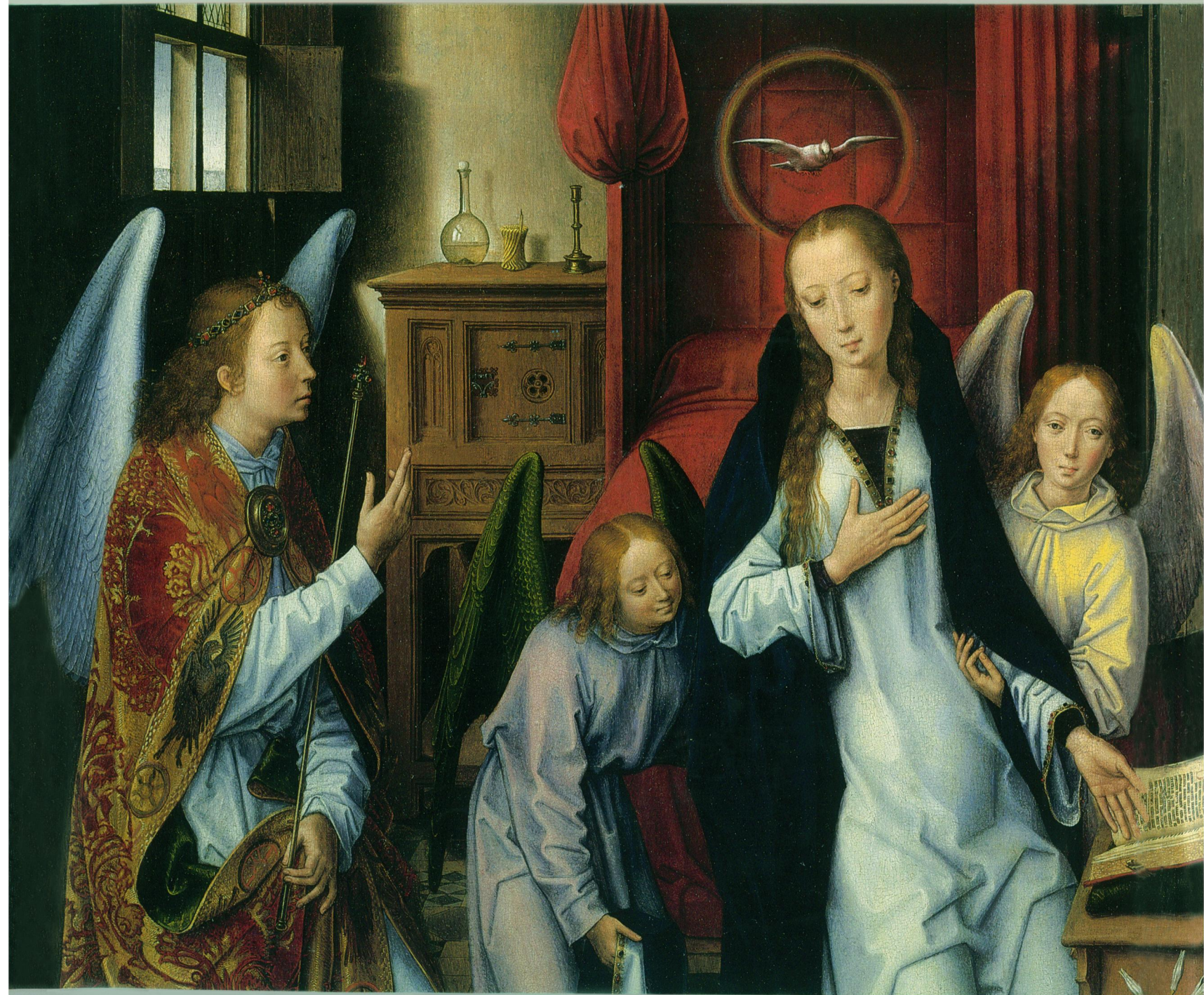


METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

Volume 27 / 1992

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL Volume 27/1992

Essays in Memory of Guy C. Bauman

The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is issued annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Its purpose is to publish original research on works in the Museum's collections and the areas of investigation they present. Contributions, by members of the Museum staff and by other art historians and specialists, vary in length from monographic studies to brief notes. The wealth of the Museum's collections and the scope of these essays make the *Journal* essential reading for all scholars and amateurs of the fine arts.

This volume, dedicated to the memory of the late Guy C. Bauman, associate curator in the Department of European Paintings at the Museum, is strong in articles relating to Northern European painting, Mr. Bauman's specialty. Iconographical aspects of paintings by Petrus Christus, Hans Memling, Hans Baldung Grien, the Master of the St. Ursula Legend, and an unidentified fifteenth-century Flemish master are analyzed by scholars in the field. Other essays by Mr. Bauman's colleagues include the study of a group of fifteenth-century English pendant capsules; recent reattributions of paintings by Rogier van der Weyden and Hieronymus Bosch; addenda to *Flemish Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, published by the Museum in 1983; an examination of a Sèvres biscuit bust acquired by the Frick Collection in Guy Bauman's memory; a discussion of works in the Museum's collection by the sculptor Philippe-Laurent Roland; a suite of paintings by Hubert Robert commissioned by the comte d'Artois for Bagatelle; and a possible source for a painting by Johann Friedrich Overbeck.

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JACKET ILLUSTRATION: Hans Memling (act. 1465–d. 1494), *The Annunciation* (detail). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Robert Lehman Collection

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METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM
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Essays in Memory of Guy C. Bauman

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ABBREVIATIONS

MMA—The Metropolitan Museum of Art

MMAB—*The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*

MMJ—*Metropolitan Museum Journal*

Height precedes width in dimensions cited.

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The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Foreword

The death of Guy C. Bauman on February 25, 1990, deprived the Metropolitan Museum of one of its most capable, promising, and congenial curators. AIDS cut short his life at thirty-eight years, but the quality of his published work assures him a secure place in art-historical scholarship. He was a valued member of the *Metropolitan Museum Journal's* Editorial Board, and his colleagues on the board have chosen to perpetuate his memory by dedicating this volume to him.

Mr. Bauman's very first article, based on a seminar at Princeton University, "The Miracle of Plautilla's Veil in Princeton's Beheading of Saint Paul" (*Record of the Princeton University Art Museum* 35, 1 [1977]), already demonstrated a highly sophisticated handling of religious iconography. He became lecturer, then curatorial assistant, at The Frick Collection. In 1983 he joined our staff as a part-time assistant in the Department of European Paintings, attaining the rank of associate curator in 1987. He excelled as a cataloguer, sorting

out factual detail and communicating complex issues with patience and probity, as witness his entries on Early Netherlandish paintings in *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (1984, with a further addendum in these pages, *MMJ* 21, 1986) and in our exhibition catalogue *Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections* (1985). His "Early Flemish Portraits" was a particularly memorable issue of the *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (41, 4, Spring 1986). Succeeding Katharine Baetjer on the *Journal's* Editorial Board, he served for a very short time but impressed all with the acuity of his observations as well as with the kindly manner in which he expressed them. His last article was for the *Journal*: "A Rosary Picture with a View of the Park of the Ducal Palace in Brussels, Possibly by Goswijn van der Weyden" (*MMJ* 24, 1989).

I join with the members of the *Journal* board in thanking Mr. Bauman's friends and colleagues for their contributions to our tribute.

Philippe de Montebello
Director, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Salve sancta facies: Some Thoughts on the Iconography of the *Head of Christ* by Petrus Christus

JOHN OLIVER HAND

Curator of Northern Renaissance Painting, National Gallery of Art

SMALL IN SIZE, but powerful in impact, the *Head of Christ* (Figure 1) is generally, but not universally, agreed to be an autograph work by Petrus Christus.¹ The picture is often placed early in Christ's career; Upton dated it about 1446, and Schabacker proposed a date about 1444.² Christ is depicted full face, with long, shoulder-length hair. His neck and shoulders are visible, and he wears a purple robe. Around his head is an elaborate, floriated, tripartite nimbus. A crown of thorns has been impressed upon his head, and drops of blood run down his face and have fallen on his neck. Although Christ's expression is calm, his brow is furrowed, and his heavy-lidded eyes stare outward fixedly and intently.

In his recent monograph on Petrus Christus, Joel Upton has eloquently described how this miraculous living portrait of the Savior, almost a speaking image, would have engaged and aided the spectators in their very personal and private devotions; he also presents the picture as a fusion of several iconographic types. At the risk of covering some of the same ground, I will consider the painting's iconographic antecedents and the ways in which they might have been combined to produce the *Head of Christ*.

In large part, the *Head of Christ* belongs to a class of religious images known as *acheiropoetai* (*imagines non manu factae*); that is, images not made by hand, but miraculously created. Most such images are of Christ and are said to have been made when a piece of fabric was pressed against the face or body of Christ.³ One of these, the Shroud of Turin, shows the entire figure of the dead Christ and is not relevant to this discussion. In the West the two other closely related *acheiropoetic* images, called the Holy

Face and the *sudarium*, both show the face of the living Christ and both are connected with a woman named Veronica. Because the modern Stations of the Cross include the episode of Veronica wiping Christ's face during the Via Crucis, the *sudarium* type is considered to show the crown of thorns and omit the head and shoulders of Christ. However, the association of the *sudarium* and the legend of Veronica with the Way of the Cross came about only in the fourteenth century, as we shall see. Before that, the two types show certain overlappings. In the East the most famous *acheiropoetic* image of Christ is called the Mandylion of Edessa, and this may also have influenced the development of the Western types.

Since Christus's painting does not depict the face as impressed upon a cloth, it would not, strictly speaking, seem to be a *sudarium*; on the other hand, the presence of the crown of thorns means that it is not purely a Holy Face either. Moreover, the purple robe probably alludes to the biblical narrative and attendant iconographic tradition of the Passion of Christ. In John 19:2–5, after being scourged, Jesus is dressed in a purple robe and has a crown of thorns placed upon his head before being presented to the people by Pilate.

Within Christus's oeuvre a partial stylistic and iconographic component of the New York painting may be seen in the *Man of Sorrows* (Figure 2). Like the *Head of Christ*, it is quite small in size and is usually dated to about early 1444. The Birmingham and New York pictures are connected by similarities in Christ's facial features and in the ornate, floriated nimbus seemingly wrought in metal, as well as by the presence of the crown of thorns and rivulets of blood. The iconography of the *Man of Sorrows* theme has been extensively discussed; in reference to the Birmingham *Man of Sorrows*, Rowlands succinctly described it as "a kind of unhistorical and vi-

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The notes for this article begin on page 17.

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Figure 1. Petrus Christus (act. by 1444–d. 1472/73), *Head of Christ*. Tempera and oil on parchment, mounted on wood, 14.9 × 10.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Lillian S. Timken, 1959, 60.71.1



Figure 2. Petrus Christus, *Man of Sorrows*. Birmingham, England, City Museum and Art Gallery (photo: City Museum and Art Gallery)

sionary *Ecce Homo*.”⁴ Upton also has discussed the painting as a personalized devotional image not connected with a specific narrative event.⁵

Of great importance and relevance to the *Head of Christ* are two images of Holy Faces from the realm of fifteenth-century Netherlandish painting. Preceding Christ’s painting, even if only by a short time, was a *Holy Face* by Jan van Eyck that may have been executed as late as 1440. Of the several known versions of this painting, Panofsky has suggested that the picture formerly in the Swinburne collection, Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Figure 3), was possibly a damaged original.⁶ Like Christ’s *Head of Christ*, the Eyckian *Holy Face* represents the Savior in a fully frontal, hieratic manner. Christ’s neck and shoulders are included, as is a floriated tripartite nimbus. The *Holy Face* lacks a crown of thorns, and Christ’s face is smooth and unlined.

This visage of Christ corresponds in several respects to a description of the Savior in the so-called Lentulus Letter, purportedly written to the Roman Senate by Publius Lentulus, but in fact an apocryphal document dating no earlier than the thirteenth century. Christ is described as “having a reverend countenance which they that look upon may love and fear; having hair of the hue of an unripe hazelnut and smooth almost down to his ears . . . waving over his shoulders; having a parting at the middle of the head according to the fashion of the Nazareans; a brow smooth and very calm, with a face without wrinkle or any blemish . . . ; having a full beard of the colour of his hair, not long, but a little forked at the chin.”⁷ A similar description is found in the *Vita Christi* composed in the fourteenth century by Ludolphus of Saxony and especially popular in the north of Europe. The image of the Savior in the *Head of Christ* also accords with the Lentulus type, as do countless other representations in Netherlandish and German art from the fourteenth century onward.

The second painting, by Christus himself, is the *Portrait of a Young Man* (Figure 4), which has been dated to the 1450s.⁸ On the back wall is a wooden placard to which has been tacked a piece of paper or parchment bearing a Holy Face and below it a shortened form of the prayer *Salve sancta facies* (Figure 5).⁹ The face of Christ lacks the neck and shoulders and is shown in a quadripartite halo. On either side of the top of his head are the Greek letters alpha and omega, also to be seen in the Eyckian *Holy Face*. Since a crown of thorns is not present, it may seem somewhat surprising to find at the top of the

right-hand column of the accompanying prayer the words *Salve o sudariu[m]*. However, at this period the term *sudarium* did not necessarily denote a pas-sional image of Christ obtained during the Carrying of the Cross; to see what it does refer to, we shall at this juncture examine the literature and imagery connected with the cult of Veronica, one of the most potent of the Middle Ages.

The earliest text recounting the legend of Veronica is the *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii*, which dates from the eighth century. The emperor Tiberius, gravely ill and hearing of the miracles of Jesus, sends an officer named Volusianus to bring him to the emperor. When Volusianus arrives in Jerusalem, he learns that Jesus has been crucified by Pilate but that a woman named Veronica possesses a likeness of Christ. Veronica is identified with the woman in Matthew 9:20–22 who was cured of a hemorrhage by Jesus. Volusianus returns to Rome with both Veronica and the likeness of Christ, which when worshiped by Tiberius cures him.¹⁰

In another, later version of the story, Veronica wishes to paint a picture of Jesus and goes to him with a linen cloth, but upon hearing her request, Jesus takes the cloth from her and miraculously imprints his features upon it. By merely looking at Christ’s likeness upon the cloth, Tiberius is instantly healed. The name *Veronica* is often considered a personification based on the words *vera icon*—that is, “true image”—but it may in fact derive from *Berenike*, the Greek name given in early tradition to the woman cured of a hemorrhage.¹¹

The basic elements of the story were repeated, with slight variations, numerous times, and a version appears in Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea* in the chapter entitled “The Passion of Our Lord” as part of the discussion of the death of Pilate.¹² In none of these versions does the imprinting of the image take place during the Carrying of the Cross.

Sometime in the twelfth century there was in St. Peter’s in Rome a piece of cloth imprinted with the face of Christ, which was venerated as the *sudarium* of Veronica. The relic is sometimes thought to have perished in 1527, during the Sack of Rome, although a cloth bearing an illegible image is still in St. Peter’s and associated with Veronica. Although the exact appearance of the medieval veronica, or vernicle, as the image was called, is a matter of some dispute, it is generally agreed that the earliest representations of it are two illuminations by Matthew Paris, one in a Psalter (London, The British Library, Arundel 157, fol. 2) dated about 1240 and the other,

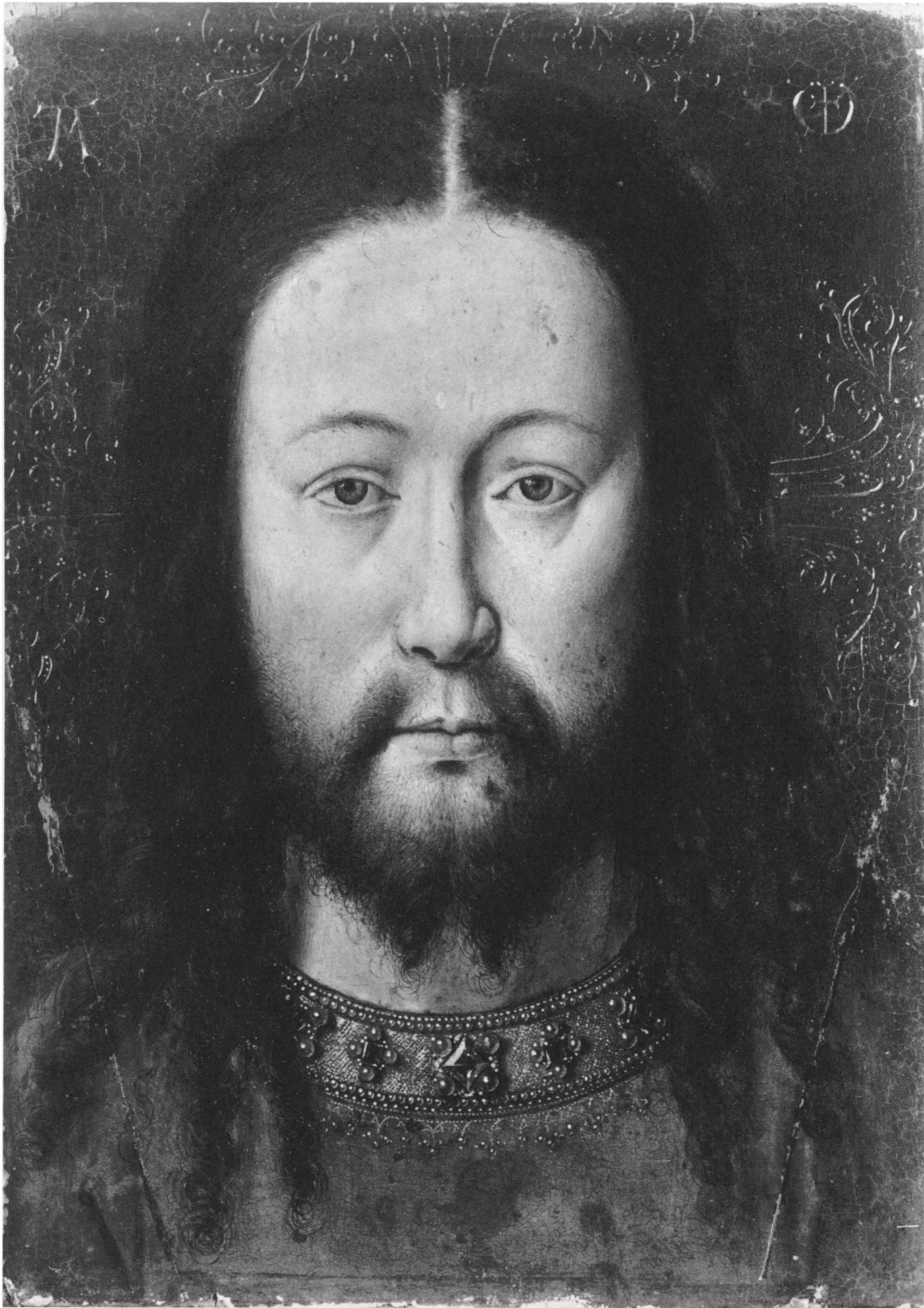


Figure 3. Jan van Eyck? (act. by 1422–d. 1441), *Holy Face*. Present location unknown (photo: ACL, Brussels)



Figure 4. Petrus Christus, *Portrait of a Young Man*. London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery)

slightly later but before 1250, in his *Chronica Majora* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 16, fol. 49v).¹³

Both images of Christ include his neck and shoulders; he is presented frontally and hieratically, with a cleft beard and a tripartite nimbus. In the illumination in the *Chronica Majora* the alpha and omega appear at the upper corners of the background. As Pächt observed, the Eyckian *Holy Face* (Figure 3), made almost two hundred years later, faithfully preserved this depiction of the Savior.¹⁴

Others of the countless Holy Faces produced from the late thirteenth century onward do not show Christ's neck and shoulders, and it is possible that the appearance of the relic itself altered over time.¹⁵ In this regard, the Byzantine literary and visual tradition should also be mentioned. In the East-

ern version of the story, Abgar, king of Edessa in Syria, is cured by the acheiropoetic image of the face of Christ impressed upon a cloth that was brought to Edessa after Christ's death by the disciple Thaddeus. In the West, the tale is recounted in the *Legenda Aurea*.¹⁶ A relic associated with this legend and known as the Mandyllion was taken from Edessa to Constantinople in 944; there it became the type of numerous distinctive images of the face produced in all the artistic mediums of the Byzantine tradition. The Edessa Mandyllion was supposedly sold to St. Louis, removed to the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris by 1241, and presumably destroyed during the French Revolution. A *Holy Face* of the Edessa Mandyllion type was sent in 1249 from Rome to the convent of Montreuil-les-Dames, near Laon,



Figure 5. Detail of Figure 4 (photo: National Gallery)

and in the seventeenth century was transported to the treasury of the cathedral of Laon. Apart from its Byzantine Slavonic style, what is distinctive about the *Holy Face* of Laon is the absence of the neck and shoulders, and the disembodied head of Christ is left floating ominously.¹⁷

To return to the relic in St. Peter's in Rome, from the early thirteenth century onward, the *sudarium* of Veronica became an increasingly important and powerful object of veneration. In 1216 Pope Innocent III composed an office for the veil of Veronica when it reversed itself after the annual procession between the hospital of the Holy Ghost and St. Peter's. Later in the thirteenth century, under Pope Innocent IV, the prayer *Ave facies praeclara* was composed and was followed in the fourteenth century by the prayer *Salve sancta facies*, attributed to Pope John XXII. The Veronica Holy Face appears to have been the first indulgenced image, and the indulgence was gained by reciting *Ave facies praeclara* or

Salve sancta facies in front of the *sudarium* or a representation of it. Innocent IV granted an indulgence of forty days for reciting the prayer *Ave facies praeclara*, and the later *Salve sancta facies* gained one of at least ten thousand days. The value of the indulgence increased exponentially over time, and the indulgenced prayer was crucial for the dissemination of the Veronica cult. On this point Ringbom is worth quoting at length.

The part played by the indulgences in the unique diffusion of the *Veronica* motif has been justly stressed. It seems obvious that a pictorial formula, if coupled with promises of enormous indulgences, must have gained a singular popularity. This applies especially to the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries when the term "indulgence" underwent the gradual shift of meaning from the original "remission from penitence" to the later meaning of "remission of sin." It is this confusion of temporal and eternal punishment which ultimately accounts for the stupendous inflation of the indul-



Figure 6. Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), *St. Veronica between Sts. Peter and Paul*. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection (photo: National Gallery of Art)

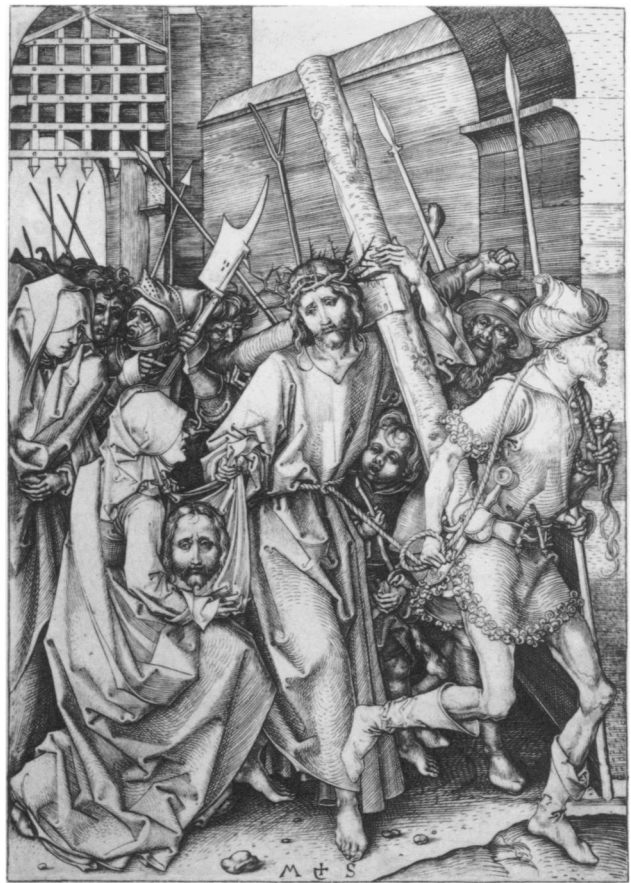


Figure 7. Martin Schongauer (1430/45–91), *The Bearing of the Cross with St. Veronica*. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Gift of W. G. Russell Allen (photo: National Gallery of Art)



Figure 8. Studio of Rogier van der Weyden, *Head of Christ*. London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery)

gence market which can be seen in the development of the *Veronica* indulgence from the original ten days in the thirteenth century to the fantastic claims of the promises of the late fifteenth century.¹⁸

The second *imago non manu facta* is said to have originated when a compassionate woman wiped the face of Christ with a cloth as he carried the cross to Golgotha, and apparently dates from no earlier than the first part of the fourteenth century. The Bible of Roger of Argenteuil, written about 1300, is usually cited as the first association of this legend with the *sudarium* of Veronica.¹⁹ Although the exact nature of the process is unclear and merits further study, one can easily understand how the popular Holy Face of Veronica, venerated by pilgrims and enhanced by indulgenced prayers, could be combined with the affective piety and increasing mystical devotion to the Passion of Christ in the fourteenth century.²⁰ As Ringbom notes, there must have been a strong transforming influence from the passional iconography of the Man of Sorrows theme.²¹

Images of the passional Holy Face, such as that in Dürer's *St. Veronica between Sts. Peter and Paul* (Figure 6) from the *Small Woodcut Passion* of 1510, often omit the neck and shoulders and show impressed on the cloth the head of Christ wearing a crown of thorns. Christ may have a nimbus, and drops of blood may appear on his forehead.

I believe that by the fifteenth century passional and nonpassional Holy Faces were thoroughly intermingled, and that there is no way of logically determining which type might be allied to prayers or used in isolated images. In Petrus Christus's *Portrait of a Young Man* the Holy Face surmounting the shortened form of the prayer *Salve sancta facies*²² lacks a crown of thorns, and the neck and shoulders are not depicted. On the other hand, a fifteenth-century pilgrim's badge recovered from the Seine shows a Holy Face with a crown of thorns topped by the words *Salve sancta faci[es]*, a clear association of the passional image with the popular prayer.²³ The crown of thorns becomes something of an independent variable, not necessarily connected with the devotional or narrative functions of the image. For example, in depictions of the Carrying of the Cross that include Veronica, such as Schongauer's engraving (Figure 7), Christ himself wears a crown of thorns but the visage on Veronica's *sudarium* does not.

To return to the *Head of Christ* by Petrus Christus, though the picture is the product of a conflation of

images, it is also perhaps the earliest Netherlandish painting of its type. The only comparable painting known to me is the *Head of Christ* assigned to the studio of Rogier van der Weyden (Figure 8), found on the reverse of Rogier's *Portrait of a Woman* in the National Gallery, London. Although damaged, this picture evidently shows Christ with a crown of thorns and a tripartite nimbus, and his neck and shoulders are included as well. The London painting has been dated to about 1450/60.²⁴

I wish to underscore the complexity and fluidity of the conflation of the Holy Face and the passional imagery that is manifest in Christus's *Head of Christ*.²⁵ Although the reinforcing influence of the Man of Sorrows theme in, for example, the form of Christus's painting in Birmingham (Figure 2) is quite likely, there had already been an infusion of passional elements into depictions of the Holy Face. No less powerful an association is that with the various legends of St. Veronica and with indulgenced prayers. It is perhaps significant that the earliest translation of *Salve sancta facies* into the vernacular known to Pearson was a fifteenth-century Dutch version, prefaced by Pope John XXII's promise of an indulgence of ten thousand days.²⁶ Finally, it is in large part precisely because of the depth and variety of meanings that are associated with the *Head of Christ* that it achieves such power, resonance, and immediacy as an object of devotion.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Guy Bauman and I were both privileged to study with Professor Robert A. Koch at Princeton University, albeit at different times, and it is perhaps fitting that this paper had its origins in Koch's seminar on Petrus Christus. I am grateful to Craig Harbison and Joel Upton for their advice and encouragement in revivifying this material, which had lain dormant for more years than I care to think about. I also wish to thank Maryan Ainsworth and members of the Department of European Paintings at The Metropolitan Museum of Art for their assistance. I am indebted to Susan Foister for help in obtaining photographs.

NOTES

1. Regularly spaced filled holes around the perimeter of the parchment support suggest that it was originally tacked to a panel in the manner of the illumination in Petrus Christus's *Portrait of a Young Man* (Figure 5). The paint surface has been damaged and extensively overpainted and is further obscured by a heavy varnish layer. The inscription at the bottom is illegible. Provenance: Private collection, Spain; [Lucas Moreno, Paris, until 1910]; [Francis Kleinberger, Paris, 1910–31]; Mr. and Mrs. William R. Timken, New York (1931–49); Mrs. William R. Timken, New York (1949–59); Bequest of Lilian S. Timken, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1959.

2. Joel M. Upton, *Petrus Christus: His Place in Fifteenth-Century Flemish Painting* (University Park, Pa., 1990) fig. 58; Peter H. Schabacker, *Petrus Christus* (Utrecht, 1974) pp. 42–43. The attribution of the painting to Christus has been questioned by Jacqueline Folie, "Les Oeuvres authentifiées des primitifs flamands," *Bulletin de l'Institut royal du patrimoine artistique* 6 (1963) p. 206, and Lola B. Gellman, "Petrus Christus," Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1973, pp. 484–485, no. 27.

3. For a general discussion, see Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1957) vol. 2, pt. 2.

4. John Rowlands, "A Man of Sorrows by Petrus Christus," *Burlington Magazine* 104 (1962) p. 419. The literature on the Man of Sorrows theme is extensive; see Erwin Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis: Ein Beitrag zur Typengeschichte des 'Schmerzmanns' und der 'Maria Mediatrix,'" *Festschrift für Max J. Friedländer zum 60. Geburtstag* (Leipzig, 1927) pp. 261–308; Gert von der Osten, *Der Schmerzensmann: Typengeschichte eines deutschen Andachtbildwerkes von 1300 bis 1600* (Berlin, 1935); Rudolf Berliner, "Arma Christi," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 6 (1955) pp. 35–152; Carlo Bertelli, "The Image of Pity in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme," *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower* (London, 1967) pp. 40–55; Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (Abo, 1965) esp. pp. 107–170; and more recently, Hans Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter: Form und Funktion früherer Bildtafeln der Passion* (Berlin, 1981).

5. Upton, *Petrus Christus*, pp. 55–56.

6. Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) pp. 187 and 430 n. 187-1, notes that the ex-Swinburne painting bore an inscription on the reverse indicating that the artist's name and the date of Jan. 30, 1440, were on the original frame, which was sawn off in 1784. A copy in the Groeningemuseum, Bruges, probably from the first quarter of the 17th century, is also dated Jan. 30, 1440; see Dirk De Vos, *Bruges, Musées Communaux: Catalogue des tableaux du 15^e et du 16^e siècle* (Bruges, 1982) pp. 228–229. A second type of Holy Face by van Eyck, known through copies in the Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, and the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, each dated Jan. 31, 1438, has the words *Rex Regnum* on the neck of Christ's garment and thus takes on more the character of a *Salvator Mundi*. The Berlin panel is reproduced in Elisabeth Dhagens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck* (New York, 1980) p. 292.

7. Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (London, 1975, corrected reprint of 1924 ed.) pp. 477–478; for an extensive account of the appearance of the *Epistola Lentuli* in manuscripts and books, see Ernest von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder:*

Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende (Leipzig, 1899) pp. 308–330.

8. Martin Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues: Early Netherlandish School*, 3rd ed. (London, 1968) pp. 33–34, no. 2593, dated on stylistic grounds to ca. 1450/60; see also Schabacker, *Petrus Christus*, pp. 95–98, cat. no. 9, and Joel M. Upton, "Petrus Christus," Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1972, pp. 330–334, no. 14.

9. The prayer is transcribed by Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues: Early Netherlandish School*, p. 33.

10. For an English translation of this and later versions of the story, see Montague Rhodes James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 157–161. The standard works on Holy Faces and Veronica are Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 197–262, 273–335, 157–203, for the Veronica legend and the *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii*; and Karl Pearson, *Die Fronica: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Christusbildes im Mittelalter* (Strasbourg, 1887) pp. 1–22, on the development of the Veronica legend.

11. P. K. Meagher, "Veronica," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (1967) XIV, p. 625; Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater, *Butler's Lives of the Saints* (New York, 1956) III, p. 83.

12. *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, trans. and adapted from the Latin by Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (New York, 1969, reprint of 1941 ed.) pp. 214–215.

13. Discussed and reproduced in color in Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1987) pp. 126–130, pls. iv, v. See also Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 294, 297–298, and Pearson, *Die Fronica*, pp. 51–53, 96–97, nos. 5, 6.

14. Otto Pächt, "The Avignon Diptych and Its Eastern Ancestry," *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* (New York, 1961) pp. 404–405.

15. Pächt, "The Avignon Diptych," pp. 406–409, suggests this as a possible rationale for the variance between Matthew Paris's illuminations and later representations of Holy Faces.

16. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 102–106; Ryan and Ripperger, *The Golden Legend*, pp. 634–635, as part of the legends of the Apostles Simon and Jude. See also Carlo Bertelli, "Storia e vicende dell'Immagine Edessena di San Silvestro in Capite a Roma," *Paragone* 19 (1968) pp. 3–33.

17. The standard reference is André Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon* (Prague, 1931). The *Holy Face* of Laon is reproduced in Karen Gould, *The Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978) fig. 65; there is also, pp. 81–94, an excellent discussion of Holy Faces centered around the Holy Face in the Psalter and Hours in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

18. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, pp. 23–24. For a discussion and the texts of indulgenced prayers, see Pearson, *Die Fronica*, pp. 22–30, 69–74, and Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 224–225, 306–309.

19. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, II, pt. 2, p. 19; the text is reproduced in Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, pp. 304–305, no. 56.

20. See James H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (Kortrijk, 1979) pp. 1–32, and Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter*, esp. pp. 25–106. Although the episode of Jesus and Veronica is found in modern prayer books as the sixth Station of the Cross, this seems to have been a late or sporadic development,

and I am unclear as to its exact course of development. The devotion of the Stations of the Cross evolved during the 15th century, and Veronica's house in Jerusalem is often indicated in guides for pilgrims; see Thurston and Attwater, *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, III, p. 38.

21. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, pp. 69–70.

22. The prayer reproduced in Christus's painting is a conflation from the twelve stanzas of the original, given in Pearson, *Die Fronica*, pp. 22–24.

23. P. Perdrizet, "De la Véronique et de Sainte Véronique," *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5 (1932) pp. 3–7, pl. 1, fig. 2; the location of the badge is not given, but it is probably in the Musée de Cluny, Paris; similar badges are reproduced in André Chastel, "La Véronique," *Revue de l'art* 40–41 (1978) figs. 1, 21–23.

24. Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues: Early Netherlandish School*, pp. 170–171, no. 1433; both sides are reproduced in Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Leyden/Brussels, 1967; Eng. ed. of *Die altniederländische Malerei*, Berlin, 1924) II, pl. 56, no. 34. Erwin Panofsky, "Jean Hey's *Ecce Homo*: Speculations about Its Author, Its Donor and Its Iconography," *Bulletin des Musées royaux des beaux-arts de Belgique* 5 (1956) pp. 131–132 n. 45, is essentially correct when he observes, "Here the head of Christ is shown crowned with thorns (as normally in a *Sudarium*), but the neck is included (as normally in a Holy Face); the hands are not shown"; but, as we have seen, this is an oversimplification.

25. Given the well-known transmission of motifs from Italian trecento and early quattrocento painting into early Netherlandish painting, often by means of manuscript illumination, we should note that a variety of Italian Holy Faces, with and without a crown of thorns, were available as potential models; see Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (New York, 1964) pp. 36–38, figs. 42–46.

26. Pearson, *Die Fronica*, pp. 67–68; the prayer book is in the British Museum, Harleian 914, folios 85–86. Besides the works cited in the notes, the following were among the sources consulted:

Germain Bazin, "Petrus Christus et les rapports entre l'Italie et la Flandre au milieu du XVe siècle," *La Revue des arts* 2 (1952) pp. 200 nn. 25, 202.

Joshua Bruyn, *Van Eyck Problemen: De Levensbron* (Utrecht, 1957) p. 115.

Liana Castelfranchi Vegas, *Italia e Fiandria nella pittura del quattrocento* (Milan, 1983) pp. 70, 87, fig. 57.

Colin Eisler, review of Erik Larson, *Les Primitifs flamands au Musée Métropolitain de New York* (Utrecht/Antwerp, 1960) in *The Art Bulletin* 46 (1964) p. 104.

Ursula Panhans-Bühler, *Eklektizismus und Originalität im Werk des Petrus Christus* (Vienna, 1978) pp. 11–17, fig. 1.

Wolfgang Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule* (Berlin/Leipzig, 1938) p. 57, no. 23.

Charles Sterling, "Observations on Petrus Christus," *The Art Bulletin* 53 (1971) p. 24.

The Winteringham Tau Cross and *Ignis Sacer*

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IN RECENT YEARS a number of exceptional objects have been unearthed in the English countryside by treasure hunters wielding metal detectors. The most spectacular example of these is certainly the Middleham pendant (Figures 1, 2).¹ Solid gold and surmounted by a large sapphire, the piece is engraved on the obverse with the Trinity against a leafy background and an inscription around the frame; on the reverse is the Nativity, with the Agnus Dei below and a series of saints around the frame. A catch on one edge releases the upper left section of the reverse frame, allowing the back plate to slide out to reveal the interior of the capsule. This magnificent piece of jewelry was found in 1985 just off the medieval road connecting Jervaulx and Coverham abbeys, very near Middleham Castle in Yorkshire.² Long a seat of the Neville family, Middleham Castle was granted in 1491 by Edward IV to his brother Richard, duke of Gloucester, later Richard III. The findplace of this rare example of late-fifteenth-century gold engraving also suggests a rich historical context for this unique object.³

The serendipitous unearthing of such objects adds to our art-historical knowledge of Late Gothic England, which was decimated by the wholesale destruction provoked by monastic dissolution and reformation. These objects introduce us to otherwise unrepresented styles of goldsmithery and engraving, but they also inform us, through their function and imagery, of the preoccupations and concerns of the original owners in particular and of late-medieval society in general.

Another outstanding example is a small gold alloy tau cross fashioned as a capsule pendant (Figures 3, 4),⁴ which was recently acquired by The Cloisters. Found in a field at Winteringham, South Humber-side, in North Lincolnshire (Figure 5), the cross is a mere inch and one-eighth in height and weighs eleven grams. It comprises two pieces: the larger is

cast as a walled container about one-eighth of an inch in depth; the other is a repoussé sheet that serves as the back cover plate. The inside face of this cover plate is fitted with a flanged tongue, which slides underneath a plate soldered at the junction of the arms of the cross on the interior of the front piece. The plate is secured by a latten pin, which passes through the lower walls of the base section and then through a tube soldered to the inside of the cover plate. Two posts protrude from the joins of the arms and the lower upright. Analogous posts on a reliquary crucifix found on the site of Clare Castle in Suffolk (Figure 6)⁵ and on the engraved pendant cross capsule now preserved in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Figure 7),⁶ indicate that each of these had originally held a pearl, which subsequently disintegrated in the earth.

The exterior face of the capsule part of the tau cross—like the Middleham pendant—is engraved with the Trinity. God the Father seated on a throne holds the crucified Christ on a T-shaped cross before him, while the dove of the Holy Spirit descends near the proper right hand of God. Engraved on the outside of the cover plate is the standing Virgin holding the Christ Child. Both groups are set on brackets and placed against a background of leafy branches, which terminate in the corners with cross-hatched fruits or blossoms, a decorative idiosyncrasy found in several other engraved objects of similar date.⁷

Since both the Winteringham tau cross and the Middleham jewel were designed as pendant capsules and equipped with elaborate closures, the question of their intended contents and function arises. The Middleham pendant, opened shortly after its discovery, was found to contain, in addition to soil and roots, no more than a few small roundels of silk and metallic thread, which seem to have been cut out of a flat woven textile (Figure 8). While the physical evidence is insufficient, the iconographic program of the engraving on the pendant does suggest its original content and function.

Around the obverse edge is an inscription that

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Figure 1. Pendant capsule, found near Middleham Castle, Yorkshire. English, ca. 1475–85. Gold, sapphire, traces of enamel, 6.4 × 4.8 cm. York, Yorkshire Museum (photo: Sotheby's)



Figure 2. Back view of pendant capsule in Figure 1 (photo: Sotheby's)

reads “Ecce agnus dei qui tollis [*sic*] peccata [*sic*] mundi miserere nobis,” followed by the words “tetragrammaton ananyzapta.” The words of John the Baptist (John 1:29), “Behold the Lamb of God [, be-

hold him] who taketh away the sins of the world,” clearly establish the underlying theme of Christ as the redeemer of mankind. This is amplified by the principal obverse scene, the Trinity, which was

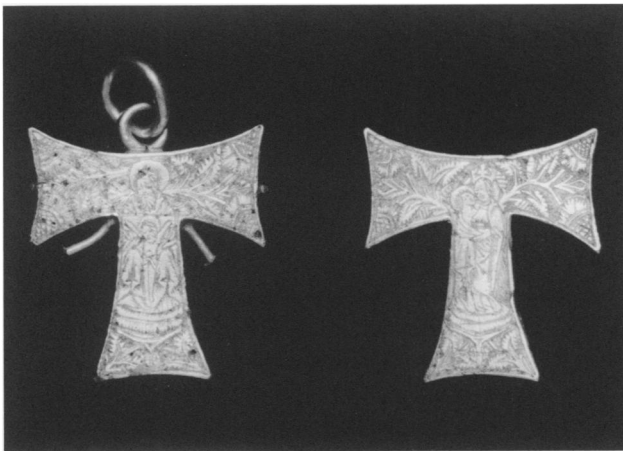


Figure 3. Tau cross in the form of a pendant capsule, exterior view of front and back, found at Winterringham, Humberside, North Lincolnshire. English, ca. 1485. Gold, H. 2.8 cm (shown in 1:1 scale). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1990, 1990.283

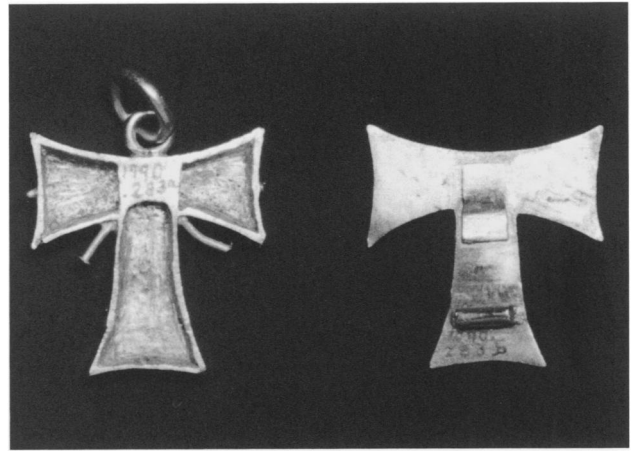


Figure 4. Interior view of front and back of tau cross in Figure 3

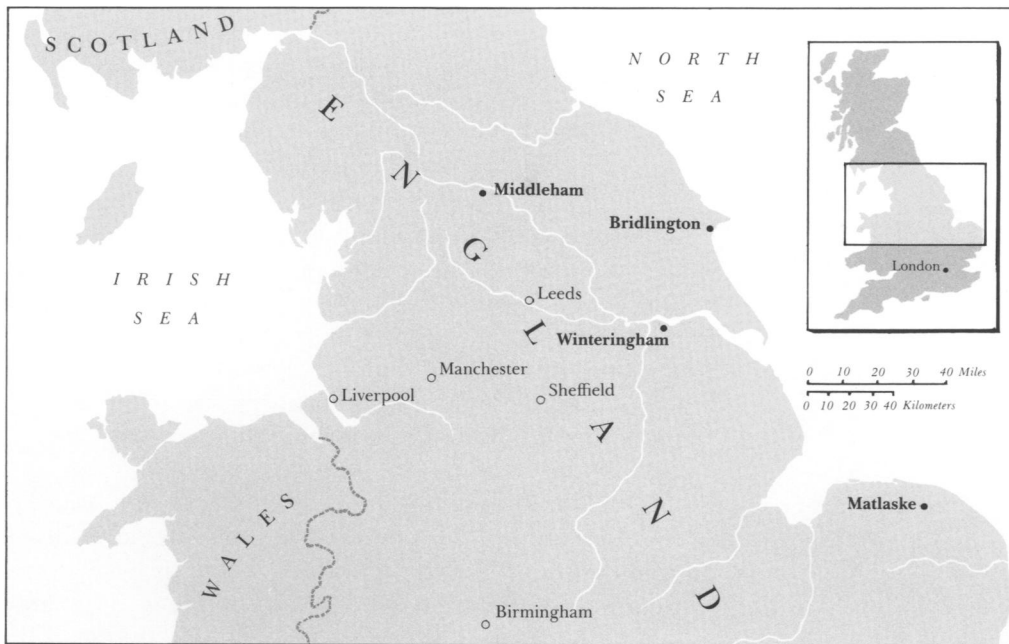


Figure 5. Map showing findplaces of the Middleham pendant and the Wiveringham, Matlaske, and Bridlington tau crosses

understood as a reference to the creation of man on one hand and the redemption of humanity, for whom Christ became man, on the other. The specific iconographic type of the Trinity represented here is the Throne of Mercy. Christ is not enthroned at the right hand of God, but hangs limply on the cross supported by God. The emphasis is thus on God's acceptance of His only son's expiatory death vouchsafed for universal redemption.

The Nativity represented on the reverse side of the Middleham pendant is intended not merely as an historical scene from the life of Christ but specifically as the Incarnation, which is both proven and justified through Christ's sacrifice on the Cross. The exegetical significance of these scenes is further developed by the Agnus Dei, which appears just below the Nativity and was in medieval times recognized as the eucharistic interpretation of Christ's sacrificial death.⁸ Thus the Baptist's words are not only a prophecy of redemption through sacrifice, but also a reference to continuing salvation through the Eucharist, which is understood to be identical to the Agnus Dei.⁹ His words—the very ones invoked at the administering of the Eucharist in the celebration of the Mass—are intended to remind the celebrant that Christ's sacrifice is perpetuated through the liturgy; in fact, the words *miserere nobis* [have mercy upon us] are drawn from the liturgy, not the biblical text.¹⁰

The iconographic program of the Middleham pendant may therefore be viewed essentially as an



Figure 6. Cross with reliquary capsule, found at Clare Castle, Suffolk. English, ca. 1475–85. Gold, pearls. London, British Museum (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

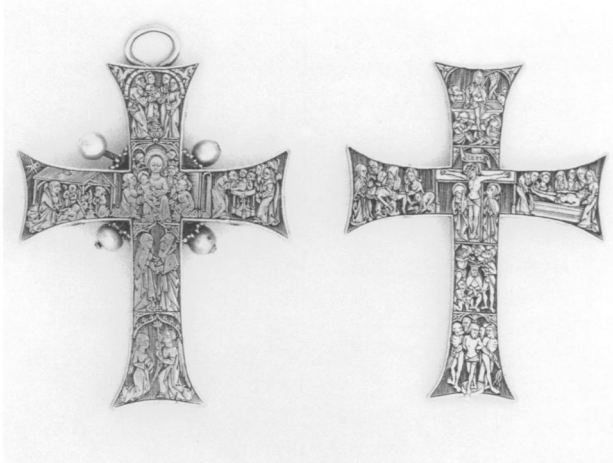


Figure 7. Cross with reliquary capsule. Netherlands, ca. 1480. Gold, pearls. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting)

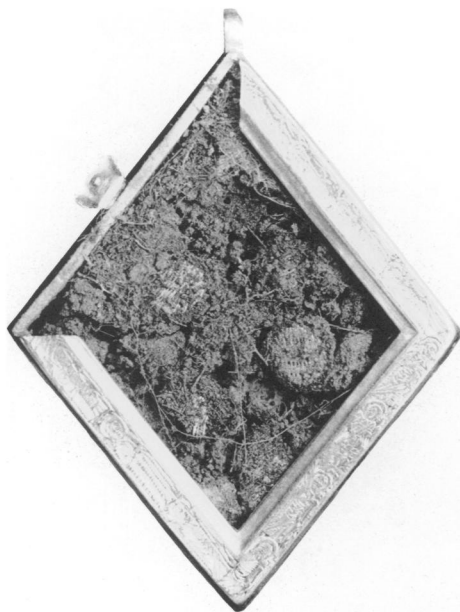


Figure 8. Interior of Middleham pendant capsule in Figure 1, showing contents when found (photo: Sotheby's)

exegesis of the doctrine of Transubstantiation.¹¹ This strongly suggests that the capsule was intended to hold a relic directly related to Christ's sacrifice, perhaps a fragment of the True Cross, or, more probably, something specifically related to the celebration of the Eucharist, such as a paschal wax wafer stamped with the Agnus Dei and carrying a papal blessing.¹²

Beyond being a mnemonic device signifying the redemptive value of the Eucharist, the Middleham pendant was also vested with amuletic value. The sapphire, the symbol of a pure soul, has historically been credited with a variety of prophylactic powers, including the protection of eyesight and the detection as well as the neutralizing of poison. The term *ananyzapta* (or *ananyzaptus*)¹³ was widely incanted to ward off falling sickness, or epilepsy. A manuscript with magical texts now in the British Library, for example, advises "for ye fallyg ewell Sey yis word ananizaptus."¹⁴ In other instances the term was invoked to insure against the more prosaic failing of drunkenness.¹⁵

The Winteringham tau cross, like the Middleham pendant, is engraved on the obverse with the Throne of Mercy, but there seems to be no programmatic connection with the standing Virgin and Child, nor is there an explicatory inscription. The intended contents of the capsule as well as its function and significance can therefore be elucidated only through the interpretation of external evidence.

The Greek letter *tau* held a variety of meanings in the Middle Ages. It was, in medieval imagery, the protective sign that Aaron painted in blood on the upper doorposts of Israelite houses on the night of Passover [Exodus 12:1] and thus was understood as a symbol of salvation (Figure 9). The tau was also the sign marked in ink on the foreheads of the righteous of Jerusalem so they would be recognized and spared God's destruction (Figure 10): "Go through the midst of . . . Jerusalem: and mark Thau upon the foreheads of the men that sigh, and mourn for all the abominations that are committed in the midst thereof" (Ezekiel 9:4). In the typological arrangements of the twelfth century, this scene was juxtaposed with that of Christ carrying the Cross or the Crucifixion. Tau was the model for the cross itself, and T-shaped crosses are often reserved for Dysmas and Gestas, the thieves who flanked Christ's Crucifixion, and for Christ himself in representations of the Throne of Mercy. The staff with which Moses upheld the Brazen Serpent was also represented in the form of a tau and was understood to foreshadow the Crucifixion. Sts. Philip and Matthew were crucified on T-shaped crosses. The tau cross also symbolized Advent and, by extension, eternal life in Christ. By the later Middle Ages, however, the tau cross became primarily associated with St. Anthony Abbot, a fourth-century Egyptian who established a monastery in the Fayum but who led a

Figure 9. Detail of a stand of a cross with Aaron marking the door of an Israelite's house, from the abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer. Mosan, ca. 1170. Gilded bronze, enamel. St. Omer, Musée Archéologique (photo: Art Resource)



largely hermetic life in the mountain wilderness. The tau, a peculiarly Egyptian form of cross, may have symbolized his abbatial authority and, because of its crutchlike appearance, may have also referred to his extreme longevity.

The relics of St. Anthony are purported to have been translated in about 1070 by Geilin II, count of Dauphiné, from Constantinople to the parish church of Saint-Didier-la-Mothe, in the foothills of the Dauphiné in southwestern France.¹⁶ Here, on lands later deeded to the Benedictine priory of Montmajour, a larger church dedicated to St. Anthony was constructed and, in 1119, consecrated by Calixtus II. According to tradition, Gaston, a lord of the Dauphiné, and his son Guérin established in 1095 a nearby hospice, which eventually became the central house of the Order of the Hospitalers of St.-Antoine-de-Viennois, known commonly as the Antonines. Early in the thirteenth century, the Antonines were allowed to build a chapel adjoining the hospital. In 1231 statutes for the order were drawn up putting a Grand Master in charge of each dependent house, or commandery; in 1247 the Antonines adopted the rule of St. Augustine, and the original priory was elevated by Boniface VIII to the rank of abbey and converted to an order of Augustinian canons.¹⁷ Antonine foundations spread through France as well as Spain, Italy, Germany, and the

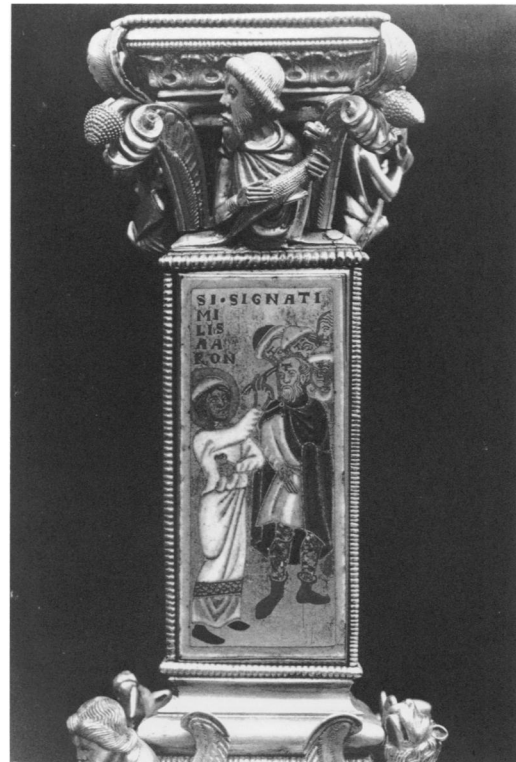


Figure 10. Detail of a stand of a cross with Aaron marking the forehead of the righteous with the letter tau, from the abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer. Mosan, ca. 1170. Gilded bronze, enamel. St. Omer, Musée Archéologique (photo: Art Resource)



Figure 11. Badge in the form of a tau cross with the Crucifixion. English, ca. 1475–1500. Lead alloy. London, British Museum (photo: British Museum)



Figure 12. Niklaus von Hagenau (ca. 1445–ca. 1538), Detail from the central shrine of the Isenheim Altarpiece, showing two figures presenting St. Anthony Abbot with a hen and a piglet. Lindenwood, polychromy. French, Upper Rhineland (Alsace), ca. 1505. Colmar, Musée d'Unterlinden (photo: Art Resource)



Figure 13. Ring with a tau cross and a figure of St. Anthony. English, ca. 1480–1500. Gold. London, British Museum (photo: British Museum; line drawing after Dalton)

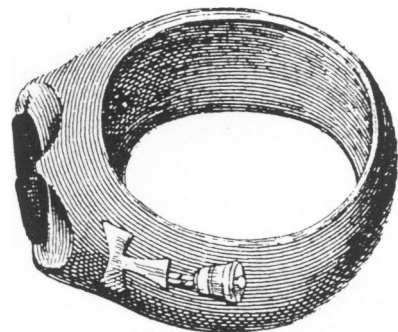


Figure 14. Engraving of the ring of Richard Mayo, bishop of Hereford (from *Archaeologia*, XXXI, p. 251)

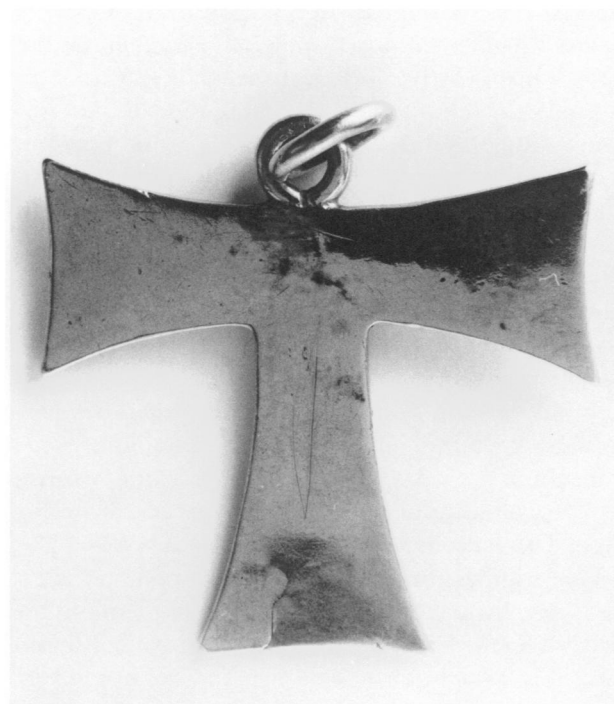
Near East. By the mid-thirteenth century, the Antonines were established in London at a site in Threadneedle Street, a foundation that appears to have been better known for its school than for its hospital.¹⁸ The London commandery was granted the advowson of All Saints, Hereford, and its dependent chapels, and there were also two hospitals in York dedicated to St. Anthony.¹⁹

Devoted largely to the care of the sick, the Antonines wore a black habit emblazoned with a large tau cross. St. Anthony is often shown with a pig, which is thought to have originally symbolized the saint's conflicts with evil spirits. By the later Middle Ages the Antonines obtained the privilege of allowing their pigs to run free, whether in town or country, foraging on what they could find. Bells were tied around their necks to distinguish them from strays, and, sanitary considerations notwithstanding, it was considered meritorious, even in urban settings, to feed them. The bell therefore also came to symbolize the order.

Numerous tau crosses and bells, generally cast in latten or lead alloy, have survived. The crosses, usually embossed with the Crucifixion and occasionally with an inscription (Figure 11), and the bells, gen-

erally unmarked, were probably sold by the Antonines to raise funds for the hospitals.²⁰ These tokens may have been souvenirs acquired by pilgrims visiting specific sites, but the Antonines, who were known to have actively solicited donations, announced their presence by ringing a bell, and they exchanged such badges for contributions in cash or kind. In the central shrine of the altar carved by Niklaus von Hagenau (the wings of which were later added by Grönewald), commissioned for the Antonine foundation at Isenheim, the seated figure of St. Anthony, in reference to this form of support, is flanked by two diminutive figures, one a landowner presenting the august abbot with a hen and the other a rustic presenting a piglet (Figure 12).

Other forms of more precious jewelry that incorporated Antonine attributes appear to have been produced independently as objects of personal adornment. A considerable number of rings, for example, dating from the mid-fifteenth through the early sixteenth century have a Lombardic T or tau cross engraved on the shoulders.²¹ One gold band is engraved with a tau cross as well as a standing figure of St. Anthony, along with a scallop shell and a standing figure of St. John the Baptist; an inscrip-



Figures 15, 16. Tau cross, front and back views, found at the site of St. James's Church, Bath. English, ca. 1480–1500. Gold. Bath, Roman Baths Museum (photos: Bath Museums Service)



Figure 17. Tau cross in the form of a pendant capsule, found at Matlaske, Norfolk. English, ca. 1475–85. Gold, enamel. Norwich, St. Peter Hungate Museum (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

tion appears on the inside (Figure 13).²² A gold ring set with a ruby flanked by tau crosses in green enamel, with small engraved bells below, was found in the tomb of Richard Mayo, bishop of Hereford, who died in 1516 (Figure 14).²³ More germane to this study, however, are the rarer gold pendants in the form of a tau cross. In addition to the example in *The Cloisters*, another cross, excavated at the site of St. James's church in Bath in 1962, is engraved on the obverse only with a representation of St. Anthony Abbot holding a bell with a pig at his feet (Figures 15, 16).²⁴ In the museum of the church of St. Peter Hungate, Norwich, is the front section of an engraved gold and opaque black enamel pendant capsule (Figure 17) found at Matlaske in Norfolk (see Figure 5). The engraving represents the Crucifixion flanked not by the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist but by St. John the Baptist and an unidentified bishop saint, all set against a tendril-and-floral background. The shape of the pendant results from the merging of a tau with a curvilinear form, the concave termini of the arms projecting from the edge. The piece is hollowed out as a receptacle.

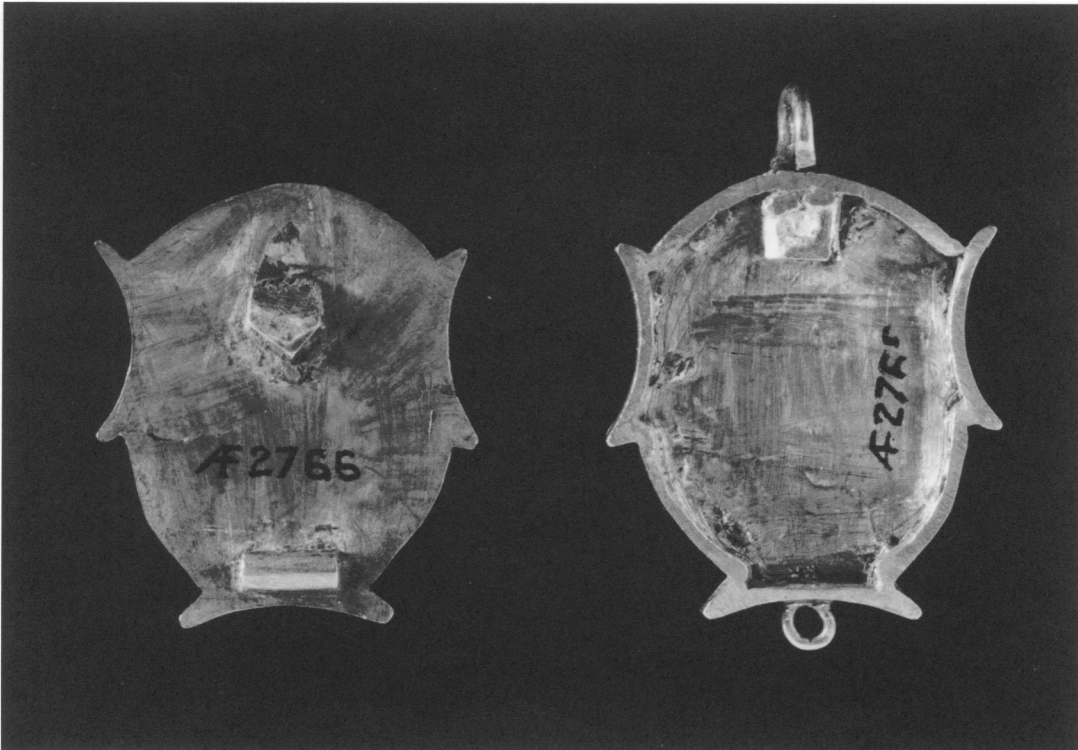
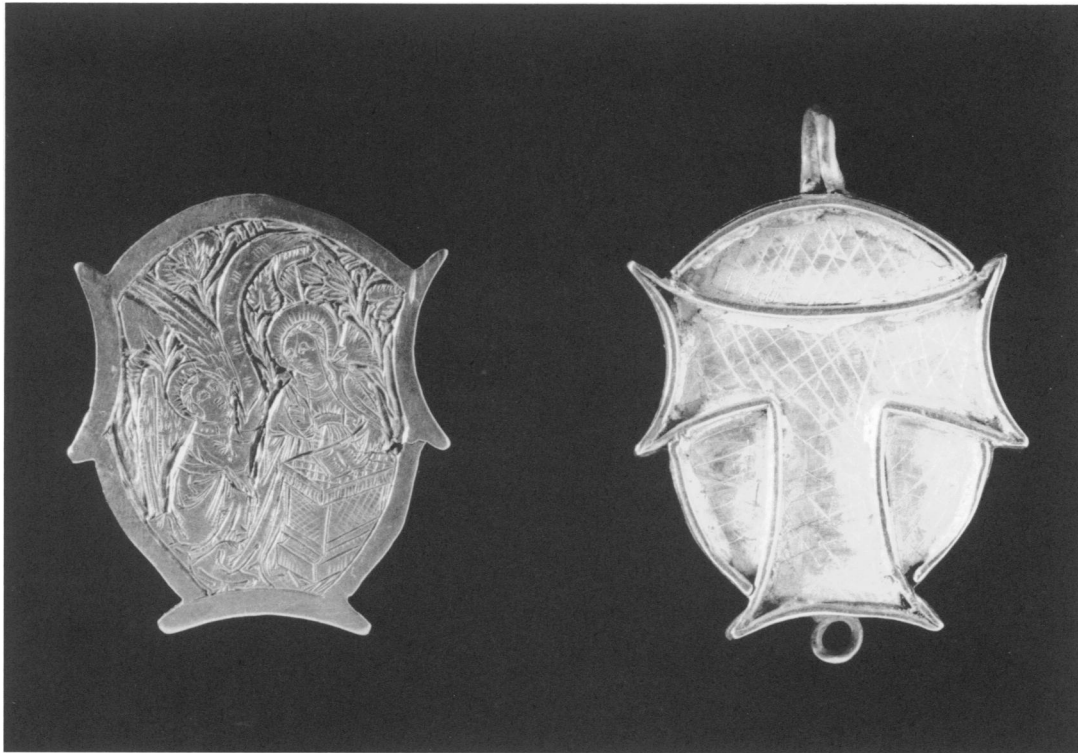
The original form of the Matlaske pendant is established by a complete tau capsule pendant of nearly identical form, now in the British Museum. Found in Bridlington, Yorkshire, the site of a major Augustinian priory (see Figure 5), this pendant capsule retains its back plate in the form of a tau overlaid on an irregular circular form (Figures 18, 19).

The obverse of the pendant is engraved with a representation of the Annunciation against a background of stylized trees.²⁵ The obverses of the Matlaske and Bridlington pendants, like that of the Winteringham pendant, were each cast as a hollowed-out receptacle attached to the facing plate by a slotted flange and a pin-and-barrel tube. Each of these three capsule pendants was originally fitted with a suspension loop from which a small bell once undoubtedly hung.²⁶

In the fifteenth century a number of confraternities, both secular and religious, were established for both men and women. John Carpenter, the master of St. Anthony's, Threadneedle, instituted or revived in 1441 such a confraternity, which gave its members, among other privileges, the right to choose their own confessor, who was empowered to commute vows of abstinence and pilgrimages for five years.²⁷ These advantages presumably cost the members dearly, to the enrichment of the Antonine hospitals.

There were numerous other such confraternities associated with various Antonine foundations. In recognition of his contributions to the house at St.-Antoine-de-Viennois, Jacques II de Bourbon and his heirs were granted the right to wear a gold tau cross and bell on their collars at the vigil and feast of St. Anthony.²⁸ In 1468 Hartmann Schedel of Nuremberg was admitted to the commandery of Maastricht and was entitled to wear the tau badge and bell on his collar. Perhaps the most famous of these orders was that of the Knights of St. Anthony, founded in 1382 by Albrecht II of Bavaria, count of Hainault (d. 1404).²⁹ Originally a quasi-military order loosely aligned with the Knights of the Teutonic Order, this confraternity had been converted by 1420 into an aristocratic society attached to the chapel of Saint-Antoine-de-Barbefosse at Havré, near Mons in Hainault.³⁰ Membership, which required annual dues to the Antonines, seems to have been limited largely to Albrecht's heirs—Johann, Wilhelm, and Jacoba—and to select members of the aristocratic or patrician classes.

The insignia of this order, a gold tau with a small bell suspended from a heavy collar, in imitation of the knotted waist cord of St. Anthony, appears in several fifteenth-century portraits. The earliest of these is the portrait of a man holding a pink, often identified as Johann of Bavaria, count of Hainault, and attributed to a follower of Jan van Eyck (Figure 20).³¹ Another example is found on one of the bronze figures, thought to represent Albrecht or



Figures 18, 19. Tau cross in the form of a pendant capsule, front and back views, found at Bridlington, Yorkshire. English, ca. 1475–85. Gold, traces of enamel. London, British Museum (photos: British Museum)



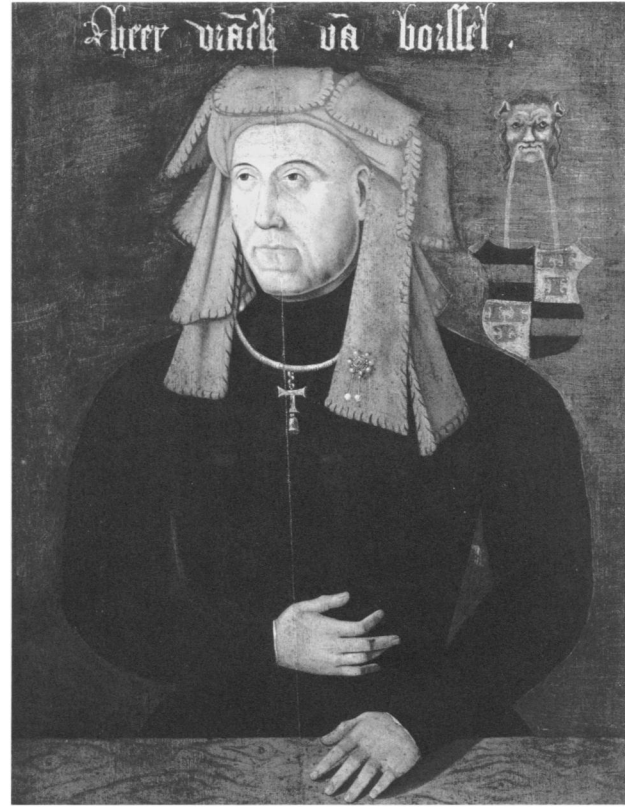
Figure 20. Follower of Jan van Eyck, *Man Holding a Pink*. Flemish, ca. 1420–40. Oil on panel. Berlin, Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (photo: Gemäldegalerie)



Figure 22. Detail of Figure 21 showing insignia of the Order of the Knights of St. Anthony



Figure 21. Courty figure from the tomb of Isabella of Bourbon (d. 1465), from the abbey church of St. Michael's, Antwerp, ca. 1476. Bronze. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (photo: Rijksmuseum-Stichting)



Figures 23, 24. Northern Netherlandish School, *Frank van Borselen* (d. 1470) and his fourth wife, *Jacoba of Bavaria*, 16th century after original of ca. 1435. Oil on panel. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (photos: Rijksmuseum-Stichting)

Wilhelm of Bavaria, count of Hainault, from the tomb of Isabella of Bourbon (d. 1465), cast about 1476 but after models of a somewhat earlier style and formerly located in the abbey church of St. Michael, Antwerp (Figures 21, 22).³² The insignia is also worn by Frank van Borselen, Stadholder of Zeeland (d. 1470), and by his fourth wife, Jacoba of Bavaria, countess of Holland and Zeeland (d. 1436), in a pair of portraits probably copied in the sixteenth century after originals of about 1435 (Figures 23, 24).³³ The order appears to have enjoyed currency well beyond the lifetimes of the immediate heirs of Albrecht of Bavaria, as the insignia is worn by a woman in a double portrait attributed to the Master of the Death of the Virgin and dated about 1515 (Figure 25).³⁴ Indeed, these orders became so prevalent that St. Anthony himself is shown wearing an insignia in a painting by Petrus Christus (Figure 26).

The Order of the Knights of St. Anthony could have been introduced into England by Jacoba, who annulled her second marriage in order to marry Humphrey, duke of Gloucester and regent to Henry

VI. Such orders were viewed as tokens of allegiance and were often bestowed in the course of negotiating grander alliances. The one in question here, which would have placed Hainault, Friesland, Holland, and Zeeland in the possession of the English crown, was certainly not calculated to please Philippe the Good, duke of Burgundy, who was no doubt instrumental in thwarting its consummation. In any event, at least two Englishmen, Sir Roger de Boys and Sir Bernard Brocas, are known to have belonged to the order.³⁵

Preciousness of material and quality of craftsmanship indicate that the Winteringham tau cross and the others under discussion here were not ordinary badges of the sort associated with pilgrimages or almsgiving. Rather, they must have been either individual commissions of the well-to-do or the insignia of elite confraternities. Whether any of these pendant crosses can be linked specifically to the Order of the Knights of St. Anthony is not of primary interest. The more compelling question is why so many individuals and confraternities chose to espouse the Antonines and their patron saint. The



Figure 25. Master of the Death of the Virgin, *Portrait of Dirck van Amerongen and His Wife*, ca. 1515. Oil on canvas. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (photo: Boymans-van Beuningen Museum)

function of these tau crosses and the significance they held for those who wore them may well be explained by the primary function of the Antonine hospitals themselves.

Medieval hospitals, or spitals, as they were often more graphically termed, served a variety of functions vital to the very fabric of medieval society. More responsive and flexible than their modern counterparts, medieval hospitals were prepared to serve not only as custodians for the sick but also as shelters for the poor and homeless, residences for indigent students, clinics, dispensaries, hostels for pilgrims and other travelers, leprosaria, orphanages, old-age homes, and refuges for the blind. Hospitals that specialized in clinical care functioned more as nursing homes, with little distinction made between short-term treatment and long-term residential care.³⁶

From an early date, the Antonine hospitals were renowned for their treatment of victims of an endemic disease that became known as St. Anthony's fire, or *ignis sacer*. This disease—or plague, as it was

then thought to be—sporadically broke out across Europe with inexorable virulence from the eleventh century onward. The horrific symptoms included agonizing intestinal pain, hallucinations accompanied by muscle spasms, and violent contortions. The common name of the disease derived from the accompanying burning sensation in the extremities, which eventually turned gangrenous, withered, and ultimately required amputation. Because of the burning sensation, flames were understood as a reference to the disease; the cross from Bath, for example, shows flames dancing about St. Anthony's feet (Figure 15). Those who suffered from the disease were often depicted with flames shooting from their hands or feet (see Figure 29). Once contracted, the disease was progressive, relentless, and utterly incurable. The grotesque figure in the inner right wing of Grünewald's Isenheim Altarpiece, whose bloated body is covered with angry pustules and whose limbs are gangrenous, has been interpreted—apparently with a degree of pathological accuracy—as a victim in extremis (Figure 27).³⁷ The

devastating effects of the disease occasionally reached proportions matched only by outbreaks of bubonic plague. In 1418, for example, an outbreak of *ignis sacer* in Paris claimed fifty thousand lives in a single month.³⁸

For the modern reader to understand the importance of the Antonine hospitals in relation to this abominable disease, it is necessary to understand medieval notions of medicine in general and the common view of this disease in particular. After the theory of disease transmission through germs evolved during the latter part of the nineteenth century, and particularly since the advancement of medical knowledge and technology late in the twentieth century, we tend to expect medicine to cure illness and disease. Even in confronting the most intractable cancers, for example, we remain doggedly convinced that, however far in the future, some sort of cure will eventually be discovered. Medieval man, on the other hand, viewed medicine not as a curative but merely as a palliative. One of the most famous medical texts of the early sixteenth century, Hans von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundtartzney*, published in Strasbourg in 1517, provides a vast array of remedies and therapies to alleviate a great variety of symptoms, but prescribes a cure for not so much as a single illness. In the case of *ignis sacer*, the populace was all the more terrorized by the seemingly ubiquitous and random nature in which it struck; isolated rural towns often spared by the Black Death knew no respite from St. Anthony's fire. Because a cure was inconceivable, the Antonine hospitals could only attempt to alleviate the symptoms and to prepare the patient for the inevitable. Furthermore, as the etiology of disease was unknown, the means of contracting it was often viewed as a matter of divine governance; man was being stricken for his sins. The AIDS pandemic of the past decade brings us poignantly close to the world of late-medieval man besieged by St. Anthony's fire.

By the end of the fifteenth century, Antonine hospitals devoted themselves exclusively to the care of victims of *ignis sacer*; in fact, the reforms of 1497 required that only patients properly diagnosed with the disease could be admitted to the hospital. The more common therapies relied on a variety of plants and herbs, particularly those that were thought to be dry and cold, such as plantain, poppy, sage, and verbena, and were thus viewed as an allopathic remedy to the burning sensation of the disease. The Antonine hospitals were particularly well known for two topical concoctions, a balsam and a wine vinegar

known as Saint Vinage.³⁹ It is possible that hydrotherapy was also used in treating the disease; there were famous thermal waters in the Vosges very close to the hospital at Isenheim, and monasteries often had such baths under their purview.⁴⁰ When all else failed, as it inevitably did, the Antonine hospitals resorted to their specialty: amputation. Hans von Gersdorff describes the procedure and notes that he had conducted hundreds of these radical interventions in the Antonine hospital at Strasbourg (Figure

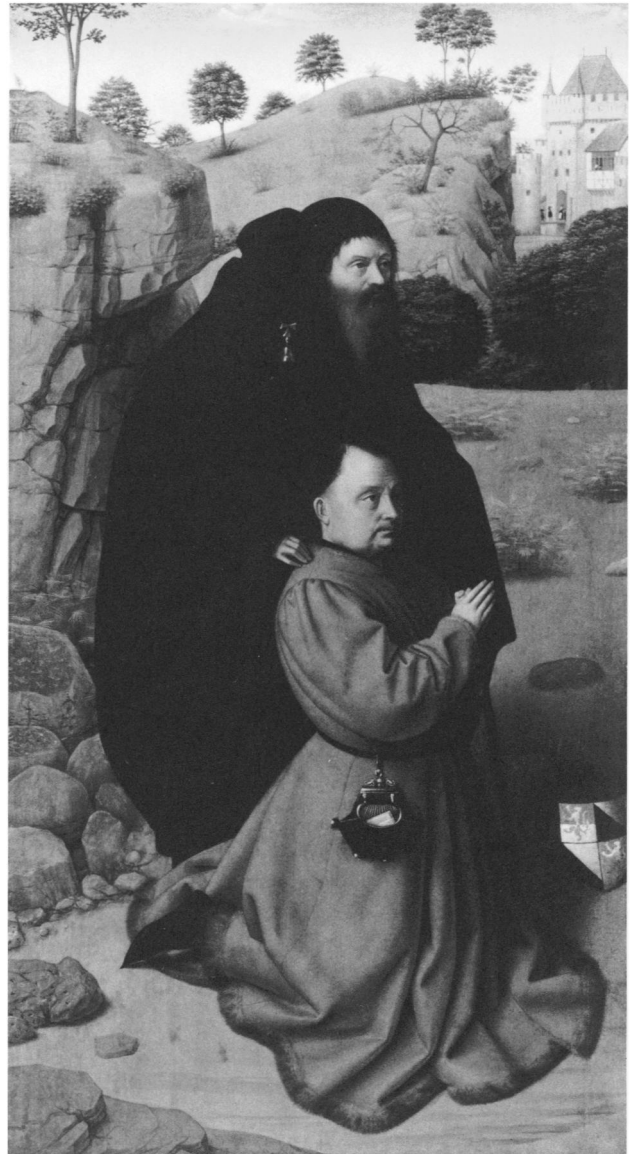


Figure 26. Petrus Christus (act. by 1444–d. 1472/73), *St. Anthony with a Donor*, ca. 1440. Oil on panel, 81.5 × 49.5 cm. Copenhagen, Royal Gallery (photo: Royal Gallery)



Figure 27. Matthias Nithardt Gothardt, known as Grünewald (ca. 1483–1528), Detail from the Isenheim Altarpiece showing a man suffering from *ignis sacer*, ca. 1515. Oil on panel. Colmar, Musée d'Unterlinden (photo: Art Resource)



Figure 28. Woodcut showing an amputation from Hans von Gersdorff's *Feldtbuch der Wundartzney*, Strasbourg, 1517

28).⁴¹ The hospitals were, of course, operated by religious communities, and piety and faith also played a key role in caring for the ill. In the case of the hospital at Isenheim, Andrée Hayum, in an exceptional interpretive work, argues compellingly that Grünewald's great altar was created specifically for a hospital context and that its iconographic program was intended to serve as part of this spiritual and psychological healing mission.⁴²

Those living with *ignis sacer* also sought comfort in St. Anthony. Credited with miraculous powers, he was customarily invoked as an intercessor. In the fifteenth century St. Anthony is frequently shown serenely enthroned holding the Crux Taumata, the symbol of his abbatial authority, as figures on crutches with fire shooting forth from their extremities beseech him; above, limbs of the amputees are strung up as ex-votos (Figure 29). These severed limbs may also be a reference to the fact that the

hospitals des démembrés are said to have kept ex-voto collections of limbs that could be reclaimed at the Last Judgment. But just as St. Anthony had the power to assuage the ravages of the *ignis sacer*, he was also accorded the retributive power to inflict the disease on sinners. Thus, those not yet afflicted also approach him with wary piety. In the Lisbon *Temptation of St. Anthony* the tormented saint turns to gaze out balefully at the viewer; in the foreground is an amputated foot, a gruesome allusion, no doubt, to his special powers (Figure 30).

Only in 1676 was the cause of this disease, known by modern medicine as ergotism, discovered to be the consumption of grain, particularly rye, that had been contaminated by the mold *claviceps purpurea*; the disease can be readily cured with penicillin.⁴³ Apparently there were no significant reported outbreaks of ergotism in England during the late Middle Ages, largely because of the climatic condi-

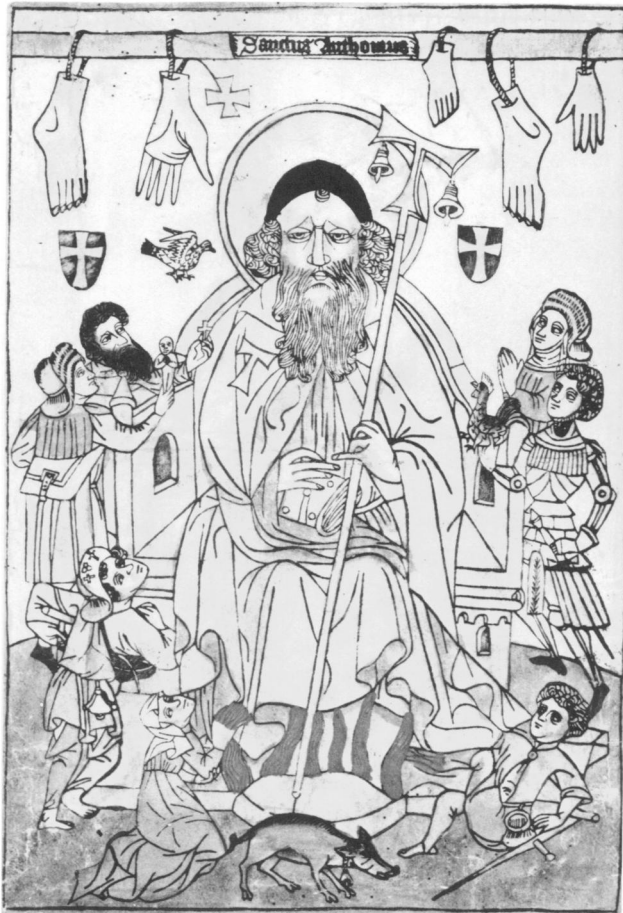


Figure 29. Colored woodcut showing St. Anthony and supplicants. German (Swabia), ca. 1440–50. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung (photo: Staatliche Graphische Sammlung)

tions and because rye was used much less in bread making. But the populace must have been well aware of Continental outbreaks. Not understanding the etiology of *ignis sacer* and mindful of the ineluctable spread of bubonic plague, the English were no doubt as anxious as their Continental neighbors to embrace any form of prophylactic believed efficacious. Whether the Winteringham tau cross and others similar to it held an amuletic compound or relics of the saint the owner wished to propitiate, and whether they were the insignia of a confraternity of the Antonines or simply pieces of personal jewelry, these tau pendants must have been worn in faith that a higher power would provide protection against a fearful disease.



Figure 30. Hieronymus Bosch (act. by 1480–1516), Detail from the *Temptation of St. Anthony* showing an amputated foot on a white cloth in the foreground before the kneeling saint, ca. 1500–1505. Oil on panel. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Artes Antiqua (photo: Art Resource)

NOTES

1. Now the Yorkshire Museum, York.
2. The pendant was sold at Sotheby's, London, on Dec. 11, 1986, and was more recently acquired by the Yorkshire Museum, York. Although the Middleham pendant is a unique survivor, lavish jewels of this type were apparently not uncommon, and numerous mentions appear in inventories of the 15th century. That of Sir Henry Howard, for example, compiled in 1466, itemizes a gold collar "set on a corse of black silk with a hanger of gold garnished with a sapphire."
3. I would like to thank John Sare for his constructive reading of this article.
4. MMA, *The Cloisters Collection*, 1990, 1990.283. The composition of the gold alloy is 75.4 gold, 16.7 silver, and 7.9 copper, normal proportions for medieval gold. The Winteringham cross was consigned by its owners to Sotheby's, London, where it was auctioned on July 5, 1990, as lot 9.
5. London, the British Museum, lent by Her Majesty the Queen. The central part of the cross, engraved with the Crucifix-

ion, is a single panel that can be removed to reveal a cavity in which a tiny relic could be kept. See E. Maclagan and C. Oman, "An English gold rosary of about 1500," *Archaeologie* (1985) pp. 1–22, pl. 6, fig. 1.

6. Inventory number Br. 558. The cover plate of this cross is secured with a flange and pin-and-barrel closure identical to that of the Cloisters tau.

7. John Cherry, in a forthcoming article on the Middleham pendant, notes this motif on a ring of Wytlesey, archbishop of Canterbury, and on another found at Godstowe Priory. I would like to express my appreciation to him for sharing with me this information as well as his thoughts on the Cloisters cross.

8. The close connection between both the Throne of Mercy and the Agnus Dei with the Eucharist is particularly clear when these images appear on patens. See Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art* (Greenwich, Conn., 1971) II, pp. 121, 123.

9. This interpretation was already universally held in the 12th century. A paten of ca. 1160–80 from St. Peter's in Salzburg, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, depicts the Last Supper in which the Agnus Dei stands in the center of a plate into which Christ reaches. In the Ghent Altarpiece, the eucharistic Agnus Dei standing on the altar is the central focus toward which the throngs of the redeemed stream. In Grünewald's Isenheim Altarpiece the Agnus Dei stands at the foot of the cross in the foreboding Crucifixion scene.

10. Ordinary of the Mass, preparation for Communion. "Ecce agnus dei, qui tollit peccatum mundi: miserere nobis" is repeated three times by the celebrant.

11. Even after the Act of Supremacy and the beginning of the English Reformation, transubstantiation remained an important article of faith. According to the Statute of the Six Articles of 1539, for example, the denial of transubstantiation constituted heresy.

12. Capsules intended to hold paschal wafers, made from the wax of a paschal candle and commonly referred to as Agnus Dei, are usually circular. One in the shape of a lozenge would be unusual. The so-called *monile* of Charlemagne, a 14th-century pendant reliquary of the True Cross (Vienna, Schatzkammer, Inv. Nr. D 128), mounted with jewels and approximately the same size, is lozenge-shaped.

13. According to a scroll with magical prayers now in the British Museum, Harleian Ms. 585, the term *ananyzaptus* should have been used in reference to men and *ananyapta* used for women. See *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 40 (1884) p. 311. The feminine ending of this word has, therefore, been used as evidence of a female owner of the Middleham pendant. The term, however, was probably not gender specific, and *ananyzapta* was the form generally used. A chalice in the Victoria and Albert Museum is, for example, inscribed "Caper iurge Fabieanus Ananisabta misere mei." The Middleham pendant, therefore, did not necessarily belong to a woman. See also Joan Evans, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance particularly in England* (Oxford, 1922) pp. 122–123.

14. See O. M. Dalton, *Franks Bequest, Catalogue of Finger Rings, Early Christian, Byzantine, Teutonic, Mediaeval and Later* (London, 1912) p. 136, no. 870. The Stockholm Ms. f. 35. Another variation is found in the British Museum, Ms. Sloane 389.

15. A ring in the British Museum (Dalton 870) is inscribed, in part: "Antidotum Nazareni Auferat Necem Intoxicacionis Sanctific[e] Alimenta Pocula Trinitatis Alma."

16. G. Maillet-Guy, *Les Origines de Saint-Antoine* (Paris, 1908) pp. 16–18.

17. The Benedictine priory had continued to claim half of the offerings of the Hospitalers and as a result, in 1297, the Hospitalers seized the priory and successfully sought recognition by Pope Boniface VIII.

18. The house was established for a master, two priests, and a schoolmaster, along with a hospice for twelve poor men. It seems to have had no endowment, as their whole property was worth only eight shillings a year in 1291. In the 15th century the foundation was prospering and the school enjoyed a considerable academic reputation. For a history of the order in England, see Rose Graham, "The Order of St. Antoine de Viennois and its English Commandery, St. Anthony's, Threadneedle Street," *The Archaeological Journal* 84 (1927) pp. 341–406.

19. St. Anthony's, Peaseholm, arose from a guild, some members of which obtained a charter from Henry VI in 1446. The church was actually dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary but became known as St. Anthony's because of its association with the guild. The hospital of St. Anthony at Vienne appeared to have had a chapel at Gillygate, York, apparently the only site outside of London, but this was vacated before the end of the 14th century. A hermit seems to have taken up residence there in 1401 and, pretending to have authority, began to collect alms. The London hospital heard of this and had him evicted in 1403. A hospital was subsequently established at the site, and in 1429 indulgences were granted to anyone who gave alms in support of the work of St. Anthony outside the walls of York. See *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, Yorkshire* 3, 2 (London, 1913) p. 351.

20. Because these bells are unmarked, they cannot be unequivocally identified with the Antonines. Similar bells were sold at Canterbury, for example, but these are usually marked *Campan Thome* for Thomas's Bell or a variation thereof. See Michael Mitchiner, *Medieval Pilgrim and Secular Badges* (London, 1986) nos. 134–138a and 489–496.

21. See Dalton, *Franks Bequest*, nos. 527, 530, 532, 552–554, and 721.

22. *Ibid.*, no. 721. It is not clear why the scallop shell usually associated with St. James the Great appears here with St. John the Baptist.

23. John Cherry of the British Museum discussed this ring in a lecture given at the conference of the British Archaeological Association in Hereford in 1989, forthcoming as an article in the Association's *Proceedings*.

24. Now in the Roman Baths Museum, Bath, acc. no. BATRM 1983.91. I am grateful to the Bath Museums Service for granting permission to reproduce this object. It was published by B. W. Cunliffe, ed., *Excavations in Bath 1950–1975* (Bristol, 1979), p. 153, pl. 2.

25. Acc. no. AF 2766.

26. There is a hole in the lower edge of the Cloisters cross from which the bell was suspended.

27. Graham, "The Order of St. Antoine de Viennois," p. 364.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 368.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 369.
30. "La Chevalerie et le prieuré de St. Antoine en Barbefosse," *Annales de l'Académie d'Archéologie de Belgique* 21, 1 (1965) pp. 562–566.
31. Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, Inv. no. 525A. Jan van Eyck was in the employ of Johann of Bavaria in The Hague in 1422–25, dates that reasonably correspond to the style of the original, according to M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting I* (London, 1967) p. 59.
32. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.
33. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, A 498, A 499. A similar but earlier copy of the portrait of Jacoba is in the Royal Gallery, Copenhagen, inv. no. 63, and a 19th-century copy of this is also in the Rijksmuseum, inv. no. A 954. A late copy of the pendant portraits with English inscriptions is now in the British Museum, London.
34. Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, inv. no. 2464. On the back are inscribed *Dirck B. . . van Amerongen* and the dates 1527 and 1549. See Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting X*, p. 85, no. 153, pl. 117.
35. Graham, "The Order of St. Antoine de Viennois," p. 369.
36. *Dictionary of the Middle Ages VI* (New York, 1985) p. 294.
37. Particularly the gangrenous tone of the flesh and the withered limbs. For more detailed discussions of the pathology of St. Anthony's fire, see G. Barger, *Ergot and Ergotism* (London, 1931) esp. pp. 41–43; Chaumartin, *Le Mal des ardents* (Paris, 1946) esp. pp. 88, 154–155; and Laurinda S. Dixon, "Bosch's 'St. Anthony Triptych'—An Apothecary's Apotheosis," *The Art Journal* 44, 2 (Summer 1984) esp. p. 120.
38. There were, in the time frame of the Cloisters tau cross, serious outbreaks in 1473, 1474, 1494, and 1509. See Marie-Madeleine Antony-Schmitt, *Le Culte de Saint-Sébastien en Alsace* (Strasbourg/Colmar, 1977) p. 36.
39. Chaumartin, *Le Mal des ardents*, p. 101.
40. See L. Pflieger, "Culte des eaux et sources sacrées en Alsace," *Revue d'Alsace* 92 (1958) pp. 57–78.
41. Hans von Gersdorff, *Feldtuch der Wundtartzney* (Strasbourg, 1517) chap. 20, "Von der Abscheydung." In a rhymed couplet he notes that it is necessary to cut off a leg or an arm in order to extinguish St. Anthony's fire.
42. Andrée Hayum, *The Isenheim Altarpiece: God's Medicine and the Painter's Vision* (Princeton, 1989).
43. The ergot mold when baked in dough also produced a form of lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD), which explains the powerful hallucinations. See Delay and P. Pichot, "Diéthylamide de l'acide d-lysergique et troubles psychiques de l'ergotisme," *Comptes rendus des séances de la Société de Biologie et des ses filiales* (Paris, 1945) pp. 1609–1619, and Dixon, "Bosch's 'St. Anthony Triptych,'" p. 20.

The Epitaph of Anna van Nieuwenhove

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IN HIS *Early Flemish Portraits 1425–1525* Guy Bauman made some interesting comments on a painting in the Robert Lehman Collection entitled *Virgin and Child, with St. Anne Presenting a Woman* (Figure 1).¹ In this essay I propose to present additional information about the work, more specifically about its inscription, original provenance, and function.

This panel is generally attributed to an anonymous Bruges painter known as the Master of the St. Ursula Legend. It represents a woman, turned to the viewer's left, who kneels in adoration of something outside the picture. Her prayer book lies next to her on a hedge. Behind the adoring figure her patron saint, St. Anne, introduces her with a gentle gesture of the right hand. St. Anne stands in front of an honorary brocade with woven pineapple motifs and with her left arm shelters her daughter, Mary. As Guy Bauman observed, the Virgin, who holds the Christ Child, appears more as a conventional attribute of St. Anne, who enfolds her, than as a full-fledged personage in the scene.² Not only her diminutive scale but especially the odd representation of the Christ Child blessing the donor, who turns her back to Him, proves this point.

In the background of the picture, there is a hilly landscape with two castles at the right. On the left in the background one sees a cityscape, easily identifiable as Bruges. It shows the Minnewater with two round towers; the tower on the left, the Poedertoren, still exists. The city is dominated by three towers, which are, from left to right: the belfry, the church of Our Lady, and a third tower, probably that of St. Savior, which is not truthfully represented. St. Savior's spire was not that pointed in the fifteenth century.³ In order to see this specific configuration of the three Bruges towers, one has to look at the city from the north-northeast, some-

where between the Ghent Gate and the Catherina Gate. Seen from the side of the Minnewater, as in the painting—which is more toward the east—the tower of the belfry should be placed in the middle.

The sitter has been identified as Anna de Blasere, the wife of Jan van Nieuwenhove. The identification is made possible by her and her husband's coats of arms on the frame⁴ and by the inscription (Figures 2–4) at the bottom of the picture, which may be translated as: “The companion and wife of Jan and [*sic*] Michiel van Nieuwenhove, born Anna, daughter of Johannes de Blasere, died in 1480, minus iota, the 5th of October; may she rest in peace. Amen.”⁵

The numerals in this inscription—*m.c. quater .x. octo.* and *qui[n]ta*—are written in red; the words are in white. The year is not 1488, as thought earlier.⁶ *M.c. quater .x. octo.* should be read as “thousand, hundred times four, ten times eight,” that is, 1480.⁷ The hitherto unexplained addition *sed excipe iotam*, inserted between the year and the day, is certainly the most puzzling element. Literally it means “but subtract iota,” in which the Greek letter iota stands for one.⁸ In other words, the date in the inscription should be understood as 1480 minus 1: 1479. This date, October 5, 1479, is precisely eleven days after Anna gave birth to her daughter, Catherina.⁹ Like many women during the late Middle Ages, Anna must have died from complications in childbirth.¹⁰

It has been suggested that the inscription was written before Anna's death and that some space was left open for the date, which would have been filled out in red after she died.¹¹ This hypothesis appears incorrect, because in that case the word *octobris* would have also been written in red. On the contrary, one may deduce from this that either the painting was made after October 5, 1479, or that the inscription was added to the painting after that date.

The unusual format of the date and the use of two colors in the inscription may indicate that it hides a chronogram, similar to the famous quatrain

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Figure 1. Master of the St. Ursula Legend, *Virgin and Child, with St. Anne Presenting a Woman*. Tempera and oil on wood, 49.9 × 34.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975, 1975.1.114

on the Ghent Altarpiece.¹² Indeed, if one adds up the values of the significant letters in *quater x octo . . . quinta*, the result is twenty-one. To judge from the apparent age of the woman in the picture, Anna may have been that age when she died. However, no archival documents have yet surfaced that corroborate this.

The 1479 date in the inscription is a *terminus post quem* for the picture. On the other hand, the Bruges belfry in the background is represented the way it looked before it was rebuilt in 1483.¹³ This means that the painting originated between 1479 and 1483. It was probably commissioned from the Master of the St. Ursula Legend by Jan van Nieuwenhove in commemoration of his beloved wife, shortly after her premature death.

The inscription may have been retraced at some later date, which would explain the mistake *Johannis et michaelis* instead of *Johannis filius michaelis*. But there is no reason to doubt its authenticity. It includes typical Middle Netherlandish phrasing literally translated into Latin, as one often finds in documents of that period. *Coniunx domicella* is the literal translation of the Middle Netherlandish *gheselnede ende huuswyf* (companion and wife).¹⁴

The reference to the date of Anna's death and the words *pace quiescat* suggest that the picture was originally an epitaph and may have been part of a funerary monument.¹⁵ Anna van Nieuwenhove was buried in the church of Our Lady in Bruges. The fourth chapel from the west in the south aisle of this church belonged to the van Nieuwenhove family.¹⁶ At the entrance, a family sepulcher of bluish limestone from Tournai with brass inlay was set into the floor.¹⁷ In this monument, now lost, six members of the family were buried: Michiel van Nieuwenhove;¹⁸ Catherina van Belle, Michiel's wife;¹⁹ Jan van Nieu-

wenhove, son of Michiel;²⁰ his wife, Anna de Blasere;²¹ Martinus van Nieuwenhove, Jan's brother;²² and Margaretha Haultains, wife of Martinus.²³

A memorial stone with the van Nieuwenhove coat of arms was set into the south wall of the chapel itself.²⁴ The inscription on it had faded by the late seventeenth century, when epitaph inscriptions were first systematically recorded in Bruges. Today, the stone has completely disappeared. The inscription doubtless alluded to the foundation of this chapel and, as usual, to the Masses that the van Nieuwenhoves had endowed there.²⁵

Perhaps the painting in the Lehman Collection hung to the right of this foundation stone on the south wall of the chapel of the van Nieuwenhove family in the church of Our Lady. There are no traces of hinges on the picture's frame, which indicates that it was not the right shutter of a diptych or a triptych, as one would expect, judging from Anna's position turned toward the viewer's left and looking at something outside the picture frame.²⁶ The foundation stone may very well have had an engraved figurative decoration, such as a Crucifixion, for instance, under which the actual text was inscribed. This way, the painting would have matched compositionally the memorial stone, and Anna's gaze out of the picture would be more comprehensible.

If this is so, the installation much resembled that of the lost epitaph of Wouter Metteneye in the same church. The sepulcher of the Metteneye family was situated at the southeastern side of the ambulatory.²⁷ Above this funerary monument a stone with an epitaph inscription and the family's coat of arms was set into the wall. On either side of it hung a painting: the one on the left represented Wouter Metteneye, the one on the right his wife, Margriete



Figure 2. Detail of Figure 1 showing inscription

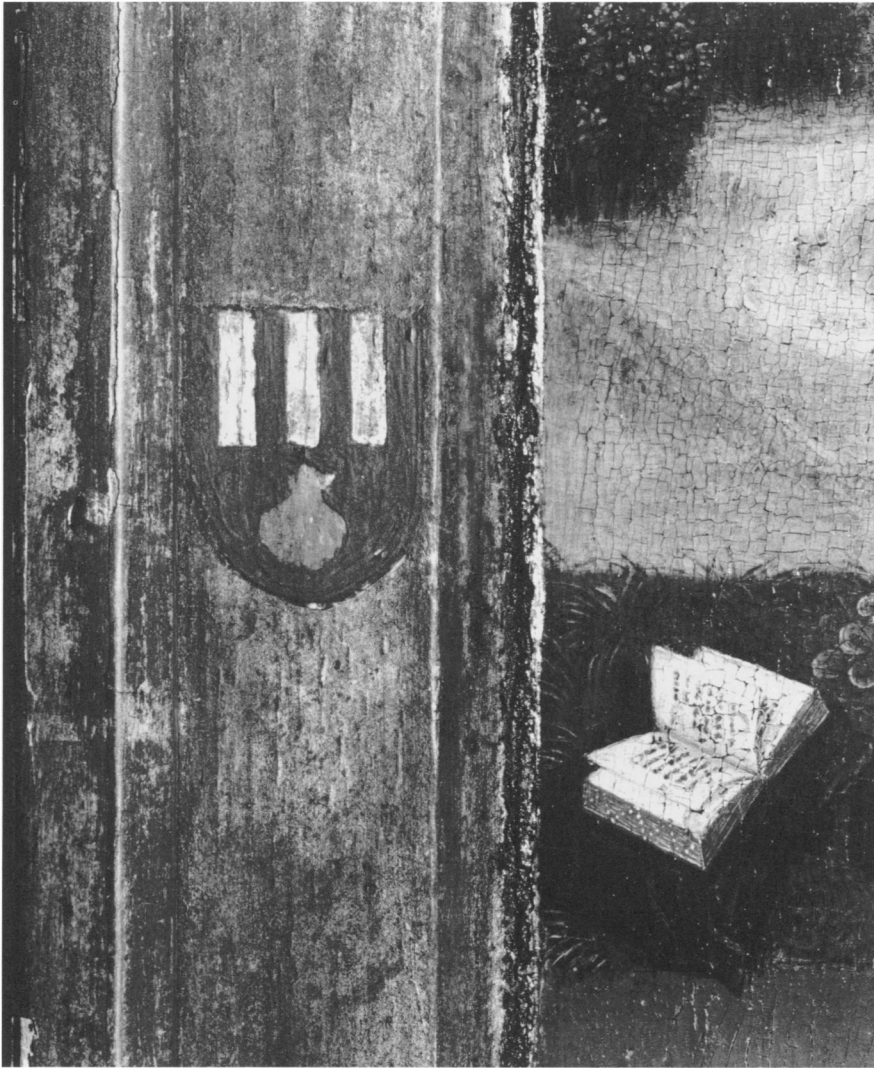


Figure 3. Detail of Figure 1 showing coat of arms on frame at left

Canneel. Both figures were accompanied by their children, no doubt the man with his sons and the woman with her daughters. These paintings were probably installed shortly after July 1, 1448, when Wouter Metteneye died.

Thus far, only G. Marlier has doubted the attribution of the painting to the Master of the St. Ursula Legend.²⁸ I believe there is no reason for such doubts. The naïveté of the doll-like figures in this composition, especially of the portrait of Anna de Blasere, is very typical of this master's manner.²⁹ She could be a sister of the Antwerp *Lady with a Carnation*, who wears the same headgear and veil.³⁰ The chalky color of the flesh, the black eyes without highlights, the large, closed mouth, and above all the blank facial expression are unmistakably the work of the same hand.

The Virgin in the Lehman picture—her long hair cascading over her shoulders and accentuated by golden highlights—resembles the figure of St. Ursula in the Bruges panels of the *Legend of St. Ursula*, from which this master takes his name.³¹ The upper half of the figure of St. Anne may be based on the same preparatory sketch that was used in reverse for this saint in the Brussels *Virgin and Child with St. Anne and Saints*.³²

The rocks and shrubbery in front of the cityscape and the view of Bruges itself in the background of the epitaph are almost identical to the disposition of the background in the *Portrait of Ludovico Portinari* in Philadelphia, except that on the latter painting the St. Savior tower is missing.³³

The epitaph of Anna van Nieuwenhove fits stylistically very well in the corpus of paintings attributed

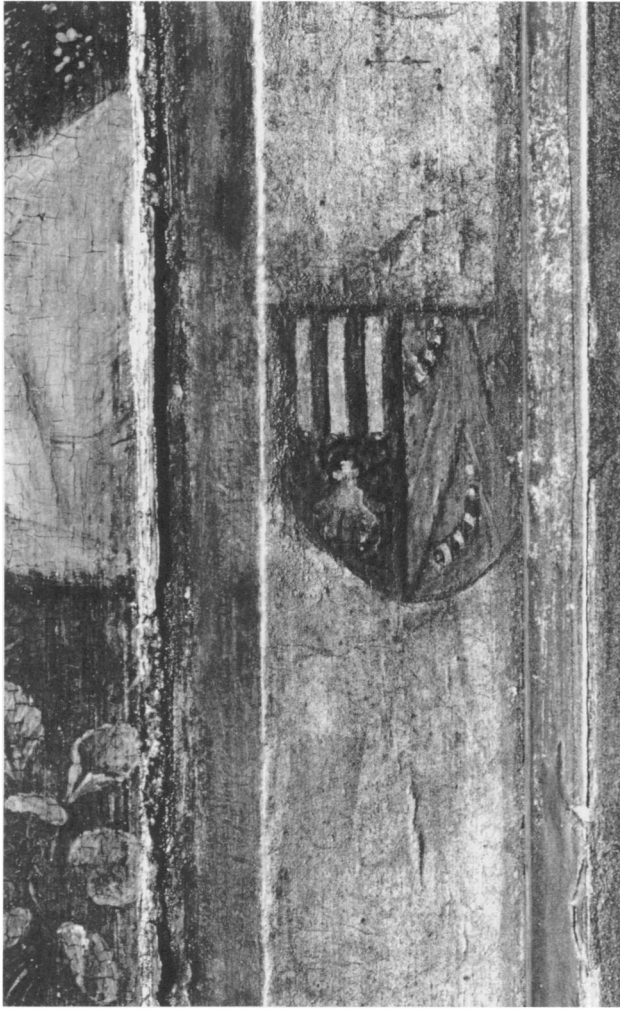


Figure 4. Detail of Figure 1 showing coat of arms on frame at right

to the Master of the St. Ursula Legend. Indeed, since the painting can be dated with relative precision between 1479 and 1483, it is a firm reference in the chronology of this Bruges master's oeuvre.

NOTES

1. G. Bauman, *Early Flemish Portraits 1425–1525* (New York, 1986) pp. 22–25. Other literature on this painting includes F. J. Mather, “Three Early Flemish Tomb Pictures,” *Art in America* 3, 6 (Oct. 1915) pp. 261–272; Robert Lehman, *Catalogue of the Philip Lehman Collection* (Paris, 1925); M. J. Friedländer, *Die Altniederländische Malerei VI: Memling und Gerard David* (Berlin, 1928) no. 119, pl. LIV; P. Bautier, “Le Maître Brugeois de la Légende de Sainte Ursule,” *Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België* V (1956) p. 4; G. Marlier, “Le Maître de la Légende Sainte Ursule,” *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*

(1964) pp. 5–42; M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting VIa: Hans Memling and Gerard David*, with comments and notes by N. Veronée-Verhaegen (Brussels/Leiden, 1971) pp. 39, 60, no. 119, pl. 142.

2. Bauman, *Early Flemish Portraits*, p. 25.

3. Compare this tower to the one in the right background of Gerard David's *Portrait of an Ecclesiastic Praying* (National Gallery, London); see H. J. Van Miegroet, *Gerard David* (Antwerp, 1989) pp. 254, 301, no. 34, pl. 245, who questions the identification of this tower as being that of St. Savior.

4. On the left, *azure, on an escallop argent an armlet, and issuant from the chief three pallets or*, van Nieuwenhove; at the right, *per pale, I, van Nieuwenhove; II, gules, a chevron or, between three horns, sable and or*, de Blasere.

5. *De nieuwenhoue co[n]iunx Domicella Johannis et michaelis / Obit de blasere nata Johanne Anna sub .m.c. quater / .x. octo. sed excipe Jotam octobris qui[n]ta pace quiescat Amen.*

6. Friedländer, *Malerei*, VI, no. 119; idem, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, VIa, no. 119; Bautier, *Le Maître Brugeois*, p. 4. This mistake was first reluctantly rectified by Marlier, *Le Maître de la Légende*, p. 13.

7. A similar format for numerals is still used in French, for instance, in *quatre-vingts* for eighty (literally four twenties). In Old French sources, more combinations of that sort are found, such as VII^{xx} for 140 or IX^{xx} for 180; see L. de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne. Études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XV^e siècle I* (Paris, 1851) pp. 256, 265, nos. 882, 932.

8. I am grateful to Kristoffel Demoen (Ph.D. candidate, Department of Classical Philology, University of Ghent) for clarifying this puzzle for me.

9. Catherina was born on Sept. 24, 1479, and died in 1521; see J. Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc IV* (Bruges, 1857–64) p. 93.

10. Before the 17th century, about 20 to 25 percent of female mortality in Flanders was caused by complications in childbirth; see C. Vandenbroeke, “Zuigelingensterfte, bevallingsstoornissen en kraambedsterfte, 17de–19de eeuw,” *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 50 (1978) pp. 133–163; A. Delva, *Vrouwengeneeskunde in Vlaanderen tijdens de late Middeleeuwen* (Bruges, 1983) p. 85.

11. Nicole Verhaegen communicated this observation to Marlier, *Le Maître de la Légende*, p. 13.

12. On the quatrain of the Ghent Altarpiece, see, among others, J. Duverger, *Het Graftchrift van Hubert van Eyck en het Quatrain van het Gentsche Lam Gods Retabel* (Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, Klasse der Schone Kunsten, VII/4) (Antwerp/Utrecht, 1945); E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) I, p. 206 n. 1; P. Ampe, “De metamorfozen van het authentieke Jan van Eyck kwatrijn op het Lam Gods,” *Jaarboek van het Museum voor Schone Kunsten van Antwerpen* 32 (1969) pp. 7–60.

13. Marlier, *Le Maître de la Légende*, p. 13. Dating based on the different building phases of the belfry's tower was first introduced by Georges Hulin de Loo in a seminar series on the followers of Memling (*ibid.*). It was used by Marlier to construct a chronology of the oeuvre of the Master of the St. Ursula Legend. Later Nicole Verhaegen applied it to the works attributed to the Master of the St. Lucy Legend (N. Verhaegen, “Le Maître de la Légende de Sainte Lucie. Précisions sur son Oeuvre,” *Bulletin van*

het Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium 2 [1959] pp. 73–82). One could argue that the building phase of the belfry's tower is not necessarily a reliable source for the date of this and other pictures on which this tower appears; theoretically, these cityscapes may have been copied from older sketches. Nevertheless, it would have made little sense for a Bruges painter to represent a Bruges building the way it looked some years earlier. Besides, why would the Master of the St. Ursula Legend and the Master of the St. Lucy Legend have represented the belfry also in its later building phases?

14. J. W. Fuchs, O. Weijers, M. Gumbert-Hepp, *Lexikon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi. Woordenboek van het Middeleeuws Latijn van de Noorderlijke Nederlanden* II (Leiden, 1981) p. 1007, *i.v. coniunx*; III (Leiden, 1986) pp. 1574–1575, *i.v. domicella*.

15. It is doubtful that such a painting would have been called an epitaph in the 15th century. Only later, from the 16th century on, did the word *epitaph* come to mean a memorial sculpture or painting, besides its original and more restricted meaning of funeral inscription; see P. Schoenen, "Epitaph," *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte* V (Stuttgart, 1967) cols. 872–873.

16. In the 19th century, this chapel was still commonly known as the van Nieuwenhove chapel; see J. Gailliard, *Éphémérides brugeoises ou relation chronologique des événements qui se sont passés dans la ville de Bruges, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours* (Bruges, 1847) pp. 203–204. Nevertheless, no archives related to the original foundation of the chapel or to the acquisition of the sepulchral concession have been preserved; see M. Vandermaesen, *Inventaris van het oud archief der kerkfabriek van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw te Brugge* (Brussels, 1984).

17. It is not known whether these inlaid brass elements were only inscriptions or whether they also represented the coats of arms or the effigies of the deceased. On this floor slab, see I. de Hooghe, *Versaemelinghe van alle de sepulturen, epitaphien, besetten, waepens ende blasoenen, die gevonden worden in alle de kercken, kloosters, abdyen, capellen ende godshuysen binnen de stad van Brugge* (. . .) II, 1698–1707 (Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, ms. 449, II, fol. 207); P. Beaucourt de Noortvelde, *Description historique de l'église collégiale et paroissiale de Notre-Dame à Bruges* (Bruges, 1773) p. 284 (literally translated from de Hooghe); Gailliard, *Éphémérides*, p. 204; idem, *Bruges et le Franc*, p. 94; idem, *Inscriptions funéraires et monumentales de la Flandre Occidentale. I. Arrondissement de Bruges, 2. Bruges, Eglise de Notre Dame* (Bruges, 1866) p. 389; V. Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge voor 1578* (Bruges, 1976) II, pp. 344–345, no. 341.

18. Michiel had been city councillor in 1449, 1456, and 1461; treasurer of the city in 1455; district head in 1469 and 1471; and alderman in 1470 and 1472. In 1460 he was also chosen as provost of the Noble Confraternity of the Holy Blood. He died on Sept. 11, 1474. For biographical data on the van Nieuwenhove family and their relatives, see Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc*, p. 93.

19. Catherina van Belle was the daughter of Barbara de Boodt from her first marriage to Laurent van Belle. Later, Barbara married Jan Jansz. van Nieuwenhove, Michiel's brother.

20. Jan Michielszoon was a counselor to the archduke Maximilian. He was tortured and sentenced to death during the revolt

against this sovereign on Nov. 29, 1488. He also held the office of *watergrave* of Flanders (i.e., the official responsible for all rivers, canals, dikes, and sluices in the country), and he was city councillor in 1473, 1476, and 1482; mayor of the community in 1466; and provost of the Noble Confraternity of the Holy Blood in 1485.

21. She was the daughter of Jan de Blasere and Catherina Joncheere. While he gave exact dates for most other members of the family, de Hooghe, *Versaemelinghe*, fol. 207, recorded the date of Anna's death only as "5. dag . . ." (the fifth day . . .). He may perhaps have been puzzled by the inscription on the painting.

22. Martinus (Nov. 11, 1463–Aug. 16, 1500), best known from his famous portrait by Hans Memling of 1487 (St. John's Hospital, Bruges), was city councillor in 1492 and 1494, district head in 1495 and 1498, and mayor in 1497.

23. Margaretha died on Aug. 22, 1522. She was related to Martinus's family and was the great-granddaughter of Nicolas Jansz. van Nieuwenhove, who was her husband's uncle. Vermeersch pointed out that this tomb monument has been confused in 17th- and 18th-century collections of funeral inscriptions, with the sepulcher of Jan's son, Jan van Nieuwenhove, Jr., who married Barbara de Boodt. Like his father, Jan Jr. also served as mayor of Bruges. He died after 1506. He was buried in a niche monument in the van Nieuwenhove chapel; see Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, II, p. 345, and III, p. 443.

24. See de Hooghe, *Versaemelinghe*, fol. 207; Beaucourt de Noortvelde, *Description historique*, p. 284; Gailliard, *Éphémérides*, p. 204.

25. This foundation stone may be compared to, for instance, that of Margaretha Bladelin of 1449 in the same church; see Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, II, pp. 177–178, no. 192, pl. 75.

26. Observed by Bauman, *Early Flemish Portraits*, p. 25, who speculated that "it may have been intended for display beside an altarpiece, the object of Anna's devotion, near her grave."

27. Gailliard, *Inscriptions funéraires*, p. 73; Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten*, II, p. 175, no. 189.

28. Marlier, *Le Maître de la Légende*, p. 14.

29. For an accurate analysis of this master's style, see Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, VIa, p. 39.

30. Museum Mayer Van den Bergh, Antwerp, no. 355; see Marlier, *Maître de la Légende*, pp. 22–23, pl. 16; Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, VIa, p. 61, no. 136, pl. 147; J. de Coo, *Museum Mayer Van den Bergh, Catalogus 1: Schilderijen, Verluchte Handschriften, Tekeningen*, 3rd ed. (Antwerp, 1978) p. 102.

31. Groeningemuseum, Bruges, no. 0.1542–45; see D. de Vos, *Catalogus Schilderijen 15de en 16de eeuw*. Stedelijke Musea Brugge (Bruges, 1979) pp. 151–155 (with complete bibl.).

32. Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, Brussels, no. 1158; see Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, VIa, p. 60, no. 118, pl. 141.

33. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, no. 327; see Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, VIa, p. 61, no. 134, pl. 143; B. Sweeney, *John G. Johnson Collection. Catalogue of Flemish and Dutch Paintings* (Philadelphia, 1972) p. 59, no. 327.

Hans Memling's *Annunciation* with Angelic Attendants

SHIRLEY NEILSEN BLUM

NORTHERN RENAISSANCE PAINTING found authority in repetition. More so than in the South, many artists confined their invention to intricate variations of a limited number of themes. Some of the great reputations in the history of art were built in the Netherlands on reworking similar paintings of well-known subjects. Like the great cathedral sculptors and the liturgy of the religion they celebrated, Netherlandish artists proved that reiteration might renew rather than reduce an article of faith. Surprisingly, the repetitive tendency of Flemish art did not become formulaic until the end of the fifteenth century.

Memling's *Annunciation* (Figure 1),¹ believed to have been done in 1482 at the height of his career,² closely follows a well-established tradition. Memling drew upon a convention, fully formulated by the 1420s, in which Gabriel, dressed in priestly robes, encountered Mary in a domestic Flemish interior. Within this utterly familiar setting, Memling diverges from the canonical kneeling, seated, or standing Virgin. One may search in vain in other Netherlandish Annunciation panels of the fifteenth century for a Virgin positioned as she is here, suspended between rising and kneeling and held forth by angels. As she gives her acceptance to an invisible God, Mary unselfconsciously turns fully forward, while the angel to her left raises his eyes to address the spectator directly. In spite of her meekness and unsure footing, the Virgin and her heavenly pages dominate the scene. The treatment of color, like that of the subject, mixes the conventional with the unexpected. The pristine luminous surfaces, admired since the time of van Eyck (d. 1441), combine with a rare iridescent wash, most noticeable on the garments of the angelic attendants. The painting reassures the viewer through its traditional forms and symbols, but intensifies the devotional content through the singular group of the Virgin and angels.

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The prescriptive qualities of the painting are well known. Like much of Memling's work, this painting owes an outstanding debt to his supposed teacher, Rogier van der Weyden.³ The small, sparsely furnished bedroom draws directly upon Rogier's Annunciation wing of the Columba Altarpiece in Munich, painted about 1455 (Figure 2), and Rogier's much earlier Louvre *Annunciation* of about 1435 (Figure 3).⁴ In both paintings the curtained bed stands behind the Virgin, enframing her and the Holy Spirit like a royal canopy. The knotted curtain is found in the Columba Annunciation, whereas the flat ceiling and the shutters appear in the Louvre version.

Although Italian fourteenth-century painting located the Annunciation in the Virgin's bedchamber, neither van Eyck nor Campin used it in their Annunciations. When Rogier introduced the *thalamus Virginis* into Northern Renaissance painting, he derived it from Northern miniatures of such subjects as the Birth of John the Baptist or the Birth of the Virgin, rather than from Trecento Italian models.⁵ Following its appearance in Rogier's Louvre *Annunciation*, the nuptial bed became a common symbol in the North of the sacred union between heaven and earth. The grand canopy and the bed's brilliant red color, produced by one of the more expensive pigments of the time, gave the bed regal connotations appropriate to Christ and his mother.⁶

The bridal chamber image, taken from Psalm 19:4–9 ("the sun, Which is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race"), entered the liturgy in several forms, one of which was the Christmas antiphon "The Lord is a bridegroom coming out of his bridal chamber." Another popular reference to such a room came from the Song of Songs, presumably written by King Solomon. Glossing the verse "The King hath brought me into his chambers" (1:4), Bernard of Clairvaux called one of the king's rooms the bedroom, "a place where God is seen in tranquil rest, where he is neither Judge nor Teacher but Bridegroom."⁷ The presence of the Bridegroom in

the chamber and his exit from it were repeatedly used as analogies of the conception and birth of Christ and of Mary's virginity.⁸

Unlike the church setting for the Annunciation used by many artists in the first half of the century, the bedroom scene referred unabashedly to the sacred act of conception. Just as the bed in van Eyck's Arnolfini double portrait points to procreation as one of the purposes of the sacrament of marriage, the *thalamus Virginis* (identified by the bed) reminds the viewer that this is a nuptial chamber wherein the Virgin as bride and mother is joined to Christ, her Bridegroom and her Son. At the moment of the Annunciation, God espoused the Virgin as his bride. By this marriage, through the power of the Holy Spirit, God created a human form for his eternal Son. Although the act of conception was wholly spiritual, in the sense that the word of God miraculously entered the womb of the Virgin through the power of the Holy Spirit, the presence of the bed as a sign of consummation was not lost upon the fifteenth-century viewer. In the medieval marriage ritual the priest blessed the bed, and the ceremony itself was symbolic of Christ's union with his Church.⁹ The Church sanctioned intercourse only if intended for procreation. The Scholastics had reaffirmed the three ends of marriage first enumerated by Augustine: offspring (*proles*), fidelity (*fides*), and the sacrament (*sacramentum*).¹⁰ The Incarnation fulfilled the first requirement; the Virgin provided an ideal of the second condition; and the union of God and man in Christ was considered the true mystery of which human marriage was a type.

Aside from its pictorial sources in scenes of saintly birth in domestic settings, the major religious text for the nuptial imagery was again the Song of Songs. In this poetic dialogue the bride was identified by the early church fathers as *Ecclesia*, or the Church, and the bridegroom as Christ. By the twelfth century, with the steady growth of Marian devotion, these texts began to be applied as well to Mary, who had been considered, from patristic times, a figure of the Church. Her virginity was a sign of her fidelity to Christ, and by analogy the virginity of the Church was the purity of its faith. Mary had long been likened to Eve as "mother of all the living," and like the Church, as the mother of all Christians. Greatly encouraged by the profuse devotions to the Virgin professed by Bernard of Clairvaux, exegetes used the erotic verses of the Song of Songs as Old Testament prefigurations, not only of the mystical union of the soul with God, but also far

more literally as the heavenly nuptials of Christ and Mary: she the new Shulamite and Christ the new Solomon. Commentators went so far as to call Gabriel the best man.¹¹

In Memling's painting the curtain of the nuptial bed has been knotted up into what Susan Koslow calls a curtain-sack.¹² Because it is located along the central axis and because the top of the bed coincides with the top of the panel, the curtain-sack is exceptionally prominent. It seems much closer to the foreground than it actually is and, with the bending angel, occupies the charged interval between Gabriel and the Virgin usually filled by the pot of lilies. Koslow tells us that the hung bed, so called because the canopy was suspended by cords from the ceiling, became popular in the North about 1400 and appeared shortly thereafter in manuscript illustration.¹³

Like so many domestic artifacts, the curtain-sack, probably knotted up for ease of access during the day, became in the hands of the Netherlandish painters yet another symbol of the Incarnation. To fifteenth-century science the shape of the sack resembled the uterus of a woman as well as the fourth stomach of a goat or other ruminant.¹⁴ When the curtain-sack was likened to the womb of the Virgin, the biological analogy served to affirm Christ's humanity. It suggested that he, like any other mammal, was formed as an embryo within an impregnated womb.

A more unexpected visual and iconographic correspondence was seen in the art of cheese making. Aristotle, still the basic source for the study of embryology in the fifteenth century, compared the formation of a fetus in the womb to that of the curdling of milk in the making of cheese. He compared the use of rennet as the agent used in cheese making to that of semen in the formation of the embryo.¹⁵ Moreover, the sack that stored the curds looked like a womb and hung down from a rafter not unlike the knotted curtain on a tester bed.¹⁶ These two generative processes, each of which required "live" agents, lie behind the symbolic knotted curtain adopted by the Netherlandish artists. Rogier, Christus, and Bouts all repeatedly used the curtain-sack in their Annunciations.¹⁷

Near the curtain-sack, the three objects displayed on the cabinet next to the bed continue the Incarnation symbolism (Figure 4). The candleholder retained a long association with Mary's role as the God-Bearer. She, the candleholder, held Christ, the Light of the World.¹⁸ In the search for Old Testa-



Figure 1. Hans Memling (act. 1465–d. 1494), *The Annunciation*. Oil on panel, 78.8 × 55 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975, 1975.1.113



Figure 2. Rogier van der Weyden (1399?–1464), *The Annunciation*, from the Columba Altarpiece. Oil on panel, 138 × 70 cm. Munich, Alte Pinakothek (photo: Alte Pinakothek)

ment analogies Mary was likened to the menorah, the most sacred of all candlelabra, a Jewish ritual object protected within the Temple. Both the Virgin and the seven-branched candlestick were viewed as bearers of a heavenly light.¹⁹ In our painting the holder stands empty waiting to be filled, while next to it the ball of waxed flax, sometimes called a rope candle, remains in a similar inert state. Alluding to fire as the light of the New Era initiated at the moment of the Incarnation, it too awaits a flame.²⁰

Since the ninth century the Virgin as the chaste

bearer of the Divine Light had also been compared to glass, which, when pierced by light, remained unbroken.²¹ By Memling's time images of the window and the glass carafe, which alluded to the ability of light to go through solid objects, were common symbols of this miracle. In this Annunciation the crystal flask, already familiar from that seen in the Annunciation on the exterior of the Ghent Altarpiece and in the Frankfurt *Madonna* by Jan van Eyck, is another receptacle likened to the Virgin's womb. Because it is glass and holds a clear liquid, the light irradiates both the vessel and its contents. The clarity of the glass refers to the purity of the Virgin, and the light to Christ, who inhabited and passed through her body.²² Or as portrayed by Bishop Amadeus of Lausanne, a fervent follower of Bernard of Clairvaux: "Just as the sun's brightness penetrates glass without breaking it, and as a glance of the eyes plunges into calm clear water without parting or dividing it . . . so the Word of God drew near the Virgin's dwelling and went forth from it, her virgin womb still closed."²³

The left side of the carafe itself glows with the tiny reflection of a window with a crossbar. Carla Gottlieb traced the development of this "mystical window" of salvation to reflections found on the globe of Christ when he was depicted as the *Salvator Mundi*.²⁴ Although the cross made by the frame of the window refers to the death of Christ, in paintings of the Annunciation such window reflections refer primarily to the Virgin Birth.²⁵

The use of the light-pierced window as symbolic of the Incarnation has a long history in Netherlandish painting. It appears in the works of both founders of the school, Robert Campin and Jan van Eyck. In Campin's *Mérode Annunciation* (Figure 5) and in van Eyck's *Washington Annunciation* (Figure 6) rays of light stream through the windows and carry the Christ Child in the Mérode and the dove of the Holy Spirit in the Washington painting directly toward the Virgin.

The frame that originally surrounded van Eyck's *Virgin in a Church* in Berlin displayed a text that confirmed the meaning of the painted sunbeam. It contained the words of the first verse of a Nativity hymn as a complement to the depicted sunlight that shines through the clerestory of the church. Fully explicated by Millard Meiss, the fifth verse of this hymn likened the Virgin to a glass through which a sunbeam passes without breaking it, just as the Holy Spirit passed through the Virgin leaving her chastity intact.²⁶ The hymn embodied the popular doctrine



Figure 3. Rogier van der Weyden, *Annunciation*. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des musées nationaux)

that Mary, a virgin, was pure before, during, and after the conception and birth of Christ. There is no more decorous sign of Mary's chastity than the window pierced by light, through which God passed from heaven to earth. Meiss interpreted both the light-filled flask and the window as symbols of the Incarnation.²⁷

In Memling's painting, however, the rays of light are missing; only the material window remains. Even though the rays are absent, the symbolism is probably not lost. Meiss cites many paintings of the

Annunciation done after the middle of the century, most notably those of Bouts, that eliminate the rays but by including large windows and brightly illuminated rooms continue the parallel symbolism of the Virgin as the *fenestra incarnationis*.²⁸ Memling makes the meaning somewhat more concrete by depicting the window reflection on the carafe. He lays one translucent symbolic form upon another and fills the interior with sunlight. Within the new naturalistic style of the Renaissance practiced by Memling, light—the most pervasive symbol of the presence of

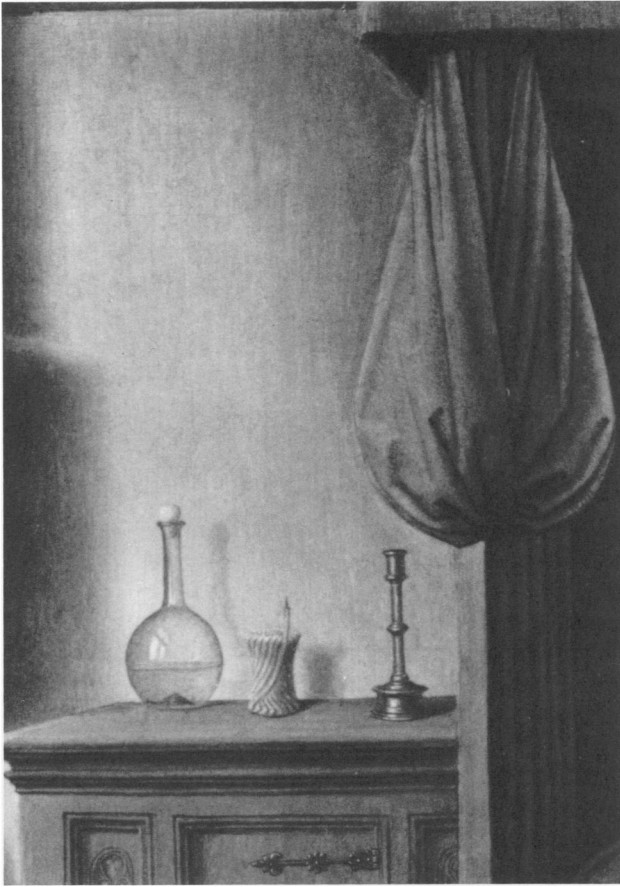


Figure 4. Detail of Figure 1

God—became a palpable substance capable of many configurations.

The small vessel holds still more. The shape of the carafe itself may imply another image of conception and birth, drawn from the scientific world. Alchemists used such flasks to mix so-called male and female elements and called the flasks bridal chambers. When the elements joined to form a third substance, that new entity was called the child of the union.²⁹ In the work of Bosch, a representation of a carafe is often explicitly intended to be considered such an alchemical “bridal chamber”; it is believed that a similar meaning is intended by depictions of carafes in paintings of the Virgin by Jan van Eyck and others. In this context, the flask may be seen as an even richer emblem of Mary, for it unites in one vessel the opposing traits of fecundity and virginity.

The sparkle of the three objects on the polished chest, the well-made bed, and the spotless floor re-

mind one of the domestic virtues practiced by the youthful Mary. According to the apocryphal tales, when she lived in the Temple Mary was privileged not only to weave the purple cloth but also to care for the ritual vessels and the linen. In Memling’s painting the well-scrubbed room, the perfect condition of the few elements it holds, and its four-square cubic form convey a subliminal message of cleanliness as a sign of godliness. The immaculate living space itself becomes a metaphor for Mary’s chastity.

Beside the Virgin’s prie-dieu, the book that rests on it a reminder of her precocious understanding of the Scriptures also first manifest in the Temple, stands the traditional pot of lilies. This, too, had accumulated multiple meanings by the fifteenth century. The vase, like the candleholder and flask, may refer directly to Mary as the chosen vessel for Christ, as does the white lily, symbolic of her purity. The association of flowers with the Annunciation grew in part from the words of Bernard of Clairvaux. In an elaborate conceit he portrayed Christ as a flower conceived of a flower in the time of flowers in the city of flowers, which, prosaically speaking, meant that Christ was conceived by Mary (the lily of chastity), in springtime (March 25), in the town of Nazareth (a name Bernard mistakenly believed meant “flower”).³⁰

Among the lilies in Memling’s painting is one blue iris, a tragic reference within the joyful context of the Annunciation to the sorrow the Virgin would bear at Christ’s death. This symbol has its origin in the prophecy of Simeon, when he told the Virgin at the time of Christ’s Presentation: “Yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also” (Luke 2:35). Inspired by this biblical image, artists symbolized the Virgin’s future suffering by the iris, whose old Latin name, *gladiolus*, meant sword lily.³¹

A more overt reference to Christ’s sacrifice is the fact that Gabriel is vested in a cope. The depiction of vested angels is as familiar in Northern art as the furnishings of the room; there are many precedents for Memling’s Gabriel. By position and gesture he recalls three such richly robed angels. The scepter and the raised right hand are found in van Eyck’s Gabriel in the Washington *Annunciation*; the suspended genuflection was introduced by Rogier in the Louvre *Annunciation*; and the gesture of the left hand, which reaches across and grasps the cope while holding the scepter, may be found in Bouts’s *Annunciation* panel from the Mary Altarpiece in the Prado. Such vested angels were introduced in

manuscript illustration toward the end of the fourteenth century and became popular in Northern panel painting by the 1420s.³² Although dressed in various combinations of alb, stole, and cope, these angels do not wear the chasuble of the celebrant, for, as Father McNamee recognized, they are to be viewed as subministrators of the Mass.³³ Christ alone is the high priest as well as the sacrificial victim, but all such angels evoke the eucharistic ritual.

The cope worn by Memling's Gabriel is secured by a large morse and worn over a long alb and an amice around the neck. It is heavily embroidered in red on gold and edged with gray and red seraphim interspersed with wheels. Gabriel wears a simple diadem and carries the staff of his office as God's envoy. The raised fingers of his right hand suggest that he has just uttered the words of greeting: "Hail Mary, full of Grace. The Lord is with thee."

Since the Annunciation is one of the oldest Marian feast days, Gabriel's dual role as messenger and as subminister joins the historical event to a major eucharistic celebration. As the material objects hide a divine mystery, so the domestic interior conceals its function as a setting for a solemn Mass served by not one but three priestly angels.

By the fifteenth century, it was believed that at the most sacred moment in the Mass, during the consecration, the bread and wine were transformed into the real Body and Blood of Christ. His presence on the altar was not spiritual or symbolic but real and substantial. The miracle is invoked by the words of consecration: "This is my body, which is given for you. . . . This is my blood. . . ." These words had originally been spoken at the Last Supper, which was considered the institution and first celebration of this ritual, and were signaled by the ringing of bells and followed by the elevation of the consecrated elements. The separate consecration of the Body and Blood recalled and was believed to make present the Crucifixion, but because the Christ made present was now in glory, the Mass was understood to be a representation of the Resurrection and Ascension as well.

Popular piety of the time stressed the sacrificial aspects of the Mass, concentrating attention on the crucified and resurrected Christ. But as early as the fourth century, the church fathers had compared the mystery of the transformation of the elements to the first, rather than last, appearance of God clothed in his human flesh, that is, to the shaping of the Body and Blood of Christ when he was conceived by the Holy Spirit in the Virgin's womb.³⁴

They linked the moment of transubstantiation, when the divine power transformed the elements into the Body and Blood of Christ, to the moment of the Incarnation announced by Gabriel, when the divine power created that Body and Blood within the Virgin's womb. An obvious parallel was further drawn between the tabernacle that held the consecrated species and the Virgin's body, which held the living God.³⁵ From that time on the Incarnation, wherein the Word was first made flesh, took on eucharistic meaning, as did the actual birth of Christ.³⁶ In Netherlandish Annunciations the sacramental significance is made more compelling by the presence of angels in priestly habit. They remind the viewer that the earthly Mass is a replica of the eucharistic feast in heaven, served by angel deacons, to which it is mystically joined.³⁷

The reference to transubstantiation is strengthened in Memling's work by the singular dove that hovers over the head of the Virgin. By its stiff appearance and abrupt foreshortening it brings to mind a sculptural rather than a living form. In discussing the doves in the Ghent Altarpiece, Lotte Brand Philip saw a likeness between such doves and the eucharistic vessels made in the form of doves and suspended over altars.³⁸ Representing the Holy Spirit and containing the Hosts, they were sometimes lowered at the moment of transubstantiation. As the Holy Spirit was the breath that gave life to Christ in the Virgin's womb, so too the Holy Ghost had a role in transforming the bread and wine into the living flesh. Although Gabriel delivered God's message, it was the Holy Spirit that made Mary fruitful. Memling's depiction of this dove, surrounded by a blazing aureole, is unusual enough in Netherlandish painting to give credence to its being not only a depiction of the Holy Spirit but also a eucharistic allusion. Its form, similar to that of the dove on the interior and the exterior of the Ghent Altarpiece, was not imitated by many Flemish artists. As far as we know, this frontal, foreshortened dove was rarely used by Rogier and not again by Memling in this particular form; it became common only at the end of the fifteenth century.³⁹

The mystery of the Incarnation lies at the heart of any representation of the Annunciation. Since the days of the early church, artists had enfolded this belief in the meeting between Gabriel and Mary. In order to make the moment of fertilization explicit, artists at times depicted rays of light streaming toward Mary's head to portray the popular belief that



Figure 5. Robert Campin (ca. 1378–1444), *Annunciation*, center panel from the Mérode Altarpiece. Oil on panel, 64.1 × 63.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1956, 56.70

Mary was fertilized through the ear.⁴⁰ Memling, however, rejects such an obvious and antinaturalistic device. Neither does he dwell on the immediacy of the announcement or on Mary's response to Gabriel's sudden appearance. The Virgin does not convey by her position a sense of fear or surprise; nor does she question or merely humbly accept. Instead, in an invention worthy of Rogier van der Weyden's most illustrious pupil, Memling reworks the familiar iconography and turns attention from the momentary encounter to the transformation of Mary from girl to God-Bearer. He eliminates extraneous symbols and concentrates on those objects closely associated with the womb and virginity. He repositions the Holy Spirit and the Virgin, introduces two additional angelic priests, and floods the room with

natural light, thereby rearranging the anecdotal to emphasize the doctrinal meaning.

The barefooted Gabriel genuflects before a Virgin who seems to be on the point of rising or falling, her position much like that of the swooning Virgin portrayed by Rogier in the Prado *Crucifixion* and on the left wing of the *Crucifixion* diptych in the Philadelphia Museum of Art.⁴¹ Like those of the Philadelphia Virgin, her gestures imply a number of meanings simultaneously.⁴² Her left hand points to a sacred text, most probably that of Isaiah: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son" (7:14).⁴³ Her downcast eyes and the hand over her breast signify her modesty. Her body, neither standing nor kneeling, portrays an outward obeisance to God and an inward state of being "overcome." In Jacobus de

Voragine's commentary on the feast day of the Annunciation he discusses the Virgin's *Fiat*, or words of consent: "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word!" (Luke 1:38). Calling on the authority of Bernard of Clairvaux, Voragine asserts that upon Mary's uttering these words the Son of God was conceived.⁴⁴ Or as Amadeus wrote in one of his eight homilies on Mary: "The Holy Spirit will come upon you . . . at his touch your womb may tremble, your belly swell, your spirit rejoice, your stomach expand."⁴⁵ Such expositions were based on the spare sentence in the Gospel, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee" (Luke 1:35).

By using the Greek word *episkiazo* for "overshadow"—the same word that had been used in the Septuagint to describe the cloud's resting on the tabernacle (Exodus 40:35)—Luke drew a parallel with the sanctification of the Ark of the Covenant in the Old Testament. After Moses had finished setting up the tent and placed within it the tabernacle to hold the Ark and the altar for the burnt offering, he was prevented from entering the tent by a cloud that "covered" or "overshadowed" it⁴⁶ (Exodus 40:35). The cloud was the Lord, who had entered the tent to fill the tabernacle with his glory.

To the Catholic apologist, the Old Testament scene of God's entering the Ark prefigured the Incarnation. Mary, the New Ark of the New Covenant, became the dwelling place for God in the era *sub gratia*. When God's spirit overshadowed her during the Incarnation, she became both Christ's bride and mother.⁴⁷ The inherent contradiction between a shadow and the God of great light was not overlooked. In one of several interpretations, exegetes called the shadow the earthly aspect of Christ, that is, his human flesh, and the light his divine nature; thus could Mary be both overshadowed and filled with light.⁴⁸ In this sense the cloudlike apparition, evoked by the word *overshadowed*, embodied the doctrine of the hypostatic union, the sum and substance of the Annunciation.

The moment of overshadowing pointed to a future as well as a past event in Christian history. Mary, as a figure of the temple, twice received the Holy Spirit, once at the Incarnation and again at Pentecost. At the Annunciation she became the mother of Christ, and at Pentecost the mother of the Church, the Holy Spirit descending into her, the apostles, and by extension all believers. The descent of the dove is evidence of her sanctification and her pri-



Figure 6. Jan van Eyck (act. by 1422–d. 1441), *The Annunciation*. Oil on panel, transferred to canvas, 93 × 36.5 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Andrew W. Mellon Collection (photo: National Gallery of Art)

mary role in the work of redemption. In her consent to bear Christ she shared with him the burden of the work of salvation, reaffirmed in the founding of the universal Church at Pentecost.⁴⁹

Within the requirements of a naturalistic style, no subject was more delicate or difficult to represent than the fertilization of the Virgin. If one is willing to accept angels who look and behave like humans, as a part of the normal order of the Christian Renaissance world, Memling portrayed the moment of the Incarnation without resorting to elements that violated the rational expectations conveyed by the realistic Flemish room. Even the stiffened dove may be justified in mimetic terms, for as Julius Held pointed out, compositionally and by its circular shape the dove takes the place of a medallion hung at the head of a tester bed.⁵⁰ To reproduce the moment of divine conception naturalistically, Memling coordinated a number of devices: Mary's left hand falls upon the text announcing a virginal conception; the haloed dove halts his flight just above her head; two angels, one on either side, hold forth the sacred shrine, and the light falls conspicuously upon the lower part of the Virgin's body. All suggest that we are witnessing the moment when the Virgin became the God-Bearer. The sacred womb is visually recalled in the symbolic curtain-sack and actually represented by the very body of the Virgin herself. In a century when artists did not hesitate to depict the breast of the Virgin, Memling did not shun her womb. Luke's famous verse "Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked" (11:27) serves as text for either emblem of motherhood. Both breast and womb embodied the sustenance and promise of redemption given by Mary to all Christians. With such an invention Memling joined that select group of Renaissance artists, from both the North and the South, who made the most profound and glorious mysteries of the Church as believably present in representation as they were in the imagination.

The doctrine of Mary as Theotokos, the God-Bearer, is of ancient origin. After much dispute, it was confirmed at the Council of Ephesus in 431. The doctrine of the Incarnation, which affirmed that Christ was at once one being with two natures, God and Man, was formulated twenty years later at the Council of Chalcedon, and the feast of the Annunciation was celebrated from the fifth century on.⁵¹ The mosaics on the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore, built in 432 by Pope Sixtus III probably to commemorate the Council of Ephesus,

are one of the first artistic formulations of the Virgin as the Theotokos. In the scene traditionally called the *Annunciation* the Virgin appears in full Byzantine regalia and receives the message of Gabriel as an enthroned queen attended by angels.

Memling's Virgin, on the other hand, has been called from a lowly state to bear the Savior of the world. Her attendant angels have entered her simple home to support, present, and protect her sacred being. She attends the invisible Christ, who joins her as Son and Bridegroom before the nuptial bed. As any bride might, Mary gives her consent. As she does so, her outer garment seems to rise spontaneously like a regal cape behind her head and an angel lifts its hem from the floor. Mary has become Christ's Bride, who will one day reign as Queen of Heaven. Her acceptance and submission have set in motion the redemption of the world.

Mary's consent to bear the Son of God and act as the tabernacle wherein the Word was made flesh announced the beginning of atonement. God, no longer angry at humankind, forgave the sin of Adam through the sacrifice of his Son, and the transgression of Eve through the obedience of the Virgin. As Bonