

4. Giacomo Curlo, *In Terentium et Strabonem* (Liverpool, University Library, Ms. F. 3. 2), prologue: "litterarum autem quam fuit unicus cultor et amator testis est omnis Italia." See T. De Marinis, *La biblioteca napoletana dei re d'Aragona*, 4 vols. (Milan, 1947–1950) [hereafter De Marinis], vol. 2, p. 58, and *Supplemento* (Verona, 1969) [hereafter *Supplemento*], vol. 1, pp. 34–37; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 3 (Oxford, 1983), p. 294.

5. R. d'Alos-Moner, "Documenti per la storia della biblioteca di Alfonso il Magnanimo," *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*, vol. 5 (Rome, 1924), pp. 390–422; De Marinis, vol. 1, pp. 1–2 and 219–224.

6. The fundamental studies of this library are G. Mazzatinti, *La biblioteca dei re d'Aragona in Napoli* (Rocca San Casciano, 1897); De Marinis and *Supplemento*.

7. Curlo (note 4), prologue: "Quae illi comparandorum librorum cura et diligentia?"

8. "Librorum volumina prope infinita Bibliothecam suam mirifice ornatam coniecit." B. Facio, *De viris illustribus* (Florence, 1745), p. 78.

9. The principal manuscripts made for Alfonso are listed and described by De Marinis, vol. 1, pp. 8–9 and *passim*.

10. On the manuscripts owned by the Neapolitan aristocracy—in this case the barons who conspired against Ferrante I and whose property was eventually confiscated by him for the Aragonese library—see *Supplemento*, vol. 1, pp. 145–259.

11. See the Appendix for a complete description of the manuscript.



Figure 1. Master of the Suffrages, *The Patron and His Guardian Angel*. Fol. 305v.



Figure 2. Master of the Offices, *The Virgin Enthroned*. Fol. 14v.



Figure 3. Master of the Offices, *Christ Teaching in the Temple*. Fol. 62v.



Figure 4. Master of the Offices, *The Agony in the Garden*. Fol. 108v.

Book of hours. Naples, circa 1460. Tempera and gold on vellum, 17.1 x 12 cm (6³/₄ x 4¹/₂ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig IX 12; 83.ML.108. (Figures 1–8.)



Figure 5. Master of the Offices, *Pentecost*. Fol. 122v.



Figure 6. Master of the Offices, *Christ, Crowned with Thorns and Carrying the Cross, Before Pilate*. Fol. 114v.



Figure 7. Master of the Offices, *Christ Before Herod*. Fol. 112v.



Figure 8. Master of the Seven Joys of Mary, *The Annunciation*. Fol. 250v.



Figure 9. Master of the Seven Joys of Mary, *The Adoration of the Magi*. Fol. 256v.



Figure 10. Master of the Seven Joys of Mary, *Pentecost*. Fol. 265v.



Figure 11. Master of the Suffrages, *The Virgin and Child*. Fol. 224v.



Figure 12. Master of the Suffrages, *Saint Anthony of Padua Preaching*. Fol. 317v.



Figure 13. Master of the Suffrages, *The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*. Fol. 321v.

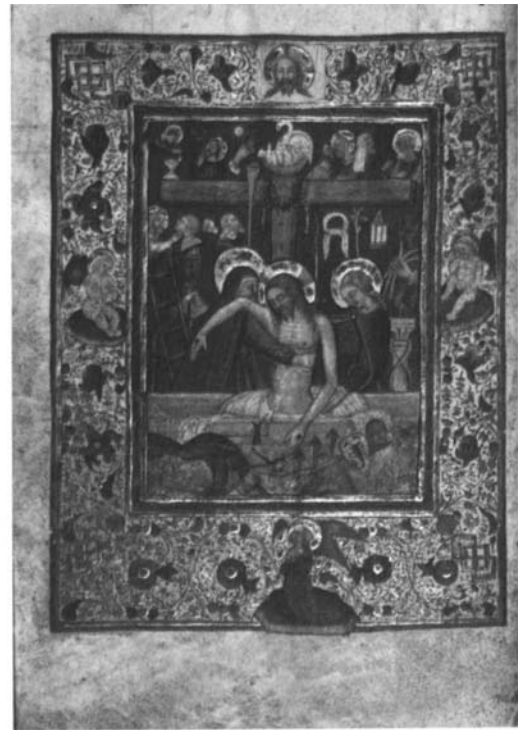


Figure 14. Master of the Suffrages, *Imago Pietatis (Passion Portrait) with the Virgin and Saint John, Surrounded by the Arma Christi*. Fol. 352v.

the Office of the Trinity, and the Office of the Dead. The Seven Penitential Psalms, the Seven Joys of Mary, the Eight Verses of Saint Bernard, and various masses and prayers—the text of one prayer and the rubric for another are in Catalan—come next, and the book concludes with suffrages of the saints and a Mass for All Saints. More unusual is the extent to which these texts have been illustrated. In addition to the twelve small miniatures of the labors of the months that illustrate the calendar, the Museum's book of hours is adorned with forty-four full-page miniatures and forty seven- or eight-line decorated initials. The full-page miniatures mark the beginnings of the Offices and Masses, the Seven Penitential Psalms, the Seven Joys of Mary, certain prayers, and the suffrages of the saints; the internal divisions of the Offices of the Virgin and the Cross, the Seven Joys of Mary, and the suffrages are marked by full-page miniatures as well. The final miniature, not accompanied by any text, is an *Imago Pietatis* (Passion portrait) representing the dead Christ flanked by the Virgin and Saint John and surrounded by the *arma Christi*.

The manuscript was acquired by the Museum in 1983 as part of the Ludwig collection. Its origin is unknown, but

in the entry on the Museum's book of hours that appears in the catalogue of the Ludwig manuscripts, Joachim Plotzek argued that the book had been made around 1460 in Catalonia.¹² Plotzek deduced the date from the *terminus post quem* provided by the inclusion of the suffrages of Saint Bernardinus of Siena (died 1444; canonized 1450) and Saint Vincent Ferrer (died 1419; canonized 1455); this date is also supported by the stylistic comparisons that will be discussed below. The proposal regarding the manuscript's origin in Catalonia, however, is open to doubt. François Avril, in the only other published reference to the Museum's book of hours, suggested that it should instead be connected with manuscripts produced in Naples, in particular the hours of Alfonso of Aragon (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. I. B. 55; figs. 15 and 25), which De Marinis judged the most lavish in the Aragonese library,¹³ and a copy of Cassiodorus' *Historia tripartita* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 5088; figs. 16a–b).¹⁴ It was Avril's immediately compelling observation that inspired the present investigation, which seeks to demonstrate more conclusively the Neapolitan origin of the Museum's book of hours, to define more fully the artistic personalities of the three illuminators

12. A. von Euw and J. M. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*. Vol. 2 by J. M. Plotzek (Cologne, 1982), pp. 196–206.

13. *Supplemento*, vol. 1, p. 6.

14. F. Avril et al., *Dix siècles d'enluminure italienne (VI–XVI siècles)* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1984), p. 171.

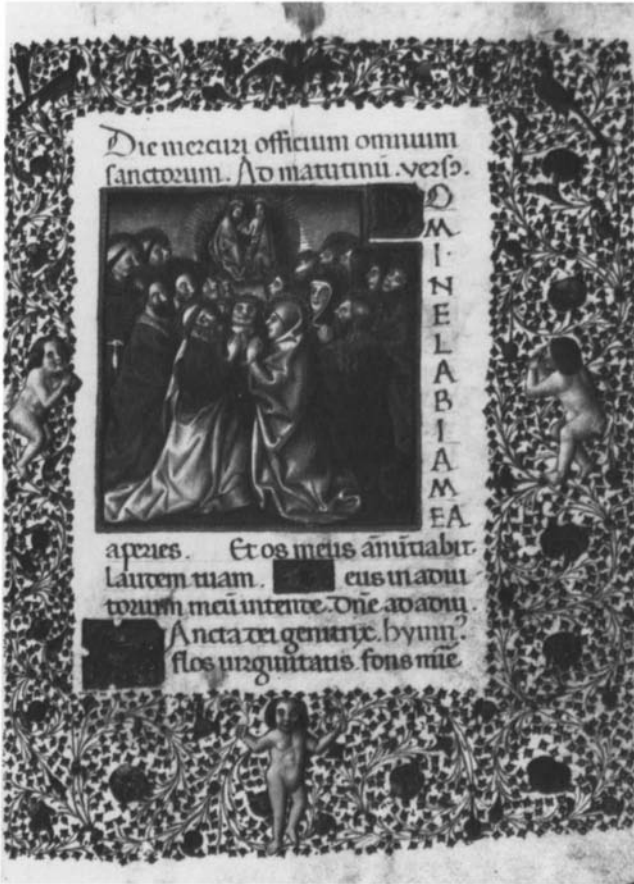


Figure 15. Above, attributed to the Master of the Offices, *All Saints Resurrected at the Last Judgment*. Hours of Alfonso of Aragon, fol. 131. Naples, circa 1455–1458. Tempera and gold on vellum, 21 x 15 cm (8¼ x 5¹⁵/₁₆ in.). Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Ms. I B 55.



Figure 16a. Above right, attributed to the Master of the Offices, frontispiece with historiated initial *U* with *Theodoric, Sozomenus, and Socrates*. Cassiodorus, *Historia tripartita*, fol. 1. Naples, circa 1455–1458. Tempera and gold on vellum, 34 x 24.5 cm (13³/₈ x 9¹¹/₁₆ in.). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Lat. 5088.

Figure 16b. Right, detail of figure 16a.



who contributed to its decoration, and to draw attention to a group of books of hours whose place within Neapolitan manuscript production has not received sufficient notice.

Four features of the Museum's book of hours have been adduced in support of its localization in Catalonia. These are the grayish tonality of the leaves, said to be typical of Spanish parchment preparation; the use of Catalan in the text; the selection of saints commemorated in the calendar; and the style of the miniatures, particularly those illustrating the first portion of the manuscript (through the Seven Joys of Mary). The first point is not telling. Stains throughout the manuscript suggest that it was much read; the grayish cast of the parchment of many of the folios more likely results from use than from preparation techniques specific to any region. The dark coloration is more marked in the margins than in the centers of the pages; in the Office of the Dead and the Penitential Psalms—devotions that were apparently read less often—the parchment is actually quite light in color. The prominence of the hair follicles and the color and thickness of the parchment are not inconsistent with the parchment used for manuscripts made for the Aragonese court in Naples in the 1450s and 1460s.¹⁵

The prayer in Catalan and the Catalan rubric indicate that the Museum's book of hours was made for a Catalan speaker. Although they appear in a portion of the text that was written after a break in the production of the manuscript, they were included for the original owner. The first portion of the manuscript, folios 14 through 271, was written by one scribe and illuminated by two artists whose styles are closely related, and who were named by Plotzek the Master of the Offices (fols. 1–197v) and the Master of the Seven Joys of Mary (fols. 250–271). The calendar seems to have been executed next. Its script

resembles the work of the first scribe, particularly the later folios written by him (assuming the manuscript was written from front to back), although it may be by another hand. The work of a new scribe, who completed the remainder of the text, begins on folio 272. The ruling pattern changes at this point, too (from folio 273 on), as does the style of the miniatures and secondary decoration. The new artist, whom Plotzek dubbed the Master of the Suffrages, painted all the miniatures of this section of the text. He also supplied the miniature on folio 224; apparently the Master of the Seven Joys of Mary overlooked the need for an illumination facing the opening of the Mass of the Virgin when he took up the work from the Master of the Offices. The division between the two sections of the manuscript is accentuated by the absence of any work by either of the first two artists after fol. 268v.

Nonetheless, the second section of Ms. Ludwig IX 12, the section that includes the Catalan texts, was made for the patron who commissioned the first part. His name, Thomas, which occurs four times in the second portion of the manuscript, appears in the first part as well, in the prayer *Obsecro te* on fol. 239v.¹⁶ Certain additions seem to have been made in order to tailor Thomas' book of hours more specifically to his use: besides the repetition of his name, these additions include the rubric and prayer in Catalan¹⁷ (presumably his native tongue) and an emphasis on his name saint, who is given first place in the sequence of suffrages.¹⁸

Thomas is probably the young, well-dressed layman portrayed in the manuscript who, accompanied by his guardian angel, is given a personal preview of the Last Judgment (fol. 305v, preceding the prayer *O mi sancte angele deus michi dedit te* [fig. 1]). He may have been involved in the textile industry, since the manuscript includes a suffrage of Saint Onuphrius, the patron saint of

15. Comparisons are offered by a copy of Giannozzo Manetti, *De terraemotu* (Escorial, Ms. g III 23; De Marinis, vol. 1, p. 105), dedicated to Alfonso and included in an inventory drawn up in 1481 of books and jewels owned by Ferrante and offered as a security for a debt, and by a psalter (Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 846 [olim 746]; De Marinis, vol. 1, p. 157, and vol. 4, pl. 203) illuminated by Cristoforo Majorana or his workshop and associated with the court by its connection with the monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes, which inherited what remained of the Aragonese library in 1550, and the luxurious character of its production and design.

16. "Et michi famulo tuo Thome impetra a dilecto filio tuo" (fol. 239v). The name Thomas appears in the second portion of Ms. Ludwig IX 12 as follows: "Deus omnipotens pater et filius et spiritus sanctus. da michi famulo tuo Thome victoriam contra inimicos meos" (fol. 283); "Deus in nomine tuo salvum me fac famulum tuum Thomam et in virtute tua libera me. . . . benedicat me Thomam imperialis magestas" (fols. 284v–285); "rogo te redemptor mundi domine Ihu Xpe ut me Thomam famulum tuum" (fol. 290).

17. The Catalan rubric (fol. 277) begins "La sequent oracio feu lo

glorios doctor ebibeï mossenyer sant Augusti." It is for a Latin prayer of Saint Augustine ("Deus propicius esto emichi [sic] peccatori"), for which see C. Wordsworth, ed., *Horae Eboracenses*, Surtees Society 132 (Durham and London, 1920), p. 125. The Catalan prayer (fols. 304–304v), dedicated to the Archangel Michael, begins "O prinp molt glorios mossenyer sant Michael governador dela celestial companya"; Latin and French versions are known, for which see V. Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1927–1943), vol. 2, pp. 80, 329–330, and P. Rézeau, *Répertoire d'incipit des prières françaises à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Publications romanes et françaises 174 (Geneva, 1986), item R 936.

18. Plotzek (note 12) also suggested that Thomas was being emphasized in *The Assumption of the Virgin* (fol. 268v). However, the scene of Mary giving her girdle to Thomas is also included in *The Assumption* in the hours of Alfonso of Aragon. Its isolated and elevated position in the Museum's miniature may have as much to do with the compositional requirements of the full-page format as it does with a desire to emphasize Saint Thomas.

weavers. His coat of arms, azure an expanded pinion (possibly a winged gamb affronty) argent, is held aloft by two putti in the lower margin of the folio on which the Office of the Virgin begins (fig. 2). These arms are similar to those of a number of Catalan families: the Alabat; Aldover; Hombau (Ombau); Malric; and, particularly, the Sala.¹⁹ A member of the Sala family was in Naples in 1457²⁰ and, given the extensive commercial and administrative connections linking the kingdom of Naples and northeastern Spain during the fifteenth century, other individuals from these families could easily have had dealings with Naples as well.

As yet little is known of the trade in books between Spain and southern Italy in the fifteenth century, but if a member of one of these families obtained a manuscript in Naples he would not have been the only Catalan to have done so. A psalter written in the Catalan language (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 2433) was made in Naples, probably for a Catalan resident of the city,²¹ as was a manuscript of Aristotle's *Ethica Nicomachea* and *Oeconomica*, probably made for a member of the Copons family of Catalonia living in southern Italy.²² A canon from Barcelona, Peter Eximenes, purchased a copy of Sallust's *De coniuratione Catilinae et Iugurthino* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. L. 98 sup.) in Naples in 1450,²³ and by 1460 Jaume March, seigneur of the castle of Eramprunyà, outside of Barcelona, had acquired a manuscript of Cyrillus Alexandrinus' *Thesaurus adversus haereticos* (Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 562; fig. 36a) that had been copied in Naples for Alfonso himself.²⁴

Since Spaniards living in Naples might request that the saints whom they venerated in their homeland be in-

cluded in their new manuscripts, the evidence regarding location of production provided by the selection of saints included in the calendar of Ms. Ludwig IX 12 is ambiguous. As Plotzek pointed out, some Catalan and Aragonese saints are included (Eulalia, patron saint of Barcelona, on February 12 and October 23 [translation]; Narcissus, Bishop of Gerona, on October 29). However, these calendar entries do not necessarily demonstrate that the Museum's book of hours originated in Catalonia. A psalter now in the Cathedral of Toledo (Ms. 34.77) contains a calendar whose Spanish character is more pronounced than that of the Museum's book of hours.²⁵ Yet it was clearly made in Naples, possibly for a bishop at Alfonso's court.²⁶ The illumination is in the style of Matteo Felice, a Neapolitan illuminator active in the last third of the fifteenth century, and the manuscript was certainly in Italy in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.²⁷ Indeed, the calendar of Ms. Ludwig IX 12, which is a Franciscan calendar,²⁸ includes two saints whose cults were especially pronounced in central and southern Italy: Sophia, whose relics are preserved at Fermo, where she was martyred (April 30), and Louis of Toulouse, son of Charles II of Naples (August 19, with octave).

While the choice of saints is suggestive, the real key to the origin of the Museum's book of hours is to be found in the work of the three artists who provided its illumination. Plotzek defined the contributions of each of these three artists to the decoration of Ms. Ludwig IX 12, but he knew of no other works by them. However, other manuscripts illuminated by these artists can be identified. Together they indicate that the careers of all three, whose work has heretofore not been studied in any detail, unfolded in Naples. It is in the culture of that city, not

19. Alabat: azure a pinion or (A. and A. Garcia Carraffa, *El solar catalan, valenciano y balear*, vol. 1 [San Sebastian, 1968], p. 35, pl. 5, no. 79); Aldover: azure a pinion or (M. Bassa i Armengol, *Els escuts heràldics dels pobles de Catalunya* [Barcelona, 1968], p. 59, no. 26 and p. 69); Hombau: azure a pinion or with a bordure in azure and or (Carraffa, vol. 2, p. 333, pl. 48, no. 8); Malric: azure a pinion or (M. de Riquer, *Heràldica catalana des de l'any 1150 al 1550* [Barcelona, 1983], p. 416, fig. 63); Sala: azure a pinion argent (Carraffa, vol. 4, pp. 103–105, pl. 3, no. 44). Plotzek (note 12) identified the arms in Ms. Ludwig IX 12 as azure a garb argent, but surely feathers, not wheat, are depicted (compare the wings of the nearby putti). The arms (party per fess semicircular azure and lozengy vert and or; an expanded pinion argent rising from the partition in the upper half) in a Neapolitan manuscript of Sallust, *De coniuratione Catilinae et Iugurthino* (Holkham Hall, Ms. 336; W. O. Hassall, *The Holkham Library: Illuminations and Illustrations in the Manuscript Library of the Earl of Leicester* [Oxford, 1920], pl. 129) are related; I am grateful to Christopher de Hamel for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

20. "Albarani della tesoria aragonese," *Fonti aragonesi*, Testi e documenti di storia napoletana pubblicati dall'Accademia Pontaniana, serie 2, vol. 10, ed. A. M. Compagna Perrone Capano (Naples, 1979), pt. 2, pp. 138–139, nos. 35–36.

21. A. Morel-Fatio, *Catalogue des manuscrits espagnols et des manu-*

scrits portugais (Paris, 1892), p. 2, cat. 7. P. Bohigas (*La ilustración y la decoración del libro manuscrito en Cataluña: Periodo gótico y renacimiento*, vol. 2 [Barcelona, 1967], p. 57) judged the miniatures "inseparable from contemporary Catalan art" and suggested a connection with Perpignan, based on the inscription "A 23 de mag 1467 pregui corona en p[er]pinya de don antonio de cardona, bisbe d'Elne" on the front flyleaf. In fact, their style is that of Cristoforo Majorana (compare the psalter attributed to him in the Vatican Library, Ms. Ross. 110 [De Marinis, vol. 1, p. 163]), who was paid as an illuminator by the Aragonese court from at least 1480 until 1492. The coat of arms on fol. 1 of the Catalan psalter is similar to the arms of the Avalos of Castille (azure a castle triple-towered or), partisans of the Aragonese both in Spain and Naples. For Innigo d'Avalos, who served both Alfonso and his son Ferrante, see R. Filangieri, *Il codice miniato di Santa Marta in Napoli* (Milan, 1950), pp. 68–69 and pl. 26.

22. Collection Martin Schøyen, Oslo. See below, pp. 79–80.

23. Eximenes penned the following inscription inside the lower cover: "Die ultimo septembr[is] me habuit petrus eximeno Canonicus Barchinonen[sis] ac s[anc]tissim[i] d[omi]ni N[icolai] p[ap]e familiaris pretio duodecim ducator[um] Neapoli. MCCCCL." A second inscription, written by Niccolò Noceto—a subsequent owner—indicates that the manuscript was still in southern Italy in 1467. See R. Sabbadini, "Briciole umanistiche," *Giornale storico della letteratura ital-*

Catalonia, that their work finds its most natural context.

The first artist in the Museum's book of hours was responsible for the illumination (miniatures and borders) in the calendar, the Offices of the Virgin, the Cross, the Holy Spirit, and the Trinity (fols. 1–144v), and the miniature of *King David in Prayer* that appears before the Penitential Psalms (fol. 198v). This artist, the Master of the Offices, preferred to set his figures close to the picture plane. Interiors such as the Temple in the scene of Christ teaching (fig. 3) are shallow, with horizontal surfaces steeply pitched.²⁹ Outdoor scenes such as *The Agony in the Garden* (fig. 4), although ostensibly offering deep vistas, have such high horizons that their space seems constricted too. The motifs that make up this landscape and others in the manuscript³⁰ tend to emphasize the picture plane as well, as they are often arrayed in horizontal layers extending across the image.

The apostles in the miniature of *Pentecost* (fig. 5) are typical of the figure style of the Master of the Offices. They are large in relation to their settings and to the field of each miniature as a whole. Yet their proportions are quite squat. Their poses are slightly wooden, and their movements appear to be awkward, even clumsy. This quality is especially evident in the scene of Christ carrying the cross (fig. 6), although in this case the awkwardness may have been exacerbated by the fact that two scenes—Christ before Pilate and Christ carrying the cross—have been conflated.³¹ As with the figure of Christ in this scene, the knees of many figures in the Master of the Offices' work are uncomfortably bent, and arms are sometimes stretched to unnatural lengths (the soldier conducting Christ before Herod [fig. 7] offers a good example of this trait). The hulking character of the figures

is accentuated by voluminous drapery that falls in stiff, angular folds (fig. 3). A few faces in the miniatures have been damaged, but the great majority reveal the artist to have been a sensitive draftsman. Typical of the facial type adopted by the Master of the Offices is the face of Christ as he is brought before Herod (fig. 7), with his deep-set, shadowed eyes, high cheekbones, and full cheeks. The modeling is very strong, with abrupt shifts in the planes of the face. Equally strong modeling is used to render the draperies, whose colors change suddenly across their folds. Yet the modeling is also extremely subtle, with highlights executed with delicate hatching or fine points of color.

To the second artist belongs the credit for the miniatures illustrating the Seven Joys of Mary and their borders (figs. 8–10). As Plotzek pointed out, this artist's style is closely related to that of the Master of the Offices, a relation that is particularly evident in the artist's manner of conceiving interiors and landscapes and in the facial types he prefers (compare figs. 5 and 10). Nonetheless, the Master of the Seven Joys of Mary can be easily distinguished from the Master of the Offices. In general, the scenes painted by the Master of the Seven Joys of Mary are more detailed, and the color range of each miniature is more extensive. Architectural structures, such as the setting of *The Annunciation* (fig. 8), are more substantial and convincing. Mary and the Archangel Gabriel are smaller in relation to their setting, more delicately proportioned, and more subtly modeled than any of the figures painted by the Master of the Offices. The manner in which their hair is rendered, with very fine lines and precise stippling, is also characteristic of the style of the Master of the Seven Joys of Mary. The small scale and delicacy of his figures

iana 47 (1906), no. 38, pp. 29–30. I am grateful to Prof. Louis Jordan for bringing this reference to my attention and for sharing with me his observations on Ambrosiana Ms. L. 98 sup.

24. J. Rubió Balaguer, "Sobre la cultura en la corona de Aragón en la primera mitad del siglo XV," *IV Congreso de historia de la corona de Aragón*, Ponencias 7 (Palma de Mallorca, 1955), p. 13. See below, p. 93.

25. J. Janini and R. González, *Catálogo de los manuscritos litúrgicos de la Catedral de Toledo*, Patronato "Jose Maria Quadrado," del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas 11 (Toledo, 1977), cat. 71, pp. 96–97 and pl. 6. The feasts connected with Spain are those of: Julian and Basilissa, martyred in Antinoë, with a special office in the Mozarabic Breviary (January 7); Ildephonsus, Archbishop of Toledo (January 31); Emeterius and Cheledonius, martyrs at Calahorra (March 4); Engratia, martyred at Zaragoza (March 16); Quiteria, martyred in Gascony and highly venerated there and in northern Spain (May 22); Nunilo and Alodia, martyred at Huesca (October 22); Translation of Eulalia of Barcelona and Servandus and Germanus, patrons of Cadiz (October 23); Narcissus of Gerona (October 29); "Innumerabilium martirum Cesaraugustanorum" (November 3); and the Expectation of the Birth of Jesus (December 18).

26. The coat of arms (sable a lion rampant or [?]; the letters F and A on either side) on folio 17 is surmounted by a bishop's miter. The

connection with Alfonso's court was suggested by Janini and González (note 25); however, they did not cite any specific evidence in support of it.

27. Ex libris on folio 128v: "Est R[everendissimi]mi D. D. Fabricii Marliani E[pi]scopi placentini et Comitis" [Bishop of Piacenza, 1476–1508].

28. Franciscans canonized after the middle of the century (such as Bernardinus of Siena [canonized 1450] and his translation [effected 1472], Berard and companions [canonized 1481], and Bonaventure [canonized 1482]) are not included.

29. See also Plotzek (note 12), figs. 266, 267, 269, 271, 274, and 280.

30. See also Plotzek (note 12), pl. on p. 197 and fig. 273.

31. Nonetheless, the figures in many of the Master of the Offices' miniatures have this wooden character, for instance the Virgin in the scene of Christ with his parents (Plotzek [note 12], fig. 269), whose neck appears to be broken and whose right arm is twisted to allow her to place her hand by her cheek, and the henchman nailing Christ to the cross (idem, fig. 279).

and the variety of motifs he incorporates into the borders of his miniatures lend the pages executed by the Master of the Seven Joys of Mary a rich, tapestry-like quality.

The third artist who collaborated on the illumination of the Museum's book of hours contributed the miniatures preceding the Mass of the Virgin at Purification (fig. 11), the Mass of the Archangel Michael, the prayer to the guardian angel (fig. 1), the miniatures throughout the suffrages of the saints (see figs. 12–13), and the final miniature of the *Imago Pietatis* surrounded by the *arma Christi* (fig. 14). His style, a somewhat desiccated version of the International Gothic, stands apart from that of his two colleagues. A particularly old-fashioned feature of the style of the Master of the Suffrages is his preference for diaper patterns in interiors (see fig. 11).³² His single figures, such as the Virgin and Child at the beginning of the Mass of the Virgin at Purification, are slender and elongated and strike relatively elegant poses. When groups are required, the figures are small and not individualized either in terms of their physiognomies or their expressions (figs. 12–13). Faces are scarcely modeled, their contours suggested only by a few red and brown hatchings; features are articulated with a series of simple, mostly horizontal pen strokes. Draperies fall in gently curving or straight folds. Unlike the Master of the Offices, the Master of the Suffrages rarely uses white to highlight draperies. His approach to landscape is also quite different. As in the setting of his *Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* (fig. 13), his landscapes offer little sense of spatial recession. Instead they appear to be patchworks of upright forms, rounded and amorphous. The architectural elements of his interiors are often quite flimsy, and the structural logic of his buildings and furniture is usually faulty (see fig. 12).

Each of the three artists who illuminated the Museum's book of hours worked on other manuscripts, and by studying them we can begin to form an impression of each illuminator's origins and development. In addition to the Museum's book of hours, the hand of the Master of the Offices can be seen in the illumination of four other manuscripts. Each of these contains evidence associating it with the Aragonese court in Naples, and together they

demonstrate that it was in this milieu that the artist worked. The first and most important of these manuscripts is the hours of Alfonso of Aragon, made between 1455 and 1458 (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. I. B. 55).³³ The similarities it bears to Ms. Ludwig IX 12 are striking in terms of its design (particularly its secondary decoration), the compositions of many of its thirty-one miniatures and historiated initials, and the idiosyncracies of its text.³⁴ In her study of the decoration of Alfonso's hours, Antonella Putaturo Murano determined that it was the work of four illuminators. The one she designated as the "miniature napoletano catalaneggiante"³⁵ may be identified as the Master of the Offices. When we compare the *All Saints* miniature in the hours of Alfonso (fig. 15) with that of *Pentecost* in the Museum's hours (fig. 5), we find the same facial types, with short, rounded noses, full cheeks, and large eyes, the same stiff draperies, and the same tense, triangular hands. Landscapes such as those in the miniatures of *The Agony in the Garden* in each manuscript³⁶ are conceived in identical terms, with high horizons, rounded bushes and trees arrayed in horizontal ranks, and similarly treated mountains and oceans. The compositions used by the artist in the Museum's manuscript are similar to those found in the hours of Alfonso as well; *The Assumption of the Virgin*, in which the motifs of the half-page miniature in Alfonso's hours have been expanded and rearranged to fit the full-page format of the Museum's hours, is a revealing example.³⁷

The connection with Alfonso's book of hours is particularly significant in our context because it is a manuscript whose production can be securely located in Naples. The scribe of Alfonso's hours signed his work on folio 456v: *I. A. Curlus Divi Alfonsi Regis iussu excipit feliciter*. He is Giacomo Curlo of Genoa, who was active as a scribe by 1423 and was a "scriptor de seynor Rey [i.e., Alfonso]" by 1445; from at least 1446, he also served Alfonso as an ambassador and traveled to Genoa, Milan, and Florence in this capacity.³⁸ His presence in Naples is well documented for the years 1455 through 1459, when Alfonso's book of hours was made. It is highly likely that the two entries in the *cedole* of the Aragonese treasury in Naples that provide for the purchase in 1455 of parchment

32. See also Plotzek (note 12), figs. 295 and 298.

33. G. Guerrieri, "Il 'Libro d'Ore' di Alfonso I d'Aragona," *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia* 24 (1956), pp. 3–17; *Supplemento*, vol. 1, pp. 71–72; A. Putaturo Murano, *Miniature napoletane del Rinascimento*, *Miniatura e Arti Minori in Campania* 8 (Naples, 1973), pp. 21–25, 55–56, and pls. 1–10. There can be no doubt that this manuscript was made for Alfonso, whose name appears within the text of the prayers on folios 334 through 433v; see Guerrieri (above), pp. 16–17, n. 21. The arms on fol. 20, Aragon quartered Hungary-Durazzo, were used by Alfonso and by his son Ferrante I, into whose possession the manuscript passed. As noted above, François Avril (note 14), p. 171,

was the first to connect the Naples hours with Ms. Ludwig IX 12.

34. All of the texts that Plotzek (note 12) singled out as noteworthy in the Hours of the Virgin in Ms. Ludwig IX 12 occur in Alfonso's hours with only one exception: the antiphon for the Benedictus at Lauds of Alfonso's hours begins "Beata dei genitrix," while the text of the antiphon in Ms. Ludwig IX 12, "Benedicta tu in mulieribus," serves as the versicle after the hymn in Alfonso's hours. In addition to the texts considered by Plotzek, other variable texts—the response to the first lesson at matins and the capitulum at compline—agree in the two manuscripts.

35. Putaturo Murano (note 33), p. 56.

for a book of hours for the king refer to the Naples hours.³⁹

Our artist's hand can also be recognized in the frontispieces of two other manuscripts made for Alfonso: the *Historia tripartita* of Cassiodorus attributed to the artist by Avril (figs. 16a–b) and a collection of treatises on falconry, including Theodorus' Latin translation of Moamin's *De scientia venandi per aves*, originally composed in Arabic (New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Ms. 446; fig. 17).⁴⁰ Avril drew attention to the physiognomies, proportions, and draperies of the figures in the opening initial of the Cassiodorus and their similarity to the figures in Alfonso's hours and the Museum's hours. Their kinship with the Museum's hours is particularly apparent when they are compared with the seated doctors in the scene of Christ teaching (fig. 3). The putti in the border of the collection of treatises on falconry—with their full cheeks, deep-set eyes, and thick blond hair—also find parallels in the decoration of these manuscripts; they are particularly close to the shield-bearing putti in the lower margin of the *Historia tripartita*. The gold and black tiles lining the roof of the aviary portrayed in the one miniature in the falconry treatises are found throughout the Master of the Offices' work (see fig. 7). This miniature is one of the most original in the Master's oeuvre and should secure his reputation as an artist of remarkable talent. The composition is simple, yet enlivened by a subtle asymmetry; the palette is limited to shades of purple, gold, and brown, yet the effect is varied and harmonious; and the space, though constricted and shallow, is made palpable by the presence of cast shadows. The depiction of the hooded falcons is scrupulously true to observed life: rather freely applied white brushstrokes indicate the penned birds' droppings splattered along the floor and back wall of the narrow space in which they are confined. The Cassiodorus and the collection of treatises on falconry display Alfonso's arms (Aragon) in the form that appears in the earliest manuscripts made for Alfonso.⁴¹

The illumination in three other manuscripts—a copy of Leonardo Bruni's translations of Aristotle's *Ethica Nicomachea* and *Oeconomica* and his own *Isagogica* in the



Figure 17. Attributed to the Master of the Offices, frontispiece with *Five Falcons in an Aviary*. Treatises on falconry by Moamin and others, fol. 1. Naples, circa 1455–1458. Tempera and gold on vellum, 26.2 x 17.5 cm (10⁵/₁₆ x 6⁷/₈ in.). New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library Ms. 446.

36. Compare fig. 3 and Guerrieri (note 33), pl. 2.

37. Compare Putaturo Murano (note 33), pl. 4 and Plotzek (note 12), pl. on p. 203.

38. For Giacomo Curlo, see De Marinis, vol. 1, pp. 13–15.

39. August 28, 1455: "Item doni a mosser Jaume Torres dela libreria del Senyor Rey VI duc. per comprar pergaminis per fer unes Ores per al dit Seynor, present Prats." Naples, Archivio di Stato, *Cedole della Tesoreria*, vol. 28, fol. 164v. August, 1455: "A mosser Jacme Torres dela libreria del Seynor Rey per comprar pergamins necessariis per unes Ores que fa scrivere per al dit Seynor. VI duc." *Ibid.*, vol. 29, fol. 238v. See De Marinis, vol. 2, p. 237, nos. 116–117.

40. See B. A. Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Volume II: Mss 251–500*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 48 (Binghamton, N. Y., 1987), pp. 396–398, pl. 37.

41. Shailor (note 40) identifies the arms in the volume of treatises on falconry as belonging to Ferdinand [Ferrante] II of Aragon. However, Ferdinand displayed the arms of Aragon quartered with Calabria; see Filangieri (note 21), p. 42 and pl. 21. In addition, the style of the illumination does not correspond to that found in Neapolitan manuscripts made during Ferdinand's short reign (1495–1496).

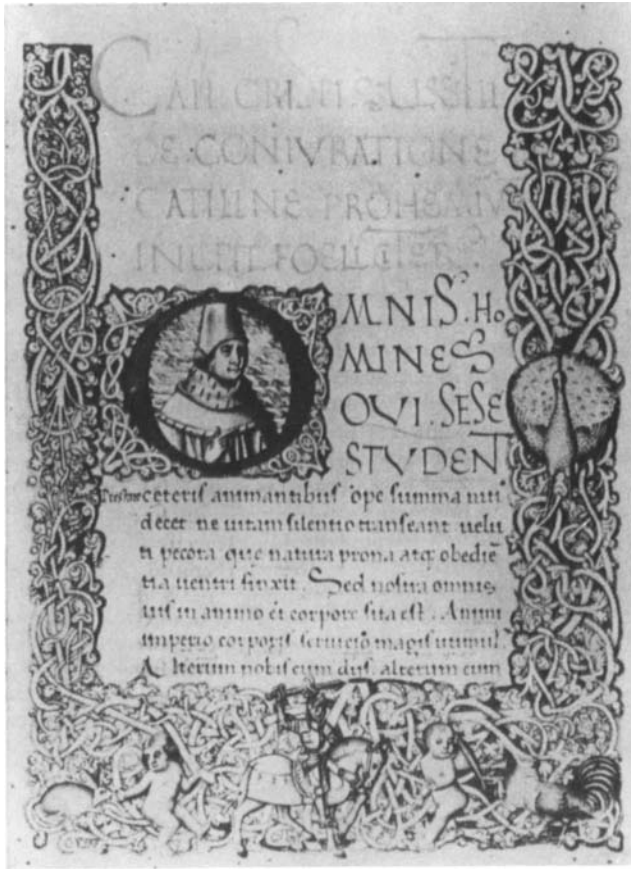


Figure 18. Frontispiece with historiated initial O with Portrait of Sallust. Sallust, *De coniuratione Catilinae et Iugurthino*, fol. 1. Tempera and gold on vellum, 28 x 18 cm (11 x 7¼ in.). Barcelona, Biblioteca Universitaria Ms. 122.

Schöyen collection in Norway;⁴² a copy of Sallust's *De coniuratione Catilinae et Iugurthino* in the University Library in Barcelona (Ms. 122; fig. 18);⁴³ and a collection in Paris of the *Epistolae* of Phalaris, Crates, and Brutus (Bibliothèque Nationale, Nou. acq. lat. 1651)⁴⁴—has also been attributed to the Master of the Offices by Sandra Hindman.⁴⁵ While the similarities of the putti in the borders of the Aristotle and the Sallust with those in the

42. S. Hindman, *Catalog Two: A Selection of Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts and Single Leaves*, Bruce Ferrini Rare Books (Akron, Ohio, 1989), no. 4, pp. 24–31, ill. pp. 148–149. Seventeen initials with decoration—often including playful putti—extending into the borders mark the beginnings of all prefaces and books in this volume.

43. F. M. Rosell, *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Barcelona, vol. 1: 1 a 500*, Direcciones Generales de Enseñanza Universitaria y de Archivos y Bibliotecas. Servicio de Publicaciones de la junta técnica (Madrid, 1958) [vol. 5 in the series Ediciones Conmemorativas del Centenario del Cuerpo Facultativo, 1858–1958], pp. 155–156. An historiated initial depicting Sallust and a white vine border in three margins, including putti, exotic birds, and

borders of the Museum's hours, the hours of Alfonso, the Cassiodorus, and the treatises on falconry offer some support for this connection, the style of their decoration is somewhat removed from that of these manuscripts; the style of the *Epistolae* is even more distant.

Like the Museum's hours, the Aristotle and the *Epistolae* appear to have been made in Naples for Spanish patrons. The Aristotle was made for a member of the Copons family of Catalonia, whose arms (gules a cup or) appear on folio 9. At least one member of the Copons family, Joan de Copons, was in Naples and connected with Alfonso's court in the 1450s,⁴⁶ when he could have acquired the Aristotle. The *Epistolae* was made for Don Carlos, Prince of Viana, who was the eldest son of Alfonso's brother, Juan of Aragon, and who was resident in Naples from 1456 until 1460.⁴⁷ These volumes begin to suggest the role Naples may have played in supplying Catalan and Aragonese patrons with illuminated manuscripts. They were both presumably commissioned by individuals associated with the court, but the Museum's hours, which may have been made for a merchant, the Sallust in the University Library in Barcelona, and the Sallust purchased by Peter Eximenes, mentioned above, hint that the Spanish market for this production may have been significantly wider.

The Aristotle, *Epistolae*, and Sallust in Barcelona were all copied by Gabriel Altadell, a Catalan scribe living in Naples.⁴⁸ Altadell was employed by the royal library from 1450 until at least 1455, and by Don Carlos in 1458 and 1459. It is very likely that Altadell was one of the scribes who wrote the Museum's book of hours. Although no signed work by Altadell written in the type of Gothic script found in Ms. Ludwig IX 12 is known, the flourishes embellishing the first portion of its text (fols. 14–271v; fig. 19) are very close to the type Altadell often made use of, not only in the Aristotle (fig. 20) and the Sallust in Barcelona but also, for instance, in Don Carlos' copy of Aristotle's *De ethica* in the British Library.⁴⁹ It has been suggested that, like the scribe Altadell, the Master of the Offices was one of the numerous Catalan artists employed at Alfonso's court. The art of northeastern Spain

a knight in armor, appears on folio 1; a gold initial and white vine border in two margins, in which two putti wrestle with one another (possibly the work of another hand), appears on folio 46. A manuscript that appears to be closely related to the Barcelona Sallust came to my attention only as this article was going to press. It is another copy of Sallust, *De coniuratione Catilinae*, now in the Biblioteca Comunale of Nicosia, Sicily; see A. Daneu Lattanzi, *I manoscritti ed incunaboli miniati della Sicilia* (Palermo, 1977), cat. 28, pp. 58–59, fig. 37.

44. F. Avril, J.-P. Aniel, M. Mentré, A. Saulnier, and Y. Zaluska, *Manuscrits enluminés de la péninsule ibérique*, Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1982), cat. 135, pp. 120–121.

45. Hindman (note 42), p. 30.

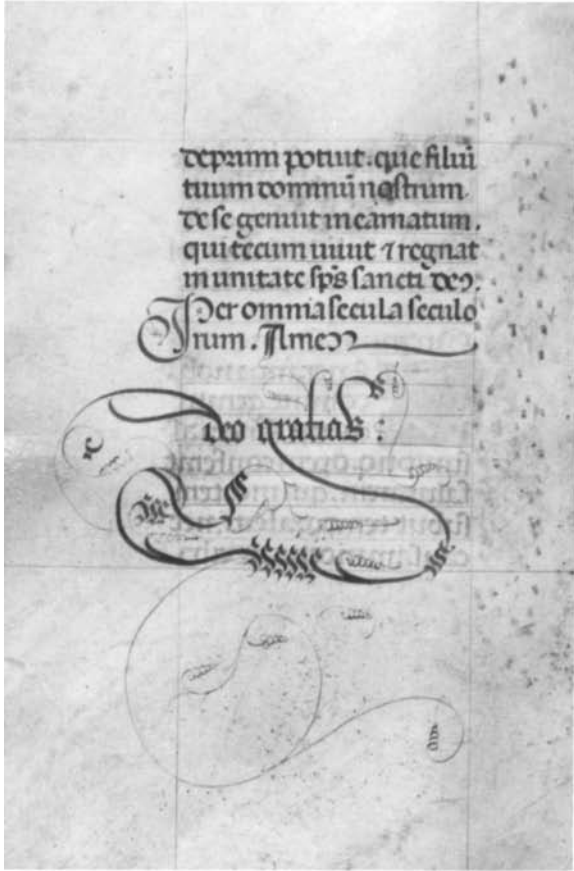


Figure 19. Explicit, book of hours, fol. 270v. Naples, circa 1460. Tempera and gold on vellum, 17.1 x 12 cm (6³/₄ x 4¹/₂ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig IX 12; 83.ML.108.

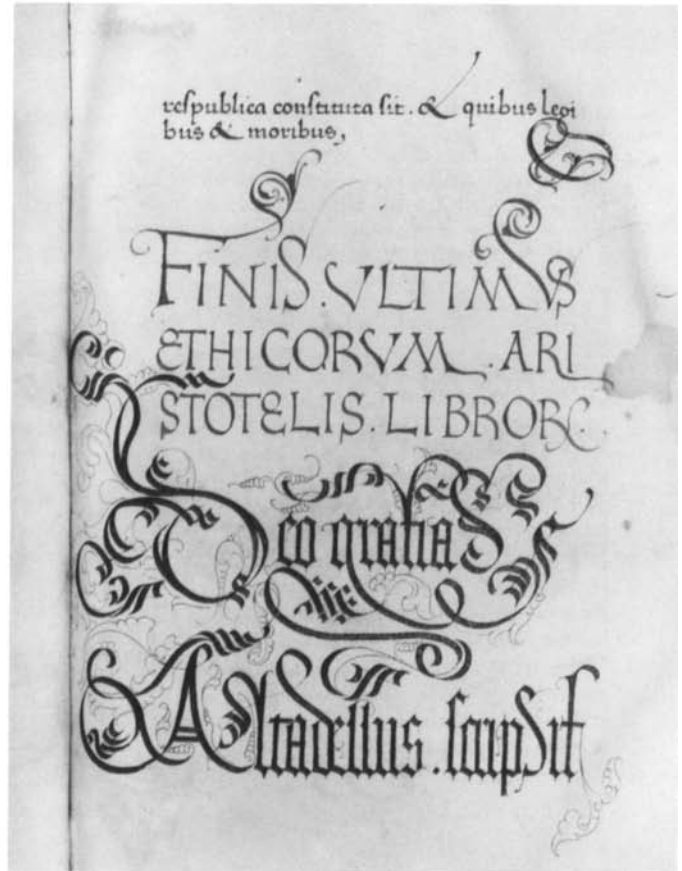


Figure 20. Explicit and scribal colophon. Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, translated by Leonardo Bruni, and other texts, fol. 160v. Naples, 1450s. Tempera and gold on vellum, 29.7 x 21.5 cm (11³/₈ x 8¹/₂ in.). Oslo, Schøyen Collection Ms. 111.

frequently serves as a term of comparison when his work is characterized. As we have seen, Putaturo Murano identified this artist—whose work she knew only in Alfonso's hours—as a “catalanizing Neapolitan master”; Ferdinando Bologna detected “Valencian cadences” in his style (again known only from Alfonso's hours), a reference to Jaime Baço di Jacomart, who was from Valencia but worked, as Alfonso's court painter, in Naples.⁵⁰ Plotzek

compared the style of the Master of the Offices to two specific Catalan artists: Valentin Montoliú,⁵¹ active in Tarragona from 1433 until 1447/48 and then in San Mateu until at least 1469, and the Master of the Solsona *Last Supper*, now identified as Jaime Ferrer,⁵² active in Lérida during the first third of the fifteenth century. Jaime Ferrer's paintings bear little resemblance to the Master of the Offices' miniatures. He worked in a late International

46. Joan de Copons is mentioned in the fragment of the “Quaternus Sigilli Pendentis” of Alfonso I for the years 1452–1453: “Ioannis de Coponibus, lictera ordinationis in consiliarium ordinarium cum provisione quingentorum ducatorum per annum, reservato iure curie in casu quod ceteri consilarii solvant nichil solvat, pro nunc pro iure sigilli, mandato Iohannis Olzine, locumtenentis cancellarii.” *Fonti aragonesi*, Testi e documenti di storia napoletana pubblicati dall'Accademia Pontaniana, serie 2, vol. 3, ed. Bianca Mazzoleni (Naples, 1963), part 1, no. 74, p. 10.

47. Avril et al. (note 44), p. 121.

48. On Altadell, see De Marinis, vol. 1, pp. 15–16.

49. The colophon of British Library, add. ms. 21120, is reproduced

in De Marinis, vol. 1, pl. 4. I am grateful to Dr. Albinia de la Mare, who shared her expertise on Neapolitan scribes with me and pointed out these comparisons with Altadell.

50. F. Bologna, *Napoli e le rotte mediterranee della pittura da Alfonso il Magnanimo a Ferdinando il Cattolico* (Naples, 1977), p. 77.

51. See C. R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, vol. 7, part 2: *The Catalan School in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), pp. 661–700, and J. Gudiol and S. Alcolea i Blanch, *Pintura gòtica catalana* (Barcelona, 1986), pp. 146–148 and figs. 60, 725–727.

52. See C. R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, vol. 2, (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), pp. 335–345, and Gudiol and Alcolea i Blanch (note 51), pp. 111–114 and figs. 43–45, 582–604.

Gothic style; after 1420, in the later portion of his career, when the Solsona *Last Supper* was painted, he was influenced by the work of Lluís Borrassà. Valentin Montoliú's work does show certain affinities to that of the Master of the Offices, for instance, the high horizons in his landscapes, the stiff drapery folds, and the physiognomies of his figures.

These affinities, however, in both cases result from the independent influence of Franco-Flemish art rather than from a direct connection between the two artists. Well-known benchmarks in the history of Flemish art's influence in Spain are Jan van Eyck's diplomatic journeys to the Iberian peninsula in 1426–1427 and 1428–1429 and the Catalan artist Lluís Dalmau's trip to Flanders in 1431, at Alfonso's behest, possibly to recruit Flemish tapestry weavers to work at Alfonso's court. The extent to which Dalmau studied Flemish painting while there (he may have remained until 1436) is apparent in the altarpiece he painted in 1445–1446 for the chapel of the Casa del Consell of Barcelona, which is directly based on Jan van Eyck's Ghent altarpiece, completed in 1432, and the *Madonna with Canon van der Paele* (Bruges, Groeninge Museum), completed in 1436.

Catalan illuminators, on the contrary, responded to the innovations of Flanders more slowly. The International Gothic style, which had first appeared in manuscripts from northeastern Spain at the end of the fourteenth century, prevailed throughout the first half of the fifteenth. Bernat Martorell, who succeeded Borrassà as the chief exponent of the International Gothic style in Catalonia, was active in Barcelona until his death in 1452. Although only one manuscript entirely from his hand survives, a book of hours made before 1444, possibly for the convent of Santa Clara (Barcelona, Instituto Municipal de Historia), the work is of a high caliber, and it appears that Martorell was well practiced in this medium.⁵³ The commission he received in 1448 from the councillors of Barcelona to illuminate a copy of Jaime Marquilles' *Comentaris sobre els Usatges* (Barcelona, Mu-

seo de Historia de la Ciudad) presupposes his prominent reputation as an illuminator.⁵⁴

In Valencia, the chief illuminators were Leonardo Crespi and his family, who also worked in the International Gothic style.⁵⁵ They produced numerous manuscripts, including two for Alfonso: the *Descendencia dominorum regum Sicilie* (Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 806 [olim 394]) in 1437 and a book of hours (London, British Library, Add. Ms. 28962) between 1439 and 1443. The style practiced by the Crespi, in which broad, sweeping curves predominate, shows none of the features derived from later Franco-Flemish art that are found in Ms. Ludwig IX 12. The open arrangement and long, thin forms of the acanthus leaves in their borders are also quite different from the tightly curled, dense foliage filling the borders of the Museum's hours. Illumination from northeast Spain that is comparable to the Museum's manuscript only appears in the 1450s, when illuminators—notably in Aragon and Castille—began to imitate the style of Flemish artists, particularly Willem Vrelant and his followers.⁵⁶ Since the Master of the Offices was already illuminating manuscripts in an accomplished Franco-Flemish style in the second half of the 1450s, we should look for his origins somewhere other than in Catalonia.

The artistic culture of the 1440s and early 1450s in Naples, where Flemish art was also making its mark, provides the most convincing context for the development of the Master of the Offices. The impact of Flemish art in Naples may be judged by the remark of Bartolomeo Facio, Alfonso's secretary, whose *De viris illustribus* we encountered earlier, that "Jan of Gaul [Jan van Eyck] has been judged the leading painter of our time."⁵⁷ This assessment no doubt reflected the tastes of the Aragonese court, where Flemish art was avidly collected; Facio had been resident in Naples more or less continuously since 1444. When Pietro Summonte surveyed Neapolitan art for his friend Marcantonio Michiel in 1524, he described the manner of the chief mid-fifteenth-century painter,

53. Gudiol and Alcolea i Blanch (note 51), cat. 388, pp. 125, 127.

54. The extent of Martorell's contribution to the actual execution of the frontispiece is a matter of debate, since on November 8, 1448, he "subcontracted" the work to Bernat Raurich. See Gudiol and Alcolea i Blanch (note 51), pp. 124–125.

55. See A. Villalba Davalos, *La miniatura valenciana en los siglos XIV y XV*, Cuadernos de Arte 12 (Valencia, 1964). Bernardita Mandiola assisted me with research on the Crespi and other artists active in Valencia and Catalonia in the fifteenth century.

56. Among the earliest manuscripts in northeastern Spain to show the influence of the Vrelant style are those made for Inigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana (1398–1458), whose illumination has been attributed to Jorge Inglés (see F. J. Sanchez Cantón, "Maestro Jorge Inglés, pintor y miniaturista del Marqués de Santillana," *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones* 25 [1917], pp.

99–105; J. Domínguez Bordona, *Spanish Illumination*, vol. 2 [Florence and Paris, 1930], pp. 58–59; a manuscript of Guido delle Colonne, *De regimine principum*, was recently added to the group by R. Wieck, *Late Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts 1350–1525 in the Houghton Library* [Cambridge, Mass., 1983], pp. 98–99). In spite of his name, Inglés' nationality is uncertain. If he was from northern Europe, or if he lived there for any length of time, he may have played an important role in the introduction of the Franco-Flemish style into Castille. Vrelant's influence in Catalonia also remains to be studied. Two manuscripts illuminated in the Vrelant style that bear on the problem are a book of hours, tentatively dated circa 1460, at Waddesdon Manor in the James A. de Rothschild collection, ms. 9 (L. M. J. Delaissé et al., *Illuminated Manuscripts*, The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor [London, 1977], pp. 181–214) and a book of hours, tentatively dated circa 1470, now divided between the

Colantonio, as that of Flanders, “as was the fashion at that time.”⁵⁸ Neapolitan artists were praised by their contemporaries for their ability to copy Flemish painting. According to Summonte, Colantonio displayed “a great dexterity in imitating whatever he wanted to, which imitation he turned completely toward Flemish things, which alone were valued at that time.” Colantonio copied a portrait of Charles the Bold and Jan van Eyck’s *Saint George and the Dragon* in Alfonso’s collection so expertly that his copies could not be distinguished from their Flemish models.⁵⁹ Colantonio incorporated motifs copied from Flemish painting into his original compositions as well: his use of the enigmatic female mourner from Petrus Christus’ *Deposition* (Brussels, Musée Royal des Beaux Arts) in his own painting of the same subject (Naples, San Domenico Maggiore) is a well-known example. Flemish innovations may have also reached Colantonio and his Neapolitan colleagues through the work of Jacomart, the Valencian artist who painted in a Flemish manner and was resident in Naples. Jacomart was paid as Alfonso’s court painter from 1442 until 1446, during which period he painted an altarpiece for Santa Maria della Pace that Alfonso commissioned to commemorate his triumph over René of Anjou; after a short trip to Valencia, Jacomart returned to Alfonso’s employ, where he remained until 1451, when he definitively returned to his homeland. Since none of the work Jacomart executed in Naples has survived, it is difficult to gauge the impact his Hispano-Flemish style might have had on other painters working in the city, but it may have been significant. Similarities have often been remarked between works by Jacomart preserved in Spain and the panel from Colantonio’s altarpiece, painted for San Lorenzo in Naples before 1458, that represents *Saint Francis Giving His Rule to the Friars Minor and the Poor Clares* (Naples, Museo di Capodimonte; fig. 21).⁶⁰

If Neapolitan artists were receptive to Flemish art during Alfonso’s reign, it was in part because the ground had already been prepared by the contacts with Burgundian-



Figure 21. Colantonio (Italian, active circa 1438–1465), *Saint Francis Giving His Rule to the Friars Minor and the Poor Clares*. Naples, before 1458. Tempera on panel. Naples, Museo di Capodimonte.

Flemish art they had been afforded during René of Anjou’s sojourn in Naples from 1438 to 1442, when the French king tried to assert his rights to the Neapolitan throne. Colantonio may have honed his skills as a painter by copying Flemish panel paintings, but, Summonte informs us, he first learned his art by studying French examples: “King René . . . himself showed him the

collections of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, ms. IV 375 and IV 35, and Chicago, Newberry Library, Ms. 39 (*Quinze années d’acquisitions*, exh. cat. [Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, 1969], cat. 78a and 78b, pp. 100–102) both with Latin and Catalan texts. I am grateful to Maximiliaan P. J. Martens for bringing these manuscripts to my attention. An intriguing book of hours in the University Library, Barcelona (Ms. 1841; see Rosell [note 43], vol. 4, pp. 318–321) bears certain similarities to IX 12 but probably represents Italian influence in Spain.

57. M. Baxandall, “Bartholomaeus Facius on Painting: A Fifteenth-Century Manuscript of the *De Viris Illustribus*,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964), p. 90.

58. “Da questo tal tempo [i.e., of Giotto and his followers] non avemo avuto in queste parti, né omo externo né paesano, [alcun maestro] celebre, fino ad maestro Colantonio nostro napolitano. . . .

La professione del Colantonio tutta era, si come portava quel tempo, in lavoro di Fiandra e lo colorire di quel paese.” Pietro Summonte’s letter of March 20, 1524, was drafted as an aid to Michiel, who was planning to write a history of Renaissance art. F. Nicolini, *L’arte napoletana del Rinascimento* (Naples, 1925), p. 160.

59. “Fo in costui [Colantonio] una gran dextrezza in imitar quel che volea; la qual imitazione ipso avea tutta convertita in le cose di Fiandra, che allora sole erano in prezzo. . . . Insomma lo bon Colantonio la contrafece tutta questa pittura, di modo che non si discerna la sua da l’archetipo.” Nicolini (note 58), pp. 161–162.

60. Most recently by F. Sricchia Santoro, *Antonello e l’Europa* (Milan, 1986), pp. 27–29.



Figure 22. Arms of Arnaldo Sanz. Codex of Santa Marta, fol. 43. Naples, circa 1439. Tempera and gold on vellum, 33.1 x 22.8 cm (13¹/₁₆ x 9 in.). Naples, Archivio di Stato, Museo Storico Ms. 99. C. I.

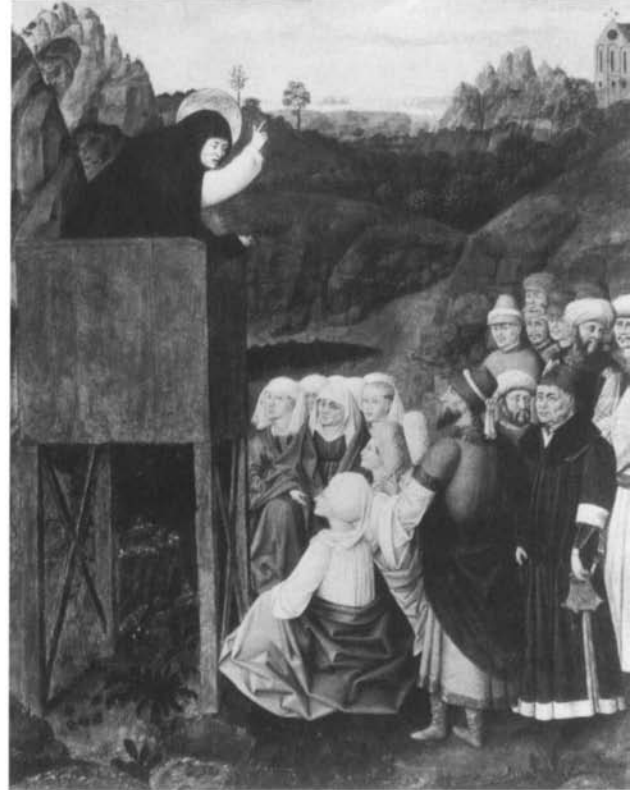


Figure 23. Colantonio, *Saint Vincent Preaching* (detail of the *Polyptych of Saint Vincent Ferrer*). Naples, before 1465. Tempera on panel. Naples, San Pietro Martire.

technique and the tempera [used for] that coloring.”⁶¹ Colantonio’s early work certainly depends on the version of the Flemish style found in southwestern France, but just how this influence was conveyed is a subject of lively debate.⁶² There is a growing consensus that the major exponents of this style, the Master of Roi René and the Master of *The Annunciation* in Aix-en-Provence (the transalpine painter most closely connected with Colantonio’s work) are not only one and the same person but should be identified as the painter favored by René from at least the early 1440s, Barthélemy d’Eyck.⁶³ It has further

61. “Al che [i.e., the art of Flanders] era [i.e., Colantonio] tanto dedito che avea deliberato andarci. Ma il re Raniero lo ritenne qua [i.e., Naples], con mostrarli ipso la pratica e la tempera di tal colorire.” Nicolini (note 58), p. 160.

62. Both *Saint Jerome in His Study*, virtually universally accepted as Colantonio’s since the publication of Summonte’s letter in which it is described and attributed to him, and the *Annunciation* in Aix-en-Provence were once thought to be by the same artist (see P. H. Jolly, “Jan van Eyck and St. Jerome: A Study of Eyckian Influence on Colantonio and Antonello da Messina in Quattrocento Naples” [Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1976], pp. 302–303, n. 275 and p. 303, n. 308). On the stylistic similarities linking the Master of the Aix *Annunciation*/Master of Roi René with Colantonio, see

been suggested that Barthélemy was in Naples with René and that the illuminations of the so-called Cockerell Chronicle may be attributed to him.⁶⁴ Whether one accepts this attribution or not, there can be no doubt that there were Neapolitan illuminators working in this Franco-Flemish style in the 1440s and 1450s: for instance, the artists who painted the arms of Arnaldo Sanz and Pere Roig de Corella in the Codex of Santa Marta (Naples, Archivio di Stato; fig. 22),⁶⁵ as well as panel painters, such as Colantonio and the Master of the triptych in Santa Maria Nova, Naples.⁶⁶

Bologna (note 50), pp. 62–64; F. Sricchia Santoro, “L’ambiente della formazione di Antonello: la cultura artistica a Napoli negli anni di Renato d’Angiò (1438–1442) e di Alfonso di Aragona (1443–1458),” *Antonello da Messina*, exh. cat. (Museo Regionale, Messina, 1982), p. 66; F. Bologna, “Colantonio,” *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 26 (Rome, 1982), pp. 697–698; C. Sterling, *Enguerrand Quarton: Le peintre de la Pietà d’Avignon* (Paris, 1983), pp. 174–175; M. Laclotte and D. Thiébaud, *L’ecole d’Avignon* (Tours, 1983), pp. 72–74; L. Castelfranchi Vegas, *Italia e Fiandra nella pittura del Quattrocento* (Milan, 1983), pp. 78–79; Sricchia Santoro (note 60), pp. 17–23; F. Navarro, “La pittura a Napoli e nel Meridione nel Quattrocento,” *La pittura in Italia: Il Quattrocento*, vol. 2 (Milan, 1986), pp. 449–450.

63. Most recently N. Reynaud, “Barthélemy d’Eyck avant 1450,”

The striking parallels between the work of Colantonio and the other artists of mid-fifteenth-century Naples and the work of the Master of the Offices argue for the Neapolitan origin and training of the Getty master. The Master of the Offices shares their preference for shallow compositions in which figures are brought close to the picture plane. The shapes and coloring—with abrupt shifts from dark to light—of the folds covering the seated pharisees in the scene of Christ teaching in the Temple (fig. 3) recall those of the seated woman in Colantonio's *Saint Vincent Preaching*, a panel from his Saint Vincent Ferrer polyptych, painted before 1465, which can be confidently attributed to Colantonio on Summonte's authority (San Pietro Martire, Naples; fig. 23). The folds of drapery in many of his miniatures in Alfonso's hours in Naples derive from drapery of the type found in Colantonio's *Saint Francis* (compare figs. 15 and 21). The Santa Marta miniatures (fig. 22), on the other hand, suggest the antecedents of the powerfully modeled figures with "pipe-organ" drapery folds in the Passion scenes of Ms. Ludwig IX 12 (fig. 7) and Alfonso's hours.

Although they may at first appear surprising, conspicuous similarities link the work of the Master of the Offices with contemporary Westphalian painting. In large measure this must be due to the fact that, like their colleagues in Naples, artists from this region worked with a visual vocabulary conditioned by the innovations of Burgundy and Flanders. Some of the similarities, however, appear to be more than simple parallels. Ferdinando Bologna has drawn attention to the unexpected ways in which the Passion scenes in Alfonso's hours—and we may now add those in the Museum's hours—resemble the panels of an altarpiece made in Westphalia circa 1440–1450, which once belonged to the Abbey of Schlägl in upper Austria (now in the Cleveland Museum of Art). In light of the evidence in favor of a trip by Konrad Witz to Tuscany in 1439–1440,⁶⁷ Bologna's suggestion that the Master of the Schlägl Altarpiece traveled to Naples in the 1440s and exercised an influence on artists working there merits further investigation.⁶⁸

Like the style of the Master of the Offices, the closely

related style of the second artist of the Museum's hours, the Master of the Seven Joys of Mary, finds its natural context in Neapolitan art of the mid-fifteenth century. The narrative detail of this artist's compositions and the rich costumes and ample draperies he prefers reflect the esteem in which Neapolitan artists and patrons held the art of the North at that time. These features are prominent in *The Adoration of the Magi* by the Master of the Seven Joys of Mary (fig. 9) and account for the resemblance of this miniature to a panel representing the same scene (Turin, Galleria Sabauda) that has been attributed to a Neapolitan artist copying a Flemish model.⁶⁹

Intriguing analogies for the style of the Master of the Seven Joys of Mary can be found in the decoration of a few other Neapolitan manuscripts, although his hand cannot be identified in them with certainty. The delicacy and attention to detail that characterize his miniatures appear in the historiated initial in the frontispiece of a copy of Firmianus Lactantius' *Divinae institutiones* (Besançon, Bibliothèque Publique, Ms. 170; figs. 24a–b) that was made for Alfonso of Aragon.⁷⁰ The kneeling figures wrapped in heavy draperies may be compared to the apostles in the Master of the Seven Joys of Mary's *Pentecost* (fig. 10). The twisting vines and pen-drawn rinceaux of the border of the Lactantius frontispiece are echoed in the border of the Getty *Pentecost* as well, while the rather solid putti clambering among these vines are closely related to those in another of the Master of the Seven Joys of Mary's borders in the Museum's hours, the one surrounding *The Annunciation* (fig. 8).

The group of historiated initials in Alfonso's hours that has been attributed by Putaturo Murano to a "Maestro del S. Giorgio"⁷¹ also offers parallels to the Master of the Seven Joys of Mary's style. For instance, the composition and figure types in the *Adoration of the Magi* in Alfonso's hours are quite similar to those in the miniature of this scene in the Museum's hours (compare figs. 9 and 25). The slender figure of Mary in the Museum's *Annunciation* (fig. 8) has a counterpart in the figure of Mary in the *Nativity* in Alfonso's hours.⁷² The comparison extends to certain details, for instance, the thatch-roofed manger that

Revue de l'art 84 (1989), pp. 22–43.

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 26–32. Nine leaves from this manuscript are known; they are now dispersed among the collections of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin-Dahlem; the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne; the Ian Woodner Collection, New York; the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; and a private collection.

65. Filangieri (note 21), pp. 68–70, pls. 24, 25.

66. Bologna (note 50), pp. 72–73, 126, pls. 43–44.

67. F. Deuchler, "Konrad Witz, la Savoie et l'Italie: Nouvelles hypothèses à propos du retable de Genève," *Revue de l'art* 71 (1986), pp. 7–16. I am grateful to Jennifer Haley for bringing Prof. Deuchler's arguments to my attention.

68. Bologna (note 50), pp. 75–77.

69. *Ibid.*, fig. 58. Navarro (note 62), pp. 452–453, suggests that the Turin *Adoration* "echoes" the painting of this subject by van Eyck that Alfonso had acquired for the chapel of Santa Barbara in the Castel Nuovo.

70. See De Marinis, vol. 2, p. 90. I am grateful to François Avril for bringing this manuscript, known to me only through photographs, to my attention. The arms, Aragon quartered with Hungary-Durazzo, were used both by Alfonso and his son Ferrante, but the *impresa* in the border (flaming throne, sheath of millet, and open book) are Alfonso's.

71. Putaturo Murano (note 33), p. 56.

72. *Ibid.*, pl. 8.



Figure 24a. Attributed to the Master of the Offices, frontispiece with historiated initial *M* with *A Congregation Worshiping False Idols*. Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones*, fol. 1. Naples, circa 1455–1458. Tempera and gold on vellum, 40.5 x 26.9 cm (15¹⁵/₁₆ x 10⁵/₈ in.). Besançon, Bibliothèque Publique Ms. 170.



Figure 24b. Detail of figure 24a.

appears in the Museum's *Adoration* and the *Nativity* in Alfonso's hours and the choice of a white shawl to cover the Virgin's head in the *Visitation* in Alfonso's hours⁷³ and in the Museum's *Adoration*.

The style of the Master of the Seven Joys of Mary is also close to that of one of the artists who contributed to the illumination of a collection of works by Virgil (Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 837 [olim 748]). Its patron is unknown (the arms on fol. 1 have been effaced), but this manuscript can be connected with the Aragonese court. On its first folio is the ex libris "Es de la lib[reri]a de S. Miguel delos [sic] Reyes." In 1550 this Hieronymite convent inherited what remained of the Aragonese library in Naples from Duke Fernando of Calabria. The eldest son of the last Aragonese king, Federico III (r. 1496–1501), Fernando had been created Viceroy of Valencia in 1523 and had, with his first wife, Germana de Foix, virtually rebuilt San Miguel de los Reyes, which he intended to serve as his final resting place. An inventory drawn up in 1550 of the books bequeathed by Fernando listed 795 volumes; the Virgil has been identified as item 305.⁷⁴ In the nineteenth century, San Miguel was suppressed, and the two hundred thirty-three manuscripts still to be found on the shelves of its library were transferred to the Biblioteca Universitaria in Valencia, where the Virgil manuscript is now housed.⁷⁵

The production of this copy of Virgil's works appears to have been complicated and drawn out. Five artists contributed to the first campaign of decoration,⁷⁶ which may not have been the one originally intended. The opening words of the first book of the *Georgics*, which were undoubtedly meant to be in gold capitals just as those of the opening of the *Bucolics* are, were supplied by a later "editor" (who also corrected and annotated the text) in red, and there are blank spaces for miniatures that were never executed as originally planned. The decoration was completed at a later date by three other hands.⁷⁷ The hand responsible for the illumination of folios 1, 19, 64v, 65,

73. Ibid., pl. 9.

74. De Marinis, vol. 2, p. 172, pls. 255–263.

75. On the dispersal of the Aragonese library, see G. Mazzatinti, *Inventory dei manoscritti italiani delle biblioteche di Francia*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1886–1888); idem (note 6); De Marinis, vol. 1, pp. 195–198. In 1833, Ferdinand VII sanctioned the actions taken by his wife, Maria Cristina, while he had been ill with a stroke, suppressing all monastic, clerical, mendicant, and secular orders. Other decrees extending the *exclaustración* were ratified in 1834 and 1835. (See I. Hempel Lipschutz, *Spanish Painting and the French Romantics* [Cambridge, Mass., 1972], p. 124.)

76. The illumination may be divided as follows: Hand A executed the miniatures on folios 1, 19, 64v, 65, 80v, 96, 111v; Hand B those on folios 126v, 127, 145v, 152, 152v, 200v, 217v, 218; Hand C, who works in a desiccated version of Lombard illumination of the 1430s, executed the miniatures on folios 155, 155v, 156, 156v, 157v, 158, 161, 161v, 163v,

80v (fig. 26), 96, and 111v reveals many similarities—particularly regarding figure and facial types—to the work of the master who illuminated the Seven Joys of Mary in the Museum's book of hours. One might, for instance, compare the strongly modeled features and slim proportions of the women in Dido's retinue with the figure of the Virgin in the Master of the Seven Joys of Mary's *Annunciation* and *Adoration* (figs. 8–9).

The hand of the third artist of the Museum's hours, the Master of the Suffrages, can be recognized in a number of manuscripts that are linked to one another not only visually but also by their provenance and, most strikingly, by the presence in some of them of the same motto. Key works in the group of manuscripts that can be attributed to the Master of the Suffrages are a psalter (in 1970 in the De Marinis collection, Florence) and a book of hours (Cambridge, Houghton Library, Ms. Typ. 463), both Dominican use and both made for Isabella di Chiaromonte (1404–1465), Alfonso of Aragon's daughter-in-law.⁷⁸ Her arms impaled with per saltire Aragon and Sicily appear on folio 7 of the psalter (fig. 27). Isabella donated this psalter to the Dominican church of San Pietro Martire in Naples, which was rebuilt in 1458 on land that Isabella provided.⁷⁹ The church continued to benefit from her pious generosity. In addition to manuscripts and vestments, Isabella donated an altarpiece: the same polyptych we have already encountered in reference to the Master of the Offices, painted by Colantonio and depicting Saint Vincent Ferrer along with Isabella and her children Alfonso II and Eleanora in prayer. Isabella is said to have gone daily to San Pietro Martire to pray, and it was there that her tomb was originally located. Isabella's book of hours displays her arms impaled with those of her husband, Ferrante, on folio 13 (fig. 28). Since the arms are surmounted by a crown, the hours must have been made between 1458, when Ferrante, following his father's death, became king of Naples, and 1465, when Isabella died.

167, 168v; Hand D, who executed the miniature on fol. 29v, is the Master of the Suffrages (see below); Hand E, responsible for the miniatures on folios 146 and 151, imitates the style of Hand C, but stiffly.

77. The miniatures on folios 185v, 236v, and 237 were added in a style that imitates that of Hand A; folios 255, 255v, and 256 may be attributed to a late fifteenth-century hand; the miniature on fol. 201v appears to be much later.

78. For the psalter see *Manoscritti, incunabuli figurati, editiones principes: vendita all'asta 18 febbraio 1929, Milano libreria antiquaria U. Hoepli*, no. 54, pls. 52–54, and De Marinis, vol. 2, pp. 137–139 and pls. 204–205; *Supplemento*, vol. 2, pp. 137–138. For Isabella's hours, see B. Witthoft, "The Hours of Isabella di Chiaromonte," *Harvard Library Journal* 18 (1970), pp. 298–307.

79. G. Cosenza, "La chiesa e il convento di S. Pietro Martire, II: Epoca aragonese," *Napoli nobilissima* 8 (1899), pp. 187–189.



Figure 25. *The Adoration of the Magi*. Hours of Alfonso of Aragon, fol. 30v. Naples, circa 1455–1458. Tempera and gold on vellum, 21 x 15 cm (8¹/₄ x 5¹⁵/₁₆ in.). Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale Ms. I B 55.



Figure 26. *Aeneas Recounts the Events of the Trojan War to Dido*. Virgil, *Opera*, fol. 80v. Naples, second half of the fifteenth century. Tempera and gold on vellum, 31.4 x 22.2 cm (12³/₈ x 8¹¹/₁₆ in.). Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria Ms. 837.



Figure 27. Attributed to the Master of the Suffrages, frontispiece with historiated initial *B* with *David Playing a Harp*. Psalter of Isabella di Chiaromonte, fol. 7. Naples, circa 1459–1465. Tempera and gold on vellum, 26.8 x 20 cm (10 ⁹/₁₆ x 7 ⁷/₈ in.). As of 1970, Florence, Collection Tammaro de Marinis; present location unknown.

Isabella's psalter contains fifty-seven miniatures and historiated initials (including twenty-four in the calendar) and four full historiated borders. Her book of hours is illustrated with four large and eleven small historiated initials, one large foliate initial (as well as numerous smaller ones), and twelve full historiated borders. The present whereabouts of the psalter are unknown to this author, and thus it has not been possible to determine if all of its decoration is by one hand; but the illumination of those folios that have been reproduced, as well as all the illumination in Isabella's book of hours, should be attributed to the Master of the Suffrages. The impassive expressions of the figures in Isabella's psalter and book of

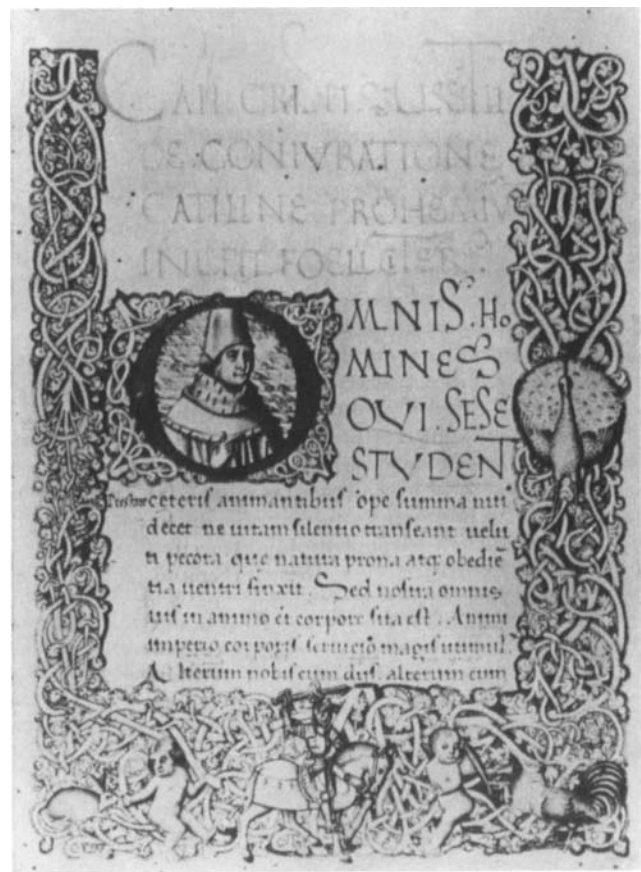


Figure 28. Attributed to the Master of the Suffrages, historiated initial *A* with *The Annunciation*. Hours of Isabella di Chiaromonte, fol. 13. Naples, 1459–1465. Tempera and gold on vellum, 16.8 x 12.1 cm (6 ⁵/₈ x 4 ³/₄ in.) [sight]. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, The Houghton Library Ms. Typ. 463. Reproduced by permission of the Houghton Library.

hours find parallels throughout the Master of the Suffrages' miniatures in Ms. Ludwig IX 12. The figures in the small initials of Isabella's hours (fig. 29) have a doll-like character similar to that of the minor figures in the Museum's hours. The slender proportions and unnaturally bowed heads of the large figures in the Museum's suffrages also appear in the miniatures in Isabella's manuscripts, for instance in the depiction of the *Imago Pietatis* at the beginning of the Office of the Cross (fig. 30) in her book of hours and of *Virgo* in the calendar of her psalter.⁸⁰ This Passion portrait is in fact a variation on the subject as it appears in the final miniature of the Museum's hours (fig. 14); the praying angel in the lower border is

80. *Manoscritti . . . Hoepli* (note 78), pl. 52.

81. Filangieri (note 21), pl. 11.

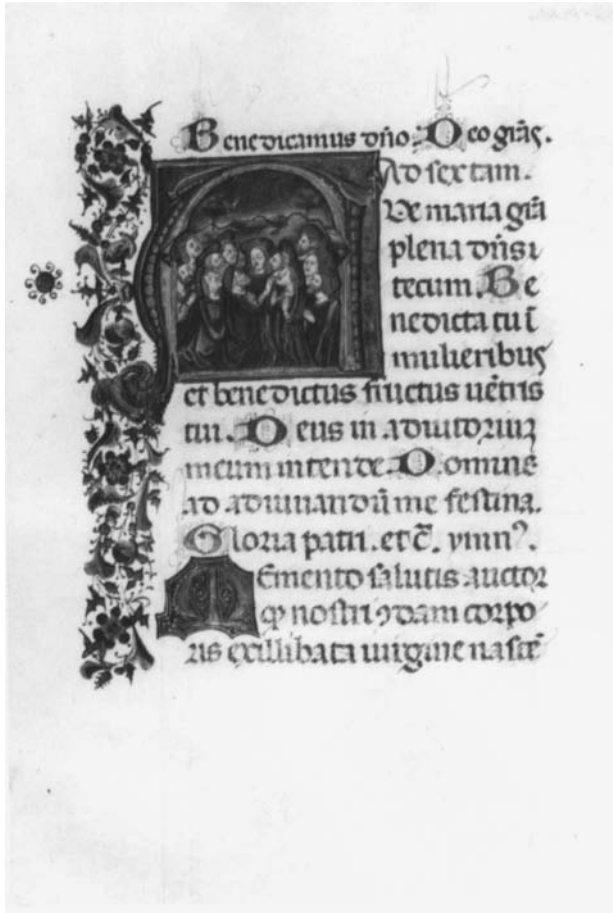


Figure 29. Attributed to the Master of the Suffrages, historiated initial *A* with *The Ascension*. Hours of Isabella di Chiaromonte, fol. 42v. Naples, 1459–1465. Tempera and gold on vellum, 16.8 x 12.1 cm (6⁵/₈ x 4³/₄ in.) [sight]. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, The Houghton Library Ms. Typ. 463. Reproduced by permission of the Houghton Library.



Figure 30. Attributed to the Master of the Suffrages, historiated initial *D* with *Imago Pietatis (Passion Portrait) with the Virgin and Saint John*. Hours of Isabella di Chiaromonte, fol. 87. Naples, 1459–1465. Tempera and gold on vellum, 16.8 x 12.1 cm (6⁵/₈ x 4³/₄ in.) [sight]. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, The Houghton Library Ms. Typ. 463. Reproduced by permission of the Houghton Library.

virtually identical. In the miniatures of all three manuscripts, draperies fall in trough-like folds; sleeves, such as Saint Anthony's in the Museum's hours (fig. 12), David's in Isabella's psalter (fig. 27), and the angel's in the upper border of folio 13 of Isabella's hours (fig. 28), all appear to be stiff tubes out of which small, paper-thin hands emerge. Many of these features can also be noted in the two angels who hold up Isabella's arms on the folio dedicated to her in the Codex of Santa Marta,⁸¹ which, for this reason, should also be attributed to the Master of the Suffrages. The miniatures in Ms. Ludwig IX 12 and in Isabella's psalter and hours likewise reveal a shared approach to landscape, one in which decorative forms are

arranged in patterns that suggest flat backdrops akin to tapestries. The rounded hills behind the figure of Virgo in Isabella's psalter and behind David in her hours⁸² may be likened to the patchwork of soft mountains in the landscape behind Saint Sebastian in the Museum's hours (fig. 13). A number of motifs present in the Museum's hours also appear in Isabella's manuscripts, for instance the angels and putti with short silver wings, the hares, boars, parrots, and peacocks in the borders, and the interlaced gold squares that ornament the corners of the frames.

In addition to the Museum's hours and the hours of Isabella di Chiaromonte, four other books of hours, all use of Rome, contain illumination that may be attributed

82. Witthoft (note 78), pl. 4.



Figure 31. Attributed to the Master of the Suffrages, historiated initial *D* with *The Annunciation*. Book of hours, fol. 9. Naples, circa 1465. Tempera and gold on vellum, 17.5 x 12.7 cm (6⁷/₈ x 5 in.). Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 328.



Figure 32. Attributed to the Master of the Suffrages, *Saint Catherine*. Book of hours, fol. 180v. Naples, circa 1465. Tempera and gold on vellum, 17.5 x 12.7 cm (6⁷/₈ x 5 in.). Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 328.

to the Master of the Suffrages. The first is a book of hours in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (Ms. W. 328). A luxurious manuscript with gold rubrics and meticulously executed decoration, it contains seven large miniatures and six historiated initials.⁸³ The letter forms, compositions of the scenes, and figure style of the historiated initials (fig. 31) and borders are exceedingly close to those in the hours of Isabella di Chiaromonte. The Walters manuscript is also related to the Museum's hours. The resemblances pertain not only to the decoration—the similarities in the format and rendering of the full-page representations of saints in the suffrages of both manu-

scripts and at the beginning of the Mass of the Virgin in Ms. Ludwig IX 12 are particularly striking (compare figs. 11 and 32)—but also to the text.⁸⁴ The Walters book of hours was made for a devout woman whose name, Francesca, appears five times in the prayers concluding the volume.⁸⁵ The coat of arms, or three doves proper, on a chief sable three escallop-shells argent, held aloft by two putti in the lower margin of folio 9, has not been identified, but it is interesting to note its similarities to the arms of the Sanfelice family of Naples.⁸⁶ Members of this family, which traced its origins back to the time of the Norman kings, were familiars of the Aragonese court.

83. R. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York and Baltimore, 1988), p. 223, cat. 115.

84. With the exception of the antiphon for the Benedictus and versicle for the hymn at lauds (for which Walters Ms. W. 328 uses the same texts as Alfonso's hours), the hymn at compline, and certain variations in orthography, the readings for the Hours of the Virgin in Walters Ms. W. 328 are the same as those in Ms. Ludwig IX 12. The Hours of the Dead are extremely similar as well. When the nine lessons at matins, their responses, and versicles are compared, they

reveal only one difference: Walters Ms. W. 328 has "Tremens factus sum ego et timeo" as the versicle for the ninth lesson and Ms. Ludwig IX 12 has "Clamantes et dicentes aduenisti redemptor mundi."

85. "Deus omnipotens pater et filius et spiritus s[an]c[t]u[s]. Da michi famule tue francisce victoriam contra inimicos meos" (fol. 204); "deus omnipotens bene viventium libera me famulam tuam franciscam de omnibus peccatis" (fol. 204v); "Deus in nomine tuo salvam me fac franciscam" (fol. 205); "benedicat me franciscam imperialis maiestas" (fol. 205v); "ut intercedas pro me filia tua .f. ante



Figure 33. Attributed to the Master of the Suffrages, historiated initial *D* with *The Visitation*. Book of hours, fol. 18v. Naples, circa 1465. Tempera and gold on vellum, 17 x 12 cm (6¹¹/₁₆ x 4³/₄ in.). Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 329.



Figure 34. Attributed to the Master of the Suffrages, *The Annunciation*. Book of hours, fol. 13. Naples, circa 1465. Tempera and gold on vellum, 13.6 x 9.8 cm (5³/₈ x 3⁷/₈ in.). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Ms. McClean 72.

Giacomo Sanfelice was a councillor of Ferrante, served as his “Scrivan di Ratione,” and, in 1490, undertook a mission for the king, seizing in his name the possessions and territories of the counts of Montagnano.⁸⁷

The second book of hours in this group is also in the Walters Art Gallery (Ms. W. 329; fig. 33).⁸⁸ Its miniatures are sometimes less detailed than those of Walters Ms. W. 328, its palette tends more to pastels, and the conception of the book as a whole is somewhat less ambitious (the suffrages are illustrated with historiated initials rather than with full-page miniatures, and the text pages are decorated with red and purple pen-flourishing only rather

than with painted borders as in Walters Ms. W. 328). In other respects, however, Walters Ms. W. 329 is a sister manuscript of Walters Ms. W. 328. The compositions of its eighteen historiated initials mirror those in Walters Ms. W. 328, the page layout is comparable, and its texts for the Hours of the Virgin and the Hours of the Dead are the same. Walters Ms. W. 329 was apparently made for a member of the royal family: the coat of arms in the lower border of folio 4 is quarterly Aragon and Sicily.

The third book of hours is a small, rather narrow manuscript in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (Ms. McClean 72; fig. 34).⁸⁹ It contains eight miniatures.

conspectum filii tui” (fol. 216).

86. The arms of the Sanfelice family, gules three doves argent, on a chief argent three doves gules, are recorded in F. Campanile, *L'armi ovvero insegne de' nobili* (Naples, 1610; repr. Bologna, 1969), p. 151, and C. De Lellis, *Discorsi delle famiglie nobili del regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1654; repr. Bologna, 1968), vol. 1, p. 315. Notes in the curatorial files of the Walters Art Gallery tentatively suggest a connection with the Laval family of Provence. The arms of the Montmorency-Laval family of the Ile-de-France and the Maine is or five shells argent on a

cross gules, cantonnated with sixteen eagles displayed azure.

87. Campanile (note 86), p. 153.

88. S. De Ricci, with the assistance of W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, vol. 1 (New York, 1935; repr. 1961), p. 814, no. 351.

89. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 1912), pp. 145–147 and pl. 46.



Figure 35. Attributed to the Master of the Suffrages, historiated initial *D* with *The Annunciation*. Book of hours, fol. 13. Naples, circa 1465. Tempera and gold on vellum, 12.5 x 9.5 cm (4¹⁵/₁₆ x 3³/₄ in.). Modena, Biblioteca Estense Ms. a. G. 9. 6 (= Lat 832).

Four scenes from the Infancy of Christ illustrate matins, tierce, none, and vespers in the Hours of the Virgin. The Penitential Psalms open with *King David in the Mire*, an unusual scene that also appears in this position in the hours of Isabella di Chiaromonte and the two books of hours in the Walters Art Gallery. Two miniatures depicting saints Michael and George accompany the suffrages; miniatures of saints James and Leonard that were probably included originally are now missing. Once again, the figure style and the repertory of motifs used to embellish the borders identify this book of hours as a member of the group of manuscripts that the Master of the Suffrages illuminated.

90. The suppliant in the prayer *Obsecro te* (fols. 116–118) is identified as “indignus famulus tuus B.”

91. D. Fava and M. Salmi, *I manoscritti miniati della Biblioteca Estense di Modena*, vol. 2 (Milan, 1973), p. 19, cat. 108 and pl. 7, nos. 3–4,

Although the coat of arms (or a bend dexter engrailed azure) that appears on folio 13 of the Fitzwilliam hours has not been identified and only the patron’s first initial appears in the text of the prayers,⁹⁰ the calendar of Ms. McClean 72 is clearly Neapolitan. It includes six Neapolitan bishops: Severus (April 30); Euphebius (May 23); Athanasius (July 15); Aspren (August 3); Januarius (September 19 [in red]); and Agrippinus (November 9), and the Neapolitan abbot, Agnellus (December 14 [in red]). In addition, the virgin martyr Restituta, whose relics were placed in the new cathedral of Naples (which was then dedicated to her) in the fourth century, is listed in red on May 17.

The fourth book of hours to be connected with this group is the most modest of them all (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms. a. G. 9. 6 = Lat. 832; fig. 35).⁹¹ Only three of its leaves are adorned with figurative decoration (at the beginnings of the Office of the Virgin, the Seven Penitential Psalms, and the Office of the Dead). The low-bowing heads, simply delineated features, paper-thin hands, and trough-like folds that are characteristic of the style of the Master of the Suffrages are all present here. The coat of arms that the Modena hours displays in the lower margin of folio 13 is, unfortunately, illegible.

In addition to the numerous similarities in text and decoration that link Ms. Ludwig IX 12, the two books of hours in the Walters Art Gallery, and the book of hours in Modena, there is another feature that suggests their intimate relationship. In the margin below the miniature of Saint Leonard in the Museum’s hours (fol. 332v), a parrot holds a scroll with the motto *Spera in dio*. In Walters Ms. W. 328, in the lower margin of the page on which the Hours of the Cross begins (fol. 101), a peacock holds a similar scroll bearing the same inscription. *Spera in dio* also appears on the scroll held by a putto in the lower margin of the page beginning lauds in the Office of the Virgin in Walters Ms. W. 329 (fol. 18v; fig. 33). A putto raising up a comparable scroll clammers through the vines in the lower border of the page beginning the Seven Penitential Psalms in the hours in Modena (fol. 99). This scroll, however, is silver and has oxidized; whatever text it may once have set forth can no longer be discerned. Since these four manuscripts were all made for different people, *Spera in dio* cannot be a personal device of a patron and should perhaps be identified as an epigram of the artist or the workshop in which he was employed.⁹²

The Master of the Suffrages’ characteristic figure style,

where the illumination is attributed to a Lombard artist working in the mid-fifteenth century.

92. In *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (exh. cat. [The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 1949], cat. 173, pp. 63–64),



Figure 36a. Left, attributed to the Master of the Suffrages, frontispiece with historiated initial *B* with *Cyrrillus Alexandrinus in His Study*. *Cyrrillus Alexandrinus, Thesaurus adversus haereticos*, translated by George of Trebizond, fol. 1. Naples, circa 1458. Tempera and gold on vellum, 33 x 22.5 cm (13 x 8⁷/₈ in.). Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya Ms. 562.

Figure 36b. Above, detail of figure 36a.

awkward architecture, and decorative landscape forms also appear in the copy of *Cyrrillus Alexandrinus' Thesaurus adversus haereticos* (Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 562; figs. 36a–b) made for Alfonso of Aragon and eventually purchased by Jaume March.⁹³ The *Cyrrillus Alexandrinus* displays two forms of arms adopted by Alfonso (Aragon; per saltire Aragon and Sicily) and is dedicated to the king. The Master of the Suffrages also contributed a miniature to the *Virgil* manuscript in Valencia, which was considered above in connection with the Master of the Seven Joys of Mary. The Master of the Suffrages' distinctive figure and landscape style can be recognized in the miniature illustrating the *Georgics* on folio 29v (compare figs. 37 and 13). Although damaged, the historiated initial opening Bede's *Expositio in parabolis*

Salomonis (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 2347; fig. 38)⁹⁴ appears also to be the work of the Master of the Suffrages. The *Bede* was copied and illuminated for King Ferrante. In the margins are his arms and a small ermine with a banner inscribed *DECORUM*, a reference to the chivalric Order of the Ermine which Ferrante founded in 1465. The scribe who signed the *Bede* (fols. 93 and 175) is Venceslao Crispo, whose activities at the Neapolitan court are documented from 1480 to 1500.⁹⁵ The Master of the Suffrages may thus have enjoyed a long career. He was already employed in the late 1450s, when he worked for Alfonso of Aragon, and may have continued to illuminate manuscripts for the court until late in the century. The *Bede* could have been made for Ferrante any time between 1465 and 1494, the year of the king's death.

D. Miner suggests that the mottoes in Mss. W. 328 and W. 329 are heraldic.

93. De Marinis, vol. 2, p. 49 and pl. 67; *Bibliophile Kostbarkeiten aus der Biblioteca de Catalunya* (Karlsruhe, Badischen Landesbibli-

othek, 1986; exh. cat. by J. de Puig i Oliver), no. 6. See also above, p. 76.

94. See De Marinis, vol. 2, p. 27, and vol. 3, pl. 31.

95. De Marinis, vol. 1, pp. 63–64.



Figure 37. Attributed to the Master of the Suffrages, scene from the *Georgics*. Virgil, *Opera*, fol. 29v. Naples, second half of the fifteenth century. Tempera and gold on vellum, 31.4 x 22.2 cm (12³/₈ x 8¹¹/₁₆ in.). Valencia, Biblioteca Universitaria Ms. 837.



Figure 38. Attributed to the Master of the Suffrages, historiated initial *P* with King David. Bede, *Expositio in parabolis Salomonis*, fol. 1. Naples, circa 1465. Tempera and gold on vellum, 26.3 x 37.5 cm (10³/₈ x 14³/₄ in.). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Lat. 2347.

The Master of the Suffrages' style relates to the work of Matteo Felice, a well-known illuminator active in Naples during the last third of the fifteenth century.⁹⁶ Plotzek hinted at this connection when he compared the decorative motifs in the Master of the Suffrages' borders to those in a book of hours illuminated by an artist in Matteo's circle in the Major J. R. Abbey collection (Ms. 3199).⁹⁷ Matteo's name (in the form Mazeo) first appears in the account kept by the Florentine humanist Agnolo Manetti of the expenses he incurred while in Naples (1466–1468). In 1467, Matteo was paid for the illumination of a copy of Boethius and Vergerio transcribed by Pietro Ursuleo. Luisa Banti was able to identify this volume among the Palatine manuscripts of the Vatican Library (Ms. Pal. Lat. 1740), which include virtually all of the manuscripts that once belonged to the Manetti family.⁹⁸ Entries in the account books of the Aragonese treasury for the years 1491 to 1493 refer to nine other manuscripts illuminated by Matteo, four of which have also been identified.⁹⁹ More than a dozen additional manuscripts, including Isabella's hours, the two books of hours in the Walters Art Gallery, and numerous leaves in the Codex of Santa Marta, have been attributed to Matteo and his workshop based on comparisons with this core group.¹⁰⁰

These manuscripts, however, represent a number of hands—including the Master of the Suffrages—working in Matteo Felice's style. While the Master of the Suffrages' general approach to depicting figures, draperies, and landscape is similar to Matteo's, he never achieves the convincing sense of anatomy and three-dimensional form apparent even in Matteo's earliest documented work. This difference is readily visible when the putti in the borders illuminated by Matteo Felice are compared with the putti in the Master of the Suffrages' borders. The appeal of the work of the Master of the Suffrages depends rather on its decorative sense of pattern and its lively narrative spirit, qualities seen to particularly good effect in the illustrations of the saints in the Museum's hours. In spite of an attempt to discover "Spanish" influences in the miniatures of the hours of Isabella di Chiaromonte,¹⁰¹ the Master of the Suffrages must be considered a thoroughly Neapolitan artist. Like that of Matteo Felice, his style fits easily within the development of illumination in Naples,

96. De Marinis, vol. 1, pp. 157–158.

97. J. J. G. Alexander and A. C. de la Mare, *The Italian Manuscripts in the Library of Major J. R. Abbey* (London, 1969), pp. 86–89. Plotzek (note 12) confused the manuscript with another item in the Abbey Collection, a Martial, *Epigrammata* (ms. 3183).

98. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. Magliab. VIII, 53, fol. 5v: "Al detto [Agnolo Manetti] insino a di 11 detto t[ari] cinque per lui a mo. mazeo miniatore per parte di miniatj del boetio e del vergerio." See L. Banti, "Agnolo Manetti e alcuni scribi a Napoli nel secolo

from Cola and Leonardo Rapicano to Cristoforo Majorana. And like the Master of the Offices, he enjoyed the patronage of the most important members of the Neapolitan court: Alfonso of Aragon, Ferrante I, and Queen Isabella.

Ms. Ludwig IX 12 thus takes its place not only within a Neapolitan context but, more specifically, within the context of a group of books of hours made for the Aragonese court and aristocracy of Naples. Although they have been overshadowed by manuscripts of the classical authors and Renaissance humanists, books of hours, too, provide insights into the culture of fifteenth-century Italy. Fifteenth-century descriptions and inventories affirm that religious works, including books of hours, formed the core of even the smallest book collections, many of which were sure to contain a "libricciulo di ufficio" or a "libro di Nostra Donna."¹⁰² The rich and varied illumination of the Getty Museum's Neapolitan hours reminds us of the significance these volumes held for their original owners and of the artistic achievements the finest of them have to offer to the appreciative viewer today.

The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

APPENDIX

DIMENSIONS: Parchment. 360 folios. 17.2 x 12 cm (6³/₄ x 4³/₄ in.; the height and width trimmed). 14 lines (each .6 cm [¹/₄ in.] high; fols. 345–360 slightly higher) in 1 column (8.3 x 5.7 cm [³/₄ x 2¹/₄ in.]; fols. 345–360: 8.9/9.0 x 6.1 cm [³/₂ / ³/₁₆ x 2⁷/₁₆ in.]).

RULING: In dilute black ink with vertical rulings and top and bottom lines extending to the edge of the page. Fols. 273–360 are ruled with the top and bottom two lines full across. The calendar is ruled to suit its tabular design (H: 11.3 cm [⁴/₁₆ in.]; W: 1st column [Golden Numbers], 1.1 cm [⁷/₈ in.]; 2nd column [Dominical Letters], .7 cm [¹/₄ in.]; 3rd column [Roman Calendar], 11.5 cm [⁴/₂ in.]; 4th column [feasts], 6.6 cm [²/₈ in.]).

COLLATION: i + I¹⁴ (fols. 1–14); II–XXVI¹⁰ (fols. 15–264); XXVII¹⁰ (-10, after fol. 273; fols. 265–273); XXVIII¹⁰ (fols.

274–283); XXIX⁸ (fols. 284–291); XXX–XXXIV¹⁰ (fols. 292–341); XXXV¹² (fols. 342–353); viii (fols. 354–360; 8 is a pastedown).

SCRIPT: Two scribes wrote the text. The first scribe executed fols. 14–271. The second scribe, whose letters are larger and less well controlled and whose letter forms are different (this is particularly noticeable in the g's, r's, and et signs) completed the manuscript. The first scribe has written vertical catchwords on the inner side of the inner vertical ruling of the last folios of all but seven of his gatherings, including two on which miniatures appear. Only one catchword appears in the section written by the second scribe (on fol. 301); it is horizontal. The calendar may be the work of a third scribe, whose script is very close to the first hand.

CONTENTS: Fols. 1–1v, blank. Calendar (fols. 2–13): The Labors of the Months: January, *A Peasant Slaughtering a Wild Boar* (fol. 2); February, *A Peasant Hoeing* (fol. 3); March, *A Man Caring for His Foot*, based on the *Spinario* (fol. 4); April, *A Man Gathering Blossoms from Trees* (fol. 5); May, *A Falconer on a Horse* (fol. 6); June, *A Man Gathering Cherries* (fol. 7); July, *A Man Harvesting Wheat* (fol. 8); August, *A Man Shoveling Grain* (fol. 9); September, *A Man Gathering Grapes* (fol. 10); October, *A Man Decanting Wine into Kegs* (fol. 11); November, *A Man Carrying Wood Through a Forest* (fol. 12); December, *A Man Warming His Hands by a Fire* (fol. 13). Fol. 14, blank. The Hours of the Virgin, use of Rome (fols. 14v–84v): *The Virgin Enthroned in a Tent Held Open by Angels*; in the lower border two putti hold aloft a shield (azure an expanded pinion or; possibly azure a winged gamb affrony or) (fol. 14v); *The Visitation*, with a female attendant carrying a rooster and balancing a large basket on her head (fol. 28v); *The Presentation in the Temple* (fol. 44v); *The Flight into Egypt* (fol. 50v); *Christ with His Parents Visited by an Angel* [*The First Steps of the Baby Jesus?*] (fol. 56v); *Christ Teaching in the Temple* (fol. 62v); *The Marriage at Cana* (fol. 68v); *An Angel Carrying a Basket Appears to Mary* [*The Entry of the Virgin into Paradise?*] (fol. 78v). Variant readings for the course of the week ("Isti tres psalmi subscripti cum suis antiphonis dicuntur in tercia et sexta feria . . .") (fols. 85–108). The Short Hours of the Cross (fols. 108v–122): *The Agony in the Garden* (fol. 108v); *The Betrayal and Taking of Christ* (fol. 110v); *Christ Before Herod* (fol. 112v); *Christ, Crowned with Thorns and Carrying the Cross, Before Pilate* (fol. 114v); *The Raising of the Cross* (fol. 116v); *The Crucifixion* (fol. 118v); *The Entombment* (fol. 120v). The Hours of the Holy Spirit (fols. 112v–130): *Pentecost* (fol. 122v). The Hours of the Trinity (fols. 130v–136): *The Trinity* (fol. 130v). The Mass of the Virgin Mary (fols. 136v–144): *A Priest Before an Altar* (fol. 136v). The

XV," *Annali della R. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa: Lettere, storia e filosofia*, ser. 2, vol. 8 (1939), pp. 382 and 384.

99. De Marinis, vol. 1, p. 158.

100. A. Daneu Lattanzi, "Di alcuni codici miniati attribuibili a Matteo Felice e bottega (e di qualche altro codice della scuola napoletana del Quattrocento)," *La bibliofilia* 75 (1973), pp. 1–43.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 7; she suggests that this influence may derive from "Alfonso spanyol" of the king's library, who was paid fifteen ducats for unspecified work in 1455 but is otherwise a completely anony-

mous figure. De Marinis, vol. 1, p. 145, wondered if he were the same man as Alfonso di Cordova, paid in 1456 for work as an "illuminador dela libreria del Seynor Rey." In any case, no work that can be securely attributed to either Alfonso is known.

102. C. Bec, *Les marchands écrivains: Affaires et humanisme à Florence, 1375–1434*, Civilisations et Sociétés 9 (Paris, 1967), pp. 407–410; *idem*, *Les livres des florentins (1413–1608)*, Biblioteca di "Lettere Italiane": Studi e Testi 29 (Florence, 1984), *passim*.



Figure 39. Upper cover. Book of hours. South Italian, sixteenth century. Gold-tooled brown calfskin over wood boards, 17.1 x 12 cm (6¾ x 4½ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig IX 12; 83.ML.108.

103. See A. Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du Moyen Age latin* (Paris, 1932; repr. 1971), pp. 377–378, n. 1, no. 12.

104. The choice of scenes used to illustrate the Hours of the Virgin in Ms. Ludwig IX 12 warrants a study of its own. How unusual the selection is may be judged when it is compared to the choice of scenes used to illustrate the Hours of the Virgin in Alfonso's hours in Naples. In that manuscript, the Hours of the Virgin are illustrated with *The Visitation*, *The Nativity*, *The Adoration of the Magi*, *The Resurrection*, *The Ascension*, and *The Assumption of the Virgin* (the opening of matins, presumably illustrated with *The Annunciation*, is missing). In Ms. Ludwig IX 12 this sequence of scenes (without *The Visitation* but with *Pentecost*) is used to illustrate the Seven Joys of Mary, which in Alfonso's hours is illustrated with a single miniature of the Virgin. The Short Hours of the Cross in Ms. Ludwig IX 12 follows the iconography in Alfonso's hours more closely. In Alfonso's hours this text is illustrated with *The Agony in the Garden*, *The Betrayal and Taking of Christ*, *Christ Before Caiaphas*, *Christ Before Herod*, *Christ Before Pilate*, *Pilate Washing His Hands* (the two judgment scenes in Ms. Ludwig IX 12 conflate elements from all four scenes in Alfonso's hours), and *The Crucifixion*. The illustrations for the Hours of the

Hours of the Dead (fols. 144v–198): *Two Dominican Friars Reading the Mass of the Dead While Four Mourners Are Seated Around a Bier* (fol. 144v); fol. 154v blank. The Seven Penitential Psalms (fols. 197v–212v): *David in Prayer* (fol. 187v). The Litany, petitions, and prayers (fols. 213–223v); fol. 224, blank. The Mass of the Virgin to be said from the Feast of the Purification through Easter (fols. 224v–229v): *The Virgin and Child* (fol. 224v); fols. 230–230v, blank. The Mass of the Virgin to be said from Advent through Christmas and from Christmas through the Feast of the Purification (fols. 231–235v). Prayers to the Virgin, including *Obsecro te*; *Ecce ad te confugio mater nostra*; *O intemerata*; *O virgo virginum*, *O virgo regina*. *Sola spes hominum* (fols. 236–249v); fol. 250, blank. The Seven Joys of Mary (fols. 250v–271v): *The Annunciation* (fol. 250v); fol. 253, blank; *The Nativity* (fol. 253v); fols. 255v–256, blank; *The Adoration of the Magi* (fol. 256v); fol. 259, blank; *The Resurrection* (fol. 259v); fol. 262, blank; *The Ascension* (fol. 262v); fol. 265, blank; *Pentecost* (fol. 265v); fol. 268, blank; *The Assumption of the Virgin, Who Gives Her Girdle to Thomas* (fol. 268v). Saint Thomas of Canterbury's interpretation of the Seven Joys of Mary (fols. 272–276v). Prayers of Saint Augustine (“*Deus propicius esto emichi [sic] peccatori*”; rubric in Catalan [see note 17, above], Pope Benedict (“*Precor te piissime domine ihesu Christe propter illam caritatem*”; this prayer is said during mass at the elevation of the host),¹⁰³ and other prayers (fols. 277–293). Eight Verses of Saint Bernard (fols. 293–296v); fol. 297, blank. Psalm 122 (“*Ad te levavi oculos meos*,” preceded by the rubric “*Quicumque dixerit sequentem psalmum per duodecim dies ante crucifixum bis in die. petat gratiam a quocumque domino et persona et indubitate habebit*”; fols. 295v–296v). The Mass of the Archangel Michael (fols. 297v–303): *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* (fol. 297v). Prayer to the Archangel Michael (fols. 303–303v). Prayer in Catalan to the Archangel Michael (fols. 304–304v); fol. 305, blank. Prayer to the Guardian Angel (fols. 305–306v): *The Patron Presented by His Guardian Angel at the Last Judgment* (fol. 305v); fol. 307, blank. Suffrages of the saints (fols. 307v–337v): *The Doubting Saint Thomas* (fol. 307v); fol. 309, blank. *Saint Bartholomew Standing on a Devil, with a King of Armenia and His Daughter, Whom the Apostle*

Holy Spirit, the Office of the Dead, and the Seven Penitential Psalms in the Museum's hours also follow closely the iconography of the comparable scenes in Alfonso's hours. Since the other texts in Alfonso's hours differ from those in Ms. Ludwig IX 12, the subjects of the remaining miniatures are quite different.

105. Compare the general arrangement of decoration on the Neapolitan bindings of Andrea de Isernia, *Commento et repertorio* (Naples, 1522) in the Vatican library (I.d.m.2); of Belisario Acquaviva, *De institutendis liberis principum* (Naples, 1519) also in the Vatican Library (Membr. II, 24); and of a psalter (Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, Libri Chorales, XX, 4^o). The tools used may be compared with those on some Roman bindings, for instance those of Christ, *Marcelli expositio in Psalmum* (Rome, 1525) in the Vatican Library (R.I.IV, 852); *Chronique française* (Vatican Library, Ms. Reg. Lat. 966); and *Prologue du quart volume sur le recueil sommaire de la Chronique française*, also in the Vatican Library (Ms. Reg. lat. 964). See T. De Marinis, *La legatura artistica in Italia nei secoli XV e XVI: Notizie ed elenchi*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1960), vol. 1, nos. 267, 270, 274, 545, 603, and 604.

106. Minor incidences of flake loss and retouching occur in peripheral areas of the miniatures on folios 28v, 44v, 56v, 62v, 116v,

Exorcised, Kneeling at Either Side (fol. 309v); fol. 312, blank. *John the Baptist Praying in the Wilderness and Baptizing Christ* (fol. 312v); fol. 315, blank; *Saint Anthony Abbot Confronts a Devil* (fol. 315v); *Saint Anthony of Padua Preaching* (fol. 317v); fol. 319, blank; *Saint Eligius Subdues a Devil with a Hammer and Pliers* (fol. 319v); fol. 321, blank; *The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* (fol. 321v); fol. 326, blank; *Saint Christopher Carrying the Christ Child Across a Lake* (fol. 326v); fol. 329, blank; *Saint Onuphrius in the Wilderness* (fol. 329v); fol. 332, blank; *Saint Leonard, Carrying a Chain, Frees a Young Boy from Prison*, a banderole inscribed *Spera in dio* in the lower margin (fol. 332v); fol. 334, blank; *Saint Bernardinus Saves a Child from Drowning and Returns Him to His Parents* (fol. 334v); *Saint Vincent Ferrer Saves a Boy Who Had Fallen into a Well* (fol. 336v); fol. 338, blank. The Mass of All Saints (fols. 338v–351v): *All Saints* (fol. 338v). Fol. 352, blank; *Imago Pietatis (Passion Portrait) with the Virgin and Saint John, Surrounded by the Arma Christi* (fol. 352v). Fols. 353–360v, blank.¹⁰⁴

BINDING: Brown calf over wood boards, gold-tooled. South Italian, sixteenth century (fig. 39).¹⁰⁵

CONDITION: [Notes prepared by Nancy K. Turner, Conservation Assistant, Department of Manuscripts, J. Paul Getty Museum]

The manuscript has been rebacked and the lower board replaced with brown calf over a beech board, gold- and blind-tooled to replicate the upper board (see above). The flat, rebacked spine has been blind-tooled with horizontal and crossed fillet lines between the bands. All edges have been gilded and gauffered repeatedly with an X-shaped tool. The textblock appears to have been resewn more loosely than its original sewing, causing slight swelling of the textblock and some misalignment of the gatherings. The manuscript is sewn over split thongs, which are laced into the boards. The leather hasps of the two fore-edge clasps have been replaced and reattached to the upper board. The metal fittings for the clasps are intact.

The leaves are a fine goat vellum, with a highly polished hairside and a smooth, buffed fleshside. In some instances

122v, 136v, 224v, 259v, 297v, 307v, 312v, 317v, 326v, and 336v.

Flake losses and retouching in more significant areas occur as follows: folio 14v, the face and hand of the right putto in the lower margin, the blue field of the coat of arms, the robe of the left kneeling angel, the book on the Virgin's lap, and areas in the white background behind the Virgin's head and shoulders; folio 50v, a small area in the Christ child's face, the bottom right fold in the Virgin's robe, an area in Joseph's robe, an area of the donkey's body between the two figures, and the stylized clouds in the upper right corner beyond the palm tree; folio 68v, the faces of all the figures but the server in the foreground, the hand of Mary and Christ, the hand, sleeve, and part of the tunic of the man pouring wine, and areas in the white tablecloth and in the two wine casks; folio 108v, the putto in the lower margin, small areas within the faces of the three sleeping apostles, areas within the face, neck, and hands of the kneeling Christ, areas of the rocky outcrop, a small area in the sky, and portions of the angel in the upper right corner; folio 110v, the face of Judas, the forehead of Christ, areas in various centurions' armor, horizontal bands in the sky, and the hand of the man with a wounded ear holding a lantern; folio 118v, an area of Christ's loincloth and

during the preparation of the skin, the more compact surface on the hairside (corium layer) has been removed in irregular patches, revealing a more open, fibrous layer beneath. Due to the porous consistency of the fleshside and of these areas of the hairside, some soiling from handling has been retained in the fibers, particularly along the fore-edge and lower margins. Any slight darkening of the vellum from handling is confined to sections of the text most frequently used (as described above on page 75).

The paint layer of the miniatures and borders is in very good condition throughout. Where flake loss does occur, it is confined mainly to small areas where lead white or mixtures of lead white are used. Retouching in these areas has been made, possibly in the last century, with what appears under ultraviolet fluorescence to be a zinc white.¹⁰⁶

The color palette of the miniatures and borders is fairly consistent throughout the manuscript. The dominant pigments used are lead white, carbon black, lapis blue, an organic crimson lake, a bright yellow (possibly a lead yellow), yellow ocher, lead red, two greens (see below), and mixtures of these colors, as well as gold leaf, silver leaf, red armenian bole, painted gold, painted silver, and an "imitation gold"—a highly reflective ocher-colored pigment with a metallic sparkle. This last pigment is used simultaneously with painted gold and gold leaf, and thus it could not have been intended as a full substitute for gold. The Master of the Offices and the Master of the Seven Joys of Mary used it to striking effect in rendering drapery, with shadows, contours, and folds defined by glazes of an organic crimson lake pigment. While this color combination is not exclusive to these two hands, its use for drapery and architectural features as well as border motifs is much more extensive in the first half of the manuscript. Moreover, these two colors are used together in the same way to render drapery and architectural details in other manuscripts here attributed to the Master of the Offices, namely the hours of Alfonso in Naples, the Paris Cassiodorus, and the Yale treatise on falconry.

Another pigment shared by the Master of the Offices and

areas in the faces of the mourning figures, except the Virgin and rearmost figure on the left; folio 120v, areas in the faces of the three figures on the left, the wrist and nose of Joseph, the loincloth and parts of the shroud, feet, and a small section in the lower legs of Christ; folio 144v, the gray casket between the seated mourners, the book, the white area of the habit, small touches in the heads of the two friars, and two patches in the white altarcloth; folio 198v, the neck and upper half of David's face, a small area of landscape above David's head beneath the tree, and the area of rocks and grass adjacent to the figure's sleeve and robe; folio 250v, areas in the Virgin's robe, a small area to the right of the Virgin's head, small touches in the face, hair, and hand of the archangel, and the lower fold in the angel's robe; folio 268v, a small area in the foreheads of the kneeling figures (left and center only), the face of Saint Thomas, and areas of the Virgin's robe; folio 338v, retouching with yellow pigment over abraded areas in the gold leaf of the halos, and small areas in the faces of three of the figures.

the Master of the Seven Joys of Mary is a deep green—somewhat glaze-like in appearance—possibly a copper green. In contrast, the green used in the miniatures attributed to the Master of the Suffrages is a lighter, bottle green, possibly malachite, which is more crystalline and reflective. Moreover, this second green appears to be consistent with the green found in other manuscripts attributed to this painter, for instance, the hours of Isabella di Chiaromonte and the Fitzwilliam hours. The deeper green used in the first half of Ms. Ludwig IX 12 also appears in two manuscripts by the Master of the Offices: the hours of Alfonso in Naples and the Paris

Cassiodorus.

The manuscript's color palette, binding materials, and condition were examined with the aid of 300x magnification and ultraviolet fluorescence; the identifications are thus preliminary. With further study and analysis—for instance, X-radiography of the boards, X-ray fluorescence of the pigments, and other techniques—perhaps additional technical information could be brought to bear upon the relation of the various hands at work in Ms. Ludwig IX 12 and Neapolitan manuscripts in collections elsewhere.

New Evidence on a Series of Landscape Paintings by Adriaen van de Venne

Ariane van Suchtelen

In 1983 the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired two small, exquisite paintings by the Dutch artist Adriaen van de Venne (figs. 1 and 2). These pictures, carefully executed in oil on panels, represent colorful landscapes peopled with tiny, lively figures. They are among the earliest signed and dated works by this artist.¹ In this essay the paintings in the Getty Museum will be related to two other small landscape pictures by Adriaen van de Venne and new material will be presented about their provenance and meaning.

Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne was born in Delft, a small city southeast of The Hague, in 1589. He was a son of possibly Protestant Flemish immigrants who, like so many of their countrymen, must have fled the Spanish persecution that was particularly fierce in the Southern Netherlands after the fall of Antwerp in 1585. Middelburg, the capital city of Zeeland, flourished as the result of the influx of so many immigrants, who very often were able and wealthy people. In the first half of the seventeenth century, Middelburg became the largest trading center in the Seven Provinces, after Amsterdam. It was in this city that Adriaen van de Venne spent the first, very fruitful years of his career as a painter, illustrator, and poet. The first documentation of his presence in Middelburg dates from 1614. Until 1625 he is documented in that city regularly and exclusively. With his brother Jan, who became an important art dealer, publisher, and printer, Adriaen seems to have been at the center of cultural and intellectual life in Middelburg. However, in 1625, van de Venne left Middelburg to live in The Hague, where he stayed until his death in 1662.²

The painted oeuvre of his early time in Middelburg

consists of large pictures representing allegorical or historical subjects, landscapes, portraits, and, from the beginnings of the 1620s, of grisaille paintings, which would later become his specialty in The Hague.³ Adriaen van de Venne's famous picture *Fishing for Souls*, now at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, is an allegory of the religious feuds in Holland that mocks the Catholics. It dates from 1614, the first year for which works by van de Venne have been preserved.⁴

The paintings at the Getty Museum by Adriaen van de Venne show anecdotal scenes of people in the open air. One is signed and dated 1615 (fig. 1). It depicts a landscape with a group of maidens at the lower left playing music under an arbor of flowers. Next to them on an enclosed lawn are two girls, seated on a net for catching finches, surrounded by cages with decoys; they are singing to the music. From all sides these appealing ladies are spied upon by youths who sit high up in the trees or hide behind bushes or tree trunks. One of them is peeping down at the girls from the arbor's roof, while another is climbing in one of the bird nets that seem to have been hung up primarily to catch the spying youths. In the left foreground a young man, entangled in a net, is being collared by a woman. Two jesters fare even worse: they are falling out of the trees, one of them in a net that is being held up by one of the women. In the right distance, quite apart from the main scene, two covered wagons are emerging from a forest, behind them a carriage pulled by four white horses.

The accompanying picture by Adriaen van de Venne is signed and dated as well, though the writing is not clearly legible (fig. 2). The date seems to read 1614. In the picture,

1. The paintings are first recorded in modern times in the collection of Ralph Bernal (sale, Christie's, London, March 10, 1855, lot no. 616, as "Breughel"). The condition of the pictures is good, although the paint layer has been slightly abraded by excessive cleaning in the past. Small retouches are spread throughout the pictures, and in some of the figures minor pentimenti can be discerned. To the back of each panel an old, worn label (approximately 4 x 10 cm [1½ x 4 in.]) has been pasted and a wax seal with an unidentified coat of arms. A Maltese cross has been stamped over the labels. In addition, there are several numbers and letters printed and written on the back of the panels.

2. An important source on Adriaen van de Venne's life is Cornelis de Bie, *Het Gulden Cabinet vande edel vrij Schilder Const* (1661), pp. 234–236. See also D. Franken, *Adriaen van de Venne* (Amsterdam, 1878), pp. 7–24, and M. Royalton-Kisch, *Adriaen van de Venne's Album in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (London, 1988), pp. 37–41.

3. A. Plokker, *Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne (1598–1662) de grisailles met spreukbanden* (Louvain and Amersfoort, 1984).

4. G. Knuttel, *Das Gemälde des Seelenfischfangs von Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne* (The Hague, 1917).



Figure 1. Adriaen van de Venne (Dutch, 1589–1662). *A Merry Company in an Arbor*. Oil on panel, 16.4 x 23 cm (6⁷/₁₆ x 9¹/₁₆ in.). Signed AV (in monogram) VENNE 1615. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.PB.364.1.

people of all ranks and classes are watching a ball game being played on a wide lane that runs parallel to a formal garden, with flowers and sculptures laid out in front of a huge fantasy castle. In the lower left corner there is a courting couple with a lute in front of them; next to them lie the clothes that the ball players have taken off for their game. Also in the foreground and more to the right, two saddled horses are being held by servants. In the garden people stroll about, accompanied by peacocks; others dip their hands in the elaborately sculpted fountain next to the garden. Various dogs and birds are depicted, and in the forest that encloses the scene on the right are goats and deer. In the distance, along a pond that stretches out to the right of the castle, two wagons and a carriage, again

drawn by four white horses, are approaching.

Within the group of early landscapes by Adriaen van de Venne, one finds two other small pictures by his hand that seem to be very closely related to the Getty pictures. They are painted on panels of about the same dimensions and are signed and dated 1615. The two pictures referred to have the same miniature character and jewel-like quality, with similar colorful scenes of tiny anecdotal figures out in the open.

One of these pictures is a little-known painting that appeared on the art market in 1985 after having “vanished” for over a hundred years; it is now once again in a private collection.⁵ It depicts an elegant company of people going to a falcon hunt, in all probability Prince

5. Franken (note 2), pp. 35–36, no. 4, formerly in the collection M. E. Warneck in Paris. Paris, sale Baron de Beurnonville, May 9–16, 1881; London, Brod Gallery, 1985; Switzerland, private collection. Reproduced for the first time in Royaltan-Kisch (note 2), p. 47, fig. 10.

6. Seymour Slive (*European Paintings in the Collection of the Worcester Art Museum* [Worcester, 1974], pp. 147–148) has suggested that this picture might have been a pendant to a summer landscape or formed part

of a series with the times or months of the year. Provenance: Collection A.K.D. de Brauw, The Hague, 1943. On the back of the panel in Worcester there used to be pasted a similar label, of the same size as the ones that are still affixed to the backs of the Getty panels, in addition to a similar wax seal with a coat of arms (see note 1). (After its acquisition by the Worcester Art Museum, the back of the panel was covered with a supporting piece of canvas; evidence of its prior state has been recorded



Figure 2. Adriaen van de Venne. *A Ball Game Before a Country Palace*. Oil on panel, 16.4 x 22.9 cm (6½ x 9 in.). Signed AV (in monogram) V (illegible). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 83.PB.364.2.

Maurits of Orange, the Stadholder of Holland, and his courtly retinue (fig. 3). In the lower left a carriage is drawn by a team of four white horses, accompanied by pages. This coach is followed by a long procession of elegant horsemen and carriages riding through a forest.

The other small picture by Adriaen van de Venne, dated 1615 and closely related to the paintings under discussion, is the well-known *Winter Landscape* at the Worcester Art Museum (fig. 4).⁶ In the distance of this scene a huge fantasy castle rises up on the shore of a frozen lake, comparable to but not the same as the castle depicted in one of the Getty pictures. A similar garden arcade runs parallel to the water on which tiny figures disport themselves, skating or riding in horse-drawn sleighs.⁷ On the

in a photograph.) This represents further evidence that the paintings once formed part of the same collection and belonged to the same set sometime before the Getty paintings were recorded as a pair in the middle of the last century.

7. In both pictures similar garden arcades are depicted, though in the two paintings the structures are at different angles to the castle. This fact confirms the assumption that one is dealing with representations of

shore in the lower left, two well-dressed burgher couples are walking. The gentlemen are pointing, apparently calling the attention of the ladies to the scene on the ice. A few more figures are depicted on the shore, among them a hunter and a peasant chopping wood.

It seems quite likely that the four small landscape paintings described above were created together as a series. A strong argument in favor of this supposition is the fact that these pictures, unlike van de Venne's other early landscapes, are all of the same size. As a series the pictures could be interpreted as representations of the four seasons of the year, just like the series of paintings by Adriaen van de Venne at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, dating to 1625.⁸ The Getty pictures would constitute spring and

fantasy mansions. The garden arcade returns in yet another architectural construction in a court garden in a painting by van de Venne that was in a Paris auction on November 8, 1940 (lot no. 11). (Photograph and information contained in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie [R.K.D.], The Hague.)

8. *The Four Seasons*. Oil on panel, 15 x 37.5 cm (5⅞ x 14¾ in.). All four signed and one dated 1625.



Figure 3. Adriaen van de Venne. *Prince Maurits Going to the Falcon Hunt*. Oil on panel, 16 x 22.4 cm (6 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.). Signed and dated 1615. Switzerland, private collection. Photograph courtesy of the Brod Gallery, London.

summer in this series, although it is not wholly clear which is spring and which summer, for in both pictures the love symbolism, generally associated with spring, plays an important part. But the first picture described is a more likely candidate for spring, the theme of love being especially prominent. The paintings in the private collection and the Worcester Art Museum would represent autumn and winter, respectively. The scenes of this supposed series would, in this sequence, alternate very attractively between pure landscapes and castle settings.⁹

The theory that the pictures formed a series on the four seasons is strengthened by the description of four lot numbers in an auction catalogue of the collection of “the Lady of Ste Anneland,” a manor on the island of Tholen in Zeeland, held on November 6, 1725. Lot numbers 4 to 7 read:

Vier landschapjes van eene groote, naar de trant van Breugel, verbeeldende 't eene een Vinkenet daer

9. In his private diary for November 4, 1983, Ellis Waterhouse suggested that the paintings by Adriaen van de Venne at the Getty Museum depict a rural and an urban view. (Diary kept at the Getty Provenance Index). L. J. Bol (*Adriaen van de Venne, Painter and Draughtsman* [Doornspijk, 1989], p. 22ff.) calls all of these paintings, except of course the one in Worcester, summer landscapes. (This book brings together a series of articles first published in *Tableau* between 1982 and 1984.)

10. *Catalogus van Schilderijen van veel voornaeme meesters naagelaten door de vrouwe van Ste Anneland*, November 6, 1725, 's-Gravenhage (copy in the R.K.D., The Hague), p. 3, nos. 4–7, 220 lot numbers. See G. Hoet and P. Terwesten, *Catalogus of naamlijst van Schilderijen met derzelver prijzen. Zedert den 22 Augusti 1752 tot den 21 november 1768*, vol. 1, p. 308ff; *Catalogus van Schilderijen van de vrouwe van Ste Anneland, verkogt den 6 november 1725, in 's-Gravenhage*, lot nos. 3–6, which also mentions the



Figure 4. Adriaen van de Venne. *Winter Landscape with Skaters near a Castle*. Oil on panel, 16.4 x 23.2 cm (6 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.). Signed and dated 1615. Worcester, Massachusetts, Worcester Art Museum.

Vreyers door Vreysters gevange werden; 't tweede een Buyteplaets, daer in de Clos-baen gespeelt werdt, 't derde een ander Landschapje, ende 't vierde een Wintertje met Schaetsreyers; konnende op de vier Geteyden des Jaers toe gepast werden; ieder groot ses Duym en een half hoog en negen Duym breed.¹⁰

(Four small landscapes of one size, in the manner of Breugel, one representing a finch-net in which lovers [male] are being caught by lovers [female]; the second a mansion, where a game is being played on a playfield; the third another landscape; and the fourth a little winter scene with skaters; could represent the four seasons of the year, each six and a half inches high and nine inches wide.)

In the auction catalogue one finds no reference as to the date of the pictures, nor to the support on which they were painted. A Rijnland inch measured 2.61 cm, which means that the pictures at auction in 1725 were of about the same size as the paintings under discussion. The descriptions of

high price of 380 guilders that had been paid for these pictures.

11. The next-to-last time that the pictures were at auction (Christie's, London, May 27, 1932, lot no. 46), they were ascribed to “Brueghel.” In 1979 (Christie's, London, March 30, lot nos. 9 and 10) they were finally attributed to Adriaen van de Venne.

12. See G. Schwartz and M. J. Bok, *Pieter Saenredam De schilder in zijn tijd* (Maarssen-'s-Gravenhage, 1989), pp. 52, 151, 319, and 324. Presumably the 1725 auction was not public and the collection of Susanna Huygens-Doublet probably was bought up again by members of the same family. The four small pictures do not reoccur, however, in the inventory of the estate of Susanna Louise Huygens, douairière Willem Baron van Wassenaar, last scion of the Huygens family, drawn up after her death, on March 31, 1786 (The Hague, Municipal Archives, NA 3520, notary Lambertus Sijthof). This inventory has been partly published by E. W. Moes, “Een verzameling familieportretten der

the first two works on sale in 1725 correspond to the Getty pictures, indicating that they formed part of a series of paintings representing the four seasons. The other two are almost undoubtedly the Worcester painting and the recently rediscovered work now in a private collection. It is beyond dispute that van de Venne painted “in the manner of Breugel,” by which Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625) must be meant; actually, far into the twentieth century the Getty paintings were described as works by Brueghel.¹¹ In particular, van de Venne’s early pictures very clearly show the influence of Jan Brueghel I, not only in style, technique, and composition but also in terms of figural motifs.

The identification of the van de Venne pictures with the quartet in the auction catalogue is also significant for its provenance, for “the Lady of Ste Anneland” has been identified as Susanna Huygens-Doulet (died 1725).¹² In all probability she had inherited her collection of paintings from her famous father, Constantijn Huygens the Elder. Constantijn Huygens was born in The Hague in 1596. After performing diplomatic service he was appointed secretary to the Stadholder Prince Frederik Hendrik in 1625 and remained in the service of the Orange family until his death in 1687. Huygens was a highly versatile and cultured man, apparently striving to realize the Renaissance ideal of the *homo universalis*: among other things, he was a poet and a composer. In 1622, Jan van de Venne had published Huygens’s first two poems, for each of which Adriaen provided an illustration.¹³ Huygens, who lived in The Hague, must have come into contact with the van de Venne brothers through their fellow townsman Jacob Cats (1577–1660), the eminent Dutch moralistic-didactic poet. From the publication of his first volume in 1618, all of Cats’s books were illustrated by Adriaen van de Venne, and Jan van de Venne published them until his death in 1625. Cats was a distant, much-revered relative of Huygens’s, and the two had probably first met in 1618 or 1619. Jacob Cats wrote in praise of the van de Venne brothers to Constantijn

Huygens on two occasions. On November 13, 1623, he wrote that he was being paid by them “*exemplaribus, picturis, libris, alijs elegantijs*” (“in copies of his books or in paintings, books, or other fine things”).¹⁴ In light of this letter, could part of the payment from the brothers to Huygens have consisted of the four paintings by Adriaen? A collector with a particular interest in contemporary Dutch art, Huygens might have welcomed such compensation.¹⁵

On August 5, 1635, Adriaen van de Venne sent Constantijn Huygens a letter asking to help him “om eyndlijck eens te verkrijgen dat ik mochte de eere hebben wat aerdighs te maecten in de Konstkamers van den Doorluchtigen Prince van Orange gelijk andere hebben gedaen”¹⁶ (“to finally obtain the honor of making something pleasing for the art galleries of the illustrious Prince of Orange just as others have done”), probably referring to the major commission Rembrandt had received from Prince Frederik Hendrik in 1635 for a series of Passion scenes—a commission procured for the artist by Huygens.¹⁷ Roylton-Kisch argues that van de Venne must have been patronized by the Stadholders Maurits and Frederik Hendrik, although no documentary evidence of this exists;¹⁸ from the 1630s, however, he seems to have been patronized more rarely, which might explain his letter to Huygens. Although it cannot be documented that van de Venne was actually patronized by the House of Orange, he indeed portrayed the stadholders numerous times. During his Middelburg years and his first years in The Hague, he often portrayed them in political prints that were commissioned by the States General. Also, several early pictures by van de Venne include portraits of the stadholder, such as the picture of Prince Maurits going to the falcon hunt; as in this painting, the Orange princes are often represented riding in coaches drawn by four, sometimes six, white horses, accompanied by pages dressed in blue-green capes, orange sleeves, knee breeches, and broad-brimmed gray hats.¹⁹ For instance, a miniature in an album that van de Venne made in 1626 shows the

Huygens,” *Oud Holland* 14 (1896), pp. 176–184.

13. Constantijn Huygens, *Batava Tempe dat is 't Voorhout van 's-Gravenhage* (Middelburg, 1622).

14. J. A. Worp, *De briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*, vol. 1 (1917), p. 144, no. 212.

15. A. H. Kan (*De jeugd van Constantijn Huygens door hemzelf beschreven* [Rotterdam, Antwerpen, 1946]) published Huygens’s autobiography, written between May 1629 and April 1631. In his autobiography Huygens describes the art of his contemporaries at great length (pp. 65–87), demonstrating insight and knowledgeability on these matters. However, he does not mention Adriaen van de Venne, which may also be due to the fact that the autobiography stops in the year 1614.

16. This letter was first published by Franken (note 2), p. 20.

17. Now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich; P. Eikemeier, *Alte Pinakothek München* (Munich, 1983), pp. 415–420.

18. Roylton-Kisch (note 2), p. 62ff.

19. Two of the examples of Prince Maurits in a carriage with four white horses: David Vinckboons, *The Departure of the Coach*, oil on panel, 44 x 86 cm (17⁵/₁₆ x 33⁷/₈ in.), signed and dated 1622, The Netherlands, private collection, published in *Het kunstbedrijf van de familie Vingboons*, exh. cat. (Royal Palace, Amsterdam, 1989), no. 8; and Esaias van de Velde, *Prince Maurice in a Coach*, oil on panel, 40 x 68.8 cm (15³/₄ x 27 in.), signed and dated 1623, Manchester, City Art Gallery, published in G. S. Keyes, *Esaias van de Velde 1587–1630* (Doornspijk, 1984), no. 17. A carriage with six white horses can be seen in Adriaen van de Venne’s *The Princes Maurits and Frederik Hendrik at the Valkenburg Horse Fair*, oil on panel, 55.5 x 134.5 cm (21⁷/₈ x 52⁵/₁₆ in.), signed and dated 1618, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



Figure 5. Adriaen van de Venne. *The Prince of Orange*, 1626. Watercolor with bodycolor on white paper, 9.7 x 15.3 cm (3⁷/₈ x 6 in.) (original sheet of paper). Folio 13 of the album. London, British Museum.

clearly recognizable Stadholder Prince Frederik Hendrik, successor to his brother Maurits who had died in 1625, in a coach drawn by four white horses and surrounded by pages (fig. 5).²⁰ Above this representation, almost superfluously, has been inscribed in gold the word *Prins*. These and other similar examples suggest that the tiny carriages with quartets of white horses in the distance in both Getty pictures are princely ones as well, or at least allude to courtly status.

The number of early landscapes that can be ascribed to van de Venne with certainty does not exceed fifteen to twenty paintings. These paintings still rely heavily on the sixteenth-century landscape tradition established by Joachim Patenier (circa 1480–1524) and Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1525/30–1569), although transformed in a very personal style. Typical of this Flemish tradition is the bird's-eye perspective (a high horizon and viewpoint) that can be seen in the van de Venne paintings under discussion. The paintings also employ elements of the traditional Flemish three-color perspective, with brownish colors in the foreground and yellow-green in the middle ground, fading away to blue in the distance, thus creating a sense of depth enlivened with strong color accents. Exaggeratedly tall trees to the left or right serve as wings to each highly detailed scene and lead the eye of the viewer

into the picture—another characteristic of Flemish landscape painting. Adriaen van de Venne seems to have abandoned this early, colorful style around 1625, when he devoted himself entirely to his activities as a poet and illustrator, producing only grisaille paintings with moralizing mottos and messages.

The content of van de Venne's early landscapes was traditional. The practice of depicting the four seasons of the year as allegorical landscapes descended from the medieval tradition of illuminated books of hours, in which the labors and activities of the months and seasons illustrated the calendar of the feast days and saints' days. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Limburg brothers transformed these small calendar illustrations into full-page landscape settings in the *Très Riches Heures* of the duc de Berry. Besides the labors of the months, they portrayed the leisure pursuits of the gentry, who were often depicted in front of contemporary castles.²¹ In 1565, Pieter Bruegel the Elder painted a famous landscape series of the months that was widely circulated through prints and copies. Other Flemish painters followed his example in painting the months and the seasons as changing landscapes, and Flemish immigrant artists introduced the theme in the North in the early seventeenth century.

Adriaen van de Venne was linked to the Flemish sixteenth-century landscape-painting tradition most directly through the art of David Vinckboons (1576–circa 1632), a first-generation immigrant to the Northern Netherlands, who settled in Amsterdam with his family in 1591. His compositions, which circulated through prints, strongly influenced Adriaen van de Venne's art. Particularly important for the series of landscapes under discussion seems to have been a set of etchings after Vinckboons that also represent the times of the year (figs. 6 and 7). Here, the seasons have been depicted as landscapes through the use of traditional Flemish compositional devices. The landscapes, which are dominated by castles in the vicinity of Amsterdam, alternate between labor and pleasure scenes, with spring and autumn depicting the labors of the seasons and summer and winter depicting the pleasures of the open air. This presentation is very close in spirit to van de Venne's. The prints have not been dated, but comparison with other work by Vinckboons suggests that they should be assigned to the first

20. Royalton-Kisch (note 2), p. 169, fol. 13. Note that the carriage is of the same open design.

21. See T. Kren, "Simon Bening and the Development of Landscape in Flemish Calendar Illumination" in *Simon Bening: Flemish Calendar* (Lucerne, 1988), especially the section on "The Development of Calendar Iconography in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries and the Rise of Landscape," pp. 224–234.

22. A print by S. Frisius after David Vinckboons represents a spring

landscape (*VER*) and is dated 1605 (F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, circa 1450–1700* (Amsterdam, 1949–), vol. 7, p. 38, no. 230. This print closely resembles the summer landscape of the series by Vinckboons, the composition in its main lines being the same only in reverse, including Loenerslot castle near Amsterdam, along with the couple and the boat.

23. Another picture by Adriaen van de Venne that still is very close to Jan Brueghel in subject matter is the *Village Kermis*, oil on panel, 35 x 55



Figure 6. Hessel Gerrits (Dutch, 1581–1632), after David Vinckboons (Flemish, 1576–1629). *Loenerslot, Aestas*. Etching, 17.5 x 24.1 cm borderline, 18.9 x 24.3 cm plate (7 x 9½ in. and 7½ x 9⅝ in.). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen.



Figure 7. Hessel Gerrits after David Vinckboons. *Zuylen, Hyems*. Etching, 17.5 x 24.1 cm (7 x 9½ in.) borderline, 18.9 x 24.3 cm (7½ x 9⅝ in.) plate. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen.

decade of the seventeenth century.²²

In his early years, until 1625, van de Venne drew and painted a number of landscape series representing the seasons. In 1614 he painted two well-known pendants, a summer and a winter landscape, now kept in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin. The *Summer Landscape* (fig. 8) depicts simple folk, peasants and beggars, still very much in the style and spirit of Jan Brueghel I.²³ Here the artist does not show nature as a place of pleasure and relaxation for the upper classes, but in the accompanying *Winter Landscape* (fig. 9), more elegant couples have entered the scene.

In another eighteenth-century auction catalogue, of a Middelburg art collection, dated March 7, 1767, four paintings by Adriaen van de Venne are named. This time, every scene includes a castle, as in Vinckboons's series:

De vier Getijden des Jaars, zijnde de Vier Lusthuizen van Zyne Hoogh. Willem den Eersten, Prince van Oranje en Nassau, welkers Pourtrait of Beeltenisse zich ook in ieder stuk vertoont, zeer rijk van ordinantie en extra uitvoering in Couleuren geschildert op paneelen, door Adr. van de Venne; zijnde van zijn allerbeste werk en geteekent 1620. en 1623 volgens de Middelburgse Maat, ieder Stuk hoog 29,5, breed 45,5 duimen.²⁴

cm (13¾ x 21⅞ in.), dated 1615, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

24. Already mentioned by Bol (note 9), p. 29; *Catalogus van Schilderijen nagelaaten door de Heer Isaac Hermansen, Verkogt den 4. maart 1767 te Middelburg in Zeelandt* (Hoet and Terwesten [note 10], p. 580ff.

25. In the (former?) collection of K. C. Sanders in Bloemendaal (photograph in the R.K.D., The Hague), there is a drawing with the same composition as the picture in the Palmer Collection (London, 1948). This drawing has been signed AV (in monogram) VENNE and

(The four times of the year, being the four country houses of his Highness William the First, Prince of Orange and Nassau, whose portrait or likeness is shown in each piece, very rich in composition and painted in colors on panels very elaborately, by Adr. van de Venne; being of his finest work and signed 1620 and 1623; according to Middelburg measure, each piece 29.5 inches high, 45.5 inches wide.)

A Middelburg inch being 2.5 cm, these pictures must have measured about 73.75 by 113.75 cm (29 by 45 in.). There are two paintings by Adriaen van de Venne that could very tentatively be identified as belonging to this quartet. One is a winter landscape with skating figures, measuring 73.7 by 114.3 cm (29 by 45 in.), located as of 1948 in an English private collection (fig. 10).²⁵ It is painted on panel and dated 1620. On the lower left on the shore one can recognize in the first figure Prince Maurits, the son of William I, in the company of two other portrait-like figures. Behind this little group an unidentifiable castle looms up. The other picture that could have belonged to this series is in the collection of the Hermitage in Leningrad (fig. 11). It too is painted on panel, measuring 74.5 by 114.5 cm (29 by 45 in.), and is dated 1621.²⁶ It represents a group of people in a landscape near a

dated 1617 (pen and brown ink in gray wash, 20.5 x 47 cm [8¼ x 18½ in.]). The portrait group in the lower left of the picture, including the prince, is absent in this drawing, which might be a copy of a study for the picture mentioned. The date on the drawing is not clearly legible in the photograph.

26. P. Zumthor, *La vie en Hollande au XVIIe siècle*, exh. cat. (Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, 1967), no. 52, fig. 37.



Figure 8. Adriaen van de Venne. *Summer Landscape*, 1614. Oil on panel, 43 x 68 cm (17 x 26³/₄ in.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie.



Figure 9. Adriaen van de Venne. *Winter Landscape*, 1614. Oil on panel, 42 x 68 cm (16¹/₂ x 26³/₄ in.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie.



Figure 10. Adriaen van de Venne. *Winter Landscape*, 1620. Oil on panel, 73.7 x 114.3 cm (29 x 45 in.). England, private collection.



Figure 11. Adriaen van de Venne. *An Elegant Company in a Field*, 1621. Oil on panel, 74.5 x 114.5 cm (29³/₈ x 45 in.). Leningrad, Hermitage.

lake. In the lower left, van de Venne has rendered a group of portrait-figures of very wealthy people. On the lake behind them, love boats are floating, and in the distance

27. In another picture by Adriaen van de Venne a similar love boat forms the central point of the scene. This picture must also be dated from van de Venne's early Middelburg years (oil on panel, 394 x 73.7 cm [15¹/₂ x 29 in.], formerly on the American art market; Bol [note 9], p. 25, fig. 12. For the iconography of the love boat, see K. Jones-Hellerstedt, *Gardens of Earthly Delight*, exh. cat. [The Frick Art Museum, Pittsburgh, 1986], pp. 14–15, no. 5). This picture has a very similar composition to that of the second painting in the Getty Museum and the painting by van de Venne in Kassel (fig. 16). The wide lane and pasture of the latter two, however, have given way to a canal or river on which a love boat is floating and in which several people are bathing. Naked figures bathing and swimming sometimes figure in traditional representations of spring and summer; see P. Sutton, *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Landscape Painting*, exh. cat. (Amsterdam, 1987), p. 389. The second figure from the left in the Hermitage painting is recognizable from a portrait of an unidentified twenty-two-year-old man, painted by van de Venne in 1615, now in the

one sees another castle.²⁷ These paintings are closely related in dimensions, scale, and composition, and their dates and sizes accord with those mentioned in the auc-

Museum Boymans-van Beuningen in Rotterdam (oil on copper, 18.5 x 13.5 cm [7¹/₄ x 5³/₈ in.]); Bol (note 9), p. 64, fig. 52.

28. The comparison of the four seasons of the year with the ages of man originated in classical literature and is described by Ovid, who names Pythagoras as a source (*Metamorphoses* 15:199–213). Personifications of the seasons as progressively older people have been rendered by Maarten van Heemskerck, among other Dutch artists. See I. M. Veldman, "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck: Cosmo-Astrological Allegory in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Prints," *Simiolus* 11 (1980), p. 153ff, figs. 1–4.

29. Adriaen van de Venne, *Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter*, pen and Indian ink with gray wash, Diam 12 cm (4³/₄ in.), signed and dated 1624, Groningen Museum. L. J. Bol, "Een Middelburgse Brueghel-groep VII. Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne, Schilder en Teyckenaer," *Oud Holland* 73 (1958), p. 72, fig. 8.

30. In the summer landscape, the team of four white horses once

tion catalogue, assuming that the pictures were dated between 1620 and 1623.

From Adriaen van de Venne's Middelburg years, a number of drawings of the seasons have been preserved. Four drawings, for instance, date to 1622 (figs. 12–15) and were made as models for the engraved illustrations of Jacob Cats's book *Houwelijck (Marriage)*, a poetic treatise on ethics and etiquette that for more than two centuries was like a second Bible to many Dutch families. This book was first published in 1625 by Adriaen's brother, Jan. The "bruyt, vrouwe, moeder en weduwe" ("bride, woman, mother and widow") are compared with the four seasons of the year. Van de Venne drew a couple growing progressively older in the foreground of the drawings, behind them the landscapes of the different times of the year.²⁸ In the spring scene, Ter Hooge castle near Koudekerke, Zeeland, can be recognized; in the winter landscape, season of decline, van de Venne drew the ruins of the Honingen manor house in Rotterdam. Four small circular drawings at the Groningen Museum are dated 1624 and show the seasons as scenes on the water, with people sailing or skating.²⁹

The Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam owns the four previously mentioned paintings of 1625. As far as we know, this quartet is van de Venne's only painted series on this theme that has been preserved intact. The oblong pictures must have been made just after the artist's move to The Hague in 1625, as in the distance of the summer landscape one can discern the tower of that city's Jacobs Church. Inscriptions on engravings after these paintings made by H. Breckerveld in 1626 confirm that they, too, represent the four seasons of the year.³⁰

From this evidence one can sense the attraction felt by van de Venne for depictions of the four seasons, a subject that became popular in Flemish art of the sixteenth century. Such paintings are appealing for their variety and anecdotal qualities, but they also embody more serious concerns. The representation of the four seasons, with the

implication of the passing of time, can be interpreted as a metaphor for the transitoriness of life. This is especially clear in van de Venne's series of drawings for Cats's *Marriage*, where a couple growing progressively older symbolizes the temporariness of life, which is also emphasized by the ruins in the background of the winter scene. Although the symbolism of transience does not seem to be overtly present in the reconstructed quartet of pictures by van de Venne, particularly in the spring and summer landscapes, numerous moralizing meanings are nonetheless demonstrable. This is not surprising, given van de Venne's strong tendency to teach and moralize, a trait that would become even more pronounced in his later work.

To begin with, the jesters in the context of the spring scene personify, obviously enough, human folly and weakness.³¹ Attracted by the music-making girls and their metaphoric counterparts, the decoys, the youths let themselves be trapped in the nets of love.³² (The singing girls on the little lawn are literally sitting on a net for catching finches, with flowers spread around them.) One of the jesters is even falling directly into a net held up for him by one of the girls. For the seventeenth-century viewer, the cautionary meaning of this must have been clear: *vogelen*, "to bird" in the sense of hunting or catching birds, commonly referred to lovemaking as well, which here is obviously envisaged as a foolish and dangerous pursuit.³³

Symbolic elements may also be present in the summer landscape. The setting, with its indefensible castle and adjoining garden with peacocks and fountain, derives from the medieval iconography of the love garden.³⁴ In a picture now in Kassel representing a garden party, van de Venne combined this iconography with the parable of the Prodigal Son (fig. 16).³⁵ The scene has a strong resemblance to the Getty painting: it shows an elegant company in the open, in front of a setting with a similar castle and adjoining garden and a field on which the same

again draws a princely carriage, accompanied by pages.

31. From ancient times, the figure of the jester has stood for human folly, weakness, and sin; it originally descended from theater literature. (See T. Vignau Wilberg-Schuurman, *Hoofse minne en burgerlijke liefde in de prentkunst rond 1500* [Leiden, 1983], p. 11ff.) In a print by Nicolaes de Bruyn after David Vinckboons and dated 1601, representing a garden party with elegant couples in front of a castle, one discerns a jester and, in the distance, Golgotha with its crosses, undoubtedly serving as a memento mori (Hollstein [note 22], vol. 4, p. 22, no. 173).

32. Emblem 25 of Jacob Cats, *Maechden-plicht ofte ampte der ionckvrouwen* (Middelburg, 1618), "Sweet talk has its poison," warns young women against the flattering of suitors. The emblem by Adriaen van de Venne shows a man, assisted by Cupid, capturing birds in a net by luring them with a caged songbird. See J. A. Welu, *Seventeenth-Century Dutch Paintings: Raising the Curtain on New England Private Collections*, exh. cat. (Worcester Art Museum, 1979), pp. 41–42, fig. 10d.

33. E. de Jongh ("Erotica in vogelperspectief: De dubbelzinnigheid van een reeks 17de eeuwse voorstellingen," *Simiolus* 3 [1968–1969], pp. 22–74), examines the double meanings of seventeenth-century Dutch genre paintings and analyzes the erotic symbolism of birds in these images.

34. E. Goodman, "Conversatie à la mode: Garden of Leisure, Fashion and Gallantry," *Art Bulletin* 64 (1982), pp. 249–259, based on portions of her unpublished doctoral dissertation "Rubens's *Conversatie à la mode* and the Tradition of the Love Garden" (Ohio State University, 1978).

35. Separate figures in the Kassel picture—the couple in the foreground and the group of musicians—are almost repetitions of figures in van de Venne's painting *The Treves (Allegory of the Twelve Years' Truce)* of 1616 in the Louvre (oil on panel, 62 x 112.5 cm [24⁷/₁₆ x 44⁵/₁₆ in.]).



Figure 12. Adriaen van de Venne. *Spring*, 1622. Pen and brown ink with gray wash, 10.4 x 13.9 cm (4¹/₈ x 5¹/₂ in.). United States, private collection.

ball game is being played;³⁶ in the background, a woman chases the Prodigal Son out of the garden (instead of the more frequently depicted brothel). In this context, the unpredictable ball game may point at the dangers and uncertainties of love, to which this couple is exposed. The courting couple in the lower left of the Getty picture have set down their lute, here possibly meant as an instrument of temptation.³⁷ As in the Kassel painting, the ball game being played behind them may provide a symbolic commentary on the risks and uncertainties of which they seem so unaware.³⁸

Other symbolic elements may be found in the four paintings under discussion. For example, the little autumn landscape complements the spring scene in that it contains a representation of hunting, more particularly of falconry. This sport was reserved for the nobility, whereas finch-catching was a sport for everybody, just like love.³⁹ Such unobtrusive symbolism can also be detected in the winter landscape. The scene of people risking their lives on brittle, slippery ice may contain an implicit lesson, namely, a warning against such reckless behavior, perhaps

36. See Royaltan-Kisch (note 2), p. 97, pp. 131–132, notes 136–138. This courtly game was called *baloen* and probably originated in Germany in the middle of the sixteenth century. A large inflated leather ball (approximately 30 cm. [11³/₄ in.] in diameter) is hit back and forth over a line between two teams of three or four persons. They hit the ball with their lower arms, which are protected by wooden arm-braces. The ball game has been depicted on folio 18 of the miniature album by van de Venne in the British Museum, dated 1626 (idem, p. 179).

37. “Sounds of violins and lutes, songs and music of strings paralyze the mind that seeks pleasure in love . . .” This in translation is the text underneath an engraving by Crispijn van de Passe after Maarten de Vos of 1596, *Adolescentia Amori*, in which a young man is shown playing on



Figure 13. Adriaen van de Venne. *Summer*, 1622. Pen and brown ink with gray wash, 10.4 x 13.8 cm (4¹/₈ x 5¹/₂ in.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett Kd Z 4510.

in contrast to the couples who have sensibly remained on land.⁴⁰

Clearly these pictures by Adriaen van de Venne bear multiple, sometimes hidden meanings. In all probability these messages were not as disguised for the contemporary viewer as they are for us. The lessons of these paintings are expressed in cheerful scenes that, with their colorful anecdotes, are most of all a pleasure to the eye and are, indeed, celebrations of the pleasures of leisure. Since the last decade of the sixteenth century, the Dutch republic had gone through a period of tremendous prosperity that brought wealth, success, and good fortune to an entirely new stratum of the population. As a result of this prosperity, the members of the new elite had free time to expend on the pleasures of country life. Many people built or came to own country houses near the cities where they lived and worked. Their leisure pursuits were an important theme in van de Venne's paintings. At the same time, the artist did not neglect to offer his audience advice, warnings, and a kind of gentle satire by way of the symbols he employed in his work.

his lute for Venus while Amor aims his arrow at him (Hollstein [note 22], vol. 15, p. 188, no. 488, part of a series on the Four Ages of Man).

E. de Jongh (*tot Lering en Vermaak*, exh. cat. [Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1976], pp. 24–25) explains the difficulty of iconologically interpreting images, giving the example of several representations of lute players that mean different things. De Jongh stresses the polyinterpretability of many seventeenth-century scenes. The lute, for instance, can also stand for harmony in marriage (idem, cat. 21).

38. De Jongh ([note 37], p. 181, fig. 44a) presents an engraving by Crispijn de Passe for the songbook *Den nieuwen ieuht-spieghel* (circa 1620). In this scene the same *baloen* game is being watched by a young couple in the right foreground. The poem elucidating this print talks of



Figure 14. Adriaen van de Venne. *Autumn*, 1622. Pen and brown ink with gray wash, 10.4 x 13.8 cm (4 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett Kd Z 2670.

His audience would have been used to such commentary, known to it primarily through prints and emblem books. Van de Venne's most direct pictorial antecedent appears to have been the art of David Vinckboons, who employed a similar kind of symbolism. However, in the small landscape paintings under discussion, van de Venne seems to have been inspired by another contemporary source as well, the work of a poet and not of a painter. This poet's verse may also help us understand the meanings contained in van de Venne's paintings.

In the course of the seventeenth century, a new genre of poetry became popular in the Dutch republic, one that sang the praises of country houses and their gentleman-owners.⁴¹ The so-called *hofdicht* (country-house poem) describes and praises the grounds of a particular estate at considerable length while at the same time teaching horticulture. Among other things, a *hofdicht* moralizes about the relation between man and nature, emphasizing the difference between "wild" and cultivated nature and between man and God. It stresses the benevolence of country life as opposed to corrupt, perverted city life, and

the uncertainty of love.

39. In 1605 in The Hague, Paullus Merula, a professor at Leiden University, published a treatise on hunting, *Placaten ende Ordonnancien op t'Stuck van Wildernissen*. In it he recorded all of the laws, rules, and regulations of hunting, discussed Greek, Latin, and French texts on the subject, and, in the third part, wrote about falconry. On hunting in the Dutch republic, see also S. A. Sullivan, "The Dutch Game Piece" (Ph.D. diss., Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, 1978), p. 107ff.

40. Very well known is a print after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, dated 1553, with a scene of ice-skating before the Saint Joris Gate in Antwerp, entitled *De Slibberachtigheyt van 's menschen leven* (*The Slipperiness of Man's Life*), reproduced in de Jongh (note 37), p. 22, fig. 4.



Figure 15. Adriaen van de Venne. *Winter*, 1622. Pen and brown ink with gray wash, 10.4 x 13.8 cm (4 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett Kd Z 2675.

the curative powers of nature. The reader is taken with the owner of the estate on a tour of the lands, while going through the four seasons of the year and their diverse characteristics.

These country-house poems became especially popular from the second half of the seventeenth century and were composed by some of the most famous Dutch poets, including Constantijn Huygens in 1653 and Jacob Cats in 1656.⁴² The first true *hofdicht*, however, was published in 1613 and was written by a Zeelander, Philibert van Borssele (1570/75–1627). It is the work of this poet that seems to have provided inspiration for Adriaen van de Venne.

Van de Venne knew Philibert van Borssele personally, although there exists no evidence as to when they met. In a poem published in a collective volume by more than twenty Zeeland poets and printed by Jan van de Venne in 1623, Adriaen praises his brother's business and names among the poets who usually meet in the lovely gardens of Jan's store Philibert van Borssele, another contributor to the volume.⁴³ The spirit of van de Venne's pictures is

41. See Sutton (note 27), p. 12ff; A. M. Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia: Pastoral Art and Its Audience in the Golden Age* (Totowa-Montclair, New Jersey, 1983), pp. 26–27; and D. Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1980), p. 13ff.

42. Constantijn Huygens, *Viraulium Hofwijck: Hofstede van den Heere van Zuylichem onder Voorburgh* (The Hague, 1653) and Jacob Cats, *Ouderdom, buyten leven en hof-gedacht, op Sorghvliet* (1656).

43. "De Middellburchse lauwerhof, ofte rust-plaetse van Mercurius, ende des selfs aenspraecke tot alle const-beminders," in *Zeeusche Nachtegael* (Middelburg, 1623).



Figure 16. Adriaen van de Venne. *Summer Landscape with the Prodigal Son*, 1617. Oil on copper, 12.5 x 17.5 cm (4⁷/₈ x 6⁷/₈ in.). Kassel, Gemäldegalerie alte Meister.

unmistakably similar to that in van Borsselen's poems. It seems likely that Adriaen van de Venne knew these poems and was inspired by van Borsselen's panegyrics on country life; indeed, he could have discussed them with van Borsselen at one of the gatherings at Jan's establishment.

Van Borsselen's poem "Den Binckhorst; ofte het lof des geluck-salighen ende gerust-moedighen Landlevens" ("The Binckhorst, or, In Praise of Felicitous and Tranquil Country Life") praises the estate of Binckhorst, near The Hague, and its owner, Jacob Snouckaert, a close friend of van Borsselen's.⁴⁴ The poem describes all the activities and pleasures of the estate through the different times of the year, dwelling on the birds, animals, trees, and vegetables to be found there. These descriptions alternate with moralizings and warnings, including criticism of the war with the Spanish that had unsettled the Dutch countryside for forty years and that had come to a temporary end with the Twelve Years' Truce of 1609.⁴⁵ In "Den Binckhorst" van Borsselen embroidered on the last 200 lines of his earlier major poem "Strande" ("Beaches"), about the sea and all its shells, published in 1611. The last section of this poem is already a small country-house poem in itself as it praises the estate of Cornelis van Blyenburgh, van Borsselen's brother-in-law, to whom he dedicated the poem. These last verses were all used again with minor changes in "Den Binckhorst." An even earlier poem by van Borsselen may also have had a bearing on the

44. "Den Binckhorst" was published in Amsterdam in 1613 and dedicated to Jacob Snouckaert; "Strande, oft Ghedichte van de Schelpen, Kinck-hornen ende andere wonderlicke Zee Schepselen. Tot lof van den Schepper aller dingen" was published in Haarlem in 1611 and reprinted in Amsterdam in 1614. Both poems have been reprinted in facsimile and annotated by P. E. Muller (*De dichtwerken van Philibert van Borsselen*

art of Adriaen van de Venne; this was "Dianae Lied" ("Diana's Song"), published in 1605.⁴⁶ The poem is narrated by Diana, goddess of the hunt, who explains why this sport should be the exclusive right of the privileged and the nobility, who need to relax after the turmoil of city life.

These poems, especially "Den Binckhorst" and the last section of "Strande," contain numerous passages that could have inspired van de Venne directly, along with moralistic comparisons and associations that one also finds in van de Venne's art. In both poems van Borsselen compares birds with reckless people whose lives will end miserably:

Daer eene dicke wolck van Vincken neder-dalet
In t'wtgespannen touw' end het gelach betalet,
Ia leeret met haer dood' hoe haest hy sick berouwt,
Die op t'aenlocksel soet sorghlooselick vertrouwt:
("Strande," ll. 1906–09; "Den Binckhorst," ll.
729–733)⁴⁷

(There is a thick cloud of birds that lands/In stretched-out strings and pays the piper,/Yes, learns with its death how quickly he will repent,/Who carelessly puts faith in sweet temptation.)

When reading such lines, one thinks, inevitably, of the nets for catching finches encountered in the painting of *Spring* and the lovers and fools who are in the process of being ensnared. Such cautionary symbols may well be present in the painting of *Winter*, too, for which van Borsselen's poem "Den Binckhorst" provides a gloss:

Ghy siet waer onlangs t'schip met volle seyl doorvoer,
Nu t'roeckeloose Volck, als op een eerden vloer,
Met stale schoenen langs het clare marmer vlieggen,
End met haer snellen vaert der menschen oogh beliegen.
Ghy merckt dat, gelijk t'Ys clær-schijnich is end
schoon,
De Wereld meed alsoo heeft eenen frayen thoon,
De mensche van t'broos ys in't water diep verdrincket,
End van de boose werld in d'eeuw'gen dood versincket,
("Den Binckhorst," ll. 879–882, 887–890)

(You see where recently the ship sailed through,/Now the reckless folk, as on an earthen floor,/With steel shoes fly over the clear marble,/And with their swift speed fool the human eye./You notice that, just as the ice is clear-looking and beautiful,/The world has a fine appearance as well:/Man drowns below the brittle ice in the deep water,/And sinks from the evil world in eternal death.)

[Groningen-Batavia, 1937]). For a discussion of literary life in Zeeland at the beginning of the seventeenth century and the poetry of Philibert van Borsselen, see P. J. Meertens, *Letterkundig leven in Zeeland in de zestiende en de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1943). For a discussion of van Borsselen, see J. Koopmans, "Philibert van Borsselen's 'Den Binckhorst,'" *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 11 (1917), pp. 25–40.

In the poetry of van Borsselen, just as in the paintings of van de Venne, such moralizing is often connected with a sense of the transitory nature of life, especially as it manifests itself in the passing of the seasons:

End in dy (Snoukaert) self aenmerck, dat t'jonge teere Kind,
De heete stercke leught (die ghy schier t'eynde bint)
De coele rijpe Man, end s'couden Grijsaerds beven,
De Lente, Somer, Herfst, ende Winter zijn van t'leven:
Maer dat dees alle jaer eens wederom bestaen,
End die (eylacen!) ons eens voor altijds vergaen.
("Den Binckhorst," ll. 179–184)

(And you notice in yourself [Snoukaert], that the young tender child./The intense strong youth [that you have almost outgrown]/The cool, ripe man, and the quivering of the old man./Are the spring, summer, autumn, and winter of life:/But that these come back every year./And from us, alas!, they will one day slip away for good.)

Van de Venne's celebrations of country life may also be seen in terms of their implied commentary on the corruptions of city life—a commentary that would have been familiar to readers of van Borsselen's poetry:

Ick bid u, wie en soud' so soeten tijd-verdrijf
Niet meer beminnen, dan al t'woelend Stadsch bedrijf?
Niet bet te vreden sijn het rijpe fruyt te tassen
Dan d'woeckerer het geld in sijn schat-rijcke kassen?
("Strande," ll. 1916–1919, "Den Binckhorst," ll. 915–918)
(I ask you, who would not prefer/Such a sweet pastime to turbulent city life?/Who would not be more satisfied to heap up ripe fruit/Than fill the pockets of the wealthy usurer?)

In a similar vein, van de Venne's paintings may have an implied political content: in their celebrations of the Dutch countryside, they present the viewer with images of Holland as a garden—a garden that van Borsselen tells us has been invaded and partly ruined:⁴⁵

O vruchtbaer Neder-land, o peerl van alle Landen,
Ghy siet oock uwen Tuyn eensdeels gemaect tot schanden . . .
Het is (eylaes!) het is nu by de veertigh jaren
Dat ghy uw' velden siet met vreemt Crijghsvolck bedeckt . . .
("Den Binckhorst," ll. 953–954, 962–963)
(O fertile Netherlands, o pearl of all lands,/You see your garden has partly fallen to shame . . .)

45. Adriaen van de Venne painted an allegory of the Twelve Years' Truce, *The Treves*, in 1616 (now in the Louvre). See note 35.

46. Facsimile in Muller (note 44), pp. 9–10. "Dianae Lied" was published as an introduction to Merula's treatise on hunting of 1605 (see note 39).

47. If in the quotations given here the verses appear in both "Strande"

It is [alas!] it is now for nearly forty years/That you have seen your fields covered with foreign warriors . . .)

Van Borsselen urges that the truce in the Eighty Years' War be turned to permanent peace:

Maeckt dat een vasten Peys al t'vreemd oorloghs-ghespuys
Weer over het gebergh vertrecken doe nae huys . . .
("Den Binckhorst," ll. 1011–1012)
(May a secure peace force all foreign war-scum/To go home again over the mountains . . .)

In other works of the period, Adriaen van de Venne, like van Borsselen, expresses a deep involvement with the political life of his country, for example, in such major paintings as the well-known *Fishing for Souls* of 1614, already mentioned; in his allegory of the Twelve Years' Truce, *The Treves*, of 1616; and in numerous political prints, the first of which, as far as we know, he produced in 1618.⁴⁹

Adriaen van de Venne's early landscapes could be said to form the figurative counterparts to the poems of his fellow Zeelander, colleague, poet, and possibly friend, Philibert van Borsselen. Painted in the middle of the Twelve Years' Truce, van de Venne's paintings, like the hofdichten to which they are so closely related, present images of country life through the seasons, as it was lived by members of the upper classes. As portrayed by van de Venne and van Borsselen, these people are members of a sophisticated elite who can finally relax and enjoy the pleasures of country life.

The pair of paintings by Adriaen van de Venne in the Getty Museum and their companion pieces in Switzerland and the Worcester Art Museum were recorded as being in the collection of the daughter of Constantijn Huygens—a collection that was probably left to her by her father. The provenance of these paintings can now be seen to shed new light on the circle of people to which van de Venne belonged. It has long been known that Adriaen van de Venne was employed as an illustrator by Jacob Cats and Constantijn Huygens and associated with some of the most socially, politically, and intellectually important Netherlanders of this time; he was possibly even employed by the Orange stadholders as well. Now, for the first time, a group of his paintings can be traced back directly to the art collection of one of these men. In addition, most of Adriaen van de Venne's early landscape

and "Den Binckhorst," the earlier poem has been followed. The translations are mine.

48. The linking of Holland with the concept of the garden began as early as the fifteenth century. See Muller (note 44), p. 241.

49. See Royalton-Kisch (note 2), pp. 57–73.

paintings can now be seen in the context of depictions of the seasons, this choice of subject testifying to his general indebtedness to Flemish art. He translated the Flemish manner, however, into a highly personal, very delightful

style characterized by a greater naturalism, and through his art he helped to spread the Flemish landscape tradition in the Northern Netherlands.

The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

The Bronze *Bust of the “Young Marcus Aurelius”* by Antico and Its Antique Model

Klaus Fittschen

A few years ago the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired a bronze bust of the highest quality (figs. 1a–d) that was immediately recognized as the work of Pier Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi, known as Antico. The bust was interpreted as a portrait of the young Marcus Aurelius¹ and later published by Leonard Amico and placed in its proper context within the oeuvre of Antico.² Amico considers in detail the question of the sculpture's dependence on antique models, a question that has already been posed concerning the master's other works and that is particularly pertinent in the case of an artist such as Antico.³ Amico maintains that portraits of Marcus Aurelius of the second portrait type (that is, the portrait created for Marcus Aurelius as a crown prince and copied between approximately A.D. 145 and 160) served as models for the bronze bust. In doing so, he refers to the replica in the collection of the Antiquario Forense in Rome that is generally considered a particularly reliable representative of this por-

trait type.⁴ By considering common features and, even more so, differences between the two sculptures, Amico draws far-reaching conclusions about the working techniques and the creativity of Antico. However, considering the conspicuous differences, particularly with regard to the formal motifs of the hairstyle,⁵ one could just as well have drawn the conclusion that Antico worked from a different model.⁶ This conclusion can now be proved.

In the collection of the Hispanic Society of America in New York, there is an antique marble bust of a young man that is well preserved except for the chipped-off tip of the nose and a break in the neck (figs. 2a–d).⁷ It corresponds to the bronze in Malibu with regard to the form of the bust, the turn of the head, and the facial features; above all, it is virtually identical, curl by curl, with regard to the hairstyle. The juxtaposition of each view presented here renders a detailed description of the similarities superfluous. There are also differences, however, and these

1. Cf. sale cat., Sotheby's, Monaco, February 23, 1986, lot 913; *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987), p. 220f. with illus.; acquired through the fine art trade; in the early nineteenth century owned by the art dealer Antonio Sanquirico, prior to that in the Collection Grimani, i.e., presumably in the palazzo near Santa Maria Formosa.

G. Koch, Marburg, was the first to draw my attention to the new acquisition. I would like to express my most sincere thanks to the Getty Museum's Curator of Sculpture and Works of Art, Peter Fusco, for sending me the photographs and for the request to present my observations regarding this sculpture in this periodical. Earlier I had briefly alluded to this case in the *Atti del Congresso “Venezia e l'Archeologia”* 1987 (1990), ns. 34–37 and figs. 24–26.

2. L. N. Amico, “Antico's *Bust of the Young Marcus Aurelius*,” *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 16 (1988), p. 95ff., figs. 1a–c. Cf. also J. Draper in *Die Bronzen der Fürstlichen Sammlung Liechtenstein*, exh. cat. (Frankfurt, 1987), p. 260, regarding no. 58.

3. Cf. the fundamental article by H. J. Hermann, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 28 (1909/10), p. 201ff., especially p. 235ff.

4. Amico (note 2), p. 99, fig. 3. The high esteem for the Antiquario Forense replica goes back to M. Wegner, *Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1939), p. 38f., p. 193, pl. 18, and since that time it can be traced through the entire subsequent literature. This sculpture has largely determined our idea of early Antonine portrait art, especially among art historians. It is, however, by no means representative of its time and should rather be classified as a simple work of handicraft. In this respect it may very well appeal to our modern sensibility, but it hardly met the high expectations of the courtly art of its own time. These expectations had been much more adequately fulfilled, for exam-

ple, by the versions in the Uffizi (V. Saladino, *Sculture antiche: Musei e Gallerie Firenze, Gli Uffizi* [Florence, 1983], p. 84, no. 37), in the Palazzo Pitti (C. Saletti, *Ritratti antoniniani di Palazzo Pitti* [Florence, 1974], p. 32f., pls. 9–10) or in Toulouse (E. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine*, vol. 2 [Paris, 1908], p. 66, no. 960). The reason that works of this kind are not being dealt with by researchers is that Wegner declared the first two sculptures to be modern and the last one to be atypical, and subsequent researchers followed him blindly in this evaluation (including Amico [note 2], p. 100f., ns. 14–15). The correct answer could have been found—apart from personal inspection—for example, in M. Bergmann, *Marc Aurèle*, Liebieghaus Monographien 2 (Frankfurt am Main, 1978), p. 40 (regarding type 2). I will deal with this question in my monograph *Prinzenbildnisse antoninischer Zeit* (forthcoming).

5. See Amico (note 2), p. 102. Except for the fact that the hair curls up in different shapes, there is no motif in which the Antico bust and the Marcus Aurelius portraits referred to are identical.

6. It is, of course, a questionable procedure to first determine, on account of certain similarities, a model for a work of art and then to demonstrate the imitating artist's creative independence on the basis of predominant differences; nevertheless, this method enjoys boundless esteem among many art historians. The single feature that the Antico bust and the portrait of Marcus Aurelius share is the stylistic shaping of the curled hair, and this correspondence is simply accounted for by the fact that the actual model, as we shall soon see, comes from the time of the portrait of Marcus Aurelius, i.e., from the years A.D. 140–150.

7. Inv. D. 205. Cf. A. Garcia y Bellido, *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal* (Madrid, 1949), p. 59f., no. 47, pl. 41; Fittschen (note 1), n. 35, fig. 24.



Figure 1a. Antico (Pier Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi) [Italian, circa 1460–1528]. *Bust of the “Young Marcus Aurelius,”* circa 1520. Bronze; eyes inlaid with silver, 54.7 x 45 x 22.3 cm (21½ x 17¾ x 8¾ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.SB.688.

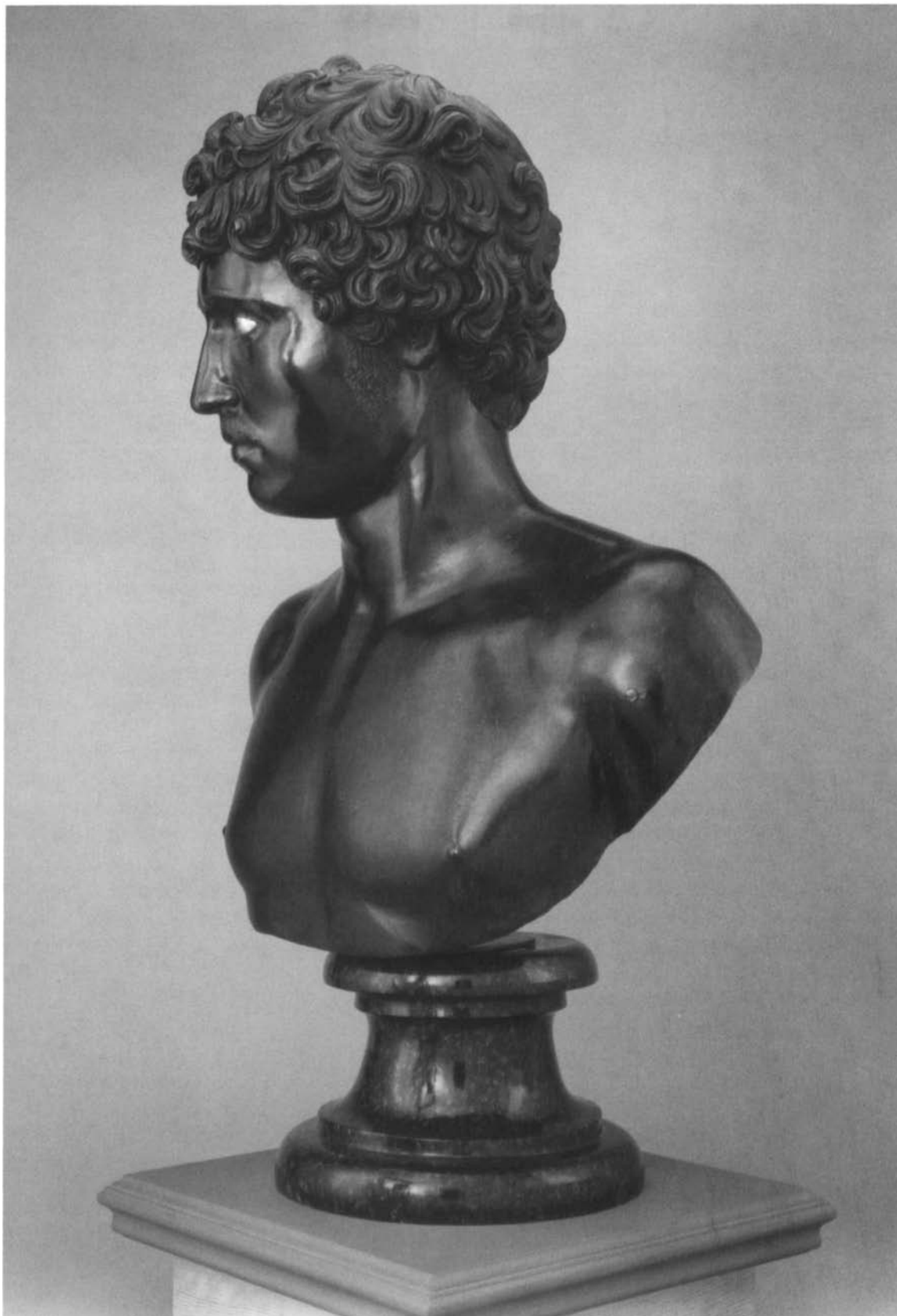


Figure 1b. Three-quarter view of figure 1a.



Figure 1c. Rear view of figure 1a.

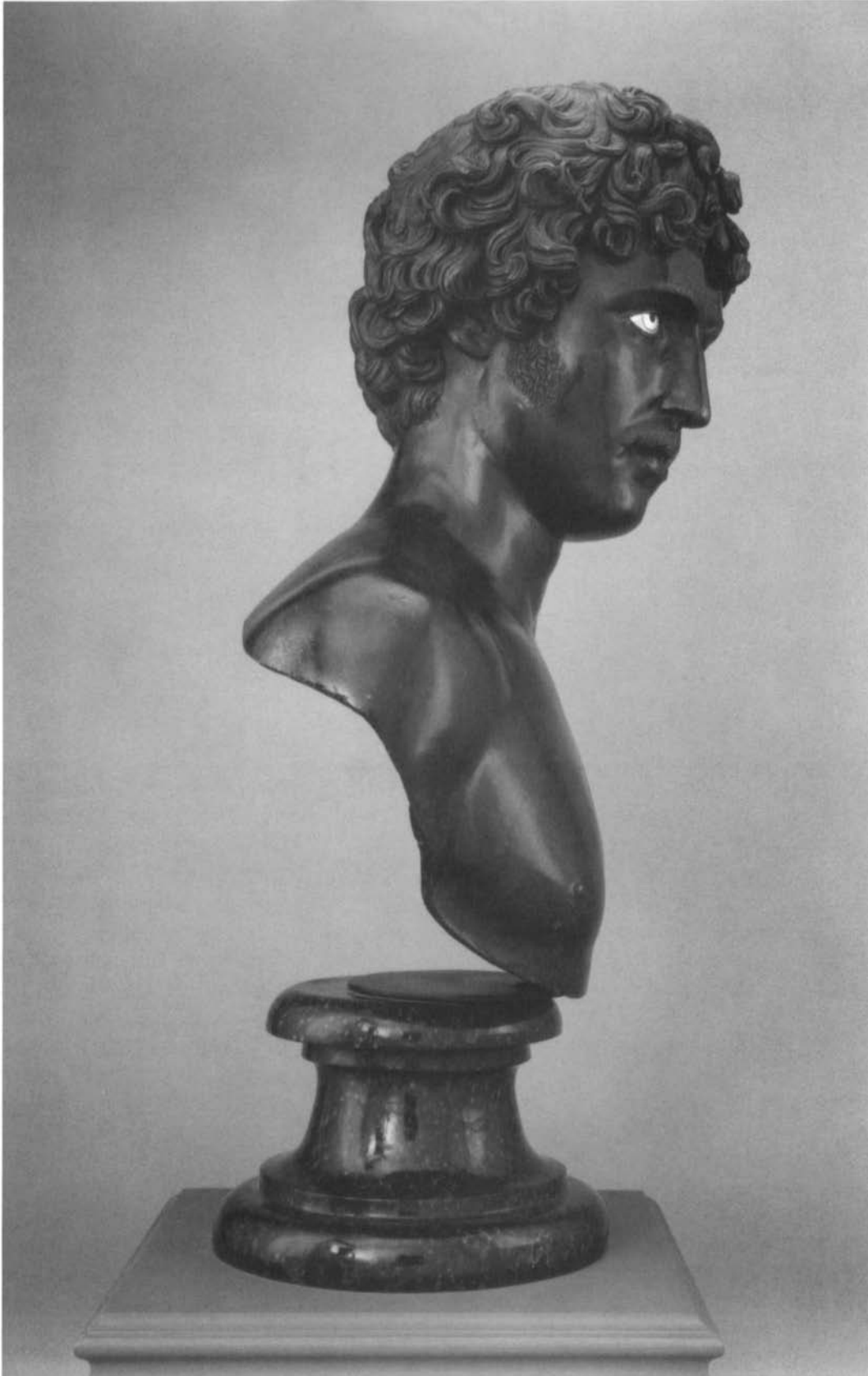


Figure 1d. Side view of figure 1a.

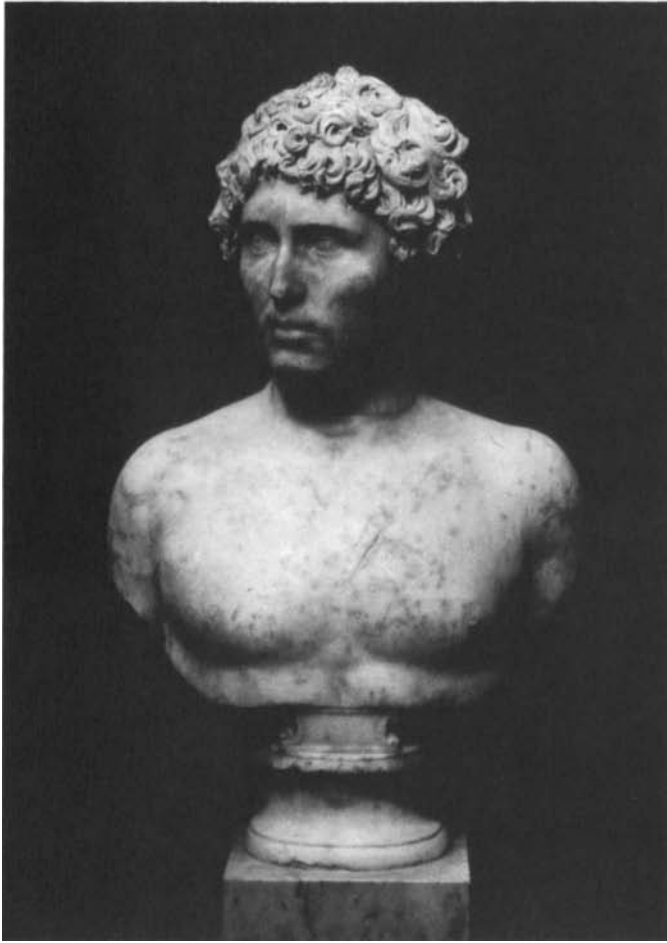


Figure 2a. *Bust of an Unknown Young Man*. Roman, circa A.D. 140–150. Marble, H: 55.9 cm (22 in.). New York, Hispanic Society of America D.205.



Figure 2b. Three-quarter view of figure 2a.

permit us to draw conclusions with regard to Antico's manner of adaptation. These differences are of a more stylistic than formal nature. The artist has only changed the shape of the sideburns. On the marble bust they are incised very thinly and drawn down to the cheekbones; on the bronze bust they are wider and shorter and are incised in delicate relief. The individual hairs of the mustache and eyebrows have also been carved out in a more sculptural manner. The stylistic changes were primarily determined by the different materials: unlike the marble portrait, the perfect polish of the bronze's smooth parts greatly increases the contrast between flesh and hair. The eyes—formed out of silver and inlaid—give the statue's expression a luminous power that the marble work is

unable to offer. The sharp contours of the lips give the mouth a livelier expression. Finally, the hair has a looser quality and takes up greater volume, gaining greater visual weight in relation to the smooth parts.

In general, Antico kept very close to his model. In those areas in which he deviated he did so in order to enhance the characteristics of the model from which he worked. These observations contradict Amico's assertion that "thus a studied imitation of antiquity has in the hands of Antico become a fully Renaissance work of art."⁸

The marble portrait in New York is an excellent work of the early Antonine period. The best stylistic parallels to this bust are portraits of Marcus Aurelius of the first portrait type that originated during the years around A.D.

8. Amico (note 2), p. 102.

9. Regarding the first portrait type of Marcus Aurelius, see most recently K. Fittschen and P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen*, vol. 1 (Mainz, 1985), p. 67f., pls. 69–74. The copy reproduced here in fig. 3 is their no. 61, pls. 60, 70, and 72. A more

detailed documentation will be presented in Fittschen, forthcoming (note 4).

10. Portraits of Marcus Aurelius as a youth were already imitated during the Renaissance, e.g., a head of the second type in the Fogg Art Museum (*Antiquity in the Renaissance*, exh. cat. [Smith College, North-



Figure 2c. Rear view of figure 2a.

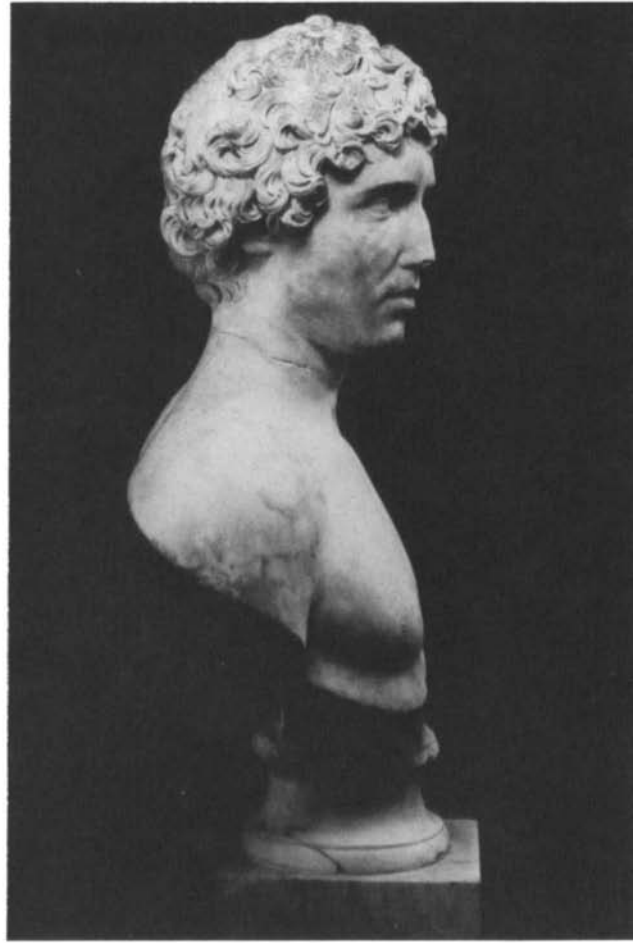


Figure 2d. Side view of figure 2a.

140 and shortly thereafter and that were elaborated in the typical court style of Rome. (Compare the formation of the hair curls on the Hispanic Society bust [fig. 2b] and the bust of Marcus Aurelius in the Capitoline Museum in Rome [fig. 3].)⁹ We do not know the subject; it is certainly not Marcus Aurelius, as is immediately evident from the differing physiognomies. (Compare above all the flat arches of the eyebrows of the New York bust, which clearly differ from the highly arched ones of Marcus Aurelius.) To be sure, it cannot be ruled out that this bust was interpreted as Marcus Aurelius during the Renaissance and that Antico's replica was intended to depict this prince;¹⁰ however, since the exact identity of the Malibu bust is not confirmed, the present name should appear in

ampton, Mass., 1978], regarding no. 79 with illus.). It has so far not been possible to determine the exact model; but see Fittschen, forthcoming (note 4). The identification had been made easy by means of coins.

11. Cf. for example Fittschen and Zanker (note 9), vol. 3, nos. 26–27, 97, 100, 140, and 144, as well as vol. 2 (in preparation), passim. Such

quotation marks.

The bust in New York is the portrait of a private citizen. Ancient replicas of it have not been identified up to now (although copies of private portraits can by no means be excluded).¹¹ As long as such replicas are missing, the marble bust belonging to the Hispanic Society must be considered the model for the Malibu bust.

One might argue that the marble bust could not have been the model for Antico's work because it was purportedly found in Spain, more precisely in antique Italica near Seville. This site, however, has never been confirmed as the statue's finding place.¹² One could claim, therefore, that the antique marble had been in Italy at the time Antico cast his bronze version. As suggested above, an

replicas originated primarily in the sepulchral area. Cf. T. Pekáry, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1985), p. 91.

12. Garcia y Bellido (note 7) calls the finding place only "probable," which means that doubts seem to have been raised already at an earlier point. Mrs. Vivian Hibbs from the Hispanic Society of America has

Italian origin for the marble bust is further substantiated by its sculptural style. There were many ways in which the marble bust might have been brought to Spain.¹³ Whether Antico was able to study the portrait itself or a plaster cast remains an open question. The practice of working from plaster casts was already popular during his lifetime.¹⁴

Antico based the bronze bust in Malibu on a specific, verifiable antique model—a unique case within the artist's body of large-scale works. Although an expert can immediately discern the relationship of other busts attributed to Antico with classical antiquity, it has not been possible, until now, to identify specific models.¹⁵

On the basis of the characteristic bangs, the armored bust in Munich¹⁶—considered to be the artist's earliest large sculpture¹⁷—can easily be recognized as a portrait of the emperor Marcus Aurelius of the fourth portrait type (that is, the portrait type used for copying between the years A.D. 169 and 180). Among the numerous copies of this portrait type,¹⁸ however, not one can be considered the model since not one displays the three conspicuous hook-shaped curls above the middle of the forehead and the strands of hair falling down on the temples. On the other hand, Antico must have seen such a portrait, judg-

ing from the curl motifs in the bust's side view, which faithfully replicate similar motifs of the fourth portrait type (see figs. 5 and 6).¹⁹

The two slightly differing portraits of Antoninus Pius in New York and in Paris, which are based on a replica of the main portrait types of the emperor,²⁰ provide a similar case. With these busts, however—as with the majority of the works to be discussed here—the search for the exact model is made considerably more difficult by the lack of sufficient documentation of their side and rear views.²¹

The bust of the so-called “Cleopatra” in Boston²² is obviously dependent on a portrait of Livia of the so-called Ceres type; note the tiara, which is frequently found in this type (see figs. 7 and 8).²³

The bust of *Ariadne* in Vienna,²⁴ with its simple, combed-back hairstyle, is reminiscent of the portraits of the younger Antonia (see figs. 9a and 10).²⁵ The fuller shape of the curls at the neck, however, are similar to those of the so-called “*Clytia*” in London, which has long been connected with the iconography of the younger Antonia (see figs. 9b and 11).²⁶ In my view, the recently claimed modern origin of the “*Clytia*” bust has not been cogently demonstrated.²⁷

kindly informed me that the bust was purchased at Paul Chevallier, Paris, in a sale from the Warneck Collection in June 1905, no. 28. In the sale catalogue the provenance was given as “trouvée en Espagne, à los Campos de Talca.” As this is a name for the fields surrounding ancient Italica, it has always been assumed that the piece came from Italica. We may suppose that this description was incorrect, as often happens with works bought on the art market.

13. Cf., for example, the collection of Queen Christina of Sweden, which found its way to Spain, or the Collection Azara. Regarding a particularly bizarre case, see K. Fittschen in *Festschrift F. Brommer* (Mainz, 1977), p. 96f.

14. Cf. B. Candida, *I calchi rinascimentali della Collezione Mantova Benavides* (Padua, 1967), as well as I. Favaretto, *Atti Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti* 135 (1976/77), p. 401ff. Several cases are known in which it is possible to study the relationship of the antique marble original to the plaster cast taken from it and to the second cast dependent from these. The most important cases are:

1) *Vitellius Grimani*: K. Fittschen in *Memorie dell'antico nell'arte italiana, a cura di S. Settis*, vol. 2 (Turin, 1985), p. 404f., figs. 352, 354–356;

2) *Portrait of a Priest*, Brussels-Athens: J. C. Balty in *Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Bulletin de la Classe des Beaux-Arts* 68 (1968), p. 316, ns. 110–111, pl. 10, figs. 1–4.

3) *Antinoos Grimani*: E. Paul, *Gefälschte Antike* 58 (Vienna, 1981), fig. 37 (counter to Paul's view, the portrait in Venice is definitely antique; see Fittschen [note 1], n. 7); Candida [above], p. 43ff., no. 5, figs. 9–10; E. Weski and H. Frosien-Leinz, *Das Antiquarium der Münchner Residenz, Katalog der Sculpturen* (Munich, 1987), p. 426, no. 333, pl. 362.

These examples demonstrate that the imitating artists were primarily concerned about an exact copy of the antique model. In most cases their works may therefore be regarded as antique copies and may even be used for research purposes when the antique models are missing. (Cf. Fittschen [note 1].)

15. Cf. the lists in Draper (note 2), p. 258ff., and Amico (note 2),

p. 102ff.

16. H. R. Weihrauch, *Die Bildwerke in Bronze und anderen Metallen*, Bayerische Nationalmuseum Katalog 13, pt. 5 (Munich, 1956), no. 99; H. Beck and P. C. Bol, *Natur und Antike in der Renaissance*, exh. cat. (Liebieghaus, Museum alter Plastik, Frankfurt, 1985), p. 337, no. 23; Amico (note 2), fig. 4.

17. Cf. the authors mentioned in note 15.

18. Cf. Wegner (note 4), p. 44ff., pls. 26–29; most recently Fittschen and Zanker (note 9), vol. 1, nos. 68–70, pls. 78–82.

19. Regarding the pictured replica in Copenhagen, see V. Poulsen, *Les portraits romains*, vol. 2 (1974), no. 82, pl. 132. The bust in the Capitoline Museum that is usually compared (e.g., Amico [note 2], p. 100, fig. 4) is out of the question as a model since it displays great deviations from the main tradition; see Fittschen and Zanker (note 9), vol. 1, no. 68.

20. See Fittschen (note 1), p. 397, figs. 366–368; *Natur und Antike* (note 16), p. 338, no. 24.

21. As far as the picture of the back of the New York bust in A. H. Allison, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 20 (1976), p. 200, fig. 9, allows us to recognize, the Naples bust (Mus. Naz. 6071) could be the model we are looking for. This portrait deviates from the authentic tradition, particularly in the shaping of the back, cf. Fittschen and Zanker (note 9), p. 66, n. 19b, supp. 48. I have the impression that photographic documentation is often a far from adequate basis for answering questions concerning models and attributions in art history.

22. *Antiquity in the Renaissance* (note 10), no. 68; Amico (note 2), p. 103, fig. 7; see also Fittschen (note 14, 1), p. 397, n. 20.

23. Cf. Fittschen and Zanker (note 9), vol. 3, no. 3, pls. 2–3; n. 9 contains a list of the replicas with statements regarding the hair ornaments.

24. Hermann (note 3), p. 277f., fig. 52, pl. 45. *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien. Katalog der Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe*, vol. 2 (Vienna, 1966), p. 16, no. 203, pl. 23.

25. K. Fittschen, *Katalog der Skulpturen in Schloß Erbach* (Berlin, 1977), p. 61f., no. 19, pl. 21 (with a list of the replicas).

26. Cf. H. Jucker, *Das Bildnis im Blätterkelch* (Olten, 1961), p. 64ff., no.

It is even more difficult to find appropriate antique models for either the bust of *Bacchus* in Vienna²⁸ or the bust of a youth in the Liechtenstein Collection in Vaduz.²⁹ Both have a corkscrew curl above the middle of the forehead, a motif that Antico used in other works and which does not seem to have parallels in antiquity. The hairstyle of the Liechtenstein bust, moreover, clearly suggests it is based on a model from the same period as the model for the Malibu bust.³⁰

There are no better results from a review of those sculptures that are made in the manner of Antico but not, presumably, by his own hand. A portrait in Baltimore (figs. 12a and 12b) is easily recognizable as a replica of the Menander portrait.³¹ Among the more than seventy antique copies of the Menander portrait that have come down to us, none display all the details of the Baltimore bronze.³² It is remarkable that the sculptural and motivic formation of the hair makes the master's work appear more faithful to the antique original than even the best antique copies (see figs. 13 and 14).³³ It is difficult to imagine that a sixteenth-century sculptor created this work without a model.

The antique model is known for two of the four bronze

busts, occasionally attributed to Antico,³⁴ in the Seminario Vescovile, Mantua. One of the two portraits in this collection, identified with Julius Caesar,³⁵ belongs to the well-known Chiaramonti-Pisa portrait type³⁶ and goes back to the replica in the Palazzo Pitti, as can be demonstrated by a comparison of the hairstyles.³⁷ This apparent imitation of an antique model is as close as in the case of the bronze bust in Malibu.

The second portrait in Mantua depicts Augustus,³⁸ the ancient model for which is also part of the collection of the Seminario Vescovile.³⁹ It is uncertain whether we are dealing here with a portrait of Augustus or of a private citizen that has been adapted from the Augustus portraits;⁴⁰ in any event, the matter is unimportant for the topic under investigation.

The third bronze bust in Mantua, the portrait of a bald-headed man that is also regarded as a portrait of Caesar⁴¹ and of which numerous modern copies exist,⁴² must also go back to an antique model. So far, however, this model has not been identified with certainty.⁴³

It has not been possible to find a model for the fourth portrait in Mantua,⁴⁴ which has been interpreted as representing Antoninus Pius. It cannot be a portrait of An-

St. 1, pls. 20–21; B. E. Cook, *The Townley Marbles* (London, 1985), p. 15, fig. 9.

27. More recently in H. Ost, *Falsche Frauen* (Cologne, 1984), p. 57ff. One argument for authenticity is the existence of sinter on the bottom of the sculpted sunflower from which the bust emerges.

28. Hermann (note 3), p. 277f., fig. 51, pl. 44; *Katalog der Sammlung* (note 24), p. 16, no. 202, pl. 22.

29. Hermann (note 3), p. 279, pl. 46; Draper (note 2), p. 257ff., no. 58; Amico (note 2), p. 102f., fig. 6. The interpretation of a youthful Herakles suggested by Draper is not convincing since the clothing is not a "fur that looks like a lion's skin" but a piece of cloth with fringes, with the same manner of draping used, for example, by Roman lictors (see, for example, F. J. Hassel, *Der Trajansbogen von Benevent* [Mainz, 1966], pls. 6–7). This must not necessarily be considered a hint for the interpretation of the portrait, but if Antico really had wanted to depict a Herakles, he probably would have been able to fashion a lion's skin.

30. Corkscrew curls above the forehead certainly do occur in antiquity (for example, in the so-called Serapis type of Septimius Severus), but its use is not as stylized and ornamental as is the case with the two Antico busts. Rather we seem to be dealing with a trait of the artist's own time, cf. the sculpture of Tullio Lombardo (J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture* [London, 1971], pls. 141–142).

31. Cf. E. P. Bowron, *Renaissance Bronzes in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1978), p. 42 with illus.; *Antiquity in the Renaissance* (note 10), no. 69; K. Fittschen in *Festschrift N. Himmelmann* (Mainz, 1989), p. 508, n. 14, pl. 794. Regarding the question of authorship, cf. Draper (note 2), p. 260. When Draper declares himself against the attribution to Antico as the artist, above all because the hair is not curled but is straight and in strands, he obviously assumes that Antico did not want to or was not able to imitate corresponding antique models.

32. Cf. G. M. A. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*, vol. 2 (London, 1965), p. 229, figs. 1528–1637. One of the best copies of the Menander portrait is the bust in the form of a herm from the Augustan period, now in Boston, illustrated here from the original (left profile, fig. 13) and from a cast in Göttingen (rear view, fig. 14); cf. Richter, p. 233, figs. 1621–1623.

33. Cf. above all the complicated layering of the hair on the right

profile and the multifariously varied cheliform motifs.

34. Cf. Allison (note 21), p. 213ff.; A. Radcliff in D. Chamber and J. Martineau, eds., *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, exh. cat. (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1981), p. 171, n. 123; C. Brown in *Giulio Romano*, exh. cat. (Mantua, 1989), p. 319. Against an attribution to Antico are Draper (note 2), p. 260, and Amico (note 2), p. 103, n. 27.

35. Allison (note 21), fig. 1.5.

36. Cf. J. F. Johansen, *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 4 (1967), p. 25ff., pls. 1.3–4, 6–13.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 29f., pl. 7; the identical features are particularly clearly visible on the profile sides (Allison [note 21], fig. 5; Johansen, pl. 7b. The replica in Vienna pictured by Allison belongs to the same type, but, on account of the deviating direction of the hair strands, it must be ruled out as a model). The second bronze cast in Mantua proves that the portrait of Caesar in the Palazzo Pitti was already known at that time; that it must belong to the older parts of the Medici collection, cf. L. Beschi in *Gli Uffizi, Quattro secoli di una galleria*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi 2 (Florence, 1983), p. 161ff. A marble bust in New York (R. Krautheimer, *Lorenzo Ghiberti* [Princeton, 1956], fig. 108) obviously derives from the same prototype.

38. Allison (note 21), figs. 2 and 6.

39. *Ibid.*, figs. 13–14. The comparison of both heads can teach us the accuracy with which the copying was done and the certainty with which missing items (nose, ears) were restored.

40. The different hairstyle speaks against this identification: on the left side of the forehead there are pincer-shaped curls (*Zange* and *Gabel*) that are missing in the portraits of the Forbes type (with which presumably we are dealing).

41. Allison (note 21), fig. 3.7; Fittschen (note 1), no. 2, n. 20, fig. 3.10.

42. Cf. in detail Fittschen (note 1), figs. 1–15.

43. The sculpture in question is perhaps in the Hermitage in Leningrad, but because of a lack of sufficient photographs the problem cannot be solved yet (cf. Fittschen [note 1] with note 38).

44. Allison (note 21), fig. 4.8; Chamber and Martineau (note 34), p. 170, no. 123.



Figure 3. *Portrait of Marcus Aurelius*, replica of the first portrait type. Roman, about A.D. 140. Marble, H: 27.5 cm (10¹³/₁₆ in.). Rome, Capitoline Museum 279. Photograph: G. Fittschen-Badura.



Figure 4. *Portrait of Marcus Aurelius*, ancient replica of the second portrait type. Roman, circa A.D. 145–150, remodeled from a portrait of the first type of about A.D. 140. Marble, H: 28 cm (11 in.). Venice, Archaeological Museum 115. Photograph: G. Fittschen-Badura.



Figure 5. *Antico. Portrait of Marcus Aurelius*, early sixteenth century. Bronze, H: 70 cm (27⁹/₁₆ in.). Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum 11/100.

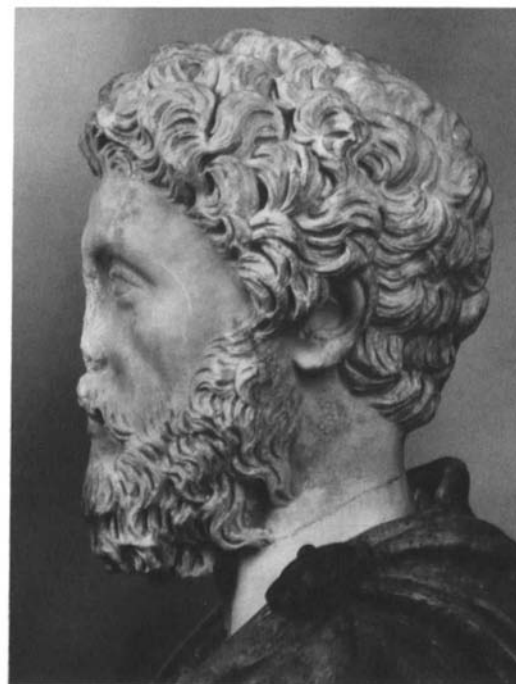


Figure 6. *Portrait of Marcus Aurelius*, replica of the fourth portrait type. Roman, circa A.D. 169–180. Marble, H: 34 cm (13³/₈ in.). Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 698. Photograph: G. Fittschen-Badura.

toninus Pius,⁴⁵ even if the Mantua bronze was intended as a representation of that emperor, because it differs from the well-known portraits of Antoninus Pius in its physiognomy and hairstyle.⁴⁶ However, among the portraits of private citizens dating to the Hadrianic and early Antonine periods, a few are not dissimilar to the Antico bronze in terms of their motifs and sculptural style.⁴⁷

The overall balance of this review is not exactly encouraging. Actual antique models are known for only three of the thirteen portraits considered here (the Malibu bust and the *Caesar* and *Augustus* in Mantua); and in the case of one more portrait, the existence of a model can at least be deduced (the "Caesar" in Mantua). For the others, either no parallel can be adduced (the *Bacchus* in Vienna, the *Youth* in Liechtenstein) or, at best, the possible models can be narrowed down to a small group of works (the *Marcus Aurelius* in Munich; the *Antoninus Pius* in New York and Paris; the "Cleopatra" in Boston; the *Ariadne* in Vienna; the *Menander* in Baltimore; the "Antoninus Pius" in Mantua). It is therefore not surprising if the opinion has spread among scholars that Antico and his circle drew rather freely from their antique models. I do not want to question this possibility in individual cases (for the *Bacchus* and the *Youth* in Liechtenstein, in particular, an independent, eclectic creation on the part of Antico seems conceivable to me). Because of the case of the Malibu bust, however, we must exercise caution when applying this view to the entire work of Antico and to that of related artists. The inability to name postulated models does not mean in each case that these models never existed. Their absence may have various causes: many pieces have disappeared, particularly from the old collections, and many are even today relegated to obscurity in public and private collections. (The Malibu bust was known only from a nineteenth-century etching during its almost 500-year existence.)⁴⁸

Scholarship itself can hinder the identification of sculptural sources. Portraits occasionally fall into obscurity because they are suspected to be fakes; such sculp-

45. This is also evident from a comparison with the two busts of this emperor in New York and Paris (see note 20).

46. Cf. note 20.

47. Cf. for example private portraits in Denver (C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America* [Malibu, 1981], p. 340, fig. 293) or Florence (G. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi, Le sculture II* [Rome, 1961], no. 111 with illus.). Particular similarities are evident in a private portrait known by two replicas in Berlin and in the Malmström Collection in Sweden: C. Blümel, *Römische Bildnisse* (Berlin, 1933), p. 29, no. R69, pls. 42–43; A. Andren, *Opuscula Romana 2* (1960), p. 26, no. 13, fig. 15, pls. 21–22. But Greek portraits would also have to be considered; cf. D. Comparetti and G. De Petra, *La Villa Ercolanese dei Pisoni* (Naples, 1883), pl. 211.

48. Cf. J. Favaretto, *Numismatica e antichità classiche* 14 (1985), p. 416, fig. 6; Amico (note 2), p. 99, fig. 2; Fittschen (note 1), fig. 26.



Figure 7. Antico. Bust of "Cleopatra," early sixteenth century. Bronze, H: 64.5 cm (25³/₈ in.). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 64.2174, William Francis Warden Fund.



Figure 8. Portrait of Livia, replica of the so-called Ceres-type. Roman, circa A.D. 30–50. Marble, H: 26.5 cm (10⁷/₁₆ in.). Rome Capitoline Museum 144. Photograph: G. Fittschen-Badura.



Figure 9a. Antico. *Bust of Ariadne*, early sixteenth century. Bronze, H: 59 cm (23³/₁₆ in.). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 5991. Photograph: H. F. Stizenfrey.



Figure 9b. Rear view of figure 9a. Photograph: H. F. Stizenfrey.



Figure 10. *Portrait of Antonia Minor*, replica of the so-called plain type. Roman, circa A.D. 20–50. Marble, H: 21 cm (8¹/₄ in.). Erbach, Castle. Photograph: G. Fittschen-Badura.



Figure 11. *Bust of "Clytia"* (rear view). Roman, first half of the first century A.D. (?). Marble, H: 57 cm (22⁷/₁₆ in.). London, British Museum 1874.



Figure 12a. Antico or his circle. *Bust of an Unknown Roman Emperor*. Italian, sixteenth century. Bronze, H: 78 cm (30¹¹/₁₆ in.). Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 27.419.



Figure 12b. Rear view of figure 12a.

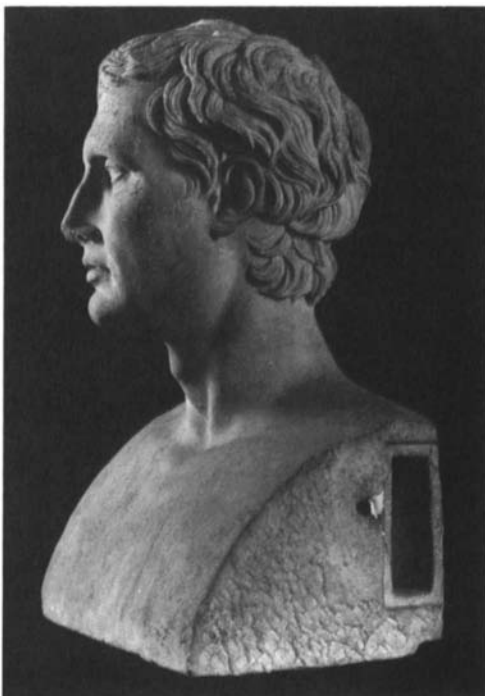


Figure 13. *Bust in the Form of a Herm of Menander*. Roman copy from the end of the first century B.C., after a Greek original of about 290 B.C. by Timarchos and Kephisodotos. Marble, H: 51.5 cm (20⁵/₁₆ in.). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 97.288.



Figure 14. Rear view of figure 13, after a cast in the Archäologisches Institut, Göttingen. Photograph: Stephan Eckardt.

tures are usually neglected by archaeologists and art historians as well. To use an example that may be familiar:⁴⁹ in the Archaeological Museum of Venice there is a portrait of Marcus Aurelius of the second portrait type.⁵⁰ M. Wegner first declared it to be a work of the sixteenth century,⁵¹ and subsequent scholarship has followed Wegner's lead.⁵² Later, without sufficient explanations and photographic evidence, the portrait was declared to be a work of Simone Bianco.⁵³ This attribution also met with approbation in subsequent scholarship.⁵⁴ In the museum today, one can easily see that the portrait must be antique: the hair, especially in the right profile (fig. 4), is heavily encrusted with sinter that must have built up over a very long period of time. Presumably, this extremely hard substance also covered the face from which it has apparently been removed by mechanical or chemical means.⁵⁵ The sculpture has yet another peculiarity that also excludes a modern origin: the front side clearly displays features of the second portrait type of the prince; the hair motifs on the back half of the head, however, correspond to the first type, as is immediately evident when the

front and back are compared (figs. 3 and 4).⁵⁶ Traces on the neck below the hair show how this strange mixture of types can be accounted for: the sculpture has been clearly remodeled from a portrait of the boy Marcus Aurelius into one of the prince as a young man.⁵⁷ A free imitation by a sculptor of the Renaissance is therefore out of the question.

This case and that of the Malibu bust teach us what is necessary for research: unprejudiced observation and, if possible, complete documentation. In this way, both disciplines involved here can profit: classical archaeology learns something about the history of the influence of antique sculpture and about the history of early antique collections; art history can more securely examine the manner in which antique art was assimilated during the Renaissance. It will probably turn out that a sculptor like Antico was concerned above all with a careful and effective reproduction of antique models. He thus established new standards for many generations of Italian imitators of antiques.

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49. Cf. Fittschen (note 14, 1), p. 328, n. 24.

50. Cf. G. Traversari, *I ritratti* (Rome, 1968), p. 108, no. 97 with illus. and the older literature.

51. Wegner (note 4), p. 206. Wegner's evaluation of the piece is directly connected with the overrating of the copy in the Antiquario Forense mentioned above in note 4 and the elimination of the pieces of highest quality in particular.

52. E.g., by Traversari (note 50) and the authors mentioned in notes 53 and 54.

53. P. Meller, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts Florenz* 21 (1977), p. 201. One has to realize that up to now only one picture of this piece has been available for research. How arbitrarily Meller put together Simone Bianco's oeuvre is, for example, obvious from the fact

that on p. 204, figs. 19–20, he also attributes to the artist a bronze sculpture in the Palazzo Venezia that is a second cast of a marble portrait found in 1868 in Pompeii (so-called Seian, see A. De Franciscis *Il ritratto romano a Pompeii* [Naples, 1951], p. 49, figs. 46–47).

54. Cf. Favaretto (note 48), p. 416; Amico (note 2), p. 98, n. 6. Cf. also Paul (note 14, 3), p. 57.

55. M. Tombolani, the director of the museum, with whom I examined and discussed the piece, arrived at the same conclusion. I am also grateful to him for permission to take photographs.

56. More detailed documentation will be presented in the forthcoming publication mentioned above in note 4.

57. Regarding this phenomenon, see also K. Fittschen in *Festschrift U. Hausmann* (Tübingen, 1982), p. 121f., pls. 18–19.

The Passion of Christ: Twelve Enamel Plaques in the J. Paul Getty Museum

Peggy Fogelman

Traditionally relegated to the category of the so-called minor arts, French Renaissance painted enamels are little studied today. Their appeal to the modern collector has dropped off considerably since the nineteenth century, when Gautier put them on a par with marble sculpture for the physical endurance of their beauty in a transient world.¹ But painted enamels were highly appreciated by late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century collectors of the most refined tastes, who commissioned portraits and devotional polyptychs from the enameler, in addition to a wide range of functional objects—candlesticks, salt cellars, cups, plates, ewers, and basins. Clients of the skilled enamel workshops of Limoges, the city granted a virtual monopoly over the craft by royal patent,² included Louis XII, the Constable Anne de Montmorency, François I, his mother Louise of Savoy, Charles IX, and Catherine de'

Medici.³ The ability of painted enamels to retain their translucence and the saturation of their colors beyond the potential of oil painting no doubt appealed to sixteenth-century connoisseurs just as it would later appeal to those of the nineteenth.⁴ Moreover, the small scale of most French Renaissance enamels ranked them among the most readily collectible items for the private, secular patron. Consequently, the popularity of painted enamels increased the already substantial importance of the graphic arts in France, transforming European prints—which usually provided the enameler with his compositions—into objects of everlasting, jewel-like preciousness.⁵

In 1988 the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired a set of twelve enamel plaques depicting scenes from the Passion of Christ, painted in a vibrant palette of blue, green, and violet with white and gold highlights (figs. 1a–m).⁶ The

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1. See, for example, Gautier's poem "L'art," first published in *L'artiste* in 1857 and later appended to editions of *Émaux et camées*.

2. Not only did the city of Limoges enjoy exclusive privileges in the exercise of the art, but royal edicts in the late fifteenth century restricted the title of guild master to certain Limoges families by right of descent. See P. Verdier's introduction to *The Frick Collection*, vol. 8 (New York, 1977), p. 6.

3. An Annunciation triptych of nine plaques bearing the portraits of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne on its wings is in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum and is the name piece for the artist to whom it is attributed, the Master of the Triptych of Louis XII (J. C. Robinson, *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art on Loan at the South Kensington Museum* [London, 1862], p. 143; P. Verdier, *The Walters Art Gallery, Catalogue of the Painted Enamels of the Renaissance* [Baltimore, 1967], p. xviii). A retable of twelve enamel plaques depicting the Passion of Christ, with roundels of the four evangelists, still exists within its original gilt frame in the Musée National de la Renaissance at the Château d'Écouen. The frame bears the coats of arms of the constable and his wife (A. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Château d'Écouen guide* [Paris, 1987], pp. 30–31). Other enamel plaques, portraits, and table service items are listed in the inventories of the constable's collections (L. Mirot, "L'Hôtel et les collections du Connétable de Montmorency," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, Revue d'érudition*, vol. 79 [1918], pp. 377–378, 410; vol. 80 [1919], pp. 203, 205, 207, 209–210. François I commissioned enamels from Léonard Limousin to decorate the palace at Fontainebleau. An enamel portrait in the Walters Art Gallery has been convincingly identified as Louise of Savoy by M. D. Orth (*The Walters Art Gallery Bulletin* 31 [April 1979], n.p.). A pair of signed and dated

enamel plaques by Léonard Limousin in the J. Paul Getty Museum depict Charles IX as Mars and Catherine de' Medici as Juno (acc. nos. 86.SE.536.1 and .2). Catherine's enthusiasm for Limoges enamels is documented in a 1589 inventory listing no fewer than seventy-one painted enamel plaques and portraits specifically commissioned to decorate a Cabinet des Émaux in her Parisian hôtel (E. Bonnaffé, *Inventaire des meubles de Catherine de Médicis en 1589* [Paris, 1874], pp. 155–156).

4. Vasari pinpoints just this quality of permanence in his evaluation of stained glass, to which enameling is related by virtue of its similar exploitation of glass as the pigment-bearing medium: "Perchè il tignere [sic] di colore a olio, o in altro modo, è poco o niente, e che sia diafano e trasparente non è cosa di molto momento, ma il cuocerli a fuoco, e fare che regghino alle percosse dell'acqua e si conservino sempre, è ben fatica degna di lode." ("Painting in oil colors, or otherwise, is little or nothing, and rendering them transparent is not something of much importance, but the baking in the fire to make them everlasting and impervious to water is a labor worthy of praise.") G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi (Florence, 1981), vol. 4, p. 424.

5. The widespread use of graphic or other models for enamels in no way detracted from the value placed upon them by their owners, as was also the case with Renaissance silver and ceramic ware. Sometimes prototypes were specifically commissioned in another medium for reproduction in enamel. For instance, Michel Rochetel, court painter to François I, was asked to produce images of the twelve apostles, painted on paper, to serve as models for enamel plaques. The plaques, executed by Léonard Limousin, were later used by Henri II to decorate his château at Anet (Comte de Laborde, *La renaissance des arts à la cour de France*, vol. 1 [Paris, 1850], pp. 296–297).

6. Acc. nos. 88.SE.4.1–12. Each of the painted enamel plaques measures approximately 9.4 x 7.3 cm. (3⁷/₁₆ x 2⁷/₁₆ in.). The plaques were



Figure 1a. *The Entry into Jerusalem.*



Figure 1b. *The Agony in the Garden.*



Figure 1c. *The Arrest of Christ.*



Figure 1d. *Christ Before Caiaphas.*

Figures 1a–n. Jean II Pénicaud (French, active 1531–1549). Scenes from the Passion of Christ, circa 1530–1535. Enamel on copper, 94 x 7.3 cm (3⁷/₁₀ x 2⁷/₈ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 88.SE.4.1–.12.



Figure 1e. Christ Before Herod.



Figure 1f. The Crowning with Thorns.



Figure 1g. Ecce Homo.

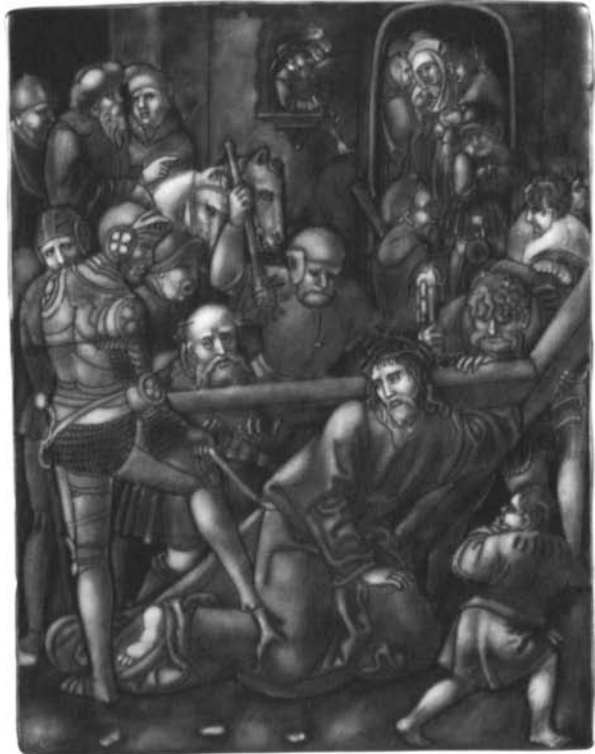


Figure 1h. The Bearing of the Cross.

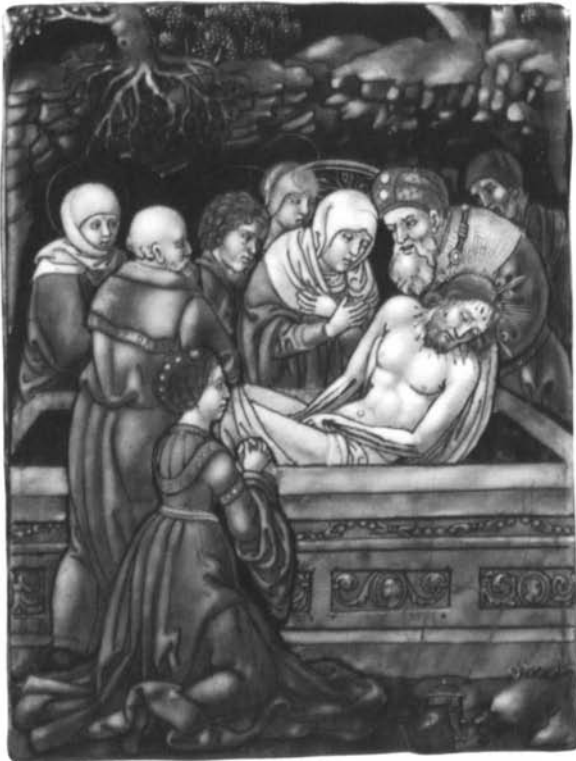


Figure 1i. The Entombment.



Figure 1j. Christ in Limbo.



Figure 1k. The Resurrection.



Figure 1l. Christ and the Magdalene.



Figure 1m. Detail of reverse of figure 1a.

plaques are exceptional for their excellent condition, the high quality of their drawing and tonal modulation, and their brilliant color harmonies.

The technique of painting in enamels relies for its effects on the suspension in a glass flux of metallic oxides or carbonates, which act as coloring agents, and the permanent fusion of those colors to a surface by heating them to the melting temperature of the glass. The order in which the various colors are applied can vary, and experts do not always agree on the number of firings needed to fuse them, but for any particular enamel the basic process can usually be determined through microscopic examination.⁷ The Museum's plaques, made of thin sheets of copper, were first coated with a layer of black on their obverses and with a colorless flux, called a counter-enamel, on their reverses.⁸ After these layers were fused in

once part of the well-known collection of Alessandro Castellani in Rome. They then passed into the Mante collection, Paris, and were exhibited at the Exposition Universelle at Trocadéro in 1889. The enamels descended in the Mante family until acquired by Alain Moatti, Paris, from whom the Museum purchased them.

7. Cellini describes the process of painting translucent colored enamel over a thin plate of precious metal engraved in low relief (C. R. Ashbee, trans., *The Treatises of Benvenuto Cellini on Goldsmithing and Sculpture* [New York, 1967], pp. 15–21). Much of the information he supplies—such as the necessity of grinding the enamel into a powder, washing the powder with water and keeping it moist, and mixing the powdered enamel with a solution of quince-seed and water to create a sticky gum that will hold together—is applicable to all enamel techniques. The most thorough explanation of the methods specifically employed for Limoges painted enamels during the period of around 1470 to 1530 is provided by P. Michaels, "Technical Observations on Early Painted Enamels of Limoges," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 27–28 (1964–1965), pp. 21–43. Unlike Verdier (note 2), p. 9, who asserts the necessity of successive firings due to the different melting points of each

a furnace, white enamel was applied over the black. The basic outlines of the composition were scratched through this white layer to reveal the black underneath, giving the plaque at this point the look of a woodcut. After a second firing, colored enamels were painted in the appropriate areas and the plaque was fired again. For flesh tones a mixture of mulberry-red and opaque white, resulting in a lilac shade, was applied as a ground layer. The black outlines needed for definition could once again be retrieved by scratching through the newly applied powdered enamel. After this lilac layer was fired, another layer of opaque white was painted on in varying degrees of thickness to approximate the modeling of facial features. Finally, gold accents, black-lettered inscriptions, and drops of red for Christ's wounds were added and fused in a quick, low firing.

Each of the Museum's plaques is stamped on its reverse with a crowned *P* (fig. 1m), identifying the set as having been made by or under the supervision of one of the Pénicaud, a Limoges family of enamellers.⁹ Pénicaud enamel manufacture began under Nardon (circa 1470–1542/43) and continued with Nardon's younger brother Jean I (1485–?).¹⁰ Production reached its peak, in terms of technical success and innovation, under Jean II Pénicaud (active 1531–1549), to whom the Museum's plaques have been attributed since the nineteenth century.¹¹

Some features of the Museum's enamels recall the work of Jean I, such as their Northern as opposed to Italianate print sources, their use of tiled floors to create the illusion of spatial recession, and their reliance upon precise line to define details of anatomy and drapery. However, the differences between these plaques and Jean I's signed works outweigh their similarities. In general, Jean I's figures are awkwardly elongated and posed in such a way that they seem very flat, echoing the compressed space of

color, Michaels believes that all colors except for the flesh tones could be achieved in a single heating.

8. The preference for clear counter-enamels, which can be any color or mixture of colors applied to the back of a plaque or medallion, became prevalent around 1530, allowing workshop stamps to be seen. The counter-enamel served the important function of counteracting differences in expansion and contraction between the copper and the enamel as it was heated and cooled. See Michaels (note 7), p. 24.

9. For a discussion of the Pénicaud stamp see M. Ardant, "Les Pénicaud, Émailleurs," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin* 8 (1858), p. 7; E. Molinier, *Dictionnaire des émailleurs* (Paris, 1885), pp. 70–71; J.-J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Les émaux Limousins* (Paris, 1921), p. 199.

10. For Nardon's will and other documents relevant to the succession of the Pénicaud workshop, see Marquet de Vasselot (note 9), pp. 183–186 and Verdier (note 3), pp. xix–xx.

11. *Catalogue des objets d'art . . . dépendant de la succession Alessandro Castellani*, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, May 12–16, 1884, lot 42.



Figure 2. Jean I Pénicaud (French, 1485–?). *The Crowning with Thorns*, circa 1525. Enamel on copper, 23.3 x 19.3 cm (9 $\frac{1}{5}$ x 7 $\frac{3}{5}$ in.). Signed: IOHAN.PENICAUVLT. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.



Figure 3. Jean II Pénicaud. *The Crucifixion*, 1542. Enamel on copper, 15.2 x 13.5 cm (6 x 5 $\frac{3}{10}$ in.). Signed: I.P. 1542. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

his compositions (fig. 2). His backgrounds display an overabundance of painted architectural ornament that is not found in the Museum's plaques.¹² Finally, certain quotidian details that occur both in Jean I's work and in the Museum's enamels are depicted far more convincingly in the latter. For example, the dog in the lower left foreground of Jean I's signed *Crowning with Thorns* (fig. 2) is only summarily outlined, with scant detail in the modeling of bones and muscles. Moreover, Jean I has rendered the dog proportionately too small, making it roughly the size of the foot of one of the mockers of Christ. By contrast, the dog curled up on the floor in the Museum's *Christ Before Caiaphas* is given plausible size and is modeled with the same subtlety as the facial features of Caiaphas.

Jean II's style is most often characterized by reference to his signed grisaille images, in which muscular figures pose in complex compositions derived from Italianate, often Mannerist print sources. The attribution of colored enamels by means of comparison to these signed works is extremely difficult, since Jean II sought to exploit the similarities between grisaille and graphic media by, for instance, using cross-hatching as a shading device.¹³ The grisaille works do, nevertheless, demonstrate Jean II's expert draftsmanship and ability to control the fine, precise lines that are likewise found throughout the Museum's enamels. A signed *Crucifixion* plaque in the Louvre (fig. 3),¹⁴ painted in colored enamel and dated 1542, provides a persuasive point of comparison with the Museum's much earlier plaques and supports their nineteenth-century attribution to Jean II. In *The Crucifixion*, sophisticated modeling has been combined with outlines and with white or gold highlights in order to define such details as the individual strands of hair. More importantly, the later plaque employs similarly transparent washes of color in certain areas, especially those painted turquoise (which unfortunately cannot be

12. In Jean I's signed *Flagellation* plaque in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, the floor is tiled and further patterned with thin, well-drawn lines, the ceiling is coffered, and each column displays a different type of decoration, ranging from dots to stripes (Marquet de Vasselot [note 9], pl. 62).

13. This technique can be seen in a plaque representing *Temperance* (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore), whose arm and back muscles are defined by cross-hatched lines of black enamel (Verdier [note 3], p. 98).

14. J.-J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Musée national du Louvre, catalogue sommaire de l'orfèvrerie, de l'émaillerie et des gemmes* (Paris, n.d.), p. 88.

15. Marquet de Vasselot (note 9), p. 199. Published documentation describing the organization of enamel workshops and the instruction of enamellers is scarce and, to the knowledge of this writer, does not exist at all for the Pénicaud. It is likely, in light of what is known to be true of workshop practices in other arts (for instance, maiolica), that enamellers were trained through apprenticeships and family associations and that studios included any number of specialized craftsmen and novices working under the supervision of a superlative master or masters. However, this assumption remains unsubstantiated for the Pénicaud.

seen here in the black-and-white reproduction). The looser handling apparent in *The Crucifixion* is characteristic of Jean II's later work. Little is known about Jean II's early work, but it seems likely that he learned the art of enameling from his father and uncle and underwent a period of transition to arrive at his own individualistic, mannered style.¹⁵ Placing the plaques within this early period of Jean II's career would explain the retention of certain features usually associated with Jean I.

In the Museum's set of twelve enamels, the absence of certain scenes essential to the Passion story—like the Flagellation—suggests that one or more plaques are missing from the original series. The set has existed in its present form at least since 1884, when it was sold at auction from the collection of Alessandro Castellani.¹⁶ However, at another auction of the Castellani collection earlier that year, two plaques appeared with virtually the same dimensions, also marked with the Pénicaud stamp and depicting subject matter common to Passion cycles—*The Last Supper* and *The Pietà*.¹⁷ These two plaques, whose whereabouts are now unknown, probably belonged to the original set. The enamels of this series would have been mounted together in a frame for display as a devotional polyptych, as were other series of this kind, for example the one in the Musée National de la Renaissance at the Château d'Écouen or the one in the Hermitage attributed to Jean II Pénicaud that is centered around a larger *Ascension* plaque.¹⁸

All the Pénicaud enamels derive their compositions from prints, and the degree of fidelity between the enamel and its source varies considerably among the twelve plaques. In several instances the representation in the enamel differs only slightly from that in the print: in addition to adding decorative details, the enamels often extend the print to include the rest of a figure that was cropped in the original engraving or woodcut, sometimes

also changing the proportional relationship of the figures to their settings. In other cases the enameler's composition results from a drastic fragmentation and recombination of print sources. For instance, in the plaque depicting *Christ in Limbo* no fewer than four different prints were used to provide specific elements or motifs for the overall composition, thereby producing in the enamel a wholly new image.

It is not clear why the treatment of print sources within one series varies so greatly. The same diversity occurs in other Passion cycles attributed to the Pénicaud family. A series of plaques given to Nardon Pénicaud (formerly in the Ryan collection) derives exclusively from Martin Schongauer's Passion prints of around 1480.¹⁹ The only modifications made to the print compositions are the embellishment of the background architecture with decorative patterning and the addition of the two thieves in the *Crucifixion* scene. Another set of twelve Passion plaques attributed to Nardon's workshop recently appeared on the London art market.²⁰ In this cycle, on the other hand, images from Dürer's Engraved Passion, Large Passion, and Small Passion series, from Lucas Cranach the Elder's Passion series, and perhaps from other prints as well were combined to form a single set in enamel and were copied with widely varying degrees of faithfulness. Passion subjects by Jean I Pénicaud in the Frick Museum offer a similar contrast. An *Agony in the Garden* plaque combines elements of prints by Schongauer, Dürer, and the Master A. G., while an enamel of the *Mocking of Christ* follows Schongauer's homonymous print nearly exactly except for the modification of the floor and architecture.²¹ Finally, a Passion cycle in the Hermitage attributed to Jean II Pénicaud appears to mix compositions derived from contemporary painting with those from prints.²² In addition, the cycle seems to draw upon both Northern and Italianate sources. The inconsistent approach to graphic

Some documentation on enamel workshops that postdates the Museum's plaques can be found in M. Guibert, "L'orfèvrerie et les orfèvres de Limoges," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin* 32 (1885), p. 108; M. Giraudet, "Nouveaux documents sur les Courteys, peintres émailleurs de Limoges," *Bulletin monumental* 44 (1878), p. 368.

16. *Catalogue des objets d'art* (note 11), lot 472.

17. *Catalogue des objets d'art*, Palazzo Castellani, Rome, April 3, 1884, lot 627. The *Last Supper* and *Pietà* plaques are listed as measuring 9.3 x 7.2 cm ($3\frac{7}{10}$ x $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.); the other twelve are listed at 9.4 x 7.3 cm ($3\frac{7}{10}$ x $2\frac{1}{10}$ in.). The differences between these measurements are so negligible that they could simply be due to variations in judgment. In addition, the sizes of the twelve plaques that remained together vary slightly within a .3 cm range. That the collector did not hesitate to break up the set is suggested by the notation "ce lot pourra être divisé" that appears in the catalogue of the May sale (see previous note) featuring the twelve enamels as one lot.

18. Erlande-Brandenburg (note 3), p. 31; O. Dobroklonskaya, *Painted Enamels of Limoges, XV and XVI Centuries* (Moscow, 1969), p. 18. The Museum's enamels are marked on their reverses with what seem to

be two types of numbering systems. Arabic numbers written in a wax or resinous material roughly correspond to the biblical sequence of the set; the highest number, eighteen, occurs on the back of the plaque depicting *Christ and the Magdalene*, the last episode of the narrative. In addition, painted lines or slashes are visible at the tops and/or bottoms of the reverses. These lines may once have indicated the placement of each plaque in relation to the others within a frame. Since all the marks appear on top of the counter-enamel and were never fused to it in a firing, their date and origin cannot be determined.

19. *Gothic and Renaissance Art, Collection of the Late Thomas Fortune Ryan*, American Art Association, New York, 1933, lot 385A-M.

20. *European Works of Art and Sculpture*, Sotheby's, London, December 7, 1989, lot 260.

21. Verdier (note 2), pp. 56, 59.

22. Dobroklonskaya (note 18), p. 18. Verdier (note 3, p. 106) associates the figure of Christ in the central *Ascension* plaque with that in a painting of the *Doubting Thomas* executed by Léonard Limousin in 1551 for the church of Saint-Pierre-du-Queyroix, Limoges.

models exhibited in the Museum's enamels was certainly nothing new for the Pénicaud studio.

Even the types of modifications made to the print sources in the Museum's plaques recur in the work of the Pénicaud. For instance, the extension of a print's composition in order to complete abruptly terminated figures occurs not only in the Museum's series, as will be seen, but also in Jean I's signed *Crowning with Thorns* (fig. 2), where the main participants are copied exactly from Dürer's Engraved Passion print, but the left border is extended to include the other half of a turbaned figure that Dürer had cropped.²³

For these reasons, it is unnecessary to posit the existence of an intermediate print source that itself modified or recombined the compositions of earlier prints and was then copied literally and directly by the enamel artist. The attitude toward graphic models conveyed by the Museum's series seems to be particular to the enameler and reappears frequently in other specimens of Pénicaud production. Numerous contemporary examples in the field of maiolica document the freedom with which practitioners of the so-called applied arts selectively cut up and rearranged their print sources.²⁴ The enameler, in this case Jean II Pénicaud, should be credited with the same creativity that one would readily ascribe to a printmaker.

Nine of the Museum's enamels are based on the 1509 Passion of Christ series by Lucas Cranach the Elder: *The Agony in the Garden*, *The Arrest of Christ*, *Christ Before Caiaphas*, *Christ Before Herod*, *The Crowning with Thorns*, *Ecce Homo*, *The Bearing of the Cross*, *The Entombment*, and *The Resurrection*. In adapting these prints to the enamel plaques, the enameler had to make certain general changes. For one thing, he had to delete the twin coats of arms of the Elector Frederick the Wise, which appeared on almost all of Cranach's woodcuts and engravings from about 1505 on, when he was appointed official painter at the court of Saxony.²⁵ In addition, the enameler had to reduce the prints to the appropriate size, often simplifying the complex passages in drapery, hair, and background, and of course adding color. Many of the compositions were reversed from the prints, which may indicate an intermediate source. The same reversal can result from transferring a design by pricking the outlines with tiny holes through which a fine powder, or pounce, is forced, leaving a stencil of the basic pattern when the

design is then lifted up. Pricked drawings or prints can be pounced on either side.

In *The Agony in the Garden* these general changes constitute the only modifications made to Cranach's print (compare figs. 1b and 4). Even the secondary details of Cranach's composition were retained, such as the soldier running ahead of the rest of his troop in the upper right (upper left in the enamel) or the rock with tufts of grass sprouting from beneath it in the immediate foreground. The same can be said for *The Arrest of Christ* plaque, where only one head from among Cranach's highly complex grouping of soldiers and disciples was left out (compare figs. 1c and 5). The enameler has, however, changed Christ's open-mouthed scowl into an expression of pious resignation.

In the judgment scenes of *Christ Before Caiaphas* and *Christ Before Herod* (compare figs. 1d–e and figs. 6–7), the enameler included tiled floors and architecture painted to resemble brick. The same ornamentation of the interior setting occurred in *The Crowning with Thorns* (figs. 1f and 8), where one of the figures in the background was moved to the central doorway and two were eliminated. In *Ecce Homo* (figs. 1g and 9) the addition of the tiled floor recurred, but here Cranach's simple brick-and-wood architecture was replaced by a Renaissance arcade.

In *The Bearing of the Cross* (figs. 1h and 10) the composition was changed only slightly. The enameler removed two of the figures in order to provide a fuller view of the horses' profiles and extended the composition to show the legs of the small boy in the lower right corner, who raises his hand to his mouth in what seems to be a gesture of surprise. In the center background the enameler cleverly replaced the coats of arms with an arched window from which emerges a trumpeter, whose cheeks swell as he sounds his instrument. This figure may be based on the horn-blower who appears in Albrecht Dürer's woodcut of *The Mocking of Christ* from the Small Passion series.²⁶

The Entombment plaque follows the composition of its print source closely (figs. 1i and 11), down to the last detail of costuming, the only changes being the addition of an unguent jar beside the kneeling Mary Magdalene and the substitution of a profile for the three-quarter view of her face. However, the enameler has significantly altered the identity of one of the participants: the bald, bearded

23. Marquet de Vasselot (note 9), pl. 63; W. L. Strauss, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 10 (New York, 1980), p. 14.

24. See, for example, W. Watson, *Italian Renaissance Maiolica* (London, 1986), pp. 132–135, no. 52; T. Wilson, *Ceramic Art of the Italian Renaissance* (London, 1987), pp. 112–114; and C. Hess, *Italian Maiolica, Catalogue of the Collections* (Malibu, 1988), pp. 97–98.

25. W. Schade, *Cranach, A Family of Master Painters* (New York, 1980),

p. 23.

26. *The Illustrated Bartsch* (note 23), p. 125.

27. The placement of Nicodemus at Christ's feet and Joseph of Arimathea at his head is traditional in both Byzantine and Western depictions of the Entombment throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Identifying inscriptions also occur on the borders of gowns or cloaks in French sculpted Entombment groups. (W. H. Forsyth, *The*



Figure 4. Lucas Cranach the Elder (German, 1472–1553). *The Agony in the Garden*, 1509. Woodcut, 24.5 x 17.1 cm (9⁷/₁₀ x 6⁷/₁₀ in.). London, British Museum.

figure at Christ's feet, undoubtedly intended by Cranach to represent Nicodemus, is labeled by the inscription on his mantel (*IOSEP. DA BAR*) as Joseph Barsabas, also known as Joseph the Just.²⁷ As the disciple who lost out to Matthias in the choosing of a twelfth apostle by lot, Joseph Barsabas rarely appears in Passion cycles and never, to the knowledge of this writer, participates in the Entombment.²⁸ That Joseph Barsabas might have been present at this event is implied by Peter's request for a man who accompanied the other apostles "all the time that the Lord Jesus came in and went out among us, Beginning from the baptism of John, until the day wherein he was

Entombment of Christ, French Sculptures of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries [Cambridge, Mass., 1970], p. 2, note 2; p. 3.)

28. When Joseph Barsabas does appear in medieval and Renaissance art, he is usually shown standing beside Matthias as they choose lots, or accompanying Simon, Jude, and James the Lesser in a roundel of a genealogical tree. See, for instance, the *Rabbula Gospels* (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana), fol. 1 recto (reproduced in C. Cecchelli, *The Rabbula*



Figure 5. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *The Betrayal*, 1509. Woodcut, 24.5 x 17.1 cm (9⁷/₁₀ x 6⁷/₁₀ in.). London, British Museum.

taken up from us" (Acts 1:21–22). Barsabas witnesses, for instance, the Ascension of Christ in the fifteenth-century *Mystère de la Passion (de) Nostre Seigneur*, a play written at Troyes.²⁹ However, his insertion into this enamel's otherwise standard Entombment iconography is both exceptional and purposeful and is most plausibly explained by assuming that it reflects the wishes of a patron for whom Joseph Barsabas was particularly venerable.

Again for *The Resurrection* (figs. 1k and 12) the enameler faithfully copied Cranach's print but curiously reversed the soldiers on either side of the tomb. The figure of Christ has been transposed directly from the print, since

Gospels [Olten, Switzerland, 1959], pl. 1a); or Manuscript 3517, Miscellany (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal), fol. 7 recto (reproduced in H. Martin, "La Parenté de Nôtre-Dame," *Bulletin monumental* 82 [1923], pl. opposite p. 168).

29. Critical edition by J.-C. Bibolet, vol. 2 (Geneva, 1987), p. 975ff.



Figure 6. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *Christ Before Caiaphas*, 1509. Woodcut, 24.5 x 17.1 cm (9⁷/₁₀ x 6⁷/₁₀ in.). London, British Museum.



Figure 7. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *Christ Before Herod*, 1509. Woodcut, 24.5 x 17.1 cm (9⁷/₁₀ x 6⁷/₁₀ in.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett B.11.



Figure 8. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *The Crown of Thorns*, 1509. Woodcut, 24.5 x 17.1 cm (9⁷/₁₀ x 6⁷/₁₀ in.). London, British Museum.



Figure 9. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *Ecce Homo*, 1509. Woodcut, 24.5 x 17.1 cm (9⁷/₁₀ x 6⁷/₁₀ in.). London, British Museum.



Figure 10. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *The Bearing of the Cross*, 1509. Woodcut, 24.5 x 17.1 cm (9⁷/₁₀ x 6⁷/₁₀ in.). London, British Museum.



Figure 11. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *The Entombment*, 1509. Woodcut, 24.5 x 17.1 cm (9⁷/₁₀ x 6⁷/₁₀ in.). London, British Museum.

Christ could not be shown blessing with his left hand.

Unlike the other plaques already discussed, *The Entry into Jerusalem* (fig. 1a) draws upon a Passion series other than Cranach's. It is important to note that Cranach did not provide an image for this subject in his own Passion cycle, so its inclusion in the enamels necessitated the use of other prints; this is also true for the remaining two plaques, which rely on prints by other artists. *The Entry into Jerusalem* takes the majority of its composition from Dürer's Small Passion print of the same subject (fig. 13) but makes certain minor changes. The figure in the lower right who lays a cloak before Christ is no longer obscured by the donkey's head, and the bald man at the extreme left is now shown in full, accompanied by the partially cropped figure of a man with a long beard who is not present in the print. The motif of the man in the palm tree who collects branches for distribution to the multitude does not appear in Dürer's Small Passion print; however, this is an element common to prints of this subject, including those designed by the Master LCz, by Cranach for a 1512 Wittenberg publication, and by Dürer himself for the *Salus Animae* of 1503.³⁰ The enameler may have



Figure 12. Lucas Cranach the Elder. *The Resurrection*, 1509. Woodcut, 24.5 x 17.1 cm (9⁷/₁₀ x 6⁷/₁₀ in.). London, British Museum.

30. For a reproduction of Cranach's print, which was executed to illustrate *Ein ser andechtig Cristenlich Buchlein aus Hailige Schrifften und*



Figure 13. Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528). *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem* (from the Small Passion), circa 1508/9. Woodcut, 12.8 x 9.8 cm (5 x 3⁹/₁₀ in.). London, British Museum.



Figure 14. Albrecht Dürer. *Noli Me Tangere* (from the Small Passion), circa 1510. Woodcut, 12.7 x 9.7 cm (5 x 3⁷/₈ in.). London, British Museum.

borrowed the motif from any number of woodcuts or engravings.

The composition of *Christ and the Magdalene* most closely resembles a print by Dürer, again from the Small Passion series of 1508/9 (figs. 11 and 14). The heavy, triangular folds of drapery, the extension of Christ's right foot, the poignant gesture of his right hand, the arched doorway in the background from which the three Marys emerge, even the spindly trunks of the trees in the left middleground are all obvious borrowings from Dürer. However, the enameler has changed the conception of Christ as a gardener to one of Christ the Redeemer, the Resurrected. The transformation would appear to stem less from a theological motivation than from a fundamental concern for narrative continuity. For the same reason the enameler modified the Magdalene's costume to match the dress she wore in the *Entombment* scene. Thus, the main protagonists of the Passion story are easily identifiable and, more importantly, seem to move sequentially as

real people through the successive episodes of the biblical narrative.

Christ in Limbo derives much of its design, in reverse, from a print by Martin Schongauer of around 1480 (figs. 1j and 15).³¹ This print had already been introduced into the Pénicaut repertoire by Nardon, who used it for his twelve-plaque Passion series formerly in the Ryan collection and again for the upper side panel of a polyptych now in the Frick collection.³² The Museum's plaque differs from Schongauer's print in its positioning of the figure of Christ, who stands on the downward-sloping door of hell beneath which a crushed devil writhes, rather than directly on top of the demon and facing an upward-sloping door. The enamel does, however, closely copy the following elements of the engraving: Christ's pose, with his left foot forward and bent and his right arm extended to grasp the hand of a grateful Adam; the figure of Adam; the figure of Eve, who links her hand through Adam's arm and holds an apple as her identifying attribute; the facial

Lerern von Adam von Fulda in teutsch Reymenngesetzt, see J. Jahn, *Lucas Cranach D.Ä., Das gesamte graphische Werk* (Hersching, n.d.), p. 550; the print by the Master LCz and that attributed to Dürer's workshop are reproduced in W. L. Strauss, ed., *The Woodcuts and Wood Blocks of Albrecht Dürer* (New York, 1980), pp. 615 and 257, respectively.

31. J. C. Hutchison, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 8 (New York, 1980), p. 232; A. Shestack, *Fifteenth-Century Engravings of Northern Europe* (Washington, D.C., 1968), no. 61.

32. The Passion plaques attributed to Nardon appeared in an auction of Thomas Ryan's collection in 1933 (see note 19) and again in the sale of



Figure 15. Martin Schongauer (German, circa 1450–1491). *Christ in Limbo*, circa 1480. Engraving, 16.6 x 11.5 cm (6½ x 4½ in.). London, British Museum.



Figure 16. Albrecht Dürer. *Christ in Limbo* (from the Large Passion), 1510. Woodcut, 39.2 x 28 cm (15½ x 11 in.). London, British Museum.

types of the souls crowded under the arch; the motif of their raised hands; and, finally, the pose and features of the defeated demon.

For the other motifs of the complex enamel composition, the artist used several prints in combination. The winged demon blowing a horn in the upper left corner of the plaque was taken from Dürer's Large Passion woodcut, as were the two young boys who clasp their hands in prayer in the center middle ground (fig. 16).³³ The arch with a reptile-like monster climbing up the side in the left background was modified from Dürer's representation of *Christ in Limbo* from the Engraved Passion series (fig. 17), where the monster's face was obscured by the stones of the arch. The enamel's figure of Abel, portrayed in his animal-pelt tunic raising his clenched hands up toward the Savior, also derived from this print. The enameler has adopted Dürer's innovative cropping of the figures in the immediate foreground to lend greater force to their spatial and spiritual placement in a lower realm or pit, from



Figure 17. Albrecht Dürer. *Christ in Limbo* (from the Engraved Passion), 1512. Engraving, 11.7 x 7.3 cm (4⅜ x 2⅞ in.). London, British Museum.

Clendenin Ryan's collection in 1940 (Parke-Bernet, New York, lot 264 A–M); their present whereabouts are unknown. For the Frick polychrome, see Verdier (note 2), pp. 24–35.

33. *The Illustrated Bartsch* (note 23), p. 109.

which Christ will elevate them. The monster behind Christ who opens his mouth to reveal a wheel can be associated with the common theme of the mouth of Hell, examples of which are found in Dürer's *Last Judgment* from the Small Passion and in the *Revelationes Sancte Birgitte*, illustrated by Dürer's workshop.³⁴ The source for the remaining figures in the composition, such as the horned Moses holding the tablets of the Ten Commandments, has not yet been identified.

Jean II Pénicaud exercised his prerogative both in the way he used his print sources and in his choice of which

prints to use, fully understanding the demands of sequential narrative. One cannot be certain whether the selection of Passion episodes, which obviously preceded that of the specific print sources, originated with the commissioning party or with the enameler himself. What is clear is that the artist of the Museum's twelve plaques, in recombining various prints and transforming those prints with skillfully applied washes of color fused in glass, created a series of images that ultimately testify to the enameler's own powers of invention.

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Malibu

34. *The Illustrated Bartsch* (note 23), p. 147; Strauss (note 30), p. 657.

“Primo Esperimento in Grande”: A Pair of Vases from the Factory of Geminiano Cozzi

Catherine Hess

In 1986 the Getty Museum’s Department of Sculpture and Works of Art expanded its collection of Italian ceramics into the area of porcelain when it added to its group of Renaissance earthenware a late sixteenth-century flask from the Medici factory, a superb example of the first porcelain produced in the West. Two years later, the acquisition of a pair of vases executed in the eighteenth-century Venetian factory of Geminiano Cozzi (figs. 1a–e, 2a–f) marked another important addition in the field of European porcelain.

These vases, forming the only known pair of vessels produced in the Cozzi factory, are remarkable for several reasons. They are striking for their large size (35 cm in height), singular shapes (apparently unique in the Cozzi repertory), and unusual monochrome decoration in blue (such decoration was more commonly executed in iron red).¹ Their broad, ovoid bodies taper to low rims that would have been surmounted by lids,² now lost, in imitation of Eastern or Eastern-influenced forms such as *potiches* from China or baluster vases from the German Meissen factory. What most distinguishes these works from other early Italian porcelain, however, is the delicate mastery of their painted decoration, comprising an unusually sophisticated pictorial scheme. Using the typically seductive and scenographic vocabulary of eighteenth-century

Venetian art, this scheme celebrates the beauty, wealth, and sovereignty of Venice, a message that more properly reflects the flourishing circumstances of the Cozzi factory than the languishing ones of the Venetian Republic.

One vase displays the figure of Neptune (fig. 1a).³ Holding his trident, he rides a throne pulled by dolphins. Two nereids flank him, offering plates or baskets of riches. Four putti cavort above him, one of whom holds aloft Neptune’s drapery, which elegantly encircles the god’s crowned and bearded head. The other side is painted with an imaginary river town with a clock-tower between a background hill and a foreground scene of longshoremen at work (fig. 1b). An undulating rocaille border surrounds the rim, while a sawtooth pattern rings the base.⁴ Butterflies, delicate bunches of fruit and flowers, and swags of rocaille elements fill in the remainder of the painted surface (figs. 1c, 1d).

The allegorical figure of Venice embellishes the other vase (fig. 2a).⁵ She is shown with her traditional attributes: ermine cape, scepter, *cornio* hat (adornment of the Venetian doge during public ceremonies), and recumbent lion.⁶ A male nude kneels below, facing her, his hand resting on the lion’s paw. (Whether this curious gesture carries a symbolic meaning or simply functions to link the figures in a circular composition is unclear.) Beside him

I would like to thank Peter Fusco and David Cohen (J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu); Alessandra Mottola Molfino (Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan); and Clare le Corbeiller (Metropolitan Museum, New York) for their generous assistance and helpful comments.

1. See, for example, F. Stazzi, *Le porcellane veneziane di Geminiano e Vincenzo Cozzi* (Venice, 1982[?]), fig. 64, pls. 34, 35; A. Mottola Molfino, *L’arte della porcellana in Italia. Il Veneto e la Toscana* (Milan, 1976), pls. 9, 10.

2. When the Museum acquired these vases, they were accompanied by a pair of lids (acc. nos. 88.DE.91.2; 88.DE.92.2). Differences in paste, glaze, and pigment colors, as well as in quality of facture and decoration, indicate that the lids are modern replacements.

3. Provenance: Centanini collection, Venice, by 1889; according to a previous owner the vases may have passed through Salvadori, Florence, into either the Baron von Born or Baron Herzog collection, Budapest, sometime before 1939; private collection, Hungary; Mr. Edmund de Unger, Surrey. Published references: R. Erculei, *Arte ceramica e vetraria*, exh. cat. (Museo Artistico-Industriale, Rome, 1889), p. 151; Mottola Molfino (note 1), p. 27; F. Stazzi (note 1), p. 53; *The J. Paul Getty Museum*

Journal 17 (1989), p. 146.

4. While the geometric pattern appears to have been inspired by similar designs on Vezzi porcelain of the 1720s, the rocaille decoration more closely relates to scrollwork on other Cozzi pieces of the 1760s, reflecting the current Rococo taste. (Compare A. Lane, *Italian Porcelain: With a Note on Buen Retiro* [London, 1954], figs. 11b, 12a; Mottola Molfino [note 1], pls. 25, 35, 38, 39, 52–66, 80; with Lane, figs. 18a–c, 19a).

5. Same provenance and publication information as cited in note 3.

6. The winged lion, an apocalyptic beast, is associated with Saint Mark, who came to personify the Venetian polity. According to legend, the saint became fond of the city during an evangelizing trip through Italy. Although he died in Egypt, his body was supposedly transferred from Alexandria to Venice in the early ninth century, and it was in Saint Mark’s honor that the eponymous Venetian basilica was built (cf. D. S. Chambers, *The Imperial Age of Venice, 1380–1580* [London, 1970], pp. 16–17; A. Zorzi, *Venice, The Golden Age, 1697–1797* [New York, 1980], p. 243). For the allegorical representation of Venice, see, for example, E. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* [Princeton, 1981], pp. 229–230, 239, 295; and notes 44, 45, and 47, below).

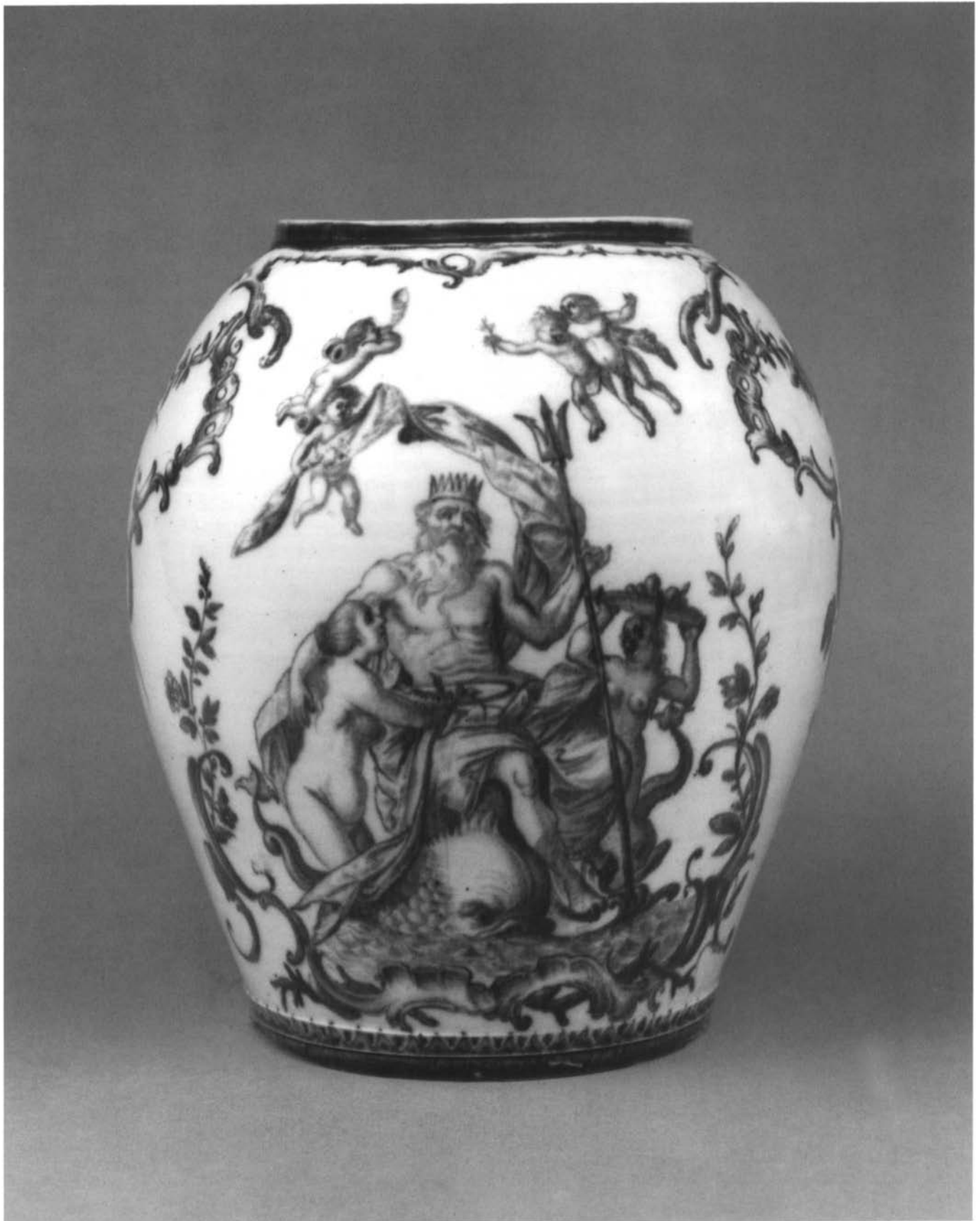


Figure 1a. Cozzi factory (1764–1812). One of a pair of vases, 1769. Hybrid soft-paste porcelain, H: 30 cm (11⁵/₁₆ in.); maximum diam.: 26.7 cm (10¹/₂ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 88.DE.91.1.

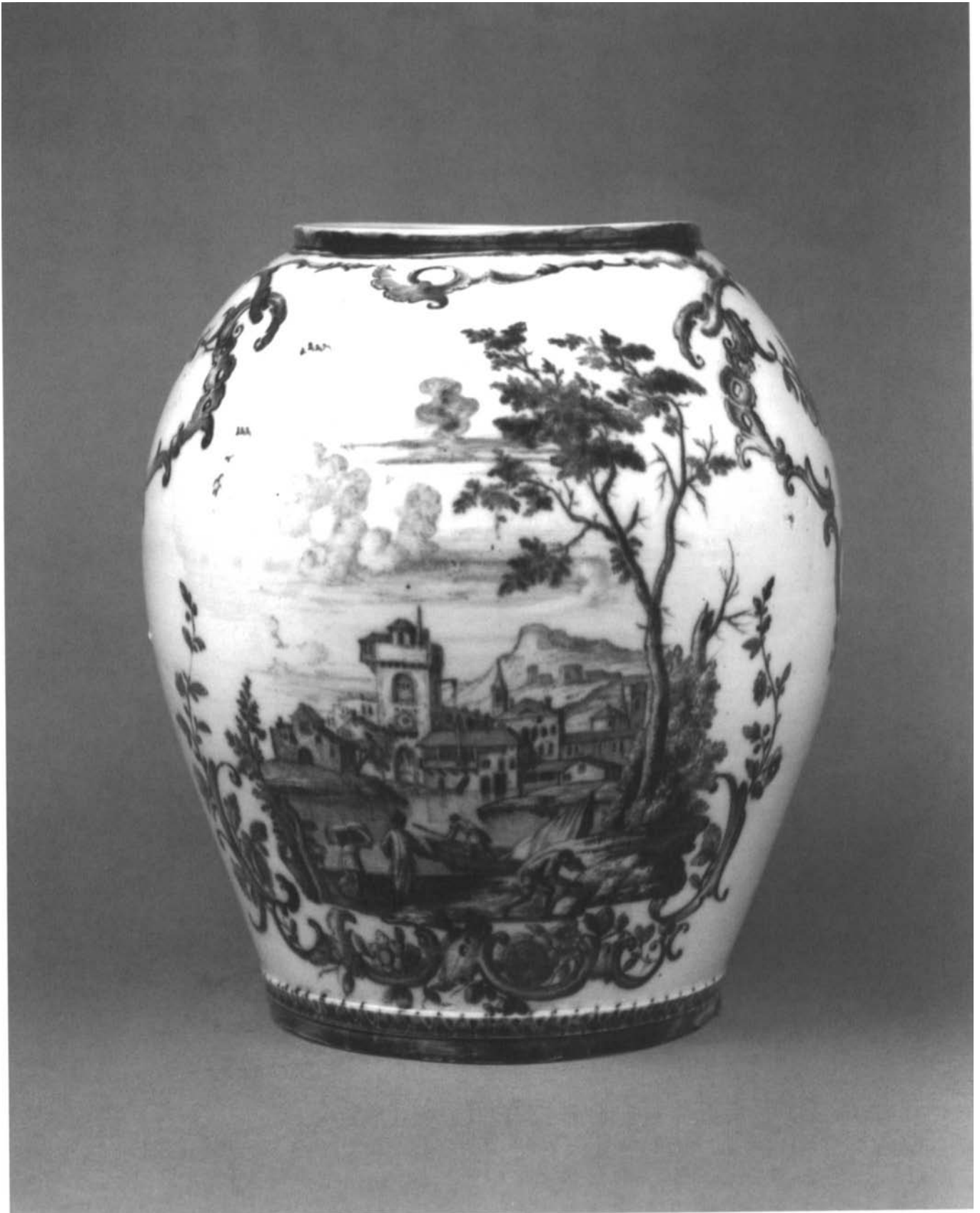


Figure 1b. Alternate view of figure 1a.



Figure 1c. Alternate view of figure 1a.



Figure 1d. Alternate view of figure 1a.

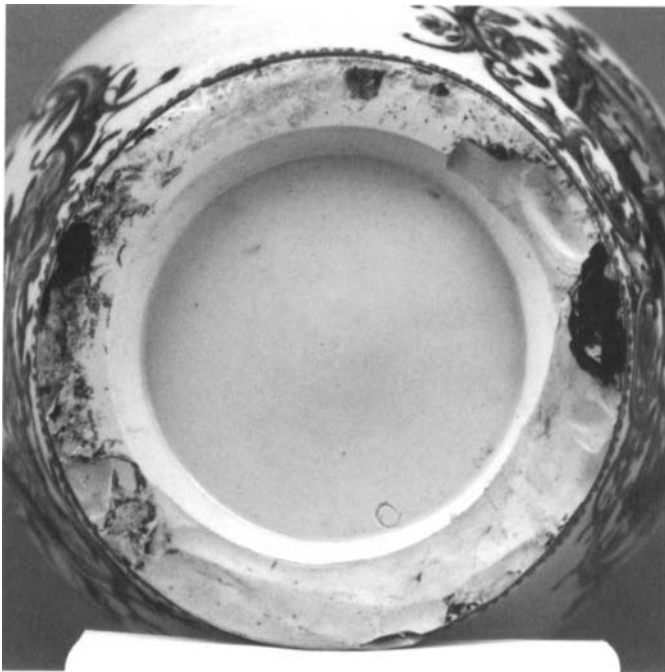


Figure 1e. Underside (detail of figure 1a).

projects a staff resembling a trident or caduceus. As a trident, this staff would identify the male figure simply as a sea god or triton;⁷ as a caduceus, it would identify him as Mercury, god of commerce and an appropriate symbol for the mercantile port of Venice.⁸

Above the figure of Venice, four putti support an elaborate cartouche inscribed *Primo Esperimento in Grande fatto li 15 Maggio 1769 Nella Privil [egiata] fabbrica di Geminiano Cozzi in Canalregio* ("First large-scale experiment executed May 15, 1769, in the privileged factory of Geminiano Cozzi in Cannaregio") (fig. 2f). A panorama of the Piazzetta di San Marco with foreground ships decorates the other side (fig. 2b). The piazzetta is viewed from the

7. That this nude might derive from the figure of the sea-god Neptune in an Andrea Zucchi engraving—in this case holding a halberd—is discussed below (p. 155).

8. See, for example, F. C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore and London, 1973), p. 446; Chambers (note 6), pp. 33, 93, 184–185, and figs. 22 and 23. The area around this staff falls on a recent break that was repaired and repainted before the Museum acquired the object. One cannot be certain, therefore, of the original appearance of the staff, although it is likely the repairer attempted to copy the original painting as closely as possible.

9. Similar incised marks on Vezzi porcelain objects have been similarly interpreted (F. Stazzi, *Porcellane della Casa Eccellentissima Vezzi*

southwest across the Grand Canal, roughly from the Isola di San Giorgio. Above, three putti hold up a large anchor, the mark of the Cozzi factory. A blue band edged with a lozenge and trefoil border encircles the rim and base. As on the Neptune vase, the remainder is decorated with fruit, flowers, swags, and butterflies (figs. 2c, 2d).

Both vases also bear circular marks that were incised into the underside of the unfired bodies directly on the inside of the foot rings (figs. 1e, 2e). The marks are so hastily drawn and inconspicuously placed that they cannot be read as references to the factory, since Cozzi marks—particularly on this pair of vases—were executed with a greater degree of care. Instead, these incised circles probably indicate either the composition of the paste (so that the kilnmaster could appropriately set and control the firing temperature⁹) or, more likely, the identity of the ceramist who threw the vases on the potter's wheel.

From documents and from the evidence of his factory's artistic production, the image that emerges of Geminiano Cozzi is one of a clever businessman and imaginative entrepreneur.¹⁰ A Modenese banker, Cozzi first became involved in the business of ceramics as a partner of the Hewelcke porcelain factory that was based in Venice from 1761 to 1763. Nathaniel Friedrich and Maria Dorotea Hewelcke of Meissen, husband and wife, moved their porcelain factory to Italy to escape the Prussian invasion, and at the conclusion of the Seven Years' War they returned to Germany. Shortly thereafter, Cozzi founded his own porcelain factory in Venice, located on the first and second floors of a palazzo in the Cannaregio parish of San Giobbe (fig. 3). A year later, in 1765, the Venetian board of trade (I Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia) not only granted Cozzi the same privilege for porcelain production that they had previously granted the Hewelckes but offered him financial backing as well.¹¹

Further promoting Cozzi's establishment, Abbot Francesco Grisellini published several articles in a Venetian newspaper in the 1760s describing the factory and praising its work.¹² (In the shrewd manner of modern publicity and public relations, Cozzi may have suggested or at least inspired Grisellini to write these pieces, since the two were

good friends.) In May 1767, the enterprising Cozzi distributed a handbill inviting "ceramists adept at wheel-throwing, modeling, and painting [to his factory] for suitable and profitable recompense."¹³

This was not the only time that Cozzi attempted to hire talented potters away from rival enterprises. In 1765 Cozzi took advantage of difficulties facing the Venetian porcelain establishment of Le Nove near Bassano by hiring dissatisfied Le Nove craftsmen during a period of crisis there.¹⁴ Many of the Le Nove potters were unhappy with their working conditions, a situation that was exacerbated when the factory's proprietor, Pasquale Antonibon, fell ill for several years, causing his factory to enter a period of decline. In 1765, once again in good health, Antonibon brought litigation against his former Le Nove employees—indirectly involving Cozzi—with accusations of illicit conduct, espionage, and betrayal. He further suggested that Le Nove models, patterns, and materials, including a trademark Le Nove red pigment, had been smuggled out of the factory and copied elsewhere. The documents are unclear about the results of the ensuing court trial, but as we will see, Cozzi once again was able to turn the situation to his own advantage.¹⁵

Soon after the trial in July 1765, Cozzi wrote a memorandum to the Venetian board of trade in which he requested the very rights and privileges that had been at issue in Antonibon's complaint. Cozzi asked for improved terms to import needed materials and for various state subsidies; he also asked for restrictions that would prohibit his employees from working in any other porcelain factory in the Venetian states for a period of twenty years. With bold self-assurance he refused to ask the board for any kind of porcelain monopoly, writing that "[products of his] own industry can successfully compete with the prices and with the quality of [those of other] porcelain factories." In response, the board granted Cozzi all that he asked, only reducing to five years the period in which he could restrain his employees from working elsewhere.¹⁶

The magistrates were certainly aware of the prestige and commercial benefits the Cozzi factory was to confer upon the Venetian Republic. Even before the decree

[Milan, 1967], p. 57).

10. Fundamental sources for Cozzi factory information include: J. Marryat, *A History of Pottery and Porcelain* (London, 1850); W. Drake, *Notes on Venetian Ceramics* (London, 1868); G. M. Urbani de Gheltof, *Studi intorno alla ceramica veneziana* (Venice, 1876); C. Baroni, *Le ceramiche di Nove di Bassano* (Venice, 1932); N. Barbantini, *Le porcellane di Venezia e delle Nove* (Venice, 1936); Lane (note 4); G. Morazzoni, *Le porcellane italiane*, vol. 1 (Milan, 1960); F. Stazzi, *Italian Porcelain* (New York, 1967); Mottola Molfino (note 1); A. Alverà Bortolotto, *Storia della ceramica a Venezia dagli albori alla fine della Repubblica* (Florence, 1981); and Stazzi (note 1).

11. Stazzi (note 1) provides transcriptions of Cozzi's petition to the

board of trade, the reports from the board to the doge, and the resultant senatorial decrees (pp. 35–37, notes 19–23).

12. *Giornale d'Italia spettante alla scienza naturale*, April 13, 1765, p. 322; June 3, 1766, pp. 386–390.

13. Venice, Museo Civico Correr, M. Gradenigo Dolfin 119, pl. 296; as cited in Stazzi (note 1), p. 47, note 11, reproduced p. 42.

14. A partial list of the more renowned of these craftsmen appears in Mottola Molfino (note 1), p. 27.

15. The records of this trial are discussed and reproduced in Stazzi (note 1), pp. 34–35, notes 14–17, appendix 4, pp. 142–153.

16. See note 11.



Figure 2a. Cozzi factory (1764–1812). One of a pair of vases, 1769. Hybrid soft-paste porcelain, H: 29.8 cm (11³/₄ in.); maximum diam.: 27.3 cm (10³/₄ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 88.DE.9.2.1.



Figure 2b. Alternate view of figure 2a.



Figure 2c. Alternate view of figure 2a.

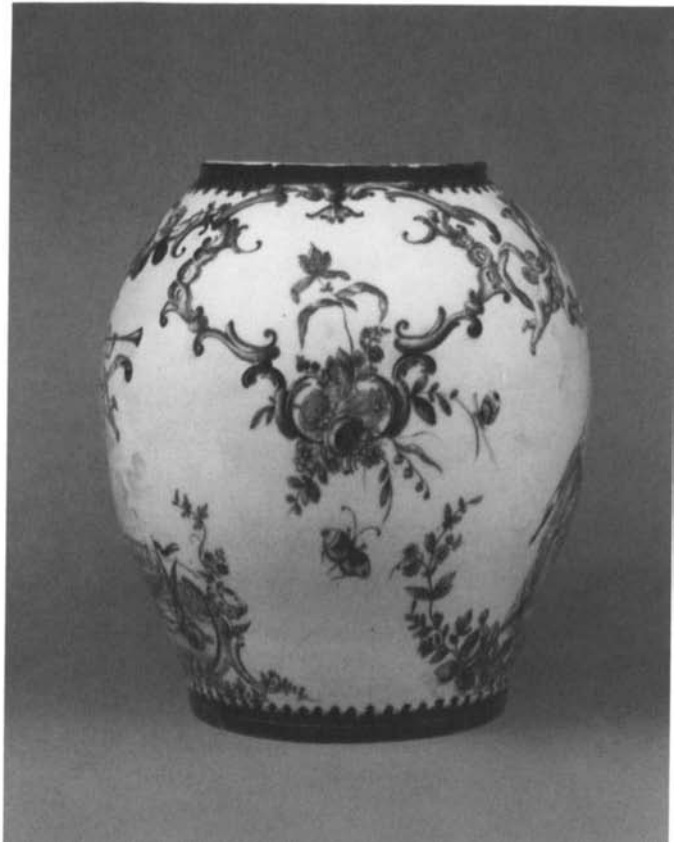


Figure 2d. Alternate view of figure 2a.

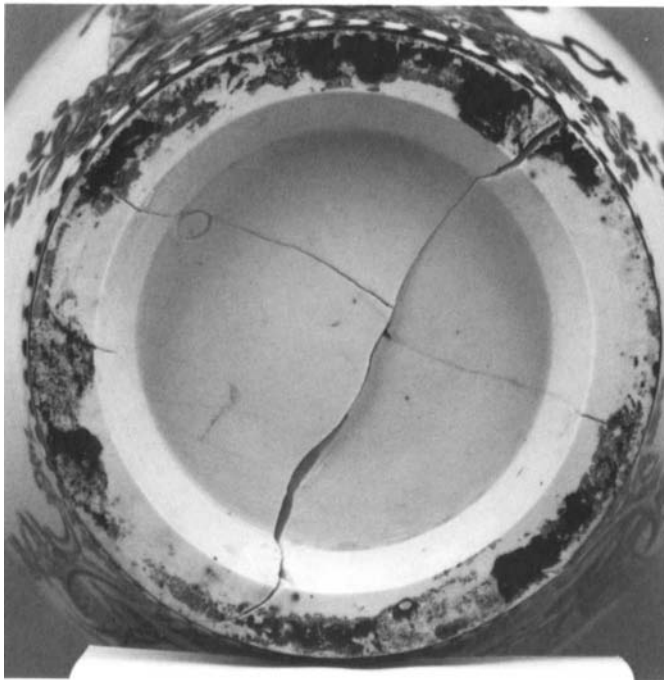


Figure 2e. Underside (detail of figure 2a).

of 1765, the Venetian Senate ordered from Cozzi “eight terrines or compotiers and cups and coffee- and chocolate-pots all in white and gilt” as a gift for Maria Luisa, daughter of Charles III of Bourbon, who was passing through Venice before her marriage to Leopold of Lorraine, Grand Duke of Tuscany.¹⁷

There was a tremendous demand for Cozzi’s wares thanks not only to the specific needs of the *botteghe del caffè*—the coffeehouses that were “all the rage” in eighteenth-century Venetian society¹⁸—but also to the general popularity of porcelain at home and abroad in the eighteenth century. A quantity of wares valued at 16,000 ducats was sold in the first sixteen months after the Senate granted Cozzi his privileges¹⁹—two-thirds of which was exported out of the Veneto—and by 1767 the factory counted four porcelain kilns, forty-five employees, six apprentices, and a mill at Treviso.²⁰

17. Venice, Museo Civico Correr, M. Gradenigo Notatori, vol. 13, doc. 105, cited in Morazzoni (note 10), p. 37, note 20; and Mottola Molino (note 1), p. 26, note 32. This document is cited as M. Gradenigo Dolfin 135, n. 67, and is transcribed in Stazzi (note 1), p. 34, note 10.

18. More than two hundred coffeehouses opened throughout the city in the eighteenth century, twelve around San Marco alone, including Caffè Florian in 1720 and Caffè Quadri in 1775 (Morazzoni [note 10], p. 38; F. C. Lane [note 8], p. 433).



Figure 2f. Inscription (detail of figure 2a).

Two years later, in 1769, the construction of maiolica kilns and of an additional kiln for glaze-firing was begun, and in 1781 Cozzi received funds to produce *terraglia* or creamware of the English type. By the 1780s the volume of the Cozzi ceramic production was vast, totaling, in one year alone, close to 100,000 porcelain objects (including vessels, plates, and figures) and 170,000 pieces of maiolica and creamware.²¹

With the addition of maiolica and creamware, the factory was able to produce ceramics that were less costly than porcelain and available, therefore, to a wider public. However, whereas the introduction of maiolica resulted from a period of expansion at the Cozzi factory, that of porcelain occurred in a period of decline. Cozzi probably included creamware in his repertory in order to compete with the terraglia that was being imported from outside the Republic. Consequently, in 1781 the Venetian Senate

established protectionist measures to limit the influx of foreign pottery. In 1790, as evidence of financial strain, Cozzi was forced for the first time to apply for state aid, but at that time the ever-more-impooverished Republic was hardly able to help.²²

Cozzi's enterprise was too dependent upon the prosperity of the Venetian upper classes to endure the changing conditions of the late eighteenth century. Moreover, for their luxury porcelain, clients had begun to turn to other European factories specializing in the hard-paste medium. (Hard paste lent itself more readily to the refinement in form and perfection in execution that were the hallmarks of the newly fashionable Neoclassical style.) Although the factory remained open after the Austrian and French invasions of 1796 and 1797, it was forced to close in 1812. That the factory was able to continue producing ceramics for several decades in spite of foreign

19. Lane (note 4), p. 17; 16,000 ducats was a relatively large sum, considering that the Cozzi factory was a small operation and that the revenue for the entire Republic of Venice in the 1760s—including taxation, sales of salt, and revenues from mainland cities and overseas possessions—totaled under six million ducats (Lane [note 8], p. 426; Zorzi [note 6], pp. 184–185).

20. A report documenting these figures was sent by arts inspector Gabriele Marcello to the board of trade as cited in Mottola Molfino (note

1), pp. 26–27; and Stazzi (note 1), p. 47 (with an erroneous date).

21. Morazzoni (note 10), p. 42; Mottola Molfino (note 1), p. 27.

22. In the early eighteenth century, Venice had begun to lose its hegemony over its predominant source of wealth and power: trade. The ports of Genoa, Leghorn, Trieste, and Ancona handled increasingly large amounts of Italian mercantile traffic, and Barbary pirates on the North African coast of Maghreb damaged Venetian trade with the western Mediterranean.



Figure 3. Attributed to Jan I van Grevenbroeck (Dutch, 1731–1807). *Interior of the Cozzi Factory*, 1765. Watercolor, 27.1 x 19.1 cm (10¹¹/₁₆ x 7¹/₂ in.). Biblioteca Correr, Venice, codex Gradenigo Dolfin 76, no. 119, p. 295.

invasions and limited financial backing is a testament to the high quality and volume of its production, as well as to the ingenuity of its founder.

In addition to Cozzi's entrepreneurial talents, the Cozzi factory greatly benefited from the beginning by its location near sources of kaolin—the white clay essential for producing hard-paste porcelain.²³ Cozzi found the kaolin he needed for his wares in the adjacent Vicenza hills, thereby avoiding the exorbitant duties on imported materials. Cozzi may have been advised by Giovanni Battista Arduini, a celebrated Venetian geologist with whom he was in contact, who had surveyed the area.²⁴ With the kaolin, a “hybrid soft-paste” was produced.²⁵ This paste was employed at Le Nove, where it had been discovered by Pietro Lorenzi, a craftsman at Antonibon's factory. Lorenzi apparently brought this recipe with him when he joined the Cozzi factory in 1764, returning, however, to Le Nove the following year.²⁶

Cozzi porcelain is typically hard, translucent, and resonant when struck, and displays a white body with a grayish cast (caused by iron deposits in the kaolin), brilliant pigments, and a glistening glazed surface. The quality of Cozzi porcelain is similar to that of Le Nove, occasionally making attribution of unmarked pieces to one or the other factory difficult.

Fortunately, except for figures and portrait busts, which are rarely inscribed, most Cozzi products display the factory mark of an anchor either gilt or painted in iron red (or, more rarely, in cobalt blue oxide). Moreover, for a porcelain factory of rather limited size and scope, a remarkably large number of Cozzi objects bear informative

23. Hard-paste or “true” porcelain is made from kaolin (a silicate of aluminum) and feldspathic rock (a silicate of potassium and aluminum) that fuses when fired at a high temperature—usually between 1250 and 1450 degrees centigrade—into a glassy matrix. After an initial biscuit firing, the hard-paste products can be embellished with painted pigments under a feldspathic glaze and then fired again. The porcelain can also be embellished over the glaze with enamel colors derived from metallic oxides and subsequently fired at lower temperatures in a muffle kiln. Before the nineteenth century, underglaze colors, because they were fired at such high temperatures, were restricted to the less fugitive manganese and cobalt oxides; overglaze colors, however, were more varied.

24. Cf. F. Grisellini in *Giornale d'Italia spettante alla scienza naturale*, June 3, 1766, p. 291.

25. The director of Sèvres, Alexandre Brongniart (1770–1847), first classified the Cozzi product in this way because it was fired at lower temperatures than German and French hard-paste wares but nonetheless contained kaolin.

26. Mottola Molfino (note 1), p. 28; Morazzoni (note 1), p. 37. The Ginori porcelain factory at Doccia (1737–1896) also used the kaolin from Tretto near Vicenza to produce a porcelain—called *masso nuovo*—as early as the mid-1750s. To this formula was added the less costly *masso bastardo*, a hybrid paste developed in 1765 from clays near Lucca, closer to the Doccia factory outside of Florence than to Vicenza in the north (A. D'Agliano, *Le porcellane italiane a Palazzo Pitti* [Florence, 1986],

inscriptions.²⁷ With its large anchor painted in striking detail and its expansive inscription, the Getty Museum's vase with the figure of Venice is the most elaborately marked of all known Cozzi objects.

In its early years of operation, the Cozzi factory produced wares that were strongly influenced by both Far Eastern ceramics and by the insouciant Rococo style current in eighteenth-century Europe. Mythological, landscape, chinoiserie, and Venetian genre and carnival subjects predominate; the wares are often further embellished with lively motifs including rocailles, volutes, cartouches, and floral designs.

These styles and forms are reflected in a factory inventory of 1783 that lists a great variety of objects, including tableware (not only the more usual plates, cups, and servingware but also specialized vessels for broth, sorbet, spices, etc.), painted candlesticks, flasks, candelabra, flower vases, inkstands, handles for flatware, mirror frames, pipes, pedestals, cane pommels, bracelets, and glove trays. Also mentioned are three-dimensional figures and figure groups of commedia dell'arte characters; "magots," or "pagoda" (seated Chinese) figures; pastoral, mythological, and allegorical subjects; and miniature busts—particularly of classical figures—that became popular toward the end of the century. The inventory also specifies a variety of lively embellishment, including *motivi floreali* (floral motifs), *motivi orientali* (Chinese and Japanese motifs), *araldica* (heraldry), *giardini e ville* (gardens and villas, often with arbors), *paesaggi* (landscapes and invented towns), *figurati* (figures), *decoro a scaglia* (scale patterns), and *animali* (animals, especially birds).²⁸

pp. 21–22).

27. These detailed inscriptions include: *1765 Venezia Fab' Geminiano Cozzi* on a coffeepot in the British Museum, London (Lane [note 4], pl. 18b; Mottola Molfino [note 1], pl. 173); *Nella Fabbrica Del Sig. Geminiano Cozzi li 31 Maggio 1765 L.O.* on a small plate in the Ducret collection, Zurich (Stazzi [note 1], pl. 27; the initials are probably the signature of Lodovico Ortolani, who was working with Cozzi at the time); *M:C:F 3.Ag.º 1767 Ven:º* incised underneath a tea caddy in the Ca' Rezzonico, Venice (Mottola Molfino [note 1], pls. 109, 110); *Venezia G.B.P. 1769 20 ottobre* on a small plate formerly in the Gatti-Casazza collection, Venice (Mottola Molfino [note 1] pl. 177); *Ven:º 1769* on a large vase in the Ca' Rezzonico, Venice (J. Giacomotti et al., *Maioliche e porcellane italiane* [Milan, 1981], illus. on p. 63; Mottola Molfino [note 1], fig. 149); *F Cozzi 1780* on a plate in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Mottola Molfino [note 1], pl. 190); *VENEZIA 1780* on the figure of a Chinese man in the Museo Duca di Martina, Naples (Giacomotti et al. [this note], p. 64, fig. 2); *Ven:zia* on a pair of Chinese figures in the Musée de la Céramique, Sèvres (mentioned but not illustrated in Mottola Molfino [note 1], p. 27; and Alverà Bortolotto [note 10], p. 125); and, finally, *G.C. Ven:º* on a pierced basket formerly in the Vercellotti Vagnone and Bacchi collections (Barbantini [note 10], pl. 27, no. 79; Mottola Molfino [note 1], pl. 188).

28. *Inventory di tutte le manifatture ed effetti delle fabbriche di porcellane, majoliche, terraglie e piastrelle da camin*, in Urbani de Gheltof (note 10), pp. 69–75 and cited in Mottola Molfino (note 1), p. 28; Morazzoni (note 10),

The Cozzi factory turned out small-scale pieces such as tea- and coffeepots, plates, cups, saucers, and figures; one does find, however, the occasional large-scale soup tureen, pierced basket, wine cooler, or vase.²⁹ Compared to other large-scale Cozzi porcelain, the form of the Getty vases appears less refined: they are bottom-heavy, their walls are of uneven thickness, their shoulders are rather low (creating a squat appearance), and their undersides reveal fire-cracks and chips. Their inscription can be trusted, therefore, since the vases are convincing as a "first large-scale experiment" in the newly discovered porcelain material. The elegant, often elaborately embellished shapes of similar objects that postdate the Getty vases by even a few years indicate that Cozzi craftsmen quickly mastered the porcelain medium for larger-scale objects.³⁰

Several Cozzi objects dating to the late 1760s demonstrate stylistic and thematic affinities with the Getty vases. For example, a tea bowl and saucer of circa 1765 display the same unusual openwork rocaille framing that embellishes the side areas of both Getty objects.³¹

Moreover, the decoration of two groups of Cozzi wares datable to 1765–1767³² and to 1767³³ is comparable to that of the Getty vases in terms of subject matter and delicacy of treatment. Most significant, however, is one of a pair of creamware teapots of circa 1765 decorated with a large allegorical figure of Hope that is strikingly close in subject, style, and scale to the allegorical figure of Venice on the Getty vase (fig. 4).³⁴ Both the figure of Hope on the Ca' Rezzonico teapot and the figure of Venice on the Getty vase are corpulent, with round faces, heavily lidded eyes, and small mouths; their bodies are ill defined beneath

p. 38; Alverà Bortolotto (note 10), pp. 126–127; and Stazzi (note 1), pp. 166–169. Stazzi also transcribes a few pertinent sections of the original 62-page inventory and rightly notes that the list only mentions the remainders that were found in storage at Cannaregio and the few objects stocked in Cozzi's S. Salvador workshop in 1783, therefore giving an incomplete picture of Cozzi production.

29. See, for example, Morazzoni (note 10), figs. 46b, 51, 58, 61a, 68a–c, 69a–b, 70, 71, 72a–b, 73a–c, 74, and 75, and pl. 6.

30. Such as the large vase in the Ca' Rezzonico, Venice, cited in note 27, above.

31. Mottola Molfino (note 1), fig. 159.

32. A group of small cups and plates with mythological figure groups in a private collection, Rome (ibid., figs. 113, 114, p. 10).

33. A set including a tea caddy, coffeepot, and teapot with landscape scenes in the Ca' Rezzonico, Venice (ibid., figs. 109–112).

34. Stazzi (note 9) reproduces this object in his book on Vezzi porcelain, presumably because the underside is marked *Ven:º* in cursive script that more closely resembles Vezzi factory marks than those of the Cozzi factory. He believes, however, that "for its style and material" the piece cannot be attributed to Vezzi (pl. 107 and caption). Mottola Molfino (note 1) suggests, moreover, that the anchor held by the figure of Hope on the teapot might well refer to the more traditional Cozzi factory mark (fig. 147, pl. 9).



Figure 4. Cozzi factory. Teapot with the figure of Hope, circa 1765. Creamware, H: 22 cm (8⁵/₈ in.). Venice, Ca' Rezzonico.



Figure 5. Francesco Zucchi (Italian, 1692–1764). *Prospetto della Piazza verso il Mare in Giovanni Battista Albrizzi's Forestiere illuminate intorno le cose più rare . . . della città di Venezia* (Venice, 1740). Engraving, 12.5 x 14.1 cm (4⁷/₈ x 5⁹/₁₆ in.). Santa Monica, Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities 85-B4274. Photo courtesy Getty Center Library Special Collections.

heavy drapery as they sit, calmly dominating the painted scene, elegantly gesturing with one hand. One could hazard an attribution of these works to the same master.³⁵

The Cozzi artist or artists who painted these vases drew upon contemporary print sources for their principal scenes.³⁶ The view of the Piazzetta di San Marco reproduces a print by Francesco Zucchi (1692–1764) published in 1740 (compare fig. 2b with fig. 5).³⁷ The ships in the foreground of the Zucchi print have been shifted, apparently to conform to the shape of the vase, yet the distant view of the piazzetta is reproduced with delicate precision.

The scene of the river town conflates two prints of similar subjects—one of a town with a clock-tower, the other with longshoremen, ships, and distant marina—designed by Marco Ricci (1676–1729) and engraved by Giuliano Giampiccoli (1703–1759), Ricci's son-in-law, probably sometime in the late 1750s (compare fig. 1b with figs. 6 and 7).³⁸ The Cozzi painter has carefully copied the print of the town with its clock-tower, replacing the first engraving's middleground figures with the second engraving's foreground figures. The bent-over workman to the right of the vase scene may have also been copied from a third, as-yet-unidentified print. Not present in either print, the foreground tree serves to counterbalance the clock-tower on the left as it gracefully imitates the shape of the vase.

Similarly precise sources for the images of Neptune and Venice have so far eluded identification. One can be fairly certain, however, that pictorial sources do exist—and were copied on the Cozzi vases—since Neptune and Venice are painted with a more sophisticated sense of

35. Although documentary sources provide some information on several Cozzi ceramists (see note 14), painters active in the Cozzi factory have yet to be identified by name. Stazzi (note 1) recognizes the hand of a few of these artists and identifies them according to their painting styles and favored subjects: “master of the sails,” “master of the sparse trees,” and “master of the disembodied figures” (pls. 33, 36, 39; figs. 55, 60).

36. More than one painter could have easily contributed to the decoration of these works. In a painters' guidebook of 1772, Roger de Piles explains that for porcelain painting, “Il lavoro . . . viene distribuito fra un gran numero di operai nel medesimo laboratorio: a uno appartiene formare il circolo colorato intorno agli orli della Porcellana; un altro disegna i fiori, i quali un altro dipinge: questi non fa che le acque, e le montagne; quegli gli uccelli ed altri animali; ed un terzo fa le figure umane” (“The work . . . is distributed among a large number of craftsmen in the same workshop: one would be responsible for painting the colored circle around the rim of a piece of porcelain, another would draw the flowers that yet a third would paint; some would paint nothing but water and mountains, others nothing but birds and other animals, and yet others would execute the human figures”) (*L'idea del perfetto pittore* [Venice], p. 95). The variance in execution of the two figures—Neptune and Venice—and of the two vistas—city and town—suggests the participation of more than one hand: the more purplish-blue painting of the Venice vase appears more rigidly and clearly drawn, whereas the gray-blue decoration of the Neptune vase is more loosely and



Figure 6. Giuliano Giampiccoli (Italian, 1703–1759) and Giambattista Tiepolo (Italian, 1696–1770) after Marco Ricci (Italian, 1676–1729). *River Town with Clock-Tower*, 1743–1744. Engraving, 24 x 35.5 cm (9⁷/₁₆ x 13¹⁵/₁₆ in.). Private collection, Venice. Photo courtesy Foligraf s.n.c., Mestre.



Figure 7. Giuliano Giampiccoli and Giambattista Tiepolo after Marco Ricci. *Marina with Long-shoremen*, published in 1743/44. Engraving, 24.4 x 33.5 cm (9⁹/₁₆ x 13³/₁₆ in.). Photo courtesy Foligraf s.n.c., Mestre.

volume, composition, and modeling than the painted embellishment developed in Geminiano's factory and more commonly found on Cozzi pieces.³⁹

There was certainly no lack of sources depicting these subjects since representations of the two figures, both closely associated with the Republic, abounded in eighteenth-century Venice. Neptune, god of the all-important sea, was a popular subject in Venetian art of the period and was commonly portrayed just as he appears on the Getty vase: bearded, nude, swathed in drapery, and riding the waves, flanked by nereids offering the sea's

naturalistically rendered. One must also consider that these effects might have resulted from different firing conditions in the kiln.

37. The Zucchi print is entitled *Prospetto della piazza verso il mare* in G. B. Albrizzi's edition of *Forestiére illuminato intorno le cose più rare, e curiose, antiche, e moderne della città di Venezia* (Venice, 1740); it ostensibly copies a print designed and executed by Luca Carlevarij (1663–1730)—*Veduta della Piazza S. Marco verso l'horologio*—published in G. B. Finazzi's edition of *Le fabbriche, e vedute di Venetia* (Venice 1603).

38. G. Knox, *Un quaderno di vedute di Giambattista e Domenico Tiepolo* (Milan, 1974[?]), illus. p. 74; D. Succi et al., *Giambattista Tiepolo, il segno e l'enigma*, exh. cat. (Castello di Gorizia, Ponzano[?], 1985), nos. 3 and 6. The foreground figures in both engravings were executed by Giambattista Tiepolo, whose son, Giandomenico, copied the river town engraving in a pen and wash drawing in the duc de Talleyrand collection, St. Brice-sous-Forêt (Knox [this note], no. 57, p. 75; A. Morassi, *Dessins vénitiens du dix-huitième siècle de la collection du duc de Talleyrand* [Milan, 1958], no. 40; Morassi does not recognize the print source, stating that the drawing is “dans le genre des paysages de Marco Ricci”); J. Byam Shaw, *The Drawings of Domenico Tiepolo* (London, 1962), p. 60, n. 2.

39. Compare Cozzi decorations known to copy print or painting sources (e.g., Stazzi [note 1], fig. 64; Lane [note 4], fig. 21c) with the more commonly found Cozzi motifs that were developed in the factory (see, for example, the motifs listed above [p. 151] and illustrated in Stazzi [note 1], pls. and figs. on pp. 202–236, passim).

riches (fig. 8).⁴⁰

The city of Venice was commonly personified as a woman in both linguistic and visual form.⁴¹ Moreover, the pictorial and sculptural depictions may have been developed to celebrate the impartiality and rigorous application of Venetian law by portraying the Republic in the same guise as the female personification of Justice.⁴² Supporting this idea are numerous examples in Venetian painting and sculpture that show the personification of Justice merging with that of Venice: Justice holds her sword and scales and is flanked or sits upon the lions

40. He appears in this manner in numerous paintings as well as in prints, including Giovanni Battista Piazzetta's frontispiece to G. B. Albrizzi's 1745 edition of the *Gerusalemme liberata* (reproduced in D. Maxwell White and A. C. Sewter, eds., *Idisegni di G. B. Piazzetta nella Biblioteca di Torino* [Rome, 1969], no. 5); the title page of Albrizzi's festival book of 1764 celebrating the marriage of Guglielmo de Fulcis and Francesca de' Conti Migazzi di Vaal (reproduced in G. Morazzoni, *Il libro illustrato veneziano del Settecento* [Milan, 1943], pl. 37); and the title page by Francesco Fontebasso for the *Rime e versi* festival book published by G. Fossati in 1754, celebrating the *ingresso* of Angelo Contarini (identical title-page decoration, though printed in sanguine, published in *Venice 1700–1800: An Exhibition of Venice and the Eighteenth Century*, exh. cat. [Detroit Institute of Arts, 1952], pp. 75–76, no. 125).

41. From the late Middle Ages, the city assumed such epithets as “La Serenissima” and “La Dominante,” referring to “her” effective government and economic dominion. Although the terms modify the Venetian “Repubblica,” they reinforce a female personification that infused both written word and painted image.

42. The Venetian courts were set up to be impartial and expeditious, including an elaborate system of appeals. Moreover, Venetian civil and criminal laws did not permit any special privileges for the upper classes. One need only consider the role of Portia in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* to understand the admiration for the Venetian judicial system that was felt throughout Europe. In general, the Venetian constitution was



Figure 8. Francesco Fontebasso (Italian, 1707–1769). Title page for *Rime, e Versi per il Solenne Ingresso . . . di . . . Angelo Contarini* (Venice, 1754). Engraving, 31.8 x 22.2 cm (12½ x 8¾ in.). By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Department of Printing and Graphic Arts.



Figure 9. Giovanni Battista Albrizzi (Italian, 1698–1777). Colophon from *Componimenti Poetici per l'Ingresso Solenne alla dignità di Procuratore di S. Marco per Merito di Sua Eccellenza il Signor Lodovico Manin* (Venice, 1764). Engraving, 16.2 x 23.3 cm (6⅜ x 9⅜ in.). Santa Monica, Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities 87-B20471. Photo courtesy Getty Center Library Special Collections.

associated with Saint Mark.⁴³

Of the many images of Venice that conform to this pictorial convention,⁴⁴ the most convincing source for the Cozzi figure appears in a colophon of the Venetian publisher Giovanni Battista Albrizzi (1698–1777) (fig. 9).⁴⁵ The Cozzi figure and Albrizzi image are nearly identical.

greatly lauded for its stability and integrity from the time of its creation in the late Middle Ages until its eventual decline in the eighteenth century. See Chambers (note 6), pp. 94–107; Lane (note 8), pp. 271–273; Muir (note 6), pp. 13–17 passim; Zorzi (note 6), p. 236.

43. See, for example, Jacobello del Fiore's *Justice* triptych painted in 1421 for the Magistrato del Proprio of the Palazzo Ducale, Venice (F. Zeri, ed., *La pittura in Italia, il Quattrocento*, vol. 1 [Venice, 1987], fig. 167); Bartolomeo Buon's 1441 sculpture of the same subject over the Porta della Carta of the Palazzo Ducale, Venice (C. Seymour, Jr., *Sculpture in Italy, 1400–1500* [London, 1966], fig. 45a); Jacopo Sansovino's *loggetta* relief of 1537–1549 in the Piazzetta di San Marco, Venice (Chambers

They display similar physiognomies (round bodies and heads), facial expressions (round eyes and small, up-turned mouths), garb (ermine cape held by a brooch at the neck, rigid “V”-front bodice, ample skirt, soft *corno* with side flaps), and poses (both sit rather stiffly, lean back slightly, project the right knee forward, and hold a scepter

[note 6], fig. 128); Alessandro Vittoria's 1579 sculpture of *Justice* on the Palazzo Ducale, Venice (ibid., fig. 130); and Palma il Giovane's allegory of the League of Cambrai of circa 1585 (N. Ivanoff and P. Zampetti, *Palma il Giovane* [Bergamo, 1980], no. 377, fig. 656/2).

44. Including such print sources as Giovanni Battista Piazzetta's frontispiece mentioned above (note 40); Marco Pitteri's title page for Piazzetta's *Studii di pittura* (Venice, 1760); Felicità Sartori's engraving of the allegory of Venice designed by Piazzetta in the Museo Correr, Venice (D. Succi, ed., *Da Carlevarij ai Tiepolo, incisori veneti e friulani del Settecento* [Venice, 1963], no. 454); Carlo Orsolini's allegory of Venice, an engraving after a chiaroscuro oil of the same subject by Giovanni

in an extended right hand next to a recumbent lion).

However, the seated male nude facing Venice on the Cozzi vase is not present in the Albrizzi image, and his identification remains a mystery. It has a famous precedent, if not a source, in the figure of Neptune in Veronese's *Venice in Triumph with Hercules and Neptune* of 1575–1577, originally executed for the Sala del Magistero alle Legne of the Palazzo Ducale, Venice, and now in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest. This image was also available in a print after the Veronese painting designed by Silvestro Manaigo, engraved by Andrea Zucchi, and first published in 1720 (fig. 10).⁴⁶ Much like the figure on the vase, the Neptune figure is shown nude, with well-defined back musculature and long, straggly hair; he sits below Venice, twisting up and back to look at her, and he holds a staff that projects out to his side, here identifiable as a halberd.

Judging from the known Cozzi repertory and from documentary evidence, such as the 1783 inventory, the Getty pieces are exceptional for their early date, large size, singular shapes, and sensitively painted monochrome decoration in blue. Moreover, when compared with the more common Cozzi ornamentation of the period displaying the frivolous and precious elegance typical of mid-century Rococo, this decoration appears unusually programmatic. Conceived as a pair, the two works—displaying triumphant figures on one side and land- or cityscapes on the other—inventively complement one another to celebrate the beauty, wealth, and dominion of the Venetian Republic.

Neptune—god of the sea and personification of the Adriatic—is shown triumphant, accompanied by the sea's riches. Opposite him, an invented landscape, or “capriccio,” illustrates a typical and picturesque river town of the Veneto. Venice—personification of a republic whose power was based on control of the Adriatic—is likewise shown triumphant, accompanied by her attributes of power and authority. Opposite her, the cityscape of the Piazzetta di San Marco supplies a quintessential view, at the same time scenographic and descriptive, of the political and cultural heart of the Republic. It is not by chance that both land- and cityscape prominently feature mercantile waterway activities, since these activities defined



Figure 10. Silvestro Manaigo (Italian, circa 1670–circa 1734), engraved by Andrea Zucchi (Italian, 1679–1740). *Venice in Triumph with Hercules and Neptune*, 1720. Engraving, 39.2 x 45.9 cm (15½ x 18 in.). Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, inv. 117850. Copy of Veronese's painting executed between 1575 and 1577 for the Sala del Magistero alle Legne, Palazzo Ducale, Venice, now in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest.

Venice's wealth and power.

The interpretation of the vases' iconography revolves primarily around the pairing of Venice and Neptune—land and sea, female and male—which was a common theme in Venetian cultural and political life, dating from the late Middle Ages and continuing to the fall of the Republic. As one scholar writes, “The most telling metaphor for Venetian dominion was a sexual one. A city so immersed in fertility ritual, so concerned with cosmetic appearances, was bound to take advantage of the most seductive imagery.”⁴⁷

The female personification of the city of Venice on the Cozzi vase provides an appropriate counterpart, or “mate,” for the male personification of the sea: Neptune.

Battista Pittoni in the Museo Correr, Venice, and Museo Civico, Belluno, respectively (F. Zava Boccazzi, *Pittoni* [Venice, 1979], nos. 334, 335); and innumerable festival-book border decorations (cf. Morazzoni [note 10], pls. 48, 98 right, 114, and 148). Venice is also similarly portrayed in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century paintings such as Veronese's *Venice Reigning with Justice* and the *Triumph of Venice* in the Sala del Collegio and Sala del Maggior Consiglio respectively, Palazzo Ducale, Venice (a print of this *Triumph of Venice* by V. Lefebvre and J. van Campen was first published in 1682 and is reproduced in P. Ticozzi, *Immagini dal Veronese, incisioni dal secolo XVI al XIX*, exh. cat. [Villa Farnesina, Rome, 1978], p. 68, no. 70); Francesco Fontebasso's two *Triumph of Venice* paintings in

the Kunsthalle, Bremen, and Palazzo Barbarigo, Venice (M. Magrini, *Francesco Fontebasso* [Venice, 1988], nos. 64, 65); and Giovanni Battista Tiepolo's *Triumph of Venice* in the Sala delle Quattro Porte of the Palazzo Ducale, Venice (P. Zampetti, *Dal Ricci al Tiepolo, i pittori di figura del Settecento a Venezia*, exh. cat. [Palazzo Ducale, 1969], no. 179).

45. Found, for example, at the end of *Componimenti poetici per l'ingresso solenne alla dignità di procuratore di S. Marco per merito di Sua Eccellenza il Signore Lodovico Manin* (Venice, 1764); published in Morazzoni (note 10), pl. 580.

46. Ticozzi (note 44), p. 74, no. 80.

47. Muir (note 6), p. 119.

Moreover, where the two are depicted together, a curious relationship of subjugation is frequently established in which Neptune, often seated beneath the more regal and powerful Venice, offers her his riches. This relationship of dominance is akin to that established in portrayals showing Venice positioned above her conquered provinces.⁴⁸

In a republic governed exclusively by men,⁴⁹ however, this relationship was easily inverted and came to be symbolized by the “marriage to the sea” or *Sensa* festival (so-called for the Ascension Day on which it traditionally took place), the ultimate expression of Venetian state liturgy. At dawn on Ascension Day, the doge would ride the Bucintoro, his ceremonial barge, into the lagoon and with the words “We espouse thee, o sea, as a sign of true and perpetual dominion,” he would throw a gold wedding ring into the water. In marrying the sea, according to Venetian law, the doge/husband would establish legitimate rights over the sea/wife, supporting, therefore, the doge’s claim to sovereignty over trade routes.⁵⁰

The elaborately rendered decoration of these vases, celebrating the Veneto’s urban and rural settings as well as the Republic’s imperial and mercantile prerogatives, may indicate that they were produced for an important Venetian patron or intended as an official gift. The unusual prominence of the factory mark and cartouche inscription, however, may offer an important clue to the intended use of the vases. Measuring more than half the height of the vase, the anchor insignia above the piazzetta

is the largest of all known Cozzi marks.⁵¹ Moreover, the extensive inscription over the figure of Venice lacks any reference to either a patron or an intended recipient and yet proudly identifies the factory, factory owner, factory location, and date of production. This inscription also unabashedly proclaims these objects as “experiments,” hardly appropriate, one would think, for an important gift or commission.⁵²

More than anything else, these vases proclaim the innovations and talents of their factory. The exaltation of the Republic’s beauty and dominion becomes a backdrop for their more obvious message: that the Venetian factory of Geminiano Cozzi, as early as 1769 and with the support of the Republic, could produce such large and gloriously painted porcelain. Charged with this message, the vases might have served as gifts presented by Cozzi to the Venetian state in gratitude for, and as exemplary fruits of, the Republic’s continued financial and legislative support.

Their conspicuous factory references, however, might suggest that these works were intended to remain with the Cozzi establishment, perhaps functioning as show pieces.⁵³ Ever-enterprising and resourceful, Geminiano Cozzi would have easily appreciated the promotional value of these ingenious vases as examples of the superlative work his factory was capable of producing.

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48. See, for example, Palma il Giovane’s *Venice Enthroned* in the Sala del Maggior Consiglio, Palazzo Ducale, Venice (reproduced in J. Schulz, *Venetian Painted Ceilings of the Renaissance* [Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968], no. 42, pl. 103); and Francesco Fontebasso’s *Triumph of Venice* paintings cited in note 44.

49. Upper-class privileges, for example, were passed solely through the male line; even the wife of the doge, the dogaressa, held no authority. The only female ruler on Venetian territory was Caterina Cornaro, the ex-queen of Cyprus who was exiled to Asolo, near Venice. There is no evidence, however, that she had either much political influence or intellectual acumen.

50. Pope Alexander clearly defines this relationship while giving Doge Ziani the ritualistic ring when he says “Take this [ring] . . . so that posterity knows . . . that the sea was placed under your dominion, as a wife is to a husband” (F. Sansovino, *Venetia* [Venice, 1663], p. 501; as cited in Muir [note 6], p. 124, note 53). It is not surprising, therefore, that the term for “the sea” in Venetian dialect changes the masculine and Latin-derived Italian *il mare* into the feminine *la mar*.

51. Indeed, this mark is ostensibly the largest and most elaborately painted of all factory marks of the period. It also appears unique because of the inventive manner with which it has been included in the painted scene. The closest comparative examples—in terms of size and prominence—include Medici porcelain objects marked on the underside with an elaborate image of the dome of Santa Maria del Fiore (see, for example, G. Cora and A. Fanfani, *La porcellana dei Medici* [Milan, 1986], pp. 70, 76, 86, 88, 108, 118, and 148); a maiolica basket of circa 1773 from the Marinoni factory located in Angarano, inscribed in a large relief cartouche on the front *Fabbrica Marinoni Angarano* (L. Mallé, *Italian Maiolica from Its Origin to the Eighteenth Century* [Milan, 1974], no. 54b);

an oval plate from Antonibon’s Le Nove factory inscribed with the dedication to *La Signora Innocenza Lodola on a trompe l’oeil* cartouche in the center of the obverse accompanied by the word *Nove*, indicating either the location of the recipient or the town in which the object was made (G. Lorenzetti, *Maioliche venete del Settecento* [Venice, 1939], fig. 95); and a Cozzi porcelain warming pan of 1789 displaying the Contarini coat of arms and representations of faith (a dog), love (two doves), passion (a torch), and hope (two anchors), in relief on four small relief plaques. The anchors may also represent the factory mark (Alverà Bortolotto [note 10], pl. 188).

52. The author has found only four examples of porcelain objects that clearly identify themselves as experiments: a late sixteenth-century flask from the Medici porcelain factory now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, crudely inscribed underneath *prova* for “trial” (Cora and Fanfani [note 51], p. 122); and three curious objects produced in the Doccia porcelain factory in the 1750s. From information inscribed in Latin on their glazed cartouches, one learns that these three small sculptural pieces functioned as experiments, here meant, however, in the scientific rather than the artistic sense. They were to serve as “markers” in the experimental beds of coral and marine plants of Carlo Ginori, founder of the Doccia factory, to gauge the growth of marine plants on their biscuit surfaces (H. Tait, “Carlo Ginori and Doccia,” *The British Museum Quarterly* 22 [1960], pp. 37–39, figs. 14a–b, 15a–b).

53. The vases could have been exhibited in this manner either in Cozzi’s San Salvador workshop or else in his Cannaregio factory that was “equipped with shelves from floor to ceiling where one can see large numbers of all types of porcelain and of all prices to satisfy the imagination and requests of the clients” (F. Grisellini in *Giornale d’Italia spettante alla scienza naturale*, June 3, 1766, p. 388).

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Introduction: The Collections and the Year's Activities

Some spectacular acquisitions brought the Getty Museum into the spotlight from time to time in 1989, but otherwise the year was relatively undramatic. The jolts of 1988, the earthquake and market crash, were not repeated, and in fact the stock market rebounded and climbed ever upward in 1989. The art market also climbed, unfortunately. It is a market now dominated by private collectors, investors, and speculators, many of them spending strong foreign currencies. As for museums, which used to compete for the greatest works, their purchase funds have been so far outdistanced by prices that they are barely a factor in the larger art economy. Most of the time this includes the Getty Museum. The rate of our purchases dropped sharply in 1989 as we concentrated our funds on fewer objects of the greatest significance. In other areas the Museum was able to make some distinctive new contributions, especially in educational services for the visitor. And we moved a few steps closer to having a new museum in 1996.

THE COLLECTIONS

THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES made a few remarkable acquisitions in 1989. Much the greatest was a pair of portraits in bronze of two young Roman princes, probably Gaius and Lucius, the adopted sons and intended heirs of Augustus. To the emperor's bitter disappointment, the two boys died at an early age. The bronzes were most likely made in Gaul to promote the imperial cult in the Northern provinces. Though portrait busts of Julio-Claudian princes are abundant, twin portrait bronzes are otherwise unknown. Beautifully cast and well preserved, still retaining some of their original polish, the portraits have an abstracted dignity that suits their function as cult objects.

We acquired perhaps the finest Greek vase in our collection in 1989, a stamnos of unique form that depicts the Departure of Triptolemos. Attributed to the Syleus Painter, a red-figure master who specialized in large vases, the painting shows the young hero, witnessed by gods and other figures, setting out in a chariot drawn by dragons to sow wheat. Few Greek vases combine shape, ornament, and pictures so successfully.

In October the Aphrodite, the over life-size fifth-century Greek cult figure acquired last year and shown for several months before treatment, was reinstalled. The Department of Antiquities Conservation had spent a year rejoining the fragments and mounting the statue on a newly developed isolator base. The Aphrodite now stands

in a gallery filled with extraordinary works from the Greek colonies of southern Italy.

TWO MANUSCRIPTS of unusual importance were bought for the collection, both once in the library of the Parisian scholar Count Paul Durrieu. One is a missal with miniatures by the painter known as the Pseudo-Jacquemart de Hesdin, who was a leading figure of the Parisian International style around 1400. It marks the transition between mannered Gothic drawing to the brilliant color and keen observation of late Gothic naturalism. The other is the Prayer Book of Charles the Bold, a well-documented commission by Charles, Duke of Burgundy, from his court scribe Nicolas Spierinc and the illuminator Liévin van Lathem. It is a lavish work despite its small size, with forty-nine miniatures that include three portraits of the duke. Its dozens of elaborate borders are particularly inventive and delightful, swarming with playful figures that are exquisitely drawn.

FOR PAINTINGS it was a year of wonders. Building an important paintings collection remains the Museum's biggest challenge, given the tiny and still diminishing number of important pictures in private hands and the fierce international competition for the few that appear in the market. But each year there are surprises. In 1989, for instance, we bought three old master paintings whose existence was entirely unknown until their sale: a once-famous altarpiece by Pier Francesco Mola that had disappeared for centuries, a Jan Steen that surfaced in an obscure French auction, and a great Dosso Dossi.

The large Dossi *Allegory of Fortune* is one of the most exciting rediscoveries in many years. Brought unrecognized from upstate New York to Christie's on top of a van, it is a brilliantly unconventional allegory of fickle Fortune and Chance in the guise of female and male nudes. It is now being treated and is regaining much of its splendid original appearance, which combines Venetian poetry with Roman *grandezza*.

Two Getty acquisitions were surprises of another sort, since we had not expected them to come on the market at all. The Pontormo *Portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici* hung for years in the Frick Collection as a loan from a wealthy New Yorker; last year his heirs decided to sell it. Against stiff bidding we were able to buy it and place it on public view permanently. It is one of the most memorable Renaissance portraits: the eighteen-year-old Medici prince was painted as a military commander, bearing symbols of his legitimate authority, yet he already appears as the man of refined sensibilities we know he would become.

The Manet *Rue Mosnier with Flags* was the prize of one of America's great private collections and long thought to be destined for the National Gallery. Its appearance at auction gave us an irresistible chance. It has always been famous as Manet's boldest foray into High Impressionism, a dazzling high-key painting of a subject more familiar from the works of Monet and Pissarro, the streets of Paris. This was also the year we acquired another Impressionist masterpiece, the Renoir *La Promenade* of 1870. Renoir treats a *galant* subject with eighteenth-century elegance, and also with the up-to-date broken paint surface and luminosity that make it a key work of the early years of Impressionism. Few more desirable paintings of this period could be found. Until recently the Getty Museum had little to represent Impressionism and Post-Impressionism, but the situation has changed dramatically with the addition of a dozen important pictures by Monet, Manet, Renoir, Ensor, Cézanne, Toulouse-Lautrec, Munch, and others.

It was possible to make all these acquisitions in part because we used the proceeds of a sale of a group of fifteen nineteenth-century paintings from the collection. Many of these Mr. Getty had bought for his residences; some had been shown at the Getty Museum in an earlier era; and all have been so eclipsed by subsequent acquisitions that they would never again be exhibited.

In 1989 George Goldner succeeded Myron Laskin as Acting Curator of Paintings, assuming these new duties in addition to those of Curator of Drawings. Thomas Kren, Curator of Manuscripts and a former paintings curator at the Getty, took on additional responsibilities as Adjunct Curator of Paintings.

THIRTY-FIVE DRAWINGS were added in 1989. Among them was a group of nineteen German and Swiss drawings of the Renaissance that are as remarkable for the variety of their purposes and techniques as for their excellence. Combined with works acquired earlier by Dürer, Cranach, Huber, and others, these new purchases help to make up the strongest representation of German and Swiss draftsmanship in the country.

More important Italian cinquecento drawings were acquired, adding strength to a part of the collection we have labored to build up while this is still possible. These include works by Andrea del Sarto, Fra Paolino, Primaticcio, and Tintoretto; especially fine and rare is a study of a moodily introspective Saint Paul by Savoldo and a powerful colored drawing of *Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple* by Jacopo Bassano.

The first Guardi to enter the collection came in 1989, a brilliant pen and wash view of a *commedia dell'arte* performance in a Venetian *palazzo* before an audience that is portrayed with quirky festivity.

Three nineteenth-century drawings were added, most notably the finest and best-preserved drawing by Daubigny to appear in the market for years. One of his celebrated scenes in a law court, executed in watercolor and gouache on top of pen, it portrays feelingly the wily lawyer, hapless client, and bored denizens of the courtroom. An unusual life-size study by Ingres for the head of his portrait of Mme Moitessier shows the subtle alterations of reality that constituted Ingres's genius.

THE DEPARTMENT OF DECORATIVE ARTS continued to acquire superb porcelain, to hunt for works that fill out existing ensembles, and to buy indispensable objects for the galleries in the new museum in Brentwood. In the latter category is the year's most spectacular purchase, a pair of massive wall lights of unequaled elaborateness and beauty. They represent a high point of French Rococo design. In the category of reunions, the purchase of a Beauvais tapestry was an especially happy event, for the curator had spotted it in a house in Newport and recognized it as coming from the Emperor of China series; in fact, it is the missing tapestry from a splendid set of six made for the comte de Toulouse, of which the Getty Museum had already bought five in 1983. The entire set of six will be shown together in the new museum.

In buying ceramics we look for well-preserved pieces of the finest and often rarest models, not trying to make a comprehensive collection but one that shows the major manufactories at the height of their achievement. A Sèvres *déjeuner* of exquisite design and a particularly fine Vincennes *écuelle* joined the collection this year and are shown in a new and larger installation of the Museum's French and German ceramics.

FOR SCULPTURE, 1989 was the year of the Canova *Three Graces*. Not of actually acquiring it, but of making the purchase and waiting patiently while its export was delayed in the British export system. (Only in 1990, after many strange developments in England, was its export finally denied.) With purchase funds tied up with the Canova, the Sculpture department made only one other purchase. This was a display cabinet made in Augsburg in the early seventeenth century, utterly simple on the outside and utterly wondrous when the doors are opened. Revealed within on all four sides are whole cycles of religious and secular images executed in carved wood, carved hardstone, and semiprecious stone, for the delight of the seventeenth-century collector who prized all things curious and beautiful, whether made by man or by nature.

PHOTOGRAPHS of importance continue to appear and we continued to acquire them in 1989, though in much-diminished numbers. Our particular targets remain the great modernists of this century, as well as other individual pictures from 1839 onward that make a particular

contribution to our own collection. We bought a group of photographs by Paul Strand that had descended from his friend Kurt Baasch, including an unforgettable candid photograph of an old woman on the streets of New York and one of Strand's great pictures of the church at Ranchos de Taos. These add greatly to a group of 117 Strands bought in 1986. Similar additions were made to our group of Edward Westons: two early still lifes, a view in Mexico, and a Point Lobos composition. To the group of twenty-nine works by Charles Sheeler we acquired in 1988 we were able to add a stirring view of a tall hotel under construction in New York.

Among various nineteenth-century acquisitions, a rare and beautiful panorama of the 1840s by Calvert Jones is worthy of mention, as is a group of pictures by Robert Howlett documenting the construction of *The Great Eastern*, the largest ship of its day, as well as a group of previously unknown pictures by Carleton Watkins. The Watkins photographs were commissioned by various California companies as documents and boast of their operations on the western frontier. Their enduring beauty transcends the documentary.

THE YEAR'S ACTIVITIES

In the five years since 1983, widespread renovation of the Museum's buildings has been unmistakable to the visitor. As the collection grew dramatically, the galleries needed refurbishment and reinstallation. New gallery space had to be created out of former offices and new conservation studios had to be built. As the staff grew in the first few years, workplaces were needed for many dozens of newcomers, so offices were created wherever space could be found and converted. Now, after years of ceaseless activity, the collections are handsomely reinstalled in galleries that are likely to change only modestly for the next five years. The size of the staff is stable, and everyone has a place to work, however snug. Physical renovations in 1989 had mostly to do with refitting existing spaces for better service to the public through reinstallations and educational activities. The Antiquities department was able to reinstall wall cases with examples from our fine small collection of Roman glass and late antique jewelry and silver reliefs that had been off exhibition for a number of years. The large Roman portrait gallery was thoroughly rearranged after the removal of a large mosaic from the floor. Like other renovations of antiquities galleries, this one uses a simpler and clearer layout of objects and reticent but flattering wall colors.

A former curatorial office upstairs has been converted into a gallery of a distinctive kind, where small exhibitions can be mounted of material that can be examined closely and even handled by visitors with the assistance of

specially trained staff members and volunteers. The first installation in this "interactive gallery" was devoted to the history and technology of photography. A team including members of the education and curatorial staffs worked out the contents and the approach. The installation, especially since it was immediately adjacent to the photographs gallery, was highly popular. Many visitors had never handled a stereo viewer or a tintype, let alone looked into a camera obscura. These activities, and the questions visitors raised and had answered on the spot, made for a memorable experience. We plan to change these installations annually. They serve as a handy laboratory for the kinds of educational innovations we plan for the new museum in Brentwood.

Another former office upstairs, converted two years ago into a small reading room for the public, was installed with an interactive videodisc program in 1989. Modeled on the successful videodisc on Greek vases made two years earlier, this one is about illuminated manuscripts. It provides an extremely rich and visually sophisticated introduction to the complexities of manufacture, subject matter, and uses of medieval manuscripts.

Keeping track of a collection that approaches one hundred thousand objects and grows steadily is no small job. It is entrusted to a registrar's office that until recently had little more than manual systems to document the objects in the collection. For five years, however, a computerized collections management system has been in the works, and in 1989 the system was finally up and running. It was created by Willoughby Associates with the assistance of our staff and that of the Getty Art History Information Program. By the end of the year, nearly half of the objects in the collection were entered in the database, and although there is still a massive job of data entry ahead, we are well launched. Curators and conservators can now consult the records via terminals at their own desks, and before long the system will be extended to other users such as the photo studio and public information.

The Museum has little space for loan exhibitions and therefore holds very few of them, but changing exhibitions drawn from our own collection have become an important part of our program. They give visibility each year to many hundreds of objects that, for conservation reasons, need to remain in storage most of the time. Four exhibitions of manuscripts were held during 1989. *The International Gothic Style* treated many aspects of this late medieval phenomenon in manuscript illumination. A few Italian panel paintings of the same period were also included. The exhibition *Vie à Mon Désir: Illuminated Manuscripts and Their Patrons* was devoted to patronage during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Manuscripts were chosen to demonstrate various aspects, and the often

close connection, of the patron's needs and the choice of text and pictures. *Acquisitions of Illuminated Manuscripts, 1984–1989* was devoted to many of the thirty-eight-odd works acquired since the initial acquisition in 1983 of the Ludwig collection; this show was a particularly proud moment for us, since the public has never had an overview of the extraordinary purchases made since Ludwig. *Illuminated German and Central European Manuscripts* was devoted to the particularly strong group of examples in the Ludwig collection with the addition of some important recent acquisitions.

Five exhibitions of drawings were held in 1989: *Dutch and Flemish Drawings*; *German and Swiss Drawings*; *Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Drawings*; *Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Italian Drawings*; and *Seventeenth-Century Italian Drawings*. Each provided the debut for several drawings that had not yet been seen in our galleries, and that often had never been seen in public.

The 150th anniversary of the invention of photography in 1839 was celebrated throughout the world in 1989, and the Getty Museum played an active part in the celebration. Not only did we lend large numbers of photographs to exhibitions in America and Europe that had been organized for the occasion, but we held our own series of shows devoted to aspects of experimental photography. Each was inaugurated by a lecture, and the first exhibition in January was the occasion for a one-day symposium. The first show was called *Experimental Photography: Discovery and Invention* and was devoted to photography's earliest years. The second, called *Experimental Photography: The First Golden Age*, included examples by the leading English, French, and American photographers from 1850–1890. *Experimental Photography: The Painter-Photographer* included pictures by such artists as Degas, Eakins, Magritte, Brancusi, and Man Ray, each of whom used photographs for study as well as an exploratory medium. *Experimental Photography: The Machine Age* treated the period between the two world wars, when the industrial era provided new subjects and techniques for photographers. The last exhibition in the series, *Experimental Photography: The New Subjectivity*, turned to artists such as Brassai, Cartier-Bresson, Callahan, and Siskind who used sharp-focus realism to induce a sense of ambiguity and introspection.

In an attempt to understand the makeup of our audience better and to study their experiences in visiting the Museum, we have been engaged for several years in a variety of audience surveys. We continue to draw an audience that is generally well-educated, largely white, and mostly from out of town. The experiences of this group are usually very positive, but we are troubled by the narrowness of the population that visits, all the more

in Los Angeles, whose racial and economic diversity is broad and getting broader. Why we fail to attract some segments of the potential audience was one of the questions we hoped to answer in a study undertaken in 1989 using focus group techniques. The study was part of a joint project with the Getty Center for Education in the Arts and the Museum that involved ten other museums throughout America in pooling and sharing information gained from focus groups. The results of the focus group study at the Getty taught us that visitors have a memorable time at the Museum, though they are sometimes frustrated by not having enough information in a form that is useful to them. A high percentage of those who come for the first time report that they had hardly been aware of the existence of the Museum, or else had been put off by their idea that it would be boring, cold, and irrelevant to their lives. From these different studies we realize that we have an opportunity and indeed an obligation to inform a wider sector of our potential audience that they are welcome here, and to try to serve a more diverse audience better. In 1989, with the help of a local communications firm, we began to lay the groundwork for a much more extensive study of and experiment in communicating with Latino populations in Los Angeles.

The Department of Antiquities sponsored a two-day symposium on ancient bronze sculpture. This international conference included thirteen papers by academics, curators, conservators, conservation scientists, and collectors. Like last year's symposium on ancient marble, this meeting brought together an unusual mix of specialists under pleasant conditions. On the day before the symposium a smaller colloquium on ethical and practical considerations in the collecting of antiquities was held at the Museum. There were dealers, collectors, curators, legal experts, and representatives of the cultural ministries of Greece, Italy, Turkey, and Cyprus. It was one of the rare occasions when people of very different outlooks have come together for a civil discussion of the issues, and the fact that the gathering happened at all has value in itself.

The Department of Photographs organized a symposium on experimental photography in conjunction with the year-long program of exhibitions organized in honor of the sesquicentennial of the invention of photography. The daylong program included papers by eight specialists on various aspects of the infancy of photography in the 1830s and '40s.

The Museum published seven new or revised books in 1989, including an issue of the scholarly annual, the *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*. Among the books were two that involved novel arrangements for the Getty Museum: the republication of Joseph Jay Deiss's popular *Herculaneum*:

Italy's Buried Treasure after its commercial publisher had let it go out of print, and the copublication with the British Museum of *Looking at Prints, Drawings and Watercolours*. The latter is the first of a series now in preparation of glossaries for the layman illustrated by works from both museums.

A distinguished group of Guest Scholars and Visiting Conservators came in 1989 to study our collections and share with us their knowledge about the fields in which we are involved. Guest Scholars, who worked here for periods ranging from a few weeks to several months, were Simon Jervis of the Victoria and Albert Museum; Jaap Bolten of the Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, the Netherlands; Bertrand Jestaz of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris; John Pedley of the University of Michigan; William Stapp of the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C.; Angelos Delivorrias of the Benaki Museum, Athens; and Jeffrey Munger of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Visiting Conservators, who came for shorter periods, were E. Carl Grimm from the Western Center for the Conservation of Fine Arts, Denver; John Asmus from the University of California, San Diego; P. Andrew Lins of the Philadelphia Museum of Art; Edilberto Formigli from the Centro del Restauro della Soprintendenza Archeologica della Toscana; Keiko Mizushima Keyes, a private drawings conservator from Northern California; and Jean Sallé, a private decorative arts conservation consultant from France. From September until June we also had the services of a select group of graduate interns from this country and abroad, who gained practical experience through work in curatorial and other departments and contributed in no small way to the intellectual life of the Museum.

This year's Summer Concert Program and the related lectures took their theme from the bicentennial of the French Revolution. Performances ranged from Mozart's Paris Symphony to martial music from the first years of the Revolution. A large audience has been attracted by a series of five-lecture courses in the auditorium covering the major periods and schools in the history of European art. The series was taught by lecturers from the Department of Education and Academic Affairs.

A major preoccupation of the Security department, and indeed many of the staff, has been emergency planning. A second full-scale emergency drill was held, and many lessons were learned from it. We have become known among American museums as particularly expert in planning for emergency response as a result of our own plans and drills, despite never having had the real experience of a disaster. We learned all we could from the Bay Area earthquake in the autumn, and as if to prove that emergency plans can never be too complete, a brushfire

not far from the Museum caused us to refine our procedures. Although the Museum was never in immediate danger, the event emphasized the need to be prepared for more than earthquakes.

Plans for a new museum in Brentwood, scheduled to open in 1996, continued to take shape in 1989. The year was taken up by the "design development" phase of the project; by the end of the year, most of the galleries and support spaces had taken definitive shape. Much time was spent on cost analyses in a continuing effort to bring the project in at a reasonable cost. The remaining tasks for 1990 will be the refinement of the lighting systems, especially the daylight systems for the paintings galleries; the choice of building materials; the layout of offices; and many other details of the project.

In 1989 we also began the intensive development of a program for the renovated Villa in 1996. After the Museum's collections of manuscripts, drawings, paintings, sculpture, decorative arts, and photographs are moved to Brentwood, antiquities will claim the entire present Museum. There is an opportunity to create a new institution devoted to the display and interpretation of Greek and Roman art, together with a program for research in antiquities that can make a distinctive contribution in the field of Classical studies, and can be an effective complement to our sister institution the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities. A draft program had been roughed out by year's end that encompasses the entire site, the renovations to both floors of the building, the arrangement of the collections, educational services, and other activities that will enrich the visitors' experience. With the help of an international committee of advisors, the mission of the Villa in the field of Classical studies will be further explored.

This was a year in which the realities of the world outside crowded in, making themselves felt at the Museum and in the lives of the staff. The National Endowment for the Arts, whose independence from political interference we had taken for granted for twenty-five years, faced a crisis as a result of a few grants for art thought by some to be offensive, if not obscene. Much of the spring was taken up by debates in Congress over whether and how to restrict the content of art eligible for public funding. I became President of the Association of Art Museum Directors at about that time and got deeply involved in these issues. Barbara Whitney, Associate Director for Administration, began to serve as Chairman of the California Association of Museums and to advocate museum interests in the state. The year closed on a somber note as the Museum participated in the nationwide program to dramatize the devastating effect of the AIDS epidemic on the art world, "A Day without Art." In the

darkened photographs gallery we mounted a tribute to the great collector Samuel Wagstaff, of which the centerpiece was the moving portrait of Wagstaff by his long-time companion Robert Mapplethorpe. The photographer and his subject had both died of AIDS.

The Getty Museum was reaccredited by the American Association of Museums in 1989. It was twelve years since the first accreditation by AAM and much had changed. The AAM reviewers wrote:

We were impressed enormously by the J. Paul Getty Museum. The entire staff is serious, dedicated, talented, well-educated, and experienced. They understand and support the Museum's mission, which is to "delight and educate the public by forming, conserving, studying, exhibiting, and interpreting a collection of works of art." . . . because the permanent collection is the heart of the J. Paul Getty Museum, the trustees and staff have tried to make the conservation programs the finest. The laboratories are modern, efficient, and well staffed . . . there is continual collaboration among curators, conservators, and the director on all important aspects of the collection.

The educational programs are impressive . . . the presentations we heard were of very high quality. In the beautiful photography galleries we found live demonstrations of early photographic techniques and technologies. Happily, these demonstrations were performed superbly and did not detract from the pleasure of looking at pictures. Visitors enjoyed the demonstrations.

Beyond the education and conservation departments the Getty Museum has developed a superb security department and program . . . as in other areas of the Museum, the security department is a national model.

Our impression of the J. Paul Getty Museum is overwhelmingly positive . . . the Museum, despite its youth, is clearly one of America's great art museums; it is a leader in the area of conservation and education.

This praise for the Getty Museum's staff has been earned many times over during my time as director. It is a delight to work with such remarkable people.

John Walsh
Director

Notes to the Reader

Although variations occur reflecting both curatorial preference and the nature of the works of art described, the following information has been provided for each listed item where appropriate or available: name and dates of artist, title or name of work and date of execution, medium, dimensions with centimeters preceding inches, inscriptions, Museum accession number, commentary, provenance, and bibliography.

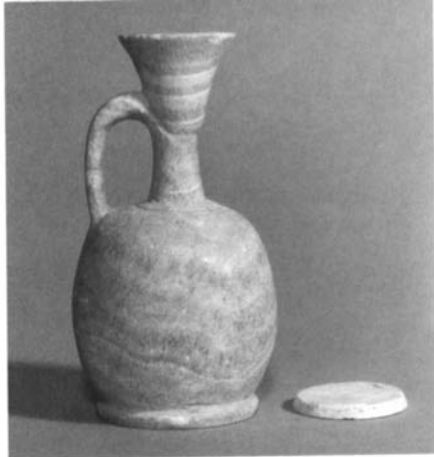
When possible in giving dimensions, the formula height precedes width precedes depth has been observed. In cases where this was not appropriate to the work of art in question, the following abbreviations have been consistently employed:

H: Height
W: Width
D: Depth
Diam: Diameter
L: Length

In the provenance sections brackets are used to indicate dealers.

ANTIQUITIES

STONE VESSEL



1

1. SQUAT LEKYTHOS

Greek (South Italy), fourth century B.C.
Alabaster, H: 12.3 cm (4⁵/₈ in.); Diam
(body): 6.6 cm (2⁹/₁₆ in.); Diam (disk
base): 3.8 cm (1¹/₂ in.)

89.AA.38

Carved from a solid piece of banded alabaster, this globular vase was made without a bottom so that the body cavity could be hollowed out. The disk, also carved from banded alabaster, was originally attached to the underside of the lekythos with an adhesive to seal the vessel. The vase is intact with some surface weathering.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

BRONZE SCULPTURE

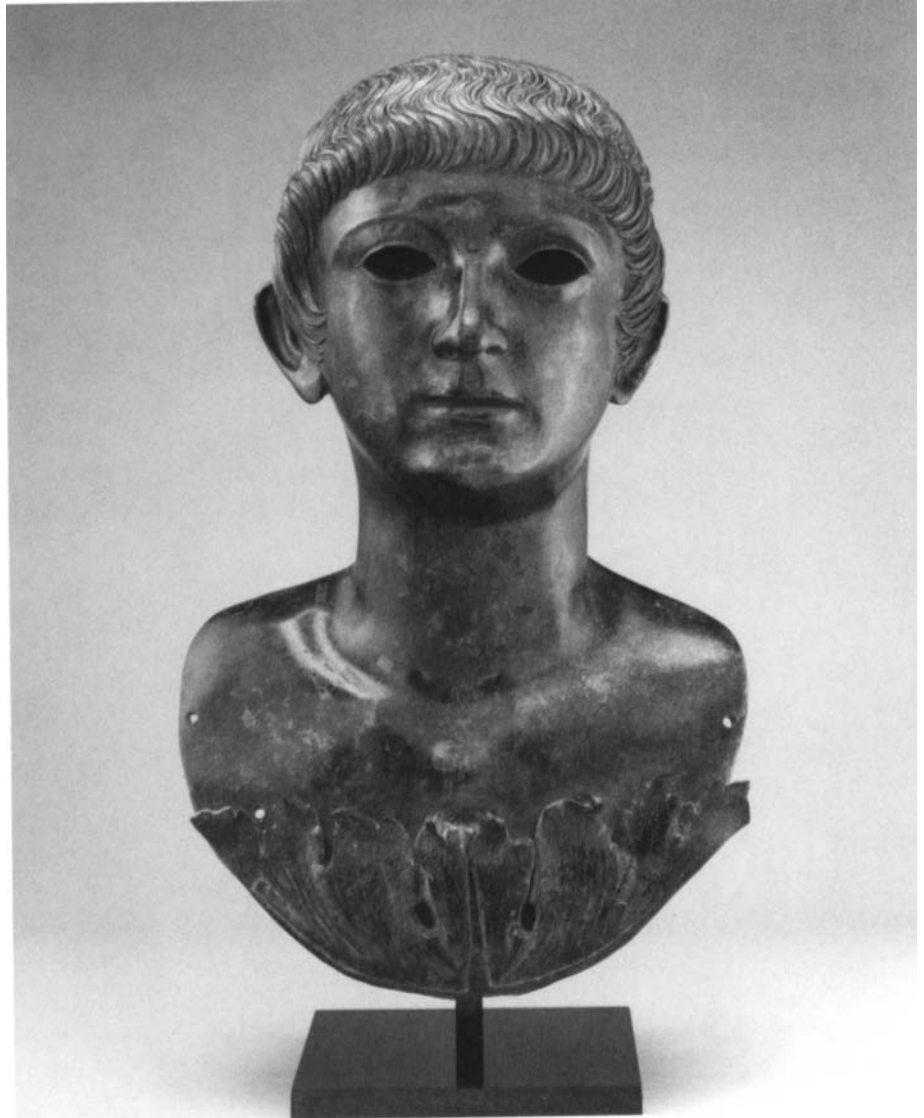
2. PAIR OF PORTRAIT BUSTS

Roman, second quarter of the first century A.D.

Bronze, H (.1): 40.6 cm (16 in.); H (.2):
40 cm (15⁷/₈ in.)

89.AB.67.1-2

This pair of bronze busts portrays two youths very similar in appearance, but subtly differentiated in age. Their matching hairstyles suggest that they are Julio-Claudian in date and were probably members of the imperial family. The calyx attached to the front of the youn-

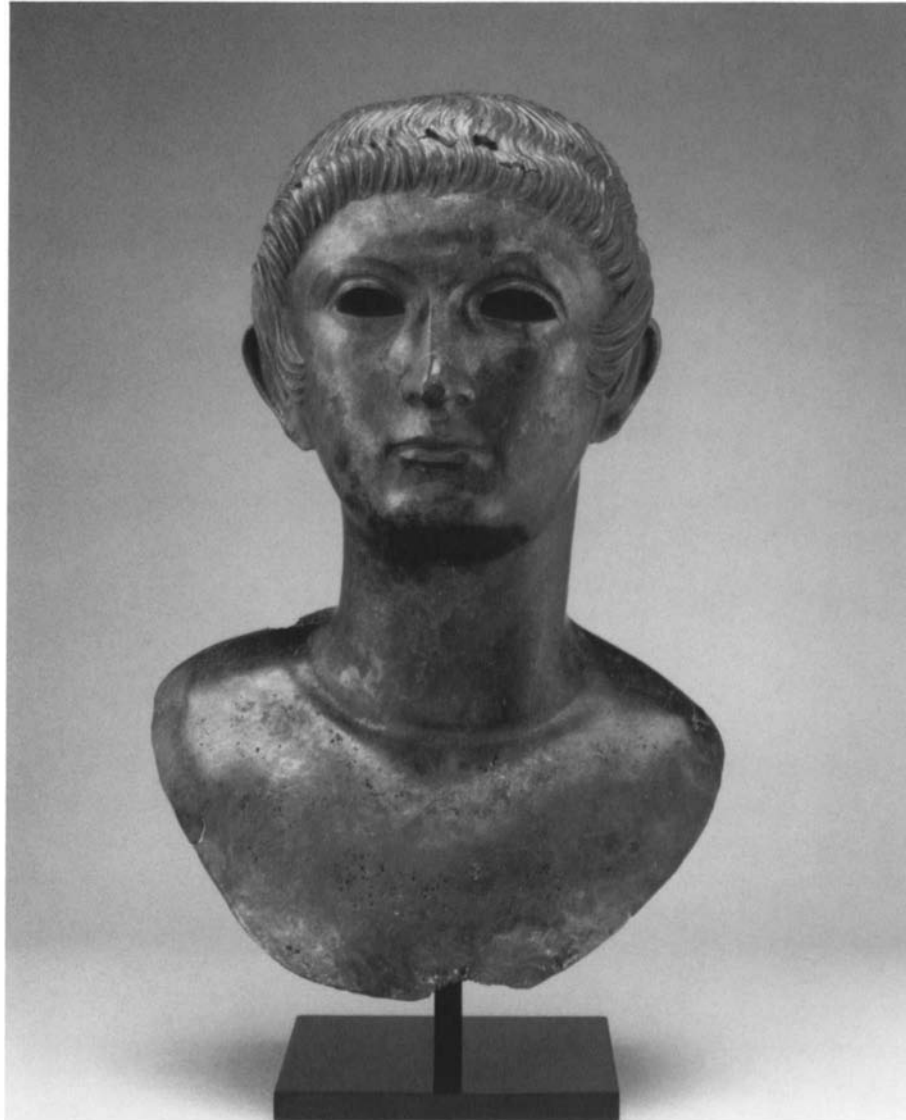


21

ger boy (.1) has been interpreted by many scholars as an indication that the portrait was made posthumously and the subject was perhaps deified. Surviving traces of solder on the inside indicate that a calyx was originally present on the bust of the older boy (.2) as well. Gaius and Lucius, the sons of Julia and Marcus Agrippa and heirs of the Emperor Augustus, who both died while still young men, are the most likely subjects. The pair are known to have been venerated throughout the empire as part of the imperial cult. Often linked with the heavenly twins, the Dioscuri, they were particularly popular

among the Roman troops in Gaul and Germany. The masklike treatment of the heads with great emphasis on the faces is characteristic of portraits from Transalpine Gaul and suggests that the busts were made in a northern provincial workshop. The hair on the back of their heads is modeled separately from the hair across the forehead and only summarily rendered.

PROVENANCE: European art market.



2.2

VASES:
CORINTHIAN

3. ARYBALLOS
 Attributed to the Chigi Group [Amyx]
 Middle to Late Proto-Corinthian,
 circa 670–630 B. C.
 Terra-cotta, H: 6 cm (2³/₈ in.); Diam:
 3 cm (1³/₁₆ in.)
 89.AE.36

The neck and mouth of this diminutive container are modeled in the shape of a female head. Its tapering body is divided into three zones of decoration consisting of a pendant lotus bud below the face that is flanked by floral scrolls, a frieze of goats, and at the base, a row of rays. The handle is decorated on its outer surface with a net pattern and around the mouth



3

are two overlapping rows of incised rays. The aryballos is complete with some surface encrustation and one small loss where the handle attaches to the mouth of the vessel.

PROVENANCE: New Jersey art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sale cat., Christie's, London, December 11, 1987, lot 28.

VASES:
ATTIC RED-FIGURE

4. THREE VASE FRAGMENTS
 Attributed to Douris [J. R. Guy], the Brygos Painter [J. R. Guy], and the Berlin Painter [D. von Bothmer]
 Circa 505–490 B. C.
 Terra-cotta, various dimensions, from 6.3 cm (2¹/₂ in.) to 7.5 cm (2⁹/₁₆ in.)
 89.AE.37, 89.AE.58 (by exchange with E. D. B. Vermeule), and 89.AE.78 (donated by D. von Bothmer)

The red-figure fragment attributed to Douris joins to a fragmentary kylix within the collection that depicts Thetis and Hephaistos on the inside and an arming scene on its exterior (82.AE.146.9, 83.AE.35, 85.AE.448, and 87.AE.153). The red-figure kylix fragment attributed to the Brygos Painter has been joined to a cup within the collection whose tondo decoration depicts Tekmessa covering the body of Ajax (86.AE.286). The red-figure calyx-krater fragment attributed to the Berlin Painter joins to a larger fragment that depicts a satyr and maenad (77.AE.105).

PROVENANCE: New Jersey art market, by exchange, and by donation, respectively.

GEMS



5

5. HANDLELESS STAMNOS

Attributed to the Syleus Painter

[J. R. Guy]

Circa 470 B.C.

Terra-cotta, H: 36.8 cm (14⁵/₈ in.);

Diam (body): 35.7 cm (14¹/₈ in.);

Diam (mouth): 28.5 cm (11¹/₄ in.)

89.AE.73

On the front of the stamnos, the beautifully rendered figure of Triptolemos (inscribed ΤΡΙΠΤΟΛΟΜΟΣ) sits in his fabulous winged chariot protected by a snake. Behind him is Demeter (inscribed ΔΕΜΗΤΕΡ), the goddess of cultivated crops, and before him is Demeter's daughter Kore (inscribed as ΦΕ]Α]Ε]ΦΑΤΑ, a variation of Persephone). Behind each of the goddesses are standing men, identified as Hippophon at the left (inscribed ΗΙΠΠ[Ο]ΦΟΝ) and Aklamites at the right (inscribed]ΚΛΑΜΙΤΕ]). The opposite side of the stamnos depicts a maiden (inscribed

KALOS) pouring a departure libation into a phiale held by a god (inscribed ΘΕΟΣ), most likely Hades in this context. Behind the maiden stands another male figure (inscribed KALOS) who observes the pair in front of him. They are Eleusis (inscribed ΕΛΕΥΣΙ[Σ]), the feminine personification of the sacred city in which these events took place, and Hippophon. Eleusis pours a libation from an oinochoe into a phiale. The stamnos has been reconstructed from fragments.

PROVENANCE: European art market.



6

6. INTAGLIO

Roman, second century A.D.

Nicolo (agate), H: 1.5 cm (⁵/₈ in.);

W: 1.2 cm (¹/₂ in.)

89.AN.55

The face of the stone is carved with the image of a large calyx-krater. On the body is a biga, or two-horse chariot, facing left, and a feline decorates the calyx of the vessel. Heads (silens?) form the roots of the handles. The upper surface color of the nicolo is milky white and the lower an orangish pink. There is a small chip on the carved surface at the upper left side of the krater.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The gem will be included in a forthcoming collection catalogue of gems by Jeffrey Spier.

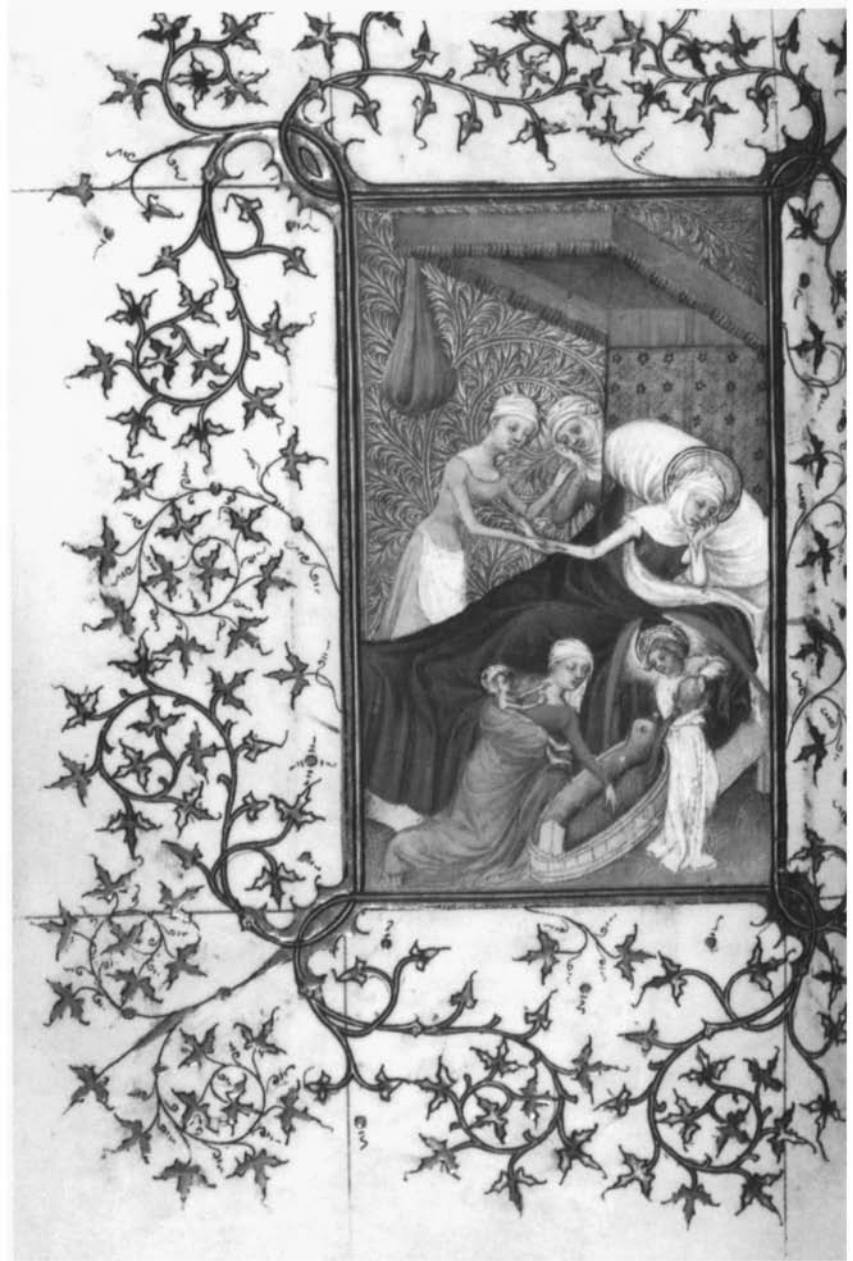
MANUSCRIPTS



7 (fol. 25v, detail)

7. MISSAL

Illumination attributed to Pseudo-Jacquemart de Hesdin (active circa 1380–1415), his workshop, an artist in the circle of the Boucicaut Master (active circa 1405–1420), and others Bourges or Paris, circa 1410
 Vellum, iii (new) + i + 106 + iii (new) leaves. Collation: iii + 1¹, 2⁸, 3⁸ (-3, -4, -5, -6, -7, -8), 4⁸ (lacking), 5⁸ (-1, before fol. 12), 6⁸-8⁸, 9⁶, 10⁸-11⁸, 12⁸ (+5, fol. 71; fols. 66–67 should follow fols. 68–69, 13⁸ (fol. 77 is a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century replacement of a lost leaf), 14⁸ (+3, fol. 84), 15⁸-16⁸ + iii; fifteenth-century alphabetical quire signatures [], g.i-[viii], h.i-ii, a.ii-[viii], b.i-[viii], c.i-[viii], d.i-[viii], e.i-[vi], k.i-[viii], l.i-[viii], m.i-[ix], n.i-[viii], o.i-[ix], p.i-[viii], q.i-[viii] indicating that the folios were once arranged as follows: [first leaf of quire "a," now lacking], fols. 12–48, 1–11, [fourteen folios (six in quire "h" and the eight of quire "i") now lacking], 49–106; nineteenth-century English [?] quire signatures 7–9, 2–6, 11–17 possibly indicating another missing quire; 17.8 x 13.3 cm



7 (fol. 71v)

(7 x 5 1/4 in.). Text area: 10 x 6.2 cm (3 15/16 x 2 7/16 in.), one column, fourteen lines. Latin (some rubrics in French) in Gothic liturgical bookhand. Fifteen full-page miniatures, baguette and ivy-leaf borders on every page. Red morocco over pasteboard, gold fillet tooling, and corner stamped design; English, late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Ms. 36; 89.ML.3

CONTENTS: Frontispiece: *God in Majesty Surrounded by the Symbols of the Four Evangelists* (fol. 1); canon of the mass (fols. 2–11 [incomplete]); Third Mass for Christmas (fols. 12–19); Mass for the Purification of the Virgin (fols. 20–25): *The Presentation in the Temple* (fol. 19v); Mass for the Annunciation (fols. 26–32): *The Annunciation* (fol. 25v); Mass for Easter (fols. 32v–36): *The Resurrection* (fol. 32v); Mass for the Ascension (fols.



7 (fol. 84v)

37–42): *The Ascension* (fol. 36v); Mass for Pentecost (fols. 43–48v): *Pentecost* (fol. 42v); Mass for the Holy Trinity (fols. 49–53): *The Trinity* (fol. 49); Mass for the Holy Sacrament (fols. 53v–59): *Priest Officiating at Mass, Attended by Men and Women* (possibly including the patron of the manuscript) (fol. 53v); Mass for Saint John the Baptist (fols. 59v–65): *Saint John the Baptist in the Wilderness* (fol. 59v); Mass for the Assumption of the Virgin (fols. 66–70v): *The Assumption of the Virgin* (fol. 65v); blank (fol. 71); Mass for the Birth of the Virgin (fols. 72–77): *The Birth of the Virgin* (fol. 71v); blank (fol.

77v); Mass for All Saints (fols. 78–83v); Mass for Saint Andrew (fols. 85–89): *The Martyrdom of Saint Andrew* (fol. 84v); Mass for the Conception of the Virgin (fols. 90–96): *The Annunciation to Joachim and Anna* (fol. 89v); Mass for the Dead (fols. 97–102): *Mass for the Dead* (fol. 96v); Mass for the Cross (fols. 103–106): *Two Angels Displaying the Cross* (fol. 102v).

PROVENANCE: A French nobleman (possibly represented on fol. 53v); Count Paul Durrieu (1855–1925), Paris; Jean Durrieu, Paris, by descent; [Bruce Ferrini, Akron, Ohio].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Meiss, "The Exhibition of French Manuscripts of the XII–XVI Centuries

at the Bibliothèque Nationale," *Art Bulletin* 38 (1956), pp. 191–192, 195; M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* (New York, 1967), pp. 264, 341, figs. 245–247.

8. PRAYER BOOK OF CHARLES THE BOLD

Written by Nicolas Spierinc (active 1455–1499); illuminated by Liévin van Lathem (Ghent, 1430–Antwerp, 1493), his workshop, a Flemish collaborator, and a Rouen illuminator (circle of the Master of the Geneva Latini; active circa 1480–1490)

Ghent and/or Antwerp, completed by 1469; fols. 124–159 added circa 1480–1490

Vellum, ii + 159 + ii leaves. Collation: 1⁶ (+1, fol. 1; +5, fol. 5); 2⁴ (+1, fol. 9); 3⁸–4⁸; 5⁸ (+1, fol. 30; +2, fol. 31); 6⁸–8⁸; 9⁶; 10⁶ (+1, fol. 70; +2, fol. 71); 11⁸ (+1, fol. 78); 12² (+1, fol. 87); 13⁸–15⁸; 16⁶ (+1, fol. 114; +2, fol. 115); 17² (+1, fol. 122; +2, fol. 123); 18⁶–19⁶; 20⁸–21⁸; 22⁶ (quires 18–22 added later); 12.4 x 9.2 cm (4¹⁵/₁₆ x 3³/₈ in.). Text area: 6.3 x 4.6 cm (2 x 1¹³/₁₆ in.), one column, thirteen lines. Latin text in *littera cursiva bastarda* (Burgundian *bâtarde*). Thirty-nine full-page miniatures, seven half-page miniatures, three quarter-page miniatures, forty-one historiated borders, two hundred seventy-four decorated borders. Velvet over wood boards with original silver clasps, medallion, and end pieces with enamel inlay; French, late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

Ms. 37; 89.ML.35

CONTENTS: Prayer to the Holy Face of Christ (fols. 2–4v): *Charles the Bold Presented by Saint George* (fol. 1v); *Saint Veronica* (fol. 2); Prayers to the Virgin (fols. 6–13): *Madonna and Child with Angels* (fol. 5v); *Charles the Bold Presented by Saint George* (fol. 6); blank (fols. 9–9v); *Madonna and Child with Angels in an Enclosed Garden* (fol. 10); Prayer to the Trinity (fols. 14–15): *The Trinity* (fol. 14); Prayer to Saint Michael (fols. 15v–16v): *Saint Michael* (fol. 15v); Prayer to Saint John the Baptist (fols. 17–17v): *The Martyrdom of Saint John the Baptist* (fol. 17); Prayer to Saint John the Evangelist (fols. 18–19): *Saint John the Evangelist on Patmos* (fol. 18); Prayer to Saints Peter and Paul



8 (fol. 14)



8 (fol. 22)

(fols. 19v–20v): *Christ Appearing to Saint Peter and the Conversion of Saint Paul* (fol. 19v); Prayer to Saint Andrew (fols. 21–21v): *The Crucifixion of Saint Andrew* (fol. 21); Prayer to Saint James the Greater (fols. 22–23): *Christ Appearing to Saint James the Greater* (fol. 22); Prayer to the Apostles (fols. 23v–24): *The Last Supper* (fol. 23v); Prayer to Saint Stephen (fols. 24v–25v): *The Stoning of Saint Stephen* (fol. 24v); Prayer to Saint Christopher (fols. 26–28v): *Saint Christopher* (fol. 26); Prayer to Saint Sebastian (fols. 29–31): *The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* (fol. 29); Prayer to Saint Lawrence (fols. 31v–32v): *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (fol. 31v); Prayer to Saint Anthony (fols. 33–34): *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* (fol. 33); Prayer to Saint Martin (fols. 34v–35v): *Saint Martin and the Beggar* (fol. 34v); Prayer to Saint Gatian (fols. 36–37v): *Saint Gatian Preaching* (fol. 36); Prayer to the Blessed Fiacre (fols. 38–39): *The Blessed Fiacre* (fol. 38); Prayer to

Saint Hubert (fols. 39v–41): *Saint Hubert* (fol. 39v); Prayer to Saint Eutrope (fols. 41v–42v): *Saint Eutrope Healing a Cripple* (fol. 41v); Prayer to All Saints (fols. 43–44v): *All Saints* (fol. 43v); Prayer to Saint Anne (fols. 45–46): *The Madonna and Child with Saint Anne* (fol. 45); Prayer to Saint Mary Magdalene (fols. 46v–47v): *Noli Me Tangere* (fol. 46v); Prayer to Saint Catherine (fols. 48–49): *The Martyrdom of Saint Catherine* (fol. 48); Prayer to Saint Margaret (fols. 49v–50): *Saint Margaret* (fol. 49v); Prayer to Saint Apollonia (fols. 50v–52): *The Martyrdom of Saint Apollonia* (fol. 50v); miscellaneous prayers to Christ, God the Father, and the Holy Spirit (fols. 52–59); Seven Verses of Saint Bernard (fols. 59v–61v); Prayer to the Trinity (fol. 62); Prayer to Christ [in French] (fols. 62–65v); Prayer to God (fols. 66–66v); blank (fol. 67); Prayer to Saint George (fols. 68–70): *Saint George and the Dragon* (fol. 67v); *Charles the Bold Presented by*

an Angel (fol. 68); Hours of the Passion (fols. 71–125): matins (fols. 71–82): *The Agony in the Garden* (fol. 70v); *The Betrayal of Christ* (fol. 71); lauds (fols. 82v–89): *Christ before Pilate* (fol. 82v); blank (fol. 89v); prime (fols. 90–95): *The Flagellation* (fol. 90); terce (fols. 95v–100v): *Christ Carrying the Cross* (fol. 95v); sext (fols. 100v–105v); none (fols. 106–111): *The Crucifixion* (fol. 106); vespers (fols. 111v–119): *The Deposition* (fol. 111v); compline (fols. 119v–125): *The Entombment* (fol. 119v); blank (fol. 125v); fragment from the Gospel of Saint John (fols. 126–145v): *The Mass of Saint Gregory* (fol. 126); Prayer to Saint Anthony of Padua (fols. 146–146v): *Saint Anthony of Padua* (fol. 146); Prayer to Saint Francis (fols. 147–147v): *The Stigmatization of Saint Francis* (fol. 147); Prayer to Saint Avia (fols. 148–149): *Saint Avia* (fol. 148); Prayer to Saint Elisabeth (fols. 149v–150v): *Saint Elisabeth* (fol. 149v); Prayer to Saint Barbara (fols. 151–



8 (fol. 30v, detail)

152): *Saint Barbara* (fol. 151); Prayer to *Saint Geneviève* (fols. 152v–153); *Saint Geneviève* (fol. 152); Prayer to *Saint Mary of Egypt* (fols. 153v–154v): *Saint Mary of Egypt* (fol. 153v); Prayer for Peace (fols. 154v–155v); Prayers to the *Virgin* (fols. 155v–159v).

PROVENANCE: Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1433–1477); Marie de Luxembourg, heir to the county of Marle, granddaughter of the High Constable (*connétable*) of Saint-Pol and wife (her second marriage) of François of Bourbon (ex libris, front flyleaf); possibly Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, wife of Antoine de Bourbon (Marie de Luxembourg's grandson, and mother of Henri IV; possibly Paul Delaroche, Paris (1797–1856); Count Paul Durrieu (1855–1925), Paris; Jean Durrieu, Paris, by descent; [Bruce Ferrini, Akron, Ohio].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Durrieu, "Les 'Préfigures' de la Passion dans l'ornementation d'un manuscrit du XVe siècle," *Revue de l'art chrétien* 60 (1910), pp. 67–69; P. Durrieu, "Découverte de deux importants manuscrits de la 'librairie' des ducs de Bourgogne," *Biblio-*



8 (fol. 33)

thèque de l'école des chartes 71 (1910), p. 71; F. Winkler, "Studien zur Geschichte der niederländischen Miniaturmalerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der Kunst-historischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 32 (1915), pp. 302, 304, figs. 18–20; P. Durrieu, "Livre de prières peint pour Charles le Téméraire par son enlumineur en titre Philippe de Mazerolles (Le maître de 'la Conquête de la Toison d'Or')," *Monuments et mémoires de la fondation Eugène Piot* 22, fasc. 1 (1916), pp. 100–101; 107, n. 1; 112–118; 120, n. 1; 121–130; O. Smital, *Die Chronik des Kreuz-fahrerkönigreiches Jerusalem* ("Les croniques de Jherusalem abrégies"): *Facsimile der burgundisch-flämischen Miniaturhandschrift der Wiener Nationalbibliothek Nr. 2533* (Munich, 1924), pp. 10, 30; F. Winkler, *Die Flämische Buchmalerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 90, 196; O. Pächt, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy* (London, 1948), p. 55, n. 26; A. de Schryver, "Lieven van Lathem, een onbekend grootmeester van de Vlaamse miniatur-schilderkunst," *Handelingen van het XXe Vlaams Filologencongres* (Ghent, 1957), pp. 338–342; K. G. Boon, "Nieuwe Gegevens over de Meester van Katharina van Kleef en zijn atelier," *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Neder-*

landsche Oudheidkundige Bond ser. 6, 17 (1964), no. 4, pp. 249–250; J. Duverger, "Hofschilder Lieven van Lathem (ca. 1430–1493)," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1969), p. 99; G. I. Lieftinck, *Boek-verluchters uit de omgeving van Maria van Bourgondië c. 1475–c. 1485*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, 31, nr. 66 (Brussels, 1969), vol. 1, pp. 27, 29–30, 33–35, 41, and vol. 2, p. 54; A. de Schryver, "Etude de l'enluminure," in *Gebetbuch Karls des Kühnen vel potius Stundenbuch der Maria von Burgund: Codex Vindobonensis 1857 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Codices Selecti XIV [facsimile and commentary] (Graz, 1969), pp. 26–27; A. de Schryver, "Nicolas Spierinc, calligraphe et enlumineur des ordonnances des états de l'Hotel de Charles le Téméraire," *Miscellanea F. Lyna* (Ghent, 1969), pp. 444, n. 44; 453, 454; P. Dumon, *L'alphabet gothique dit de Marie de Bourgogne: Reproduction du Codex Bruxellensis II 845* ([Antwerp], 1973), p. 4; A. de Schryver, "Pour une meilleure orientation des recherches à propos du Maître de Girart de Rousillon," *Rogier van der Weyden en zijn tijd: Internationaal Colloquium 11–12 Juni*



9

1974 (Brussels, 1974), pp. 73–74, fig. 7; A. de Schryver et al., *Gent, duizend jaar kunst en cultuur*, exh. cat. (Bijloke museum, Ghent, 1975), vol. 2, pp. 369, 377; M. Thomas, “Le livre de prières de Philippe le Bon,” *Les dossiers de l’archéologie* 16 (May–June 1976), pp. 88–90; M. Campbell, *The Gold Reliquary of Charles the Bold*, exh. cat. (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1980), p. 4, pl. 6; U. Jenni and D. Thoss, *Das Schwarze Gebetbuch: Vollständiges Faksimile des Codex Nr. 1856 der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek* [facsimile and commentary] (Frankfurt, 1982), pp. 20, 115, 156, n. 12, figs. 10, 83; G. Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Amsterdam, 1987), pp. 133, 137.

9. HISTORIATED INITIAL *V* WITH
THE PROPHET MICAH

Cutting from a Bible

Probably northeastern France, circa
1131–1165

Vellum, 13.7 x 13.5 cm (5³/₈ x 5⁵/₁₆ in.).

Text area: 10.4 x 13.1 cm (4¹/₁₆ x 5¹/₈ in.).

Latin script in Romanesque bookhand.

One eight-line historiated initial.

Ms. 38; 89.MS.45

CONTENTS: The initial begins the text of
the first chapter of the Book of Micah:

“Verbum do[m]ni quod factum est . . .”

Twelve cuttings from the same Bible
are in the Kupferstichkabinett of the
Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kultur-
besitz, Berlin (invs. 1904–1908,
4678–4684).

PROVENANCE: M. G. T. De Villenave, Paris
(1772–1846); (sale, Sotheby’s, London, Decem-
ber 2, 1986, lot no. 4).

PAINTINGS



10 (preconservation photograph)

10. DOSSO DOSSI (Giovanni di Niccolò de Lutero)
Italian, active 1512–died 1542
An Allegory of Fortune, circa 1530–1542
Oil on canvas, 178 x 216.5 cm (70½ x 85½ in.)
89.PA.32

This recently discovered work clearly relates to paintings executed by Dosso in the last decade of his life, such as the *Tubalcain* (Museo Horne, Florence), *Saints Cosmas and Damian* (Galleria Borghese,

Rome), and *Saints John the Baptist and George* (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan).

Although any explanation of the subject must remain speculative, it would seem to be an allegory of Fortune, particularly as related to the life of Isabella d'Este. The basic theme is identifiable because Dosso employs a traditional means of personifying Fortune: a nude woman with billowing drapery holding a cornucopia. The cornucopia signifies Fortune's favors, while the blowing drape is a reminder that she is inconstant like the

wind. She wears only one shoe to further symbolize that she is capable of bringing not only fortune but also misfortune. Fortune was often depicted balancing on a terrestrial or celestial sphere to indicate the extent of her influence, but, with characteristic wit, Dosso has her sit precariously on a bubble—a symbol of transience—to stress that fortune is fleeting.

The male figure who looks longingly at Fortune brandishes lots or lottery tickets about to be deposited in a golden urn. The bundle of lots was one of Isa-

bella d'Este's devices, which Paolo Giovio (*Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose* [Rome, 1555], pp. 124–125) says she adopted to refer to her personal experiences of vacillating fortune at the court of Mantua. Dosso's use of the *impresa* may also be a more generic and timely reference to augment the idea that Fortune is mere chance as the first public lottery to pay money as prizes was the Florentine *Lotto* of 1530. While the precise meaning of the painting remains a mystery, Dosso's message seems to be that prosperity may be transitory and dependent on luck, a theme effectively conveyed by the haunting mood of the painting.

PROVENANCE: Cardinal Alessandro d'Este, Modena, to 1624(?); Litta collection, Milan; private collection, New England, to 1989 (sale, Christie's, New York, January 11, 1989, lot 192); [Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox, Ltd., London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Wrey and A. Montefiore, eds., *Christie's Review of the Season 1989* (Oxford, 1989), p. 26.



11

11. EDOUARD MANET

French, 1832–1883

The rue Mosnier with Flags (*La rue Mosnier aux drapeaux*), 1878Oil on canvas, 65.5 x 81 cm (25¾ x 31¾ in.) Signed: *Manet 1878* in the lower left.

89.PA.71

This composition is the last of a series of views of the rue Mosnier as seen from Manet's studio window. Drawings exist representing the street, individual hansom cabs, and the beggar in the lower left corner (D. Rouart and D. Wildenstein, *Edouard Manet, catalogue raisonné* [Lausanne and Paris, 1975], vol. 2, nos. 323–328, 478–479). Moreover, Manet painted the scene in oil three times: first *La rue Mosnier aux paveurs* (private collection, Zürich; Rouart and Wildenstein, vol. 1, no. 272), showing road work underway in preparation for the fête of June 30, 1878; secondly *La rue Mosnier aux drapeaux* (Zürich, Bührlé collection; Rouart and Wildenstein, vol. 1, no. 271); and finally the Museum's painting (Rouart and Wildenstein, vol. 1, no. 270). The latter two paintings, apparently executed on the day of the fête, include the street decorations. The presence of the crippled beggar in an otherwise affluent setting seems to allude to Manet's

political sympathies, which were rarely expressed at this stage of his career.

PROVENANCE: Jean-Baptiste Faure, Paris, by 1894; [Galerie Durand-Ruel, Paris], 1898; Auguste Pellerin, Paris, 1898; Marzell von Nemes, Budapest (sale, Manzi-Joyant, Paris, June 18, 1913, lot 110); [G. Biermann]; Baron Herzog, Budapest; Dr. Jakob Goldschmidt, Berlin (sale, Sotheby's, London, October 15, 1958, lot 3); Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia (sale, Christie's, New York, November 14, 1989, lot 7).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Collins, "Manet's 'Rue Mosnier Decked with Flags' and the Flâneur Concept," *Burlington Magazine* 117 (November 1975), pp. 709–714; P. Gay, *Art and Act: On Causes in History—Manet, Gropius, Mondrian* (New York, 1976), p. 102; R. Kasl, "Edouard Manet's 'Rue Mosnier': 'Le pauvre a-t-il une patrie?'" *Art Journal* 44 (Spring 1985), pp. 49–59; T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (Princeton, 1986), p. 24; D. Farr, "Edouard Manet's *La rue Mosnier aux Drapeaux*," *Essays in Honor of Paul Mellon, Collector and Benefactor* (Washington, D.C., 1986), pp. 97–109; R. L. Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (New Haven and London, 1988), pp. 30–32, 40; J. M. Roos, "Within the 'Zone of Silence': Monet and Manet in 1878," *Art History* 11 (September 1988), pp. 374–407.



12

12. PIER FRANCESCO MOLA
Italian, 1612–1666
The Vision of Saint Bruno, 1660–1666
Oil on canvas, 194 x 137 cm (76³/₈ x
53⁷/₈ in.)
89.PA.4

Saint Bruno (circa 1033–1101) was the founder of the Carthusian Order, a monastic community devoted to solitary meditation as the best means of attaining union with God. Mola's depiction of the saint reflects this hermetic ideal as well as the interest of Baroque artists in exploring the psychology of mortal man over-

come by the presence of the divine.

Preparatory drawings for the painting are in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt (inv. AE 1803); the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (inv. FP 822); the Hermitage, Leningrad (inv. 4770); and the Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (inv. 423). At least six copies attest to the popularity of the composition.

PROVENANCE: Cardinal Flavio Chigi, Palazzo Chigi, Piazza SS. Apostoli, Rome, to 1693; Prince Agostino Chigi, Rome; Marchesa Eleonora Incisa della Rocchetta (née Chigi), Rome, by descent; Marchese Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta, Rome, by inheritance; private

collection, Switzerland; [Whitfield Fine Art Ltd., London, as agent].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Pascoli, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti moderni* (Rome, 1730–1736), vol. 1, p. 125; W. Arslan, "Opere romane di Pier Francesco Mola," *Bollettino d'Arte* 22 (1928), p. 73, fig. 17; S. Rudolph, "Contributo per Pier Francesco Mola," *Arte illustrata* 15/16 (March–April 1969), pp. 22–24, fig. 16; R. Cocke, *Pier Francesco Mola* (Oxford, 1972), no. 45, pl. 136; pp. 14, 37, 39, 41–42, 44, 45, 48, 52, 56–57, 64, 66, 68, 71; J. Genty, *Pier Francesco Mola pittore* (Lugano, 1979), pp. 47, 49; *Pier Francesco Mola, 1612–1666*, exh. cat. (Museo Cantonale d'Arte, Lugano, and Musei Capitolini, Rome, 1989), pp. 83, 266–267.

13. PONTORMO (Jacopo Carucci)
Italian, 1494–1557

Portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici,
circa 1537

Oil (or oil and tempera) on panel
transferred to canvas, 92 x 72 cm
(36¹/₄ x 28³/₈ in.)

89.PA.49

Vasari mentions that Pontormo executed a portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici (1519–1574) shortly after he became head of the Florentine state at the age of eighteen. However, this specific portrait is first identified in a 1612 inventory of the Riccardi collection, published by Keutner in 1959.

Preparatory drawings for the portrait are preserved in the Uffizi, Florence (inv. 6701F recto) and the Institut Néerlandais (Fondation Custodia), Paris (inv. 3457).

PROVENANCE: Riccardo Romolo Riccardi, Florence, until 1612; Riccardi family, by descent; J. B. P. Lebrun, 1807–1810 (sale, Paris, March 20–24, 1810, lot 108); bought by Simon for Cardinal Fesch; Cardinal Fesch, 1810–1845 (sale, George, Rome, pt. II, March 17, 1845, lot 754); Warnech [Adolphe Warneck?]; Leroy d'Etiolles, 1845–1861 (sale, Escribe, Paris, February 21–22, 1861); Gros; Princess Mathilde Bonaparte, 1861–1904 (sale, Petit, Paris, May 17, 1904, lot 53); E. Kramer [Eugène Kraemer?]; James Stillman, New York, by 1914, to 1921; Charles Chauncey Stillman, New York, 1921–1927 (sale, American Art Association, New York, February 3, 1927, lot 35); [Walpole Galleries]; Chauncey Devereaux Stillman, New York, 1927–1989 (sale, Christie's, New York, May 31, 1989, lot 72).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Vasari, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori* (1568), in *Opere*, Gaetano Milanese, ed. (Florence, 1878–1885), vol. 6, p. 282; H. Voss, *Die Maler der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz* (Berlin, 1920), vol. 1, pp. 174–175, pl. 53; H. Keutner, "Zu einigen Bildnissen des frühen flor-



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entiner Manierismus," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 8 (1957–1959), pp. 148–150, 152, figs. 9, 11; K. W. Forster, *Pontormo: Monographie mit Kritischem Katalog* (Munich, 1966), pp. 106–107, 146, no. 43, pl. VIII, fig. 102; K. Langedijk, *The Portraits of the Medici: Fifteenth–Eighteenth Centuries* (Florence, 1981–1987), vol. 1, pp. 80–81, 431–432, no. 27.50; J. Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art: Pontormo, Leo X and the Two Cosimos* (Princeton, 1984), p. 254, n. 10.

14. PIERRE-AUGUSTE RENOIR
French, 1841–1919
La Promenade, 1870
Oil on canvas, 81 x 65 cm (32 x 25½ in.). Signed: *A Renoir 70* in the lower left.
89.PA.41

This composition initiated Renoir's long series of paintings of lovers inspired by eighteenth-century examples, notably the work of Watteau. The model for the female figure has been identified as Rapha, mistress of Renoir's friend Edmond Maître, by Monneret, and as Lise Tréhot, Renoir's mistress, by White. Renoir later rethought the scene, giving the woman the position in the upper back-

ground, in a drawing entitled *Couple on a Hillside* published in *La vie moderne* (December 29, 1883).

PROVENANCE: Gustave Gouspy (or Goupy), Paris (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 30, 1898, lot 33); [Durand-Ruel, Paris], 1908; [Paul Cassirer, Berlin], from September 11, 1908; Bernard Köhler, Berlin, 1929; [Paul Rosenberg, Paris and New York], 1933–1940; Nate and Frances Spingold, New York, by 1958 (sale, Sotheby's, London, November 29, 1976, lot 22); Seito, Tokyo; British Rail Pension Fund, London (sale, Sotheby's, London, April 4, 1989, lot 6).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Exposition Renoir 1841–1919*, exh. cat. (Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris, 1933), no. 18; F. Daulte, *Auguste Renoir: Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint I: Figures 1860–1890* (Lausanne, 1971), no. 55; S. Monneret, *L'impressionisme et son époque* (Paris, 1979), vol. 2, p. 166; B. E. White, *Renoir: His Life, Art, and Letters* (New York, 1984), p. 35; *Renoir*, exh. cat. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and other institutions, 1985), no. 16; R. L. Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (New Haven and London, 1988), pp. 190, 192.

15. JAN STEEN

Dutch, circa 1626–1679

Bathsheba after the Bath, circa 1675

Oil on panel, 58 x 45 cm (22¾ x 17¾ in.). Signed: *J Steen (JS in ligature)* in arch in the upper left.

89.PB.27

Until this unpublished painting appeared in 1988, its composition was known only in another version, an inferior copy in the Museum der bildenden Künste in Leipzig, East Germany (B. D. Kirschenbaum, *The Religious and Historical Paintings of Jan Steen* [Oxford, 1977], addendum no. 12; K. Braun, *Jan Steen* [Rotterdam, 1980], no. B–51).

Jan Steen painted representations of Bathsheba several times in his career. The woman who was portrayed as Bathsheba in a picture in a private collection in the Netherlands has been identified by Bredius as Steen's second wife Maria van Egmont, whom he married in 1673 (A. Bredius, *Jan Steen* [Amsterdam, 1927], p. 68; Braun, no. 356). It is possible that the same model returns as Bathsheba in this painting.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Hôtel George V, Paris, June 28, 1988, lot 50; [Thomas Agnew and Sons, London, 1988].



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DRAWINGS

CENTRAL EUROPEAN



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16. WOLFGANG KATZHEIMER THE ELDER

German, active 1478–1508

View of a Walled City in a River Landscape, circa 1485–1500

Pen and brown ink, colored washes, and gouache over traces of black chalk, 7.3 x 13.5 cm (2⁷/₈ x 5⁵/₁₆ in.)
89.GG.12

On the basis of its similarity to several architectural views in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (F. Anzelewsky, *Dürer und Seine Zeit*, exh. cat. [Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, 1967], nos. 12–14), this drawing has been attributed to Wolfgang Katzheimer the Elder, the major painter of his generation active in Bamberg. The miniaturistic treatment of the architecture contrasts with the free handling and thin, luminous washes of the landscape. This type of drawing, which might have been intended as a study for the background of an altarpiece, forms a precedent for the great landscape watercolors Dürer made on his first Italian journey. The site depicted in the drawing has not yet been identified and may well be imaginary.

PROVENANCE: Munich art market; Boston art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Gemälde und Zeichnungen 1490–1918*, exh. cat. (Galerie Arnoldi-Livie, Munich, 1987), no. 1.



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17. MAIR VON LANDSHUT

German, circa 1450–1504

Study of an Angel, 1498

Pen and black ink and white tempera highlights on gray prepared paper, 11.3 x 9.5 cm (4⁷/₈ x 3³/₄ in.). Dated: 98 in black ink at the top. Inscribed: 1475 in gray paint in the lower right corner. Collection marks of J.-F. Gigoux and E.-J. Rignault in the lower left corner.
89.GG.11

This and the majority of Mair's rare surviving drawings are executed on prepared paper. Technically and stylistically the present example recalls his drawing of *The Disrobing of Christ* in Berlin (Kupferstichkabinett, inv. KdZ 1052), which is also on gray prepared paper with abundant white heightening. Flat, broken drapery folds similar to those in the angel's robe appear in the pen and ink drawing *Saint John the Evangelist* in the British Museum, London (inv. 1981-3-28-14), which is also dated 1498 at the top. Angels close in type to this one occur in prints by Mair such as *The Holy Family with Two Angels* and *The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne* (F. Koreny, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 9, *Early German Artists* [formerly vol. 6, part 2], nos. 7[365] and 8[366]).

PROVENANCE: Jean-François Gigoux, Paris; Emile-Joseph Rignault, Paris; L. Rosenthal, Bern (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 6, 1967,

lot 1); L. V. Randall, Montreal; Hamburg art market; Boston art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Thomas Le Claire Kunsthandel II: Handzeichnungen und Aquarelle des 15.–19. Jahrhunderts*, exh. cat. (Thomas Le Claire Kunsthandel, Hamburg, 1984), no. 1.



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18. LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER

German, 1472–1553

Study of a Lion, 1509

Pen and brown ink, 6.9 x 11.9 cm (2¹¹/₁₆ x 4¹¹/₁₆ in.)
89.GA.9

This previously unknown drawing by Cranach was used as model for the lion that appears in reverse in the woodcut *The Penitence of Saint Jerome* (W. L. Strauss, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 11, *Sixteenth-Century German Artists* [formerly vol. 7, part 2], no. 63[284]) of 1509. The high finish of the study together with its exceptional fineness of line place it within the tradition of medieval model books. There are subtle changes between the drawing and the lion in the woodcut, most notably in the rendering of the mane and fur.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York; Boston art market.

19. JÖRG BREU THE ELDER

German, circa 1475/76–1537

Tournament Scene, circa 1510–1515

Pen and dark brown ink over black chalk, Diam: 25.5 cm (10 in.). Inscribed (verso): *Bruikleen 100* in graphite; collection mark of the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.
89.GA.16

Breu's authorship of this drawing has only been recently recognized. He made it relatively early in his career when he



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was still strongly influenced by Dürer and his school, as is evident from the exceptionally free quality of the pen work. Like so many of Breu's drawings, it is a design for a stained glass window and forms part of a tradition of windows showing tournament scenes. As is rarely the case, the window made after the drawing has survived and is housed in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (H. Schmitz, *Die Glasgemälde des Königlichen Kunstgewerbe-Museums in Berlin* [Berlin, 1913], vol. 1, p. 156, fig. 256).

PROVENANCE: J. Hendriks, Oisterwijk, Holland (sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, April 25, 1983, lot 2); Munich art market; Boston art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Gemälde und Zeichnungen 1490–1918*, exh. cat. (Galerie Arnoldi-Livie, Munich, 1987), no. 2.



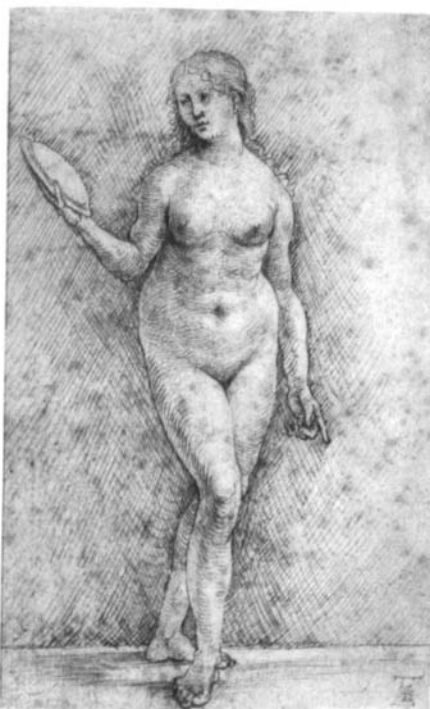
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20. HANS VON KULMBACH
German, circa 1480–1522
The Judgment of Solomon,
circa 1510–1515
Pen and brown ink and gray wash

over traces of black chalk, Diam: 27.6 cm (10⁷/₈ in.). Inscribed (verso): *Martin Schoen, A23750, Dim 276* in graphite.
89.GG.5

This design for a stained glass roundel is previously unpublished. The poses, facial types, and bold, simplified handling of line and wash compare closely with a number of other such designs by Kulmbach such as *A Women's Bathhouse with a Jester* (Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, inv. 15684), which is also roughly of the same dimensions. Both drawings appear to date from around 1510–1515.

PROVENANCE: J. F. Lahmann, Dresden; E. Schilling, London; private collection (sale, Galerie Kornfeld, Bern, June 17, 1987, lot 139); Boston art market.



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21. HANS VON KULMBACH
Nude Woman with a Mirror (Vanitas),
circa 1515–1520
Pen and brown ink, 16.9 x 10.4 cm
(6¹¹/₁₆ x 4¹/₈ in.). Inscribed: *AD* in
brown ink in the lower right corner.
89.GA.6

The head and torso of this unpublished drawing were inspired by Jacopo de' Barbari's engraving of circa 1503–1504, *Nude Woman Holding a Mirror* (J. Levenson et

al., *Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art*, exh. cat. [National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1973], no. 142). De' Barbari's influence can also be found in the softly hatched modeling, which aims not so much to capture the plasticity of the figure as the play of light over the form. Tremulous line work, weblike hatching around the forms, and other features similar to the present example appear in other drawings by Kulmbach such as *Orpheus and Eurydice*, signed and dated 1518 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Germany; Boston art market.



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22. ALBRECHT DÜRER
German, 1471–1528
Design for an Ornament or Signet Ring,
1516
Pen and brown ink, 5.9 x 5.5 cm (2⁵/₁₆
x 2¹/₈ in.). Dated (recto): 1516 in
brown ink at the top; inscribed: 57 in
brown ink in the lower right corner;
inscribed (verso): 2013 in graphite.
89.GA.19

Among the surviving ornamental designs by Dürer, this is closest to a *Design for a Coin of Nuremberg* (present location unknown; F. Winkler, 1938, vol. 3, no. 737), also formerly in the Feder collection and inscribed 54 by the same hand as the 57 on the present drawing. The coat of arms might be that of Lazarus Spengler or Matthew Lang von Wellenburg. Despite its small size, the design is notable for the calligraphic freedom of line. It was intended as a model for a pin, medallion, or possibly a signet ring.

PROVENANCE: R. G. Gutekunst, auction 48, no. 2013; E. von Feder, Karlsruhe; Prince Liechtenstein, Vienna; Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell, Portinscale, Cumberland (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 30, 1986, no. 52); Boston art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Lippmann, *Zeichnungen von Albrecht Dürer* (Berlin, 1896), p. 33, no. 436; E. Flechsig, *Albrecht Dürer: sein Leben und seine Künstlerische Entwicklung* (Leipzig, 1931), vol. 2, p. 353, no. 436; F. Winkler, *Die Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers* (Berlin, 1938), vol. 3, p. 118, no. 740; W. L. Strauss, *The Complete Drawings of Albrecht Dürer* (New York, 1974), vol. 3, p. 1634, no. 1516/9.

23. JÖRG BREU THE ELDER

German, circa 1475/76–1537
A Bridal Scene, circa 1520–1525
 Pen and black ink and brown and orange wash, Diam: 19.8 cm (7¹³/₁₆ in.). Inscribed (verso): *Jorg Breu, 15, A5860* in black chalk; collection marks of Rudolf P. Goldschmidt and David Felix.
 89.GG.17

The concluding episode from Tale 20, "Of Tribulation and Anguish," from the medieval *Gesta Romanorum* (Deeds of the Romans) is illustrated in this drawing, which shows the nuptial chamber of a peasant and the emperor's daughter, whom he married. Other drawings by Breu illustrating earlier moments in the story are in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (inv. 15418), E. Schilling collection, London, and elsewhere. The monumental architectural setting and ornate, pedimented bed reflect Breu's study of Italian Renaissance art on trips to Italy in 1508 and again in 1514/1515.

PROVENANCE: Rudolf P. Goldschmidt, Berlin (sale, Prestel, Frankfurt, October 4, 1917, lot 76); E. Czczowicka, Vienna (sale, Boerner and Graupe, Berlin, May 12, 1930, lot 45); Mr. and Mrs. David Felix, Philadelphia (sale, Christie's, New York, January 12, 1988, lot 90); Boston art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Schilling, "Jörg Breu," *Old Master Drawings* 8 (September 1933), p. 29, pl. 32; K. T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1938), vol. 1, p. 120, under no. 280; E. Schilling and K. Schwarzweller, *Städelsches Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main: Katalog der deutschen Zeichnungen Alte Meister* (Munich, 1973), vol. 1, p. 22, under no. 45; J. Rowlands, *German Drawings from a Private Collection*, exh. cat. (British Museum and other institutions, London, 1984), p. 35, under no. 31.



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24. SEBALD BEHAM

German, 1500–1550

The Circumcision, circa 1522

Pen and brown ink, red chalk, and gray, red, and brown wash, Diam: 22.8 cm (9 in.)

89.GG.7

Around 1520, Beham and his studio produced several cycles of stained glass roundels with religious scenes, as evidenced by at least twenty-five surviving drawings for these windows (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm; British Museum, London; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; and elsewhere). The present example, which might have been part of a series showing either the Life of the Virgin or the Life of Christ, is peopled by the lively peasant types characteristic of Beham; the deft combination of vigorous pen lines and hatched brushwork which models the figures would have readily lent itself to duplication in the medium of glass. The red chalk lines throughout probably indicate the sections of the glass to be cut as well as the placement of the lead.

PROVENANCE: E. Rodrigues, Paris (sale, Frederik Muller, Amsterdam, July 12, 1921, lot 7); private collection, Switzerland; Boston art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1938), vol. 1, p. 117, under no. 274.

25. BARTHEL BEHAM

German, 1502–1540

Study of Three Skulls (recto);

Architectural Study (verso), circa 1530

Pen and black ink, gray wash, and white gouache highlights on green prepared paper (recto); pen and black ink (verso), 14.9 x 23.2 cm (5⁷/₈ x 9¹/₈ in.). Inscribed (recto): AD in gray ink at the bottom.

89.GA.24

The skulls depicted in this drawing are quite close to the three right-hand skulls in Barthel's engraving *Child with Four Skulls* (W. L. Strauss, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 15, *Early German Masters* [formerly vol. 8, part 2], no. 28–(III)[95]) and are also shown in reverse from those in the print. The use of color-grounded paper and the painterly application of white heightening and wash to articulate illumination and shadow recall the precedent of Albrecht Dürer's *Study of a Skull*



25 (recto)



25 (verso)

(Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, inv. 3175, D 147), which he made in preparation for his painting of *Saint Jerome* of 1521 (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, inv. 828). The intriguing architectural study on the verso, which incorporates classical elements as well as Gothic spires, appears to be a design for a church facade or perhaps an altarpiece.

PROVENANCE: Paris art market; London art market.

26. MONOGRAMMIST A.S.

German, active in 1530

The Idolatry of Solomon, circa 1530

Pen and brown ink, 21.3 x 32.5 cm (8³/₈ x 12¹³/₁₆ in.). Inscribed (verso):

from the Earl of Shrewsbury Coll.a in brown ink; blind stamp of the Earl of Shrewsbury and the collection mark of R. P. Roupell.

89.GA.10

King Solomon's worshipping of idols under the influence of his foreign wives (III Kings 11:1–13) was a common subject in German graphic art of the late fifteenth and sixteenth century. The Monogrammist A.S.'s rendering of the subject is notable for its topicality, as King Solomon wears the Order of the Golden Fleece,



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the order of the imperial house of Habsburg. There is one other drawing by this master, signed A.S. and dated 1530 (Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, inv. 40553). The exaggerated fashions of the women as well as the somewhat stiff and decorative manner of drawing indicate that the artist probably hailed from Saxony and was acquainted with the work of the Cranach family.

PROVENANCE: Charles, fifteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, Alton Towers, Staffordshire; R. P. Roupell, London (sale, Christie's, London, July 12, 1887, lot 893); Henry Wagner, London; O. Wagner, London, by descent; private collection (sale, Christie's, London, July 6, 1982, lot 108); private collection (sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 13, 1988, lot 64); Boston art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. T. Parker, "Monogrammist A S, about 1530," *Old Master Drawings* 6, no. 23 (December 1931), pp. 55–56, pl. 50.



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27. ERHARD SCHÖN

German, circa 1491–1542

A Turkish Procession, 1532

Pen and brown ink, 23.6 x 37 cm (9⁵/₁₆ x 14⁹/₁₆ in.)

89.GA.8

In 1532 Schön published a large three-block woodcut depicting a procession with the Turkish sultan (M. Geisberg, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut: 1500–1550* [New York, 1974], vol. 4, nos. 1251–1253), accompanied by verses lamenting the gruesome and bloody Turkish inva-

sion of Europe written by the Nuremberg poet Hans Sachs. The present drawing is a study for the middle block; it is one of the relatively few surviving designs for an early sixteenth-century German broadsheet. Although it is drawn in the same direction as the woodcut, there are important differences between the two. Most notably, the drawing emphasizes the basic outlines of the composition, while the print has been furnished with a greater amount of ornamental detail.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Gutekunst and Klipstein, Bern, November 22, 1956, lot 284; private collection (sale, Galerie Kornfeld, Bern, June 15, 1988, lot 215); Boston art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Stewart, "New Drawings by Erhard Schön and His Circle," *Master Drawings* 26, no. 3 (Autumn 1989), p. 238, pl. 12.

28. VIRGIL SOLIS

German, 1514–1562

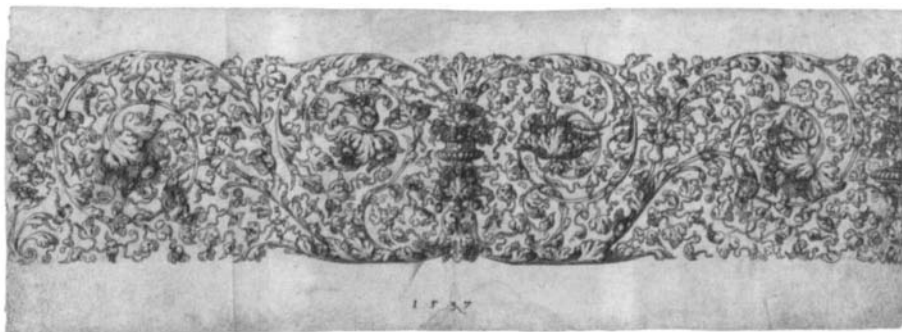
Design for a Frieze of Grapevines, 1537

Pen and black ink, 11.9 x 32.4 cm (4³/₁₆ x 12³/₄ in.). Dated: 1537 in black ink at the bottom.

89.GA.21

Solis was among the most prominent sixteenth-century German designers of ornament. The present drawing closely approximates his engravings for ornamental friezes (I. O'Dell-Franke, *Kupferstiche und Radierungen aus der Werkstatt des Virgil Solis* [Wiesbaden, 1977], nos. 35–41) but does not correspond precisely to any one of them. Like his engraved friezes, the overall symmetry of the drawing is punctuated by a myriad of varying details, which lend the design great liveliness. This intricacy is complemented by the exceptional delicacy and sureness of the pen work.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Christie's, London, December 13, 1984, lot 94; Boston art market.



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29. VIRGIL SOLIS

Design for a Bookplate or a Glass Etching, circa 1550–1560

Pen and black ink and gray wash; verso blackened for transfer, Diam: 5.8 cm (2⁵/₁₆ in.). Inscribed: O.H.L. and V.S. by the artist in black ink at the top; collection mark of Sir Peter Lely at the bottom.

89.GG.22

This coat of arms consisting of the head of King David above a shield with a harp appears to have been designed for a print that either does not survive or was never executed. It is comparable to other small-scale, finely engraved roundels with coats of arms by Solis (I. O'Dell-Franke, *Kupferstiche und Radierungen aus der Werkstatt des Virgil Solis* [Wiesbaden, 1977], nos. 13–15). The extremely fine and vigorous linear style coupled with its diminutive scale lend it a jewel-like character.

PROVENANCE: Sir Peter Lely, London; private collection (sale, Christie's, London, December 11, 1985, lot 174); Boston art market.



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30. HIERONYMUS LANG

Swiss, active 1541–1582

Stained Glass Design for a Married Couple, 1553

Pen and black ink with gray, ocher, brown, and orange washes, 24 x 21.8 cm (9⁷/₁₆ x 8⁹/₁₆ in.). Inscribed (recto): *Gaius Haller und Barbleij fluommen sin huss fraauw 1553* in black ink on the banderole at the bottom; inscribed (verso): 96, 725, and 35 609 in graphite.

89.GG.18

Hieronymus Lang was the founder of a dynasty of stained glass designers in Schaffhausen; his numerous pupils include Tobias Stimmer. Many of his designs are roundels for married couples and are drawn in an engaging, slightly naive style. The present example shows a lyrical rendering of form which is indicative of his debt to earlier Swiss masters of stained glass design such as Niklaus Manuel Deutsch and Hans Holbein the Younger.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Zurich; Boston art market.

31. HANNS LAUTENSACK

German, circa 1520–1564/65

Mountain Landscape with an Imaginary City, circa 1554–1555

Pen and black ink with lead white highlights on red prepared paper, 18.5 x 15.6 cm (7⁵/₁₆ x 6¹/₈ in.). Inscribed (verso): *Altdorfer* in brown ink.

89.GG.14

The small group of surviving drawings by Lautensack has recently been enriched by this example. Its diminutive scale and



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use of a colored ground and jewel-like white heightening continue the tradition of the highly wrought finished drawings of Albrecht Altdorfer and Wolf Huber. Similarly, its depiction of a fantasy city situated in a mountainous setting is a characteristic subject for artists of the Danube school. The delicately delineated mountains recall those in Lautensack's drawing *Christ and the Centurion* (Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, inv. 6932) as well as etchings by him such as *Pathway along a River in a Mountainous Landscape*, which is dated 1554 (A. Schmitt, *Hanns Lautensack*, Nürnberger Forschungen, vol. 4 [Nuremberg, 1957], no. 65).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Belgium; Boston art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Hendrix, "A New Drawing by Hanns Lautensack," *GettyMusJ* 17 (Malibu, 1989), pp. 21–28.

32. JOST AMMAN

Swiss, 1539–1591

An Officer of the Rank of "Oberster Feldprofoss" in the Imperial Army, 1556
Pen and black ink, the surface rubbed with black chalk, 37.8 x 24.1 cm (14¹⁵/₁₆ x 9¹/₂ in.). Signed and dated (recto): IA 1556 in black ink at the bottom; inscribed (verso): *Dr. Schneider* in graphite.
89.GA.15

The high-ranking field officer shown in this example sports a costume notable for its overabundant slashes and ostentatious flounces hanging downward, a style that appeared after 1550. Drawn in black ink and in a sharp linear manner, the work is



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a *Federkunststück*, a type of finished drawing intended as a virtuoso performance in the mastery of pen and ink, often in imitation of engraving. It is the earliest known drawing by Amman, made when he was seventeen years old. Although based upon an engraving of 1555 by Virgil Solis (I. O'Dell-Franke, *Kupferstiche und Radierungen aus der Werkstatt des Virgil Solis* [Wiesbaden, 1977], no. f.16), the finished drawing is far larger than the print and deviates from it in a number of other respects.

PROVENANCE: Hans Schneider, The Hague; Tobias Christ, Basel (sale, Sotheby's, London,

April 9, 1981, lot 12); private collection (sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 13, 1988, lot 63); Boston art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: K. Pilz, "Die Zeichnungen und das graphische Werk des Jost Amman (1539–1591)," *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde*, n.s. 35 (1933), p. 39; idem, "Jost Amman 1539–1591," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 37 (1940), pp. 205, 245; I. O'Dell-Franke, "Federkunststücke von und nach Jost Amman," *Kunst und Antiquitäten* 6 (1986), p. 20; J. C. Smith, *Nuremberg, A Renaissance City 1500–1618*, exh. cat. (Huntington Art Gallery, University of Texas, Austin, 1983), p. 275, n. 5.



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33. MONOGRAMMIST M.S.
German, active in 1557
A Falconer in a Landscape, 1557
Pen and black ink, 15 x 21 cm (5¹⁵/₁₆ x 8¹/₄ in.). Signed and dated (recto): *Im 1557 Jar den 30 November./M.S.* in black ink at the top; inscribed (verso): *Falkenjagd* and *S. 2554* in black ink.
89.GA.13

The drawing shows a falconer accompanied by a dog, crawling with a lure toward a hawk which has just killed its prey. The composition shows marked similarities to two drawings by the Nuremberg artist Augustin Hirschvogel (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest), which are part of several series of hunting scenes (K. Schwarz, *Augustin Hirschvogel* [Berlin, 1927, reprint, New York, 1971], vol. 1, pp. 207–208, nos. E. 15, R. 15; vol. 2, p. 215). This may indicate that the present artist, for whom this is the only known drawing, might also have been active in Nuremberg.

PROVENANCE: Arnold Otto Meyer (sale, C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, March 19–29, 1914, lot 358); private collection (sale, C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, November 11–12, 1921, lot 25); Schöller collection, Germany; C. F. G. R. Schwerdt, London (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 27, 1939, lot 1298); private collection, United States (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 4, 1988, lot 4); Boston art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. F. G. R. Schwerdt, *Hunting, Hawking, Shooting* (catalogue of the author's collection) (London, 1928), vol. 3, p. 219, pl. 253; F. W. Robinson, *One Hundred Master Drawings from New England Private Collections*, exh. cat. (Wadsworth Athenaeum and other institutions, Hartford, 1973), no. 4.

DUTCH



34

34. GOVAERT FLINCK
Dutch, 1615–1660
A Young Man Standing, circa 1658
Black and white chalk on blue paper, 40.8 x 21.5 cm (16¹/₁₆ x 8⁷/₈ in.).
Inscribed: *Baker* in faint black chalk in the lower left corner.
89.GB.46

Although this drawing was previously given to Jacob Baker (exh. cat., Colnaghi's, London, 1967, no. 25), it corresponds more closely to the work of Flinck. It is especially comparable to a signed study of a seated man by Flinck in the Schlossmuseum, Weimar, which is datable to 1658 (inv. KK 4949; W. Sumowski, *Drawings of the Rembrandt School* [New York, 1970], vol. 4, p. 1946, no. 892). The drawing is highly worked and drawn with great sureness of hand in all respects save the positioning of the staff, which is left unresolved. Although Flinck sometimes used his figure studies for paintings, he does not appear to have done so in this case.

PROVENANCE: London art market; private collection (sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 13, 1988, lot 110); New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Old Master Drawings*, exh. cat. (P. and D. Colnaghi, London, 1967), no. 25.



35

35. ADRIAEN VAN DE VELDE
Dutch, 1636–1672
A Cow Grazing, circa 1663
Red chalk, 15.2 x 14 cm (6¹/₈ x 5¹/₂ in.). Signed: *A. V. Velde fc.* in red chalk in the lower left corner.
89.GB.40

Among van de Velde's numerous surviving studies of cows, this newly discovered example is one of the most monumental. It depicts the animal from a low angle that accentuates its blocklike shape and—atypically for Adriaen—omits all traces of a natural setting. As is the case with many of his animal studies, this was used in later works, most notably in one of his best-known paintings, *The Migration of Jacob* of 1663 (Wallace Collection, London, inv. 80).

PROVENANCE: Sale, Christie's, Amsterdam, December 1, 1986, lot 11; London art market.

FLEMISH/BELGIAN

36. THEODOR DE BRY (attributed to)
Flemish, 1528–1598
Design for a Pendant Jewel, circa 1580–1590
Pen and black ink and brown wash, 7.2 x 5.4 cm (2¹³/₁₆ x 1⁷/₈ in.).
Inscribed: *de Bry* in brown ink on a previous mount.
89.GA.20

The expressive owl on a branch which forms the centerpiece of this design harks back to Dürer's well-known woodcut of the same subject (J. D. Passavant, *Le Peintre-Graveur* [New York, 1966], vol. 3,



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no. 199). Much of the beauty of the drawing results from the combination of fine lines with deftly applied washes that conveys the sculptural effect of the precious stones and pearls. It is attributed to Theodor de Bry, the founder of the famous family of printmakers active in Frankfurt am Main during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Christie's, London, December 12, 1985, lot 173; Boston art market.



37. LUCAS VAN UDEN
Flemish, 1595–1672/73

Forest Road at Evening, circa 1640–1650

Black chalk, pen and gray-brown ink, and watercolor, 18.7 x 28.8 cm (7³/₈ x 11³/₈ in). Signed: *l.v.v.* in brown ink in the lower right corner; partial dry stamp of F. Renaud in the lower right corner; (verso) collection mark of J. MacGowan.
89.GG.39

Van Uden produced a number of pastoral landscape paintings with cattle and

women bearing milk containers, but none corresponds to the present drawing, which appears to have been made as a finished work of art. It is one of many surviving watercolors by van Uden that appear to date from the later 1640s. Its fresh coloring and radiant sunlit vista reflect the influence of Rubens's landscape paintings such as *The Rainbow* (Wallace Collection, London, inv. 63).

PROVENANCE: F. Renaud, Paris; J. MacGowan, Edinburgh; T. Philipe, Paris (sale, February 1, 1804, lot 706); private collection (sale, Christie's, Amsterdam, December 1, 1986, lot 4); London art market.



38 (recto)



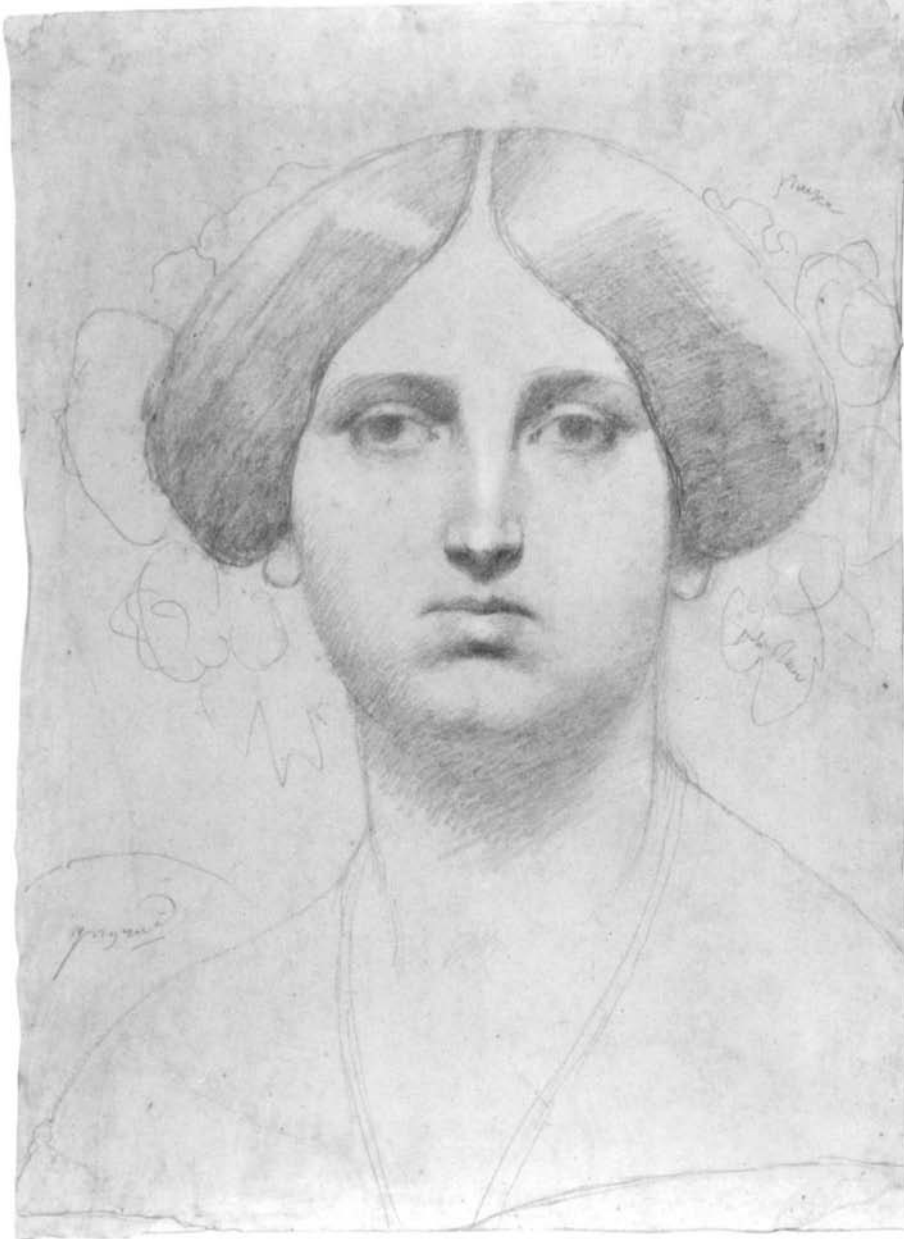
38 (verso)

38. JAMES ENSOR
Belgian, 1860–1949
Christ's Entry into Jerusalem (recto);
Christ Bearing the Cross (verso), 1885
Graphite and Conté crayon on off-white wove paper, 22.5 x 16.6 cm (8⁷/₈ x 6¹/₂ in.). Inscribed (recto): *Salut Jesus roi des Juifs, Vive La Sociale*, and *Les XX* by the artist in Conté crayon in banners at the top.
89.GD.42

The recto of the drawing represents Christ's entry into a city that bears many of the features of nineteenth-century Brussels. The military band, costumed figures, and parade standards suggest that the occasion is Mardi Gras. The inscribed banners above the street refer to issues in Belgian politics and artistic life. The verso, by contrast, depicts Christ on the way to Calvary in a relatively traditional manner, with no obvious reference to contemporary Belgium. The drawing on the recto served as a study for one of Ensor's greatest drawings, *The Lively and the Radiant: Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, 1885 (Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, inv. 1963–E). This, in turn, formed a starting point for his *chef d'oeuvre*, *Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889* of 1888 (J. Paul Getty Museum 87.PA.96).

PROVENANCE: Madame Klerx-Rousseau, Brussels; Ernest Rousseau, Brussels; Jeanne Demany Rousseau, Brussels; Belgian art market; Swiss art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Vanbeselaere, *L'entrée du Christ à Bruxelles* (Brussels, 1957), p. 32, illus.; J. Kaplan, "The Religious Subjects of James Ensor, 1877–1900," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 35 (1966), p. 202; G. Ollinger-Zinque, *Ensor par lui-même* (Brussels, 1976), p. 102, no. 17; D. Lesko, *James Ensor: The Creative Years* (Princeton, 1985), p. 133; S. McGough, *James Ensor's "The Entry of Christ into Brussels in 1889"* (New York and London, 1985), p. 118, fig. 127.



39

FRENCH

39. JEAN-AUGUSTE-DOMINIQUE
INGRES
French, 1780–1867
Study of Madame Moitessier, 1851
Graphite with white chalk, 45.8 x
33.6 cm (18 x 13¼ in.). Inscribed with
color notes in graphite at the right;
signed: *Ingres* by the artist in graphite
at the left.
89.GD.50

Ingres completed two portraits of Inès Moitessier (1819–1898), daughter of a high-ranking Parisian administrative official. The present sheet is a life-size

head study for the standing portrait of Madame Moitessier (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) which Ingres completed in 1851 after abandoning work on the seated version (National Gallery, London), begun in 1844, but not finished until 1856. The abstractly delineated features of the sitter are carried over to the painting with little change. This drawing was preceded by several sketches, including one in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (inv. 1951.14.1), in which Ingres worked out the pose of Madame Moitessier.

PROVENANCE: Inès Moitessier, Paris; by descent; Edgar Degas, Paris (sale, Galerie

Georges Petit, Paris, March 26, 1918, lot 210); H. Schmidt, Geneva; A. McMillan, New York; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *European Drawings*, exh. cat. (Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox, Ltd., London, 1988), no. 46; D. Bull, "London Old Master Drawings," *Burlington Magazine* 131, no. 1030 (January 1989), p. 50.

40. HONORE DAUMIER

French, 1808–1879

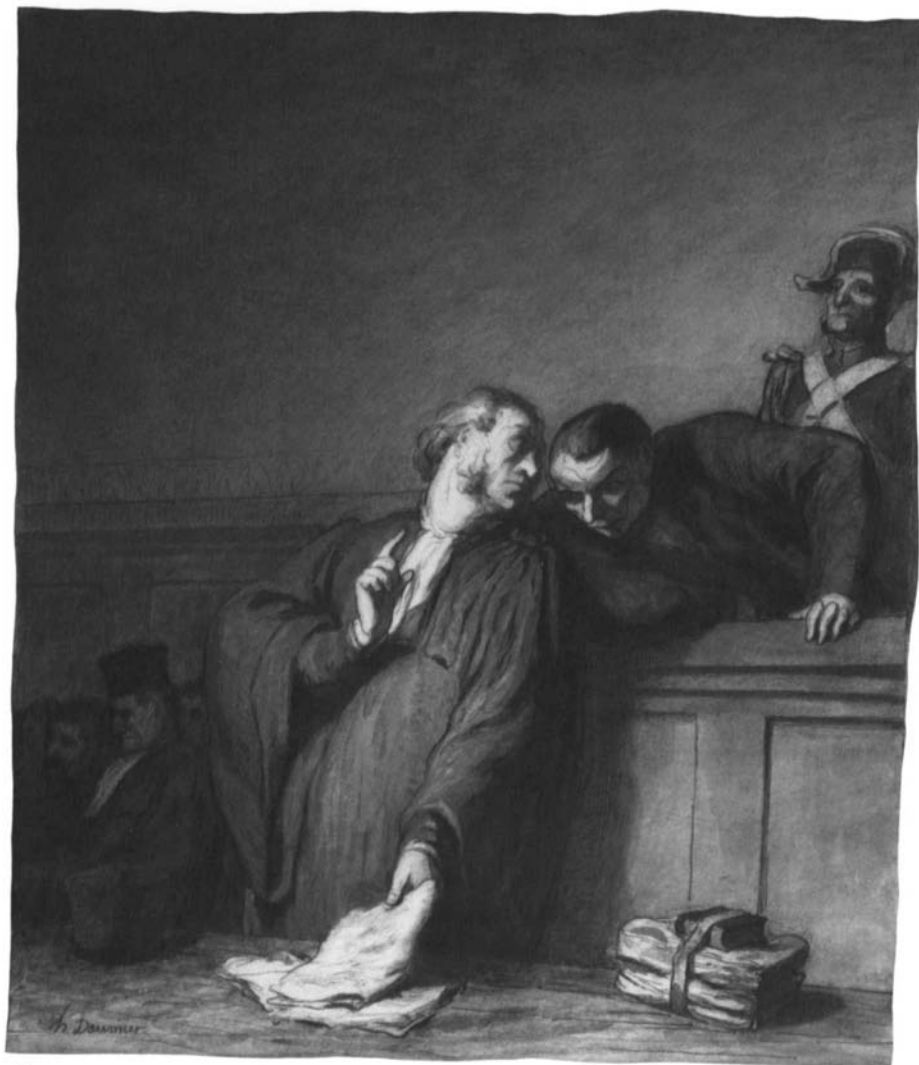
A Criminal Case (Une cause criminelle), circa 1860

Pen and black ink, watercolor, and gouache, 38.5 x 32.8 cm (15½ x 12⅓ in.). Signed: *h. Daumier* in black ink in the lower left corner.
89.GA.33

Daumier focused upon the judicial world in many lithographs, drawings, watercolors, and paintings. The composition of the present sheet, in which a lawyer confers with his client before disinterested spectators, derives from Daumier's lithograph of 1846 from the series *Les Gens de Justice (Men of Law)* (L. Delteil, *Le peintre-graveur illustré: Honoré Daumier* [Paris, 1926], vol. 23, no. 1357); the watercolor is less caricatural than the print. The painterly handling and monumentality of the composition is characteristic of Daumier's watercolors of the early 1860s. It is one of a number of such watercolors which Daumier made for the market.

PROVENANCE: Charles de Bériot, Paris; Mme Albert Esnault-Pelterie, Paris; Gustave Meunié, Paris; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Exposition des peintures et dessins de H. Daumier*, exh. cat. (Galeries Durand-Ruel, Paris, 1878), no. 225; *Exposition Internationale Universelle*, exh. cat. (Grand Palais, Paris, 1900), no. 847; E. Fuchs, *Der Maler Daumier* (Munich, 1927), p. 54, no. 199b; C. Sterling, *Daumier: Peinture, aquarelles, dessins*, exh. cat. (Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris, 1934), no. 136; J. le Foyer, *Daumier au Palais de Justice* (Paris, 1958), pl. 59; K. E. Maison, *Honoré Daumier: Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings, Watercolors and Drawings* (London, 1968), vol. 2, pp. 224–225, no. 673.



41 (recto)



41 (verso)

ITALIAN

41. ANDREA DEL SARTO
 Italian, 1486–1530
Drapery Study (recto); *Study of a Nude Man* (verso), circa 1522–1525
 Red chalk, 28 x 15.2 cm (11 x 6 in.).
 Inscribed (verso): 17 in brown ink.
 Unidentified collection mark on the verso.
 89.GB.53

Both recto and verso are related to the embroidered liturgical vestments (Museo Diocesano, Cortona) made for Cardinal Silvio Passerini and donated to the Cathedral of Cortona in 1526. Sarto supplied designs for several sections of the vestments, including the cope (A. Petrioli Tofani and C. Caneva, in *Andrea del Sarto 1486–1530*, exh. cat. [Palazzo Pitti, Florence, 1986–1987], pp. 118–121, 246–250). This sheet is a preparatory study for the

figure of Moses in the scene of the Transfiguration embroidered on the hood of the cope. Sarto developed the pose of Moses in the nude study on the verso of the sheet, while the recto is devoted to Moses' drapery.

PROVENANCE: Basel art market; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *European Drawings*, exh. cat. (Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox, Ltd., London, 1988), no. 5; D. Bull, "London Old Master Drawings," *Burlington Magazine* 131, no. 1030 (January 1989), p. 49.



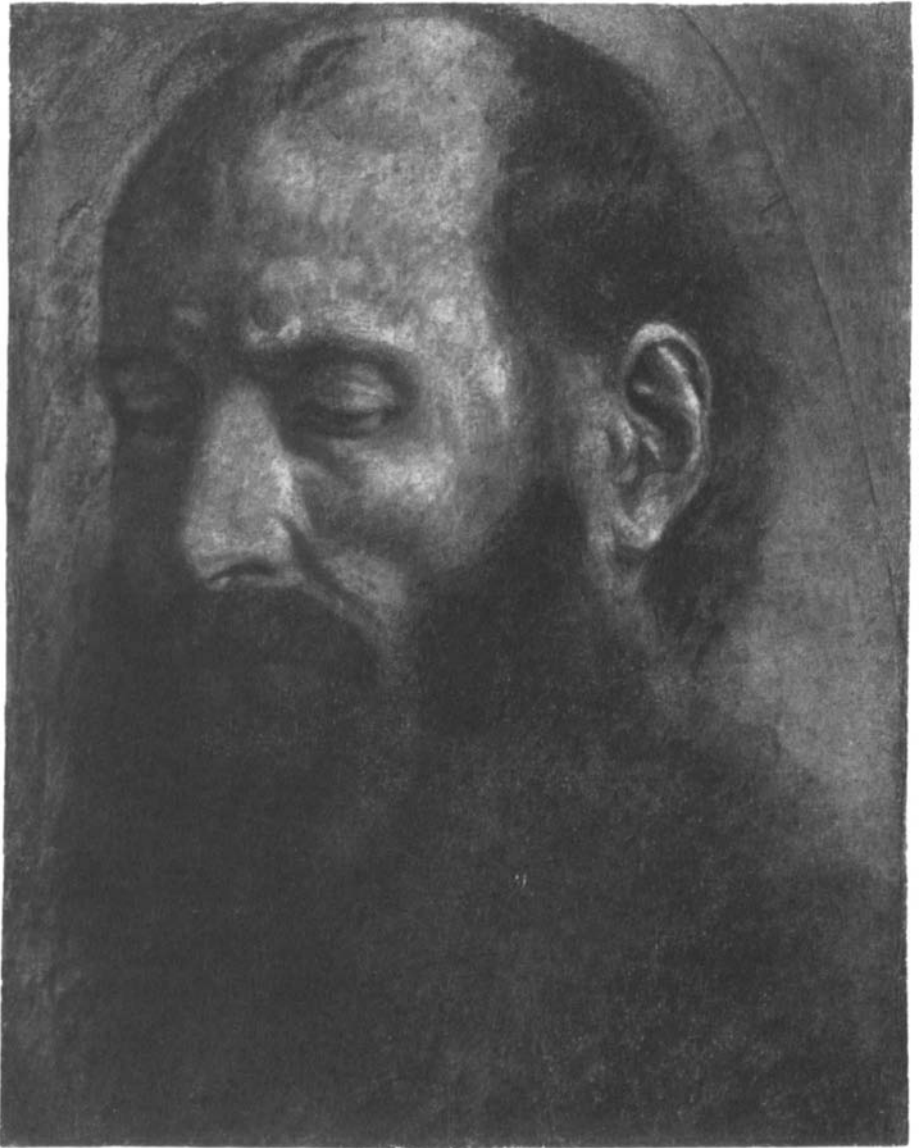
42

42. FRA PAOLINO (Paolo del Signoraccio)
Italian, circa 1490–1547
Saint Lucy, circa 1525–1530
Black and white chalk, 45 x 27.1 cm
(18¹/₈ x 10¹¹/₁₆ in.). Inscribed (verso):
45 in black ink.
89.GB.34

Fra Paolino's style is extremely close to that of his master, Fra Bartolommeo. Fra Paolino made this drawing in preparation for the altarpiece of *The Madonna and Child with Saints* in the church of San Domenico, Pistoia, as first noted by C. Fisher (London, 1988, no. 6). The figure of Saint Lucy appears at the far left of the painting and corresponds closely to the preparatory study. Among the few securely identifiable drawings by Fra Paolino, the present sheet, with its rich *sfumato* effects, is most similar to the drawing of *Saint Agnes* in the Uffizi, Florence (inv. 231 S; A. Forlani Tempesti, *Disegni italiani della collezione Santarelli*, exh. cat. [Uffizi, Florence, 1967], no. 25).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Tuscany; private collection, Belgium (sale, Christie's, London, July 1, 1986, lot 54); London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *European Drawings*, exh. cat. (Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox, Ltd., London, 1988), no. 6; D. Bull, "London Old Master Drawings," *Burlington Magazine* 131, no. 1030 (January 1989), p. 49.



43

43. GIOVANNI GIROLAMO SAVOLDO
Italian, circa 1480–1548
Saint Paul, 1533
Black, white, and red chalk on blue
paper, 28.3 x 22.6 cm (11³/₁₆ x 8⁷/₈ in.)
89.GB.54

This figure appears in two paintings attributed to Savoldo or his workshop. The earlier painting, *The Madonna and Child in Glory with Saints* of 1533 (Santa Maria in Organo, Verona), is a variant of another altarpiece (Brera, Milan) in which the figure does not appear. Thus, Savoldo most likely made the present drawing specifically for the Verona altarpiece. Either the altarpiece or the drawing was the basis for a second painting, the *Saint Paul* in the Courtauld Institute Galleries, London (Lee Collection). Despite the dispute re-

garding the authorship of the two paintings, the present drawing is certainly by Savoldo as its dramatic *chiaroscuro* and powerful naturalism are entirely characteristic of his draftsmanship.

PROVENANCE: Charles Loeser, Florence; his daughter, Geneva; by descent; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Schönbrunner and J. Meder, *Handzeichnungen alter Meister aus der Albertina und anderen Sammlungen* (Vienna, 1904), vol. 9, no. 1007; H. Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *The Drawings of the Venetian Painters in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York, 1944), pp. 247–248, no. 1406; A. Boschetto, *Giovan Gerolamo Savoldo* (Milan, 1963), opposite pl. 66; C. Gilbert, "Savoldo's Drawings Put to Use: A Study in Renaissance Workshop Practices," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, vol. 41 (1953), pp. 13, 16–17; idem, *The Works of Girolamo Savoldo: The 1955 Disser-*



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tation, with a Review of Research, 1955–1985 (New York, 1986), pp. 173, 458, 490, 506, 552; *European Drawings*, exh. cat. (Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox, Ltd., London, 1988), no. 4.

44. FRANCESCO PRIMATICCIO
Italian, 1504–1570

Centaur and Lapith, circa 1550
Red chalk, 21.8 x 27.8 cm (8⁹/₁₆ x 10¹⁵/₁₆ in.). Inscribed with color notes in red chalk in various places; collection mark of N. Dhikos at lower left.
89.GB.66

Although no secure function has been established for this drawing, the color notes indicate that it was probably made as a study for a painting or as a costume design for a ceremonial occasion. The somewhat static and ornamental character of the figures supports the latter hypothesis. Decorative helmets and armor such as that worn by the centaur in the present sheet appear in several drawings of mythological figures by Primaticcio in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (invs. 865/1863, 848/1863, 856/1863), which likewise have not yet been securely linked to a particular event.

PROVENANCE: N. Dhikos, Lyons; New York art market.



45 (recto)



45 (verso)

45. JACOPO TINTORETTO (Jacopo Robusti)
Italian, 1519–1594
Two Studies of Atlas (recto); *Two Studies of Atlas and a Woman* (verso), circa 1550
Black chalk with white chalk highlights on tan paper, 25.5 x 39.1 cm (10 x 15⁷/₁₆ in.). Inscribed

(recto): *Tintoretto* in brown ink at the lower margin.

89.GB.72

This is one of fifteen known sheets of studies of the same figure seen from a variety of viewpoints drawn by Tintoretto and, in some cases, by his studio. The high quality of the present drawing points to the master himself and corresponds closely to other securely attributed drawings by Tintoretto. The figure has been identified as a sculpture of *Atlas* (Pushkin Museum, Moscow) attributed to Jacopo Sansovino or his workshop. Tintoretto often made drawings after sculpture, including casts after antique statuary and several Michelangelo sculptures, and probably had access to the *Atlas* figure in the form of a cast. The small sketch of a woman on the verso has not yet been identified but suggests an early idea for a portrait.

PROVENANCE: C. R. Rudolf, London (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 4, 1977, lot 93); S. Abate, Boston; sale, Christie's, London, April 19, 1988, lot 41; New York art market.

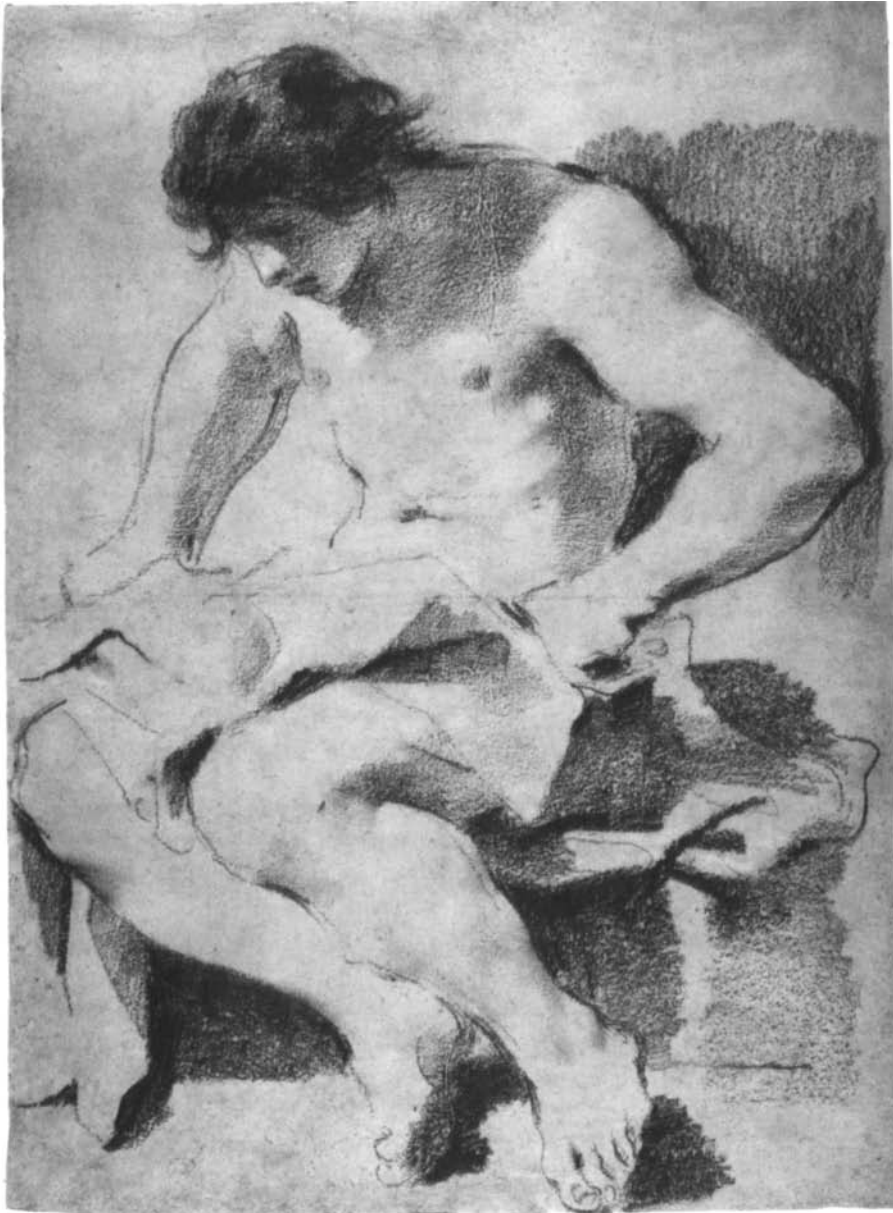
BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Old Master Drawings from the Collection of Mr. C. R. Rudolf*, exh. cat. (Arts Council of Great Britain, London, 1962), no. 69; C. Eisler, *Sculptors' Drawings over Six Centuries 1400–1950*, exh. cat. (The Drawing Center, New York, 1987), no. 12.



46

46. JACOPO BASSANO (Jacopo da Ponte)
Italian, 1510/15–1592
Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple, circa 1569
Black and colored chalks on blue paper, 43.3 x 54.3 cm (17¹/₁₆ x 21³/₈ in.). Inscribed (verso): *Jacopo Bassano fecit Sammlung durazzo Genoa and L250* in graphite.
89.GB.63

This previously unpublished sheet is one of six known large, loosely drawn com-



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positional studies by Bassano. Two of the drawings (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., inv. 1980.30.1 and Louvre, Paris, inv. RF 38.815) are dated 1568, while two others (National Gallery, Ottawa, inv. 4431 and Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, inv. KdZ 24630) are dated 1569. Like the present sheet, the fifth drawing (National Museum, Warsaw) is not inscribed with a date, yet both can be dated stylistically to around the same years. Bassano probably made this drawing as a preparatory study for one of the many versions of the subject painted by him or his workshop. The composition comes closest to a painting of the same theme in a private collection in Bassano del

Grappa, Italy (R. Pallucchini, *Bassano* [Bologna, 1982], no. 30).

PROVENANCE: Marchese Jacopo Durazzo, Genoa; private collection, Switzerland (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 4, 1988, lot 62); New York art market.

47. GUERCINO (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri)
Italian, 1591–1666
Study of a Seated Young Man, circa 1619–1620
Oiled black chalk with white highlights on gray-brown paper, 52.2 x 42.7 cm (22⁹/₁₆ x 16³/₄ in.)
89.GB.52

This recently identified sheet is comparable to a number of academic studies of the male nude made by Guercino, most likely prior to his visit to Rome in 1621 (D. Mahon, *Il Guercino, Disegni*, exh. cat. [Palazzo dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna, 1968], nos. 247–253). The drawings are enlivened by a broad application of the oily chalk, allowing for rich contrasts between light and dark, and are notable for their large scale. The model in the present sheet also appears in a drawing in the Palazzo Rosso, Genoa (inv. 1702; D. Mahon, op. cit., no. 249).

PROVENANCE: Hugh Blaker, London; Sir Colin Anderson, London; Lady Anderson, London (sale, Christie's, London, December 9, 1986, lot 48); London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Selected Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture from the Collection of the Late Hugh Blaker*, exh. cat. (Leicester Galleries, London, 1948), no. 46; *European Drawings*, exh. cat. (Hazlitt, Gooden and Fox, Ltd., London, 1988), no. 26.

48. GUIDO RENI
Italian, 1575–1642
Virgin and Child (recto); *Turbaned Woman* (verso), circa 1640–1642
Black, red, and white chalk (recto); red chalk (verso), 28.5 x 13.9 cm (11³/₁₆ x 5⁷/₁₆ in.). Inscribed (verso): *F. Torre, 599*, and *93* in black chalk; (recto): unidentified collection mark *PM* at lower right.
89.GB.43

The recto was made as a preparatory study for the Madonna and Child in Reni's painting of *The Nativity* (private collection, New York), dated circa 1640–1642 by D. S. Pepper (1984, no. 214). The drawing and painting correspond closely and are executed in the loose manner characteristic of Reni's late style. The drawing exhibits a rather idiosyncratic use of red chalk, which Reni applied in rapid, hard-edged strokes along the Madonna's cheek, abdomen, and right foot, and on the Christ child's belly. The summarily indicated figure on the verso suggests the depiction of a sibyl, as noted by Pepper (1984).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: D. S. Pepper, *Guido Reni* (New York, 1984), p. 292, under no. 214; V. Birke, *Guido Reni und Europa: Ruhm und Nachruhm* exh. cat. (Schirn Kunsthalle, Frankfurt, 1988), no. B 64.



48 (recto)



48 (verso)



49

49. FRANCESCO GUARDI

Italian, 1712–1793

A Theatrical Performance, 1782

Pen and brown ink and brown wash
over black chalk, 27.4 x 38.5 cm

(10¹³/₁₆ x 15¹/₈ in.)

89.GG.51

This sheet is one of a number of drawings and paintings which record the festivities held in Venice in 1782 in honor of the visit of the son of Catherine the Great, the Grand Duke Paul Petrovitch of Russia, and his wife, Maria Fedorovna. The present drawing illustrates a *commedia dell'arte* performance which the couple attended on January 21. Guardi depicted the same setting in a similar drawing of *A Puppet Show* (private collection, Zurich; J. Byam Shaw, *The Drawings of Francesco Guardi* [London, 1951], no. 42), which is in turn related to a third drawing in the Hermitage, Leningrad (inv. 11840). The rapid and lively brushwork of these drawings is characteristic of Guardi's draftsmanship after 1780.

PROVENANCE: A. McMillan, New York;
London art market.

DECORATIVE ARTS

50. TEA SERVICE (*Déjeuner ruban*)
 Comprising a tray (*plateau ovale polylobe*), a teapot (*théière Calabre*), a lidded sugar bowl (*pot à sucre Calabre*), and two cups and saucers (*gobelets Bouillard et soucoupes*)
 French (Sèvres), circa 1765–1770
 Soft-paste porcelain with polychrome enameled decoration and gilding.
 Tray, H: 4.8 cm (1⁷/₈ in.); W: 38.8 cm (1 ft. 3¹/₄ in.); D: 26.9 cm (10¹/₄ in.);
 teapot, H (with lid): 12.4 cm (4⁷/₈ in.);
 W: 16.5 cm (6¹/₂ in.); D: 9.5 cm (3³/₄ in.);
 sugar bowl, H: 6.2 cm (2⁷/₁₆ in.);
 Diam: 7.6 cm (3 in.); cups, H: 8.8 cm (2⁵/₁₆ in.);
 W: 9.2 cm (3⁵/₈ in.); D: 7 cm (2³/₄ in.);
 saucers, H: 3.2 cm (1¹/₄ in.);
 Diam: 3.3 cm (5¹/₄ in.).
 The tray, one cup, and the two saucers are painted beneath with the crossed L's of the Sèvres manufactory and with LG for the gilder Etienne Le Guay. With the exception of one cup and saucer, the pieces bear various incised marks. The tray also bears the manufactory's original printed paper price label.
 89.DE.25

The elaborate friezes, enameled in red, blue, and mauve with polychrome flowers, are probably of a type described as *frises colorées du première ordre*. No other objects produced by Sèvres with precisely the same decoration are known.

PROVENANCE: [Vandermeersch, Paris]; [Bernard Dragesco and Didier Cramoisan, Paris].

51. LIDDED BOWL AND STAND (*Écuelle ronde [deuxième grandeur], et plateau ronde [première grandeur]*)
 French (Vincennes), circa 1752–1753
 Soft-paste porcelain, enameled and gilded. Bowl, 14 x 22.2 x 16.7 cm (5¹/₂ x 8³/₄ x 6⁵/₈ in.); stand, H: 4.1 cm (1⁵/₁₆ in.);
 Diam: 22.8 cm (8¹⁵/₁₆ in.).
 Both the bowl and the stand are painted beneath with the crossed L's of the Vincennes manufactory, and both are incised I.
 89.DE.44

The bowl and the stand are painted with polychrome birds in flight. The ground



50



51

color is a dark underglaze blue known as *bleu lapis*. Only four such *écuelles* painted with this decoration are listed in the Vincennes factory records during 1753. One of these was sold through the *marchand-mercier* Lazare Duvaux to Louis XV, and two, in 1754, to Madame de Pompadour.

It is possible that this *écuelle* was one of those pieces.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, England; [Alexander and Berendt, Ltd., London].



52

52. MANTELPIECE

(?) French (Paris), circa 1690–1700
Marbre d'Antin and *brèche violette*,
 180 x 239 x 43.25 cm (5 ft. 10½ in. x
 7 ft. 10¼ in. x 1 ft. 1½ in.)
 89.DH.30

The mantelpiece is of unusually large size and would have been intended for a grand salon of considerable proportions. Neither the name of the *marbrier* nor that of the designer is known. A mantelpiece of the same size and design, but in yellow marble, is in the Ca' Rezzonico, Venice.

PROVENANCE: [B. Fabre et Fils, Paris].



53 (one of a pair)

53. PAIR OF WALL LIGHTS

French (Paris), 1745–1749
 Gilt bronze, 72.4 x 47.5 x 26.7 cm
 (2 ft. 4½ in. x 1 ft. 6¾ in. x 10½ in.).
 Each light is stamped once with the
 French tax stamp, the crowned C.
 89.DF.26.1–2

The *bronzier* of these wall lights is not identified, though they may be ascribed, on the basis of style, to either Jacques Caffiéri (1678–1755) or Charles Cressent

(1685–1768). Two chandeliers of related form hang in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris; they once belonged to Madame de Pompadour and were listed in the 1764 inventory of her possessions.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Europe; [Alexander and Berendt, Ltd., London].

54. TAPESTRY *THE EMPRESS'S TEA* FROM THE EMPEROR OF CHINA SERIES

French (Beauvais), 1690–1705
 Wool and silk, 419.1 x 195 cm (13 ft. 9 in. x 6 ft. 3 in.). The border of the tapestry bears the woven coat of arms and monogram of Louis-Alexandre de Bourbon, comte de Toulouse and duc de Penthièvre (1678–1737).
 89.DD.62

The tapestry series entitled *The Emperor of China* was designed by Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer (1639–1699), Guy-Louis Vernansal (1648–1729), Jean-Baptiste Blain de Fontenay (1653–1715), and one other unidentified artist. This example was woven under the direction of Philippe Béhagle (director of the Beauvais manufactory 1684–1705, died 1705).

The Empress's Tea is the sixth tapestry of a commission of ten woven for the comte de Toulouse. Five of these are already in the Museum's collection (83.DD.336–340), two are in the Palais de Compiègne, France, and the last two are lost.

PROVENANCE: Louis-Alexandre de Bourbon (1678–1737), hung in his Château de Rambouillet; Louis-Jean-Marie de Bourbon (1725–1793), by descent; Louise-Marie-Adélaïde de Bourbon (1753–1821), by descent; Louis-Philippe d'Orléans (1773–1850), by descent; sale of six of the original ten, Paris, January 28, 1852, lot 8; Thérèse d'Albert-Luynes (married 1894, died after 1926), France and New York, 1926; [French and Company, New York, after 1926]; John Thompson Dorrance, Sr., Newport, Rhode Island; John Thompson Dorrance, Jr., Newport, R.I.; Elinor Dorrance Hill Ingersoll (Mrs. Stuart H. Ingersoll), Newport, R.I.; Preservation Society of Newport County, Château-sur-Mer, Newport, R.I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Montié and de Dion, "Quelques documents sur le Duchépairie de Rambouillet," *Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société archéologique de Rambouillet* 7 (1886), pp. 208, 227; J. Badin, *La manufacture de tapisseries de Beauvais* (Paris, 1907), pp. 13, 21; Dr. Szkolny, "Vom amerikanischen Kunstmarkt," *Cicerone* 18 (1926), pp. 271–272; E. Standen, "The Story of the Emperor of China: A Beau-



54

vais Tapestry Series," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal* 2 (1976), pp. 103–117; C. Bremer-David, "Set of Five Tapestries" in "Acquisitions Made by the Department of Decorative Arts in 1983," *GettyMusJ* 12 (1984), pp. 173–

181; E. Standen, "'The Audience of the Emperor,' from the series 'The Story of the Emperor of China,'" *European Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 2 (1985), pp. 461–468.



55 (one of a pair)

55. PAIR OF SUPPORTS (*Gaines*)
 French (Paris?), circa 1760–1770
 Pine with traces of gesso and paint,
 127 x 40.7 x 30.5 cm (4 ft. 2 in. x 1 ft.
 4 in. x 1 ft.)
 89.DA.2

These supports are after designs by Jean-Charles Delafosse (1734–1791), whose publication of 1768, *Nouvelle iconologie historique: ou attributs hiéroglyphiques* (Amsterdam, circa 1787–1789), includes an engraving of two supports incorporating many of the elements on these examples. Delafosse's designs were instrumental in spreading the early Neoclassical style, known as *le goût antique à la grec*, throughout Europe.

PROVENANCE: [Galeries Heilbrönnner, Paris]; [French and Company, New York, 1912–1925 (stock no. 5174)]; Mrs. James B. Higgins, United States, 1925; [Patrick Perrin, Paris].



56

56. CONSOLE TABLE

French (Paris), circa 1775

Painted and gilded oak with *bleu turquin* marble top, 85.7 x 104.7 x 46.3 cm (2 ft. 9³/₄ in. x 3 ft. 5¹/₄ in. x 1 ft. 6¹/₄ in.)

89.DA.29

The design of this table is in the relatively early Neoclassical style. The decorative elements still retain the boldness of the earlier *goût grec* design, as in the decoration of the four legs and the stretcher, while incorporating more graceful and refined details characteristic of the late 1770s and 1780s, such as the frieze of *rinceaux* along the top.

PROVENANCE: [Kraemer et cie, Paris].



57

57. VASE

French (Paris), circa 1770

Granite with gilt bronze mounts, 37.2 x 48.2 x 21.6 cm (1 ft. 2⁵/₈ in. x 1 ft. 7 in. x 8¹/₂ in.)

89.DJ.31

Marbles or hardstones mounted with gilt bronze were extremely popular during the eighteenth century. This example, in the early Neoclassical style which became popular in Paris around 1765, may have originally held potpourri.

PROVENANCE: [Maurice Segoura, Paris].

SCULPTURE AND WORKS OF ART



58 (front view, closed)

FURNITURE: GERMAN

58. DISPLAY CABINET (*Kabinettschrank*)
German (Augsburg), circa 1620–
1630

Ebony, porphyry, and semiprecious stones; interior also with oak, chestnut, walnut, pearwood, boxwood, ivory, marble, lapis lazuli, cornelian,

agate, onyx, enamel, snakeskin, and tortoiseshell, 73 x 58 x 59 cm (28³/₄ x 22¹³/₁₆ x 23¹/₄ in.)
89.DA.28

The architecturally inspired form of this piece corresponds to a type of cabinet that was produced in Augsburg in the first decades of the seventeenth century. Although its maker is unknown, this piece

was undoubtedly influenced by the projects of Ulrich Baumgartner (1579–1652), arguably the greatest Augsburg cabinet-maker of the early seventeenth century. Various masters working in the same *Kunstischlers* workshop would have executed the cabinet's diverse embellishment. One of these craftsmen, known as the Monogrammist ALVB, has inscribed



58 (front view, open)

the elaborately carved fruitwood decoration on one side three times with his initials.

All four sides open to reveal a surprisingly complex series of drawers and compartments that are richly decorated in a variety of techniques and materials with scenes representing biblical, mythological, and historical subject matter includ-

ing: Christ and the Samaritan woman; the death of Cleopatra; the death of Lucretia; symbols of the Passion; Diana and Callisto; the contest of Apollo and Marsyas; Judith and Holofernes; Phyllis and Aristotle; and two Renaissance-style portrait medallions. Whereas the preponderance of subjects in which women figure prominently has yet to be explained, the re-

ligious subjects express a concern for Christian virtue that may have served as a moralizing reminder in light of the object's worldly function: the storage and display of precious collector's objects.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Sweden; J. Kugel, Paris, since the mid-1970s.

PHOTOGRAPHS

Note: The most concentrated effort in 1989 went toward complementing strengths of the existing collection. Three particularly rich holdings are the work of Carleton Watkins, Timothy O'Sullivan, and Edward Weston, all photographers whose work in the West significantly influenced the course of American photography. Interesting groups of photographs by the three photographers were added that filled gaps in our otherwise significant holdings of their work. With the exception of William Henry Fox Talbot and the partnership of David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, the collection is generally weak in British photographs of the period of the late 1840s and 1850s. Purchase of a two-part panorama by Calvert Jones and a pair of studies by Robert Howlett of *The Great Eastern* steamship helped fill this gap.

The existing collection is strong in the period of early modernism, and in particular, the work of Paul Strand. We were fortunate to be able to purchase a group of photographs that were acquired by Kurt Baasch, who was Strand's close personal friend and his first collector after Alfred Stieglitz. Baasch was the model for a portrait by Strand made in 1913 that gives the first signal of a break with Pictorialism, and that anticipates by about five years the powerful studies of his wife, Rebecca. (See Belinda Rathbone, "Portrait of a Marriage: Paul Strand's Photographs of Rebecca," *GettyMus* 17 [Malibu, 1989], pp. 83–98.) Baasch also had the good taste and foresight to acquire the only platinum print of Strand's 1916 study of a woman seated on a park bench that was made famous by Stieglitz in the last issue of *Camera Work* (1917).

In the following entries will be found details of the above photographs and others that have been chosen to selectively represent the Museum.



59

59. CALVERT RICHARD JONES
British, 1804–1877
Two-Part Panorama Study of Margam Hall with Figures, 1845–1850
Salt prints from calotype negatives,
22.2 x 36.1 cm (7⁵/₁₆ x 17³/₄ in.)
89.XM.75.1–2

Margam Hall, now a derelict ruin, was an immense Tudor Gothic house of red stone in southern Wales. It was completed about ten years before the date of this photograph by the eclectic Regency architect Thomas Hopper for Christopher Rice Mansell Talbot, perhaps the richest man in Wales and a cousin of William Fox Talbot. Fox Talbot had instructed the Reverend Jones in the calotype process used to make this pair of salt prints. The wife of the photographer and Christopher Talbot's family posed in front of their vast house. Jones appears to have been the first photographer to have made panoramic studies from paired negatives, and he is probably the creator of the famous panorama of Talbot's photographic establishment at Reading (one print is now in the Royal Photographic Society, Bath; the other is in the National Museum of Photography, Film, and Television, Bradford).

PROVENANCE: By descent in the Jones family (sale, Sotheby's, London, April 14, 1989, lot 160); [Hans Kraus, New York].



60

60. CHARLES-VICTOR HUGO
French, 1826–1871
Auguste Vacquerie, circa 1853
Salt print, 8.5 x 7.1 cm (3³/₈ x 2¹³/₁₆ in.). Inscribed: *Aug. Vacquerie* in an unidentified hand in pencil on the verso of the print.
89.XM.76

Charles-Victor Hugo, son of the novelist Victor Hugo, and the French romantic writer Auguste Vacquerie (1819–1895) followed the elder Hugo into political exile on the island of Jersey in the English Channel from 1851 to 1855. What developed there was a close-knit literary and

artistic coterie of family and friends. In March of 1853, Charles-Victor left for Caen to learn the craft of photography and returned to document this circle. This photograph, one of many taken by him on Jersey, was probably planned as an illustration to a collaborative book of verses and drawings by Victor Hugo with prose by Auguste Vacquerie, Charles-Victor, and François Hugo. Called *Jersey et les îles de la Manche*, it was announced in *La Lumière* as “a great event for literature and photography,” but was never published.

Scholars have often attributed Hugo photographs to the “team” of Charles Hugo and Auguste Vacquerie. In fact, Charles most likely collaborated extensively with both his father and Vacquerie, yet he seems to have been the primary creative force. The way the face seems to emerge and, at the same time, disappear into the dark background reflects the influence of Rembrandt’s *chiaroscuro* on nineteenth-century photography.

PROVENANCE: David Mancini, France; [unidentified seller] (sale, Sotheby’s, New York, April 26, 1989, lot 4).

61. ROGER FENTON

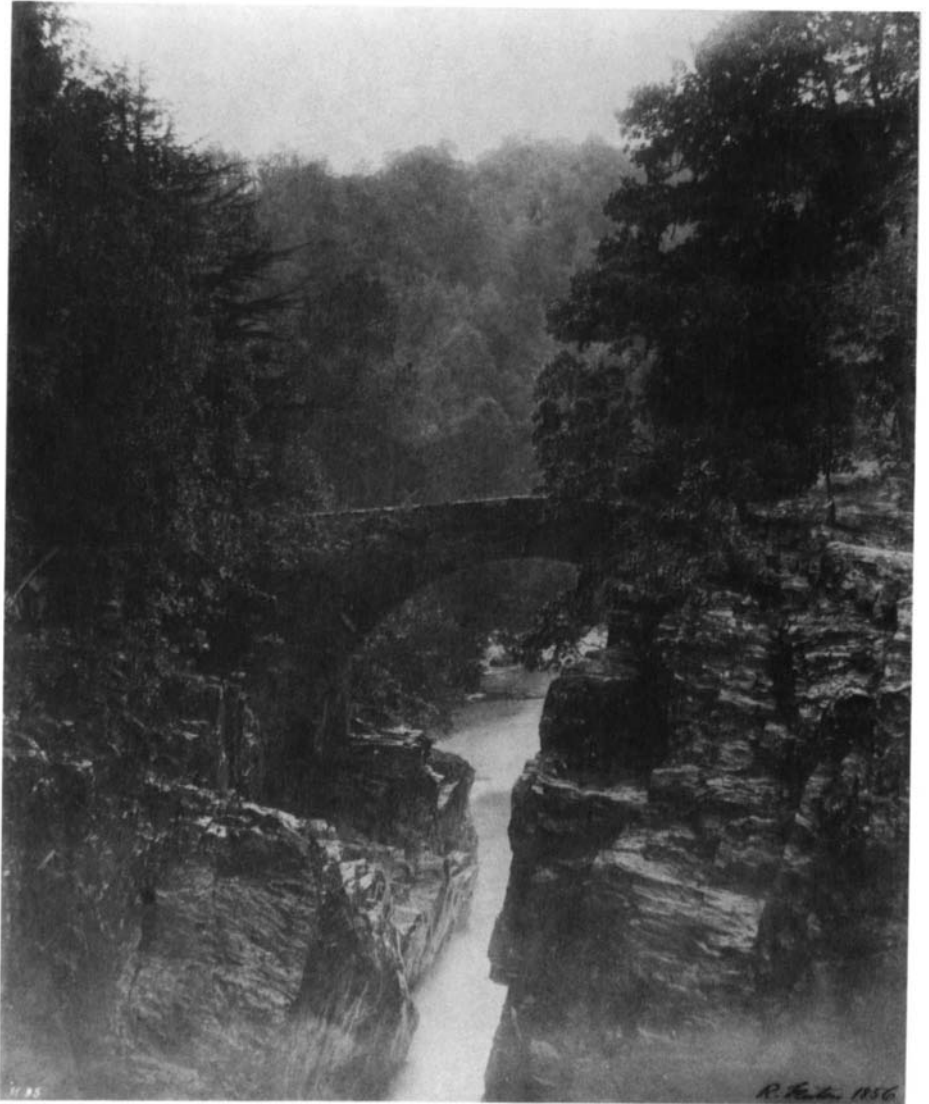
British, 1819–1869

The Hermitage Bridge, 1856

Salt print from a glass negative, 42.1 x 34.9 cm (16½ x 13¼ in.). Signed and dated on the print; titled and inscribed: *Dunkeld/H.mo.85* on the mount.

89.XM.57

Fenton’s attitude toward landscape, one of his many subjects, was that of a romantic. The stream here, its water made milk by the length of the exposure that was necessary to record the foreground detail on the collodion on glass negative, is quintessentially pastoral. The graceful arc of the rustic bridge betokens a gentle coexistence with the natural rock below, in contrast to the ravaging of much of the English countryside caused by the rapid industrialization of Britain during the nineteenth century. The image was one of the results of an expedition that Fenton made to Scotland expressly to photograph landscape in 1856, the year of his greatest photographic productivity. Two other photographs made during this trip have also been acquired by the Museum.



61

PROVENANCE: [Ken Jacobson, Great Bardfield, Essex]; [Charles Isaacs, Malvern, Pennsylvania]; [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].

62. ROBERT HOWLETT

British, 1831–1858

“The Great Eastern”: *Richard Tangye with Hydraulic Press*, 1857

Albumen print, 28.1 x 35.7 cm (11¼ x 14¼ in.). Photographer’s blind stamp on mount (recto).

89.XM.68.1

The unprecedented scale of the construction of *The Great Eastern*, the largest (nearly seven hundred feet long) and most powerful ship of the nineteenth century, attracted considerable attention in the press during the three and a half years the project required. Near the end of the construction period the *Illustrated Times*



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commissioned Robert Howlett to go to East London to make a series of photographs of the ship. From these the newspaper produced a group of wood engravings for a special issue.

In this atmospheric and nearly surreal composition, the enormous hulk of the

ship with the steel cage of one of its paddle wheels looms over the engineer Richard Tangye, whose hand rests on one of the hydraulic presses he designed to launch the ship. The series of photographs of *The Great Eastern* is Howlett's best-known work in a brief but very productive career, cut short by his death at twenty-seven.

PROVENANCE: From the estate of Isambard Kingdom Brunel, to one of his descendants (sale, Sotheby's, London, November 6, 1987, lot 113); [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].



63

63. ROBERT HOWLETT
I. K. Brunel and Others Observing "Great Eastern" Launch Attempt, 1857
 Albumen print with arched top, 24.7 x 21.4 cm (9³/₄ x 8⁷/₁₆ in.). Photographer's blind stamp on mount (recto).
 89.XM.68.2

The fifth figure from the right in this photograph is Isambard Kingdom Brunel, the great engineer of railroads, bridges, and ships. Cigar in hand, he stands on an observation platform with a group of journalists and contractors on the occasion of the first attempt to launch his largest ship, *The Great Eastern*. It took three attempts over a period of three months to launch the ship, which weighed 22,800 tons and was powered by both screws and paddle wheels with auxiliary sails. Howlett's photograph is surprisingly informal and unposed for the period and occasion, prefiguring modern photojournalism. Mud from the construction site is visible on the boots of the observers.

PROVENANCE: From the estate of Isambard Kingdom Brunel, to one of his descendants (sale, Sotheby's, London, November 6, 1987, lot 116); [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].



64

64. CARLETON WATKINS
 American, 1829–1916
Coast View near Mendocino, 1863
 Albumen print, 38.2 x 51.8 cm (15¹/₁₆ x 20³/₈ in.). Signed and, in a second hand, titled on mount.
 89.XM.61.2

This spare and unusual composition was created when Watkins was in Mendocino in 1863, having been commissioned to make photographs at nearby Noyo and at Albion where there were lumber mills at the mouths of two small rivers that empty into the Pacific. Watkins took the opportunity to make photographs of the town of Mendocino and a series of coastal views that rival, in their visual power, his better known photographs of the Yosemite valley. Using a collodion on glass negative, the length of the exposure necessary to capture foreground detail caused the surf to blur into a painterly and atmospheric texture. The atmospheric conditions also produced painterly divisions between the foreground, middleground, and background of these headlands.

PROVENANCE: [Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco].

65. CARLETON WATKINS
Smelting Works, New Almaden, 1863
 Albumen print with arched top, 41.2 x 52.5 cm (16⁵/₁₆ x 20⁵/₁₆ in.). Signed, titled, and inscribed *No. 10* on the mount.
 89.XM.61.1

Watkins's remarkable study of the way light near the coast in California bathes



65

the gentle hills and geometric buildings with luminosity was made, despite its poetic qualities, as part of a commissioned assignment. The owners of the New Almaden quicksilver mines in the hills south of San Jose in Santa Clara County employed Watkins to document their mining and manufacturing facilities and operations. Watkins made at least eight mammoth plate overall views of the mines, smelters, and adjacent housing and a set of stereo views of actual steps in the process of quicksilver production. Quicksilver, another name for mercury, was extracted from ore by smelting. It was principally used in industrial processes for the purification of gold and silver, large quantities of which were then being mined in California. To make the photograph Watkins carried his large camera and the requisite glass plates up a nearby hill where his vantage point produced the series of receding diagonals, extending into the landscape, that lace his composition together. His choice of viewpoint brought order to what must have initially seemed an intractably sprawling subject. He reinforced that order by his choice of a time of day when the shadows strengthened his geometry.

PROVENANCE: [Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco].



66

66. CARLETON WATKINS
*Dams and Lake, Nevada County,
 Distant View, circa 1871*
 Albumen print, 40.2 x 54.4 cm
 (15¹³/₁₆ x 21³/₈ in.)
 89.XM.61.3

Watkins's particular genius was his power to organize visually in two dimensions sprawling subjects that resisted being harnessed by the photographer. Although the subject of this picture appears to be pure landscape, it was made in conjunction with a commission to photograph mining operations in northern California. This overall view of dams is an introduction to a series. In the rest of the series Watkins moved in closer to the subject of his commission (see adjacent photograph). An undulating horizon also characterizes some of his earlier work in the Yosemite valley.

PROVENANCE: [Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco].

67. CARLETON WATKINS
*Dam and Lake, Nevada County, Near
 View, circa 1871*
 Albumen print, 41.1 x 54.9 cm (15¹³/₁₆ x
 21³/₈ in.)
 89.XM.61.4

By the beginning of the 1870s gold mining in California had progressed well beyond the early stages of panning for nuggets in streams. Enormous log dams such as this were built in order to entirely disrupt or divert the courses of small rivers, thus permitting access to underlying veins of metal. The size of the dam is difficult to judge until one notices a minuscule figure seated atop the middle of the dam, perhaps placed there for just this reason. The companies that built such works commissioned Watkins to photograph them, in part to attract foreign investment by providing evidence of the



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scale of their operations. He chose a raking angle of light that gives texture to the wood and placed his camera where two pine trees lead into the composition and provide emphatic verticals. Essentially he has ordered and dignified a prosaic subject.

PROVENANCE: [Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco].



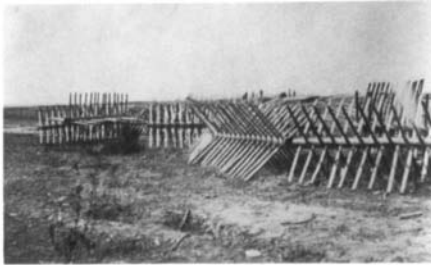
68

68. ANDREW JOSEPH RUSSELL
 American, 1830–1902
*Field Fort—One Hundred Pound
 Cannons—Army of the James, 1865*
 Albumen print, 16.4 x 24 cm (6⁷/₁₆ x
 9⁷/₁₆ in.). Titled and dated in ink on
 the recto of the mount.
 89.XA.77.57

This photograph and the three which follow it are drawn from *Souvenirs* [sic] of the War, an album of sixty-one albumen

prints made by A. J. Russell and assembled by Frederick V. Streeter to commemorate the latter's involvement in the Civil War. Streeter, a native of Vernon, Vermont, and a music teacher in civilian life, enlisted in the navy in August 1864 but transferred to the army the following month. By December he had become a first lieutenant in the Commissary Department of the Construction Corps of the United States Military Railroad in Alexandria, Virginia. Captain A. J. Russell, the maker of these photographs, was also attached to the Corps. The subjects of the prints relate particularly to the battle of Chaffin's Farm, Virginia, and the final siege of Petersburg, the gateway to Richmond, and the fall of the Confederacy. The gun emplacements indicate the heavy artillery brought to bear on the Confederate capital.

PROVENANCE: Descendants of Frederick V. Streeter (sale, Sotheby's, New York, April 26, 1989, lot 44).



69

69. ANDREW JOSEPH RUSSELL

Union Army's Defense before Their Earth Works or Trenches, 1864

Albumen print, 18.6 x 31.1 cm (7⁵/₁₆ x 12¹/₄ in.). Titled and dated in ink on the recto of the mount.

89.XA.77.56

As an added deterrent to an offensive cavalry charge, Army Engineers constructed a mobile wooden barrier called a *cheval-de-frise*, which, if properly positioned, would impale the charging horses of the enemy. Russell's duty, as an engineer-photographer with the elite Railroad Construction Corps, entailed recording the work of the Corps as it helped move the Union Army through Virginia. In creating a photographic record which could be of practical use as a guide for other units elsewhere, Russell helped set standards for what would evolve into the modern historical photographic archive.

PROVENANCE: Descendants of Frederick V. Streeter (sale, Sotheby's, New York, April 26, 1989, lot 44).



70

70. ANDREW JOSEPH RUSSELL

The Eagle "Old Abe," 1865

Albumen print, 8.4 x 7.3 cm (3⁵/₁₆ x 2⁷/₈ in.). Inscribed: *Eagle "Old Abe"* in pencil on the recto of the mount. 89.XA.77.15

"Old Abe," a bald eagle, was apparently an army mascot named after Abraham Lincoln. This tableau, with the eagle perched on a cannon and a soldier posed as a cannonball within it, records one of the lighter moments of the war during the long siege of Richmond in 1865.

PROVENANCE: Descendants of Frederick V. Streeter (sale, Sotheby's, New York, April 26, 1989, lot 44).



71

71. ANDREW JOSEPH RUSSELL

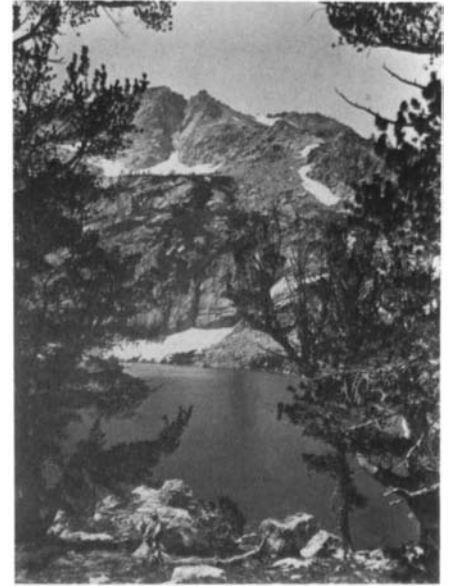
Railroad Accident on the Alexandria Railroad Caused by Rebels, 1864

Albumen print, 23.5 x 32.6 cm (9¹/₄ x 12⁷/₈ in.). Inscribed: *R.R. Accident on Alexandria and [Orange] R.R.—caused by Rebels—(1864)* in ink on the recto of the mount; inscribed: *Mosley's [sic] Men* in blue pencil on the recto of the mount.

89.XA.77.18

In 1863 Captain Russell received a special assignment to the Construction Corps of the United States Army Military Railroad under General Herman Haupt. Of the several officially sanctioned Civil War photographers, Russell was the only one who was also a soldier. The photographers documenting the War Between the States were among the first to bring home the horrors of war. Russell's documentation of this accident, caused by sabotage of the tracks by Mosby's Rangers, depicts the devastation such conflict creates. Russell showed special talent at organizing pictures comprising a messy agglomeration of detail.

PROVENANCE: Descendants of Frederick V. Streeter; (sale, Sotheby's, New York, April 26, 1989, lot 44).



72

72. TIMOTHY O'SULLIVAN

American, circa 1840–1882

Lake Marion, Summits of East

Humboldt Mountains, Nevada, 1868

Albumen print, 27.1 x 19.7 cm (10¹¹/₁₆ x 7³/₄ in.). Printed: *U.S./ Engineer Department./ Geological Exploration./ Fortieth Parallel./ T. H. O'Sullivan, Photographer./ No. —* on the recto of the mount; wet stamp: *Slater Memorial Museum./ Norwich, Conn./ No. —* on the verso of the mount; inscribed: *Geology* in ink.

89.XM.65.2

Like many of his generation O'Sullivan found it difficult to readjust to civilian life after the war and so, in 1867, he went West, becoming the photographer for the first of the great postwar surveys of the American frontier, the Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel, led by Clarence King. Sponsored by the government and organized by United States Geologist-in-Charge Clarence King, the expedition set out from San Francisco with the intent of studying the natural resources and mapping the geologic features of the eastern Sierra Nevada mountains. If O'Sullivan and other members of the group had gone West with a view of a benevolent and hospitable nature, they found a world different from the paradise they expected. Snow packs often remained in the peaks throughout the summer. As the snow was wet the men were occasionally forced to travel at night when the mountain air froze it into

a crust firm enough to support them.

PROVENANCE: Slater Memorial Museum, Norwich, Connecticut; private collection, United States; [Etherton/Stern Gallery, Tucson, Arizona].



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73. TIMOTHY O'SULLIVAN

Austin, Nevada, 1868

Albumen print, 20 x 27.3 cm (7⁷/₈ x 10³/₄ in.). Printed: *U.S./Engineer Department./Geological Exploration./Fortieth Parallel./T. H. O'Sullivan, Photographer./No. — on the recto of the mount; wet stamp: Slater Memorial Museum/Norwich, Conn./No. — on the verso of the mount; inscribed: Geology in ink.*
89.XM.65.3

In the winter of 1867–1868 the expedition party remained in western Nevada while Clarence King returned to San Francisco. During this period O'Sullivan documented the gold and silver mining operations of Virginia City, Carson, and Austin, Nevada. O'Sullivan photographed a number of panoramas of mining towns that were, however, rarely printed and mounted together. This print, showing the giant smelters and their adjacent tailings and the houses that made up the city of Austin, represents a single plate which was conceived as part of a panoramic view, though never published as such.

PROVENANCE: Slater Memorial Museum, Norwich, Connecticut; private collection, United States; [Etherton/Stern Gallery, Tucson, Arizona].

74. TIMOTHY O'SULLIVAN

Shoshone Falls, Idaho, 1868

Albumen print, 194 x 27.1 cm (7⁵/₈ x 10¹¹/₁₆ in.). Printed: *U.S./Engineer Department./Geological Exploration./Fortieth Parallel./T. H. O'Sullivan,*



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Photographer./No. — on the recto of the mount; inscribed: Shoshone Falls, Snake River, Idaho, (from the South Bank) in pencil on the verso of the mount; wet stamp: Slater Memorial Museum/Norwich, Conn. on the verso of the mount; inscribed: Geology in ink.

89.XM.65.1

O'Sullivan did not romanticize the territory he photographed but instead used the camera to reinforce its monumentality. The insertion of an occasional figure into the composition helped to emphasize the expansive scale of the western landscape and show that man was but a single unit in the grand scheme of the wilderness. In his photographs for the government surveys he addressed the primitive vastness of the American interior, creating documents which capture the wondrousness of nature more accurately and respectfully than the picturesque work of many of his contemporaries. King and O'Sullivan journeyed to the Snake River and Shoshone Falls in southern Idaho when fieldwork for the King survey resumed after the winter of 1868. According to an anonymously published article in *Harper's Monthly* in 1868 the men were both attracted and repelled by the blackness and power of Shoshone Falls. O'Sullivan was impressed by the "weird forms" created by the "constant action of rushing water."

King and O'Sullivan slept by the falls, watching the tumbling water illuminated by the moon.

PROVENANCE: Slater Memorial Museum, Norwich, Connecticut; private collection, United States; [Etherton/Stern Gallery, Tucson, Arizona].



75

75. FREDERICK EVANS

British, 1853–1943

Angel, Choir Chapel, Reims Cathedral, circa 1900

Platinum print, 25.4 x 16.5 cm (10 x

6½ in.). The artist's dry stamp on mount, lower right; ex libris on the verso of the mount.

89.XM.64

It is unusual in Evans's oeuvre to find a close-in examination of one sculptural detail, although one of his best known images is a grotesque head from Ely Cathedral. The sculpture seen here is one of a series of eleven angels dating from about 1230 found above the buttresses of the radiating chapels of the choir at the lower level of Reims Cathedral. This angel appears to be holding an architectural reliquary in its draped hands; a representation of an architectural monument hovers overhead. Evans's passion for Gothic architecture and its decoration is embodied in this single, exceptional composition, which contains symbolism that is personal to Evans and at the same time general in its reach.

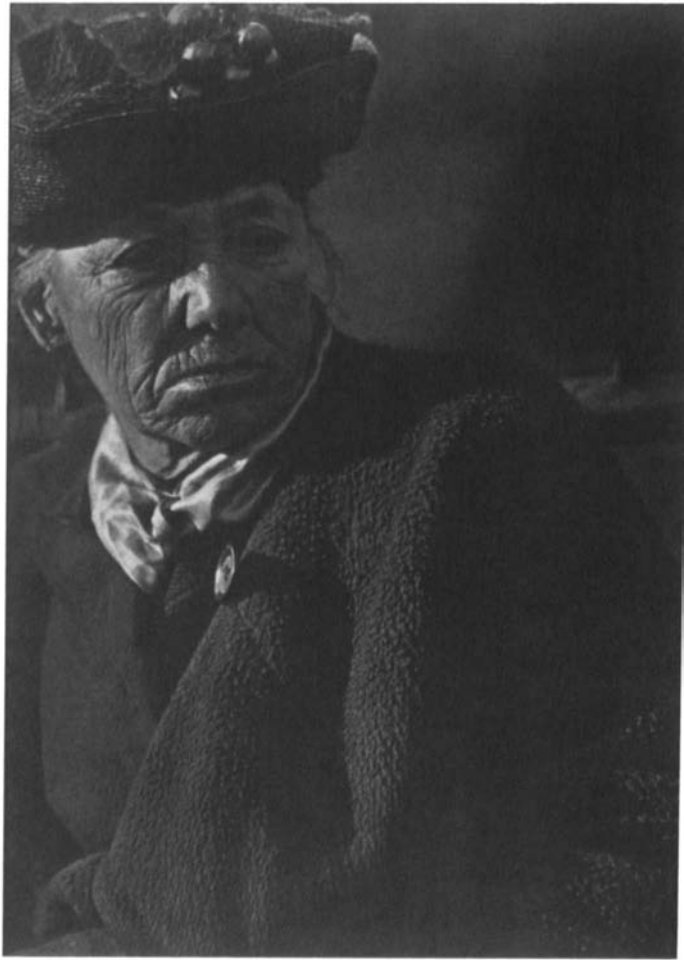
PROVENANCE: Evan Evans, the artist's son, by descent; [Harry Lunn, Paris]; private collection; [Charles Isaacs Photographs, Malvern, Pennsylvania].



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76. PAUL STRAND
American, 1890–1976
Kurt Baasch, New York, 1913
Platinum print, 32.5 x 23 cm (12¾ x 9¼ in.). Signed, titled, and dated in pencil on the verso.
89.XM.1.3

Strand met Kurt Baasch (1891–1964), who was born in Venezuela and raised in



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Germany, at the New York Camera Club about 1911. Baasch had begun photographing in Hamburg as a teenager and continued his amateur involvement with the medium even though his export business occupied most of his time. The friendship formed by the two young men was to last more than fifty years, as correspondence at the Center for Creative Photography (Tucson, Arizona) reflects. This striking but rather stiff portrait may have been made on the occasion of Baasch's departure for Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, in 1913. Once there he wrote to Strand in late December lamenting his dissatisfaction with that country, commenting on *Camera Work* number 42/43 (which Strand had evidently sent him); reporting that he had ordered a new German camera; and wishing Strand and his family a happy new year.

PROVENANCE: From the artist to Kurt Baasch; by descent to the Baasch family; [Washburn Gallery, New York].

77. PAUL STRAND
Portrait, Washington Square Park, or New York, A Photograph, 1916
Platinum print, 34.3 x 24.5 cm (13½ x 9¼ in.). Signed and dated in pencil on the verso.
89.XM.1.1

In 1916 Strand used an Ensign camera equipped with a false lens to secretly photograph people he encountered on New York streets. While he was searching for a mature style to replace his ventures into Pictorialism, Strand created abstractions from mundane still life arrangements and enlarged his negatives for printing in the rich, soft tones of platinum. Though a masterpiece of the platinum process, this street portrait was equally powerful as a black and white gravure as it appeared in Alfred Stieglitz's last issue of *Camera Work* (June 1917, no. 49/50), which he devoted to Strand's recent experiments. Three later gelatin silver prints are recorded, but the Museum's photograph

is the only surviving print known to be contemporaneous with the negative.

PROVENANCE: Gift of the artist to Kurt Baasch; by descent to the Baasch family; [Washburn Gallery, New York].



78

78. PAUL STRAND

Kurt Baasch, circa 1920–1922

Palladium print, 24.5 x 19.2 cm

(9¹¹/₁₆ x 7⁹/₁₆ in.). Signed, dated 1920, and titled in pencil on the verso; signed, dated *about* 1921, and titled in ink on the lower left mount.

89.XM.1.2

The ground Strand had traveled in developing a portrait style of uncompromising realism and formal distinction is easily assessed by comparing this picture and the portrait of Baasch made nearly ten years earlier (89.XM.1.3). Many of Strand's pictures of his wife Rebecca from the twenties also reflect his eagerness to get close to the subject, to produce an intimate confrontation with the camera.

The Strand-Stieglitz correspondence of 1922 at the Yale University Library contains an account of a June afternoon gathering of Paul and Rebecca Strand and Kurt and Isabel Baasch during which this portrait, as well as others, may have been made. Strand mentions that he and Baasch photographed each other and that he felt he may have obtained one good negative of Baasch, though they did not have a headrest to use and therefore were unsteady during exposures. Strand asks Stieglitz to order this piece of equipment

for future sittings at the Strands'.

PROVENANCE: From the artist to Kurt Baasch; by descent to the Baasch family; [Washburn Gallery, New York].



79

79. PAUL STRAND

Buttress, Ranchos de Taos, 1932

Platinum print, 15 x 11.7 cm (5⁷/₈ x 4⁷/₈ in.)

89.XM.1.7

With Georgia O'Keeffe's encouragement, Strand and his wife, Rebecca, began visit-

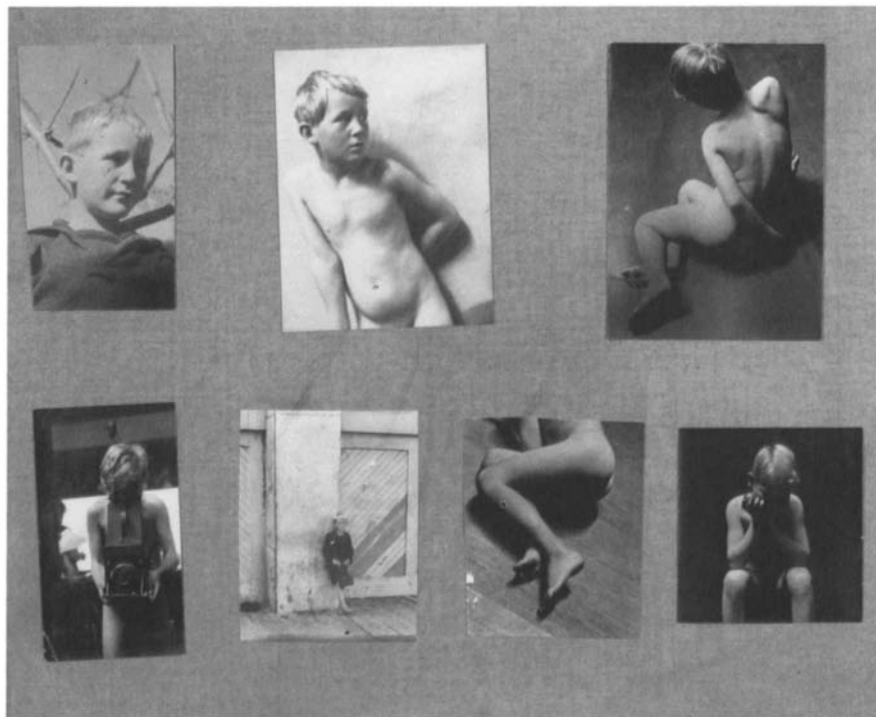
ing the Southwest in 1926, making annual summer trips to New Mexico between 1930 and 1932. In 1932, their last visit before their marriage dissolved and Strand left for a two-year sojourn in Mexico, the photographer chose as his subjects the vernacular architecture of adobe churches and ghost town shop fronts. Here the silhouette of the often painted and photographed structure, the Church of Saint Francis at Ranchos de Taos, appears as a grave marker looming in the foreground; Strand's primary interest seems to be in the diminutive dwellings, landscape, and charged atmosphere that surround the church. As in his photographs of the commercial buildings of Manhattan in the teens, Strand again exploited the abstract forms of architecture and imbued these massive volumes with a sense of foreboding, as oppressive in the context of a southwestern pueblo as in the canyons of Wall Street.

PROVENANCE: From the artist to Kurt Baasch; by descent to the Baasch family; [Washburn Gallery, New York].

80. EDWARD WESTON

American, 1886–1958

Page from *Neil Weston*, an album of sixty-five photographs, 1916–1925



80 (detail)

Platinum and gelatin silver prints,
23.8 x 30.7 cm (9³/₈ x 12¹/₁₆ in.)
89.XA.23.54–60

This page is from an album of sixty-five photographs assembled by the artist's first wife, Flora Chandler Weston. The Museum's collection includes seven other family albums acquired in 1986, also compiled by Flora. Three of these were devoted to the Westons' other sons: Cole, Brett, and Chandler. With this addition, the collection now contains the only complete set of the children's albums.

In 1925 Weston returned from Mexico and shared a studio for six months in San Francisco with his friend Johan Hagemeyer. In the spring of that year, Weston created an exceptional series of nude studies of his eight-year-old son, Neil. Five of the prints on this album page are from that series. In their stark simplicity, strength of form, and unconventional attempts to isolate sections of the human anatomy, they represent a turning point in Weston's career.

PROVENANCE: Flora Chandler Weston; Neil Weston, by descent.

81. EDWARD WESTON

Xanicho-Michoacan [Lake Patzcuaro],
1926

Platinum print, 19.2 x 24.1 cm (7⁵/₈ x
9¹/₂ in.). Signed, dated, and titled in
pencil on the verso of the print.
89.XM.70.3

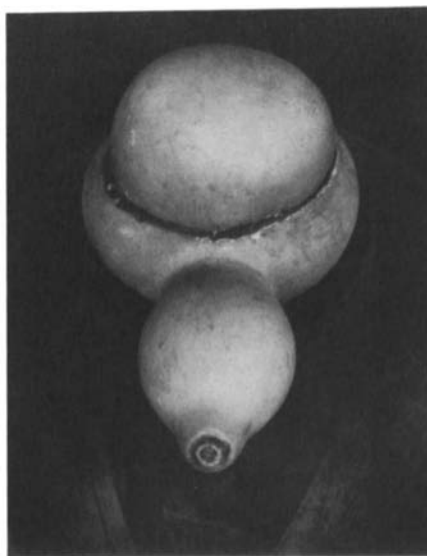
Weston visited Janitzio, Mexico (he misspells it "Xanicho" in his title), which he described as "a small rocky island of fisher folk," in the summer of 1926. He discussed this visit and the taking of this photograph at some length in his *Daybooks* (vol. 1, pp. 177–178, pl. 37). Weston and his companions received a very unfriendly reception from the locals: "Maybe our visit was an intrusion, one felt so wandering through the narrow streets,—like private property, like invading someone's backyard. . . ." He was visiting Janitzio to photograph a local church which, to his disappointment, was not possible: "Hopeless now,—sure that the church would not be opened, I turned my camera toward the huts and lake below: the tiled roofs a jagged foreground,—the lake below a sheet of silver, the hills of Patzcuaro beyond, murky under storm clouds."



81

PROVENANCE: [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York]; Jon Stein, New York; [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Edward Weston, *Daybooks* (George Eastman House, Rochester, 1961), vol. 1, pp. 177–178, pl. 37.



82

82. EDWARD WESTON

Gourd, 1927
Gelatin silver print, 24.2 x 19.1 cm
(9¹/₂ x 7¹/₂ in.). Signed in pencil on
the recto of the print; inscribed: *May*

Jones in an unidentified hand in
pencil on the verso of the mount.
89.XM.74

This is one of a series of close-up still lifes which Weston began in 1927, soon after his return to Los Angeles from Mexico. It is likely that he brought this gourd back with him from Mexico as a souvenir since they are very popular there both as ornaments and drinking vessels. Although Weston shows his typical respect for the integrity of the object, he transforms the gourd into an exotic abstraction. His subtle artistry is such that the photograph evokes both sexual images and images of otherworldly life forms.

PROVENANCE: O.G. Jones; [Butterfield & Butterfield, private purchase, 1984]; [Scott Nichols, San Francisco].

83. EDWARD WESTON

Gourd and Pumpkin on Tray, 1927
Gelatin silver print, 19.1 x 24.1 cm
(7¹/₂ x 9¹/₂ in.). Signed and dated in
pencil on the recto of the mount;
inscribed: *To Cousin Sarah/a fine
friend/from Edward/1930* in pencil on
the verso of the mount.
89.XM.70.1

This photograph is one of a series of four close-up studies of gourds which Weston



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made in Glendale in 1927 shortly after his return from Mexico. He later destroyed two of the four negatives. Since the negative for this image does not exist in the Weston archive at the Center for Creative Photography, this appears to be a print from one of the two destroyed negatives. As far as we know, it is the only surviving print.

The photograph is lit dramatically with natural sunlight, used by Weston in a clever and skillful way so that the shadows embrace the vegetables. Replete with sexual symbolism, the basket becomes a womb and the long gourd curls around the pumpkin in a fetal position.

PROVENANCE: Sarah Bixby and Paul Jordan Smith; [Stephen White, Los Angeles] (sale, Sotheby's, New York, November 1, 1988, lot 563A); [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].



84

84. EDWARD WESTON

Point Lobos, November 1938
Gelatin silver print, 19.4 x 24.4 cm
(7⁵/₈ x 9⁵/₈ in.). Signed and dated in pencil on the recto of the mount; inscribed: *PL-S-76* [partially obliterated] / *Point Lobos* in pencil on the verso of the mount.
89.XM.70.2

Weston made this photograph of the Point Lobos coastline from a bird's-eye view, probably from the top of one of the reserve's majestic cliffs. Despite the attention to detail in this masterfully crafted print, it is a study of pure form: line and mass, light and dark. Brilliant white is played against ominous black and glistening grays. Photographed in raking light, the sinuous line between the sand and the sea becomes an evanescent, shimmering mass of silver. The resulting abstraction is one of great poetic force.

Point Lobos is a 775-acre marine reserve along the Monterey peninsula which has been owned and administered by the state of California since 1932. Close to Weston's Carmel home, Point Lobos was photographed by him over a period of 33 years, and it was a regular source of inspiration. For many, it has become almost synonymous with his photography. It was here that he took his last photographs in 1948, before being stricken with Parkinson's disease.

PROVENANCE: Mrs. Jean Charlot (sale, Sotheby's, New York, November 1, 1988, lot 558); [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].



85

85. WALKER EVANS

American, 1903–1975
Self Portrait, Paris, September 1926
Gelatin silver print, 10.5 x 6.9 cm
(4¹/₈ x 2²³/₃₂ in.)
89.XM.48

After his freshman year at Williams College, Evans left school to return to New York and a night job in the Public Library map room. In 1926, at the age of twenty-two, he traveled to Paris where he audited classes at the Sorbonne and read many of the works of the nineteenth-century French authors Flaubert and Baudelaire. He also immersed himself in contemporary art and literature by frequenting establishments such as Sylvia Beach's book shop, Shakespeare and Company. The very early date of this work suggests that Evans's experiments in self-portraiture initiated his career in photography and proved an important thread which reappears as he photographs in New York, Cuba, and the American South.

PROVENANCE: From the artist to Paul Grotz, New York; [Prakapas Gallery, New York].

86. CHARLES SHEELER

American, 1883–1965
Beverly Apartment Hotel, 1927
Gelatin silver print, 24 x 18.5 cm
(9¹/₂ x 7¹/₈ in.). Titled, in two different unknown hands, and credited on the mount; inscribed:
American Institute Steel Construction.
89.XM.59

Sheeler's photograph depicts the final stages of exterior construction in 1927 of the Beverly Apartment Hotel at the northeast corner of Lexington Avenue and 50th Street in New York. The gray brick and limestone building, which still exists, was designed by Emery Roth (1871–1948), a highly competent architect who specialized in the design of apartment houses and hotels, and who started a firm which still practices today. In this photograph the tangle of scaffolding relates to the messy array of farm machinery in Sheeler's 1917 study of the interior of a barn with a buggy (88.XM.22.3). Sheeler also made photographs of other buildings by Roth, including the Ritz Towers. The Beverly is shown before its completion because the photograph was probably made as a commission from the American Institute of Steel Construction to document methods of building. Although Sheeler's architectural studies are less well-known than his modernist photographic work of the mid-1910s, which relates directly to his painting, architecture forms a consistent thread from his very earliest work to his last.



86

PROVENANCE: [Virginia Zabriskie, New York]; Pieper Collection, Chicago (sale, Sotheby's, New York, April 26, 1989, lot 234).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Cahiers d'art* 4-5 (1927), pg. 180; *Photokina '82*, Cologne, 1982, pl. 5.

87. ANDRÉ KERTÉSZ
 American (born Hungary),
 1893-1985
Atelier O. Zadkine, 1927
 Gelatin silver print, 22.6 x 12.9 cm
 (8⁷/₈ x 5¹/₈ in.). Signed and dated in
 pencil on the recto of the print; titled
 and inscribed: *Photo ANDRÉ*
KERTÉSZ in pencil on the verso of
 the print; illegible inscription in ink.
 89.XM.69

Born in Hungary, André Kertész moved to Paris in 1925 where he quickly entered the circle of leading painters and sculptors, among whom were Piet Mondrian, Marc Chagall, Alexander Calder, and Tristan Tzara. Kertész's photographs have much in common with the work of the



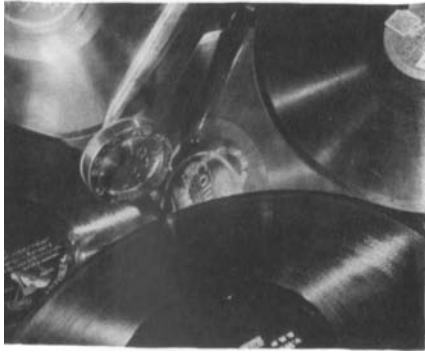
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artists with whom he fraternized, and though he remained independent of their movements and manifestos, he often used as subjects his fellow artists, their work, and their studios. Also an émigré, the sculptor Ossip Zadkine fled Czarist Russia during the agrarian reforms of 1907. Arriving in Paris, he attended the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, then set up a studio in Montparnasse and began exhibiting his work. This photograph, taken in Zadkine's studio on the rue Rousselet, was made shortly after Kertész himself had arrived in Paris and represents an artist whose technique greatly influenced Kertész's own artistic maturation. It is the only surviving print from the negative.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, New York, May 1, 1987, lot 131 [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].

88. PIERRE DUBREUIL
 French, 1872-1944
Modern Lyres (Lyres modernes), circa
 1928-1929
 Pigment print, 20 x 25 cm (7⁷/₈ x
 9¹³/₁₆ in.)
 89.XM.47

This still life composed of five 78-RPM phonograph records and a tone arm was produced in Belgium late in Dubreuil's career. In making this print the photographer employed the Rawlins oil process, a



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pigment process that he had taken up at the beginning of the century to create broad painterly images in the style of the French Pictorialists. But he had, in the meantime, absorbed the influences of Cubism and Futurism; he also clearly shared with his contemporaries at the Bauhaus an appreciation for the experimental qualities of jazz.

PROVENANCE: Estate of the artist; [Tom Jacobson, San Diego]; [Nancy Medwell, Seattle]; [G. Ray Hawkins Gallery, Los Angeles].



89

89. BILL BRANDT
 British, 1904–1983
In a London Bar or At Charlie Brown's,
 circa 1930s–1940s
 Gelatin silver print, 23.2 x 19.6 cm
 (9¹/₈ x 7³/₄ in.). Artist's stamp in blue
 ink and owner's label on the verso.
 89.XM.60.1

Although Brandt is known for his series on the theme of Literary Britain and his landscapes and nudes in a surreal style,

his genre scenes from English pub life of the 1930s and '40s form another important element in his work. In this interior he presents three “types” who frequented Charlie Brown's. Printed in very low contrast with a great range of grays, it is typical of the brooding mood found in many of his urban wartime images.

PROVENANCE: Michael Tournier, Paris; [Fahey/Klein Gallery, Los Angeles].



90

90. BILL BRANDT
*London Prostitute or At Charlie
 Brown's*, circa 1930s–1940s
 Gelatin silver print, 23.2 x 19.6 cm
 (9¹/₈ x 7³/₄ in.). Artist's stamp in blue
 ink and owner's label on the verso.
 89.XM.60.2

Taken in the same pub on possibly the same evening as 89.XM.60.1, this picture may serve to record two aspects of the war era: the Red Cross, present by way of its poster in the background at top center, and the female prostitute, whose clients no doubt included the military. After working in Paris as Man Ray's assistant in 1929, Brandt concentrated on improving his documentary style in the 1930s; his photographs were published in illustrated British dailies and weeklies, as well as in two books, *The English at Home* (1936) and *A Night in London* (1938). The sultry cast of London nightlife is intensified by the low-key photojournalist aesthetic that Brandt was later to abandon for the drama of high-contrast enlargements.

PROVENANCE: Michael Tournier, Paris; [Fahey/Klein Gallery, Los Angeles].

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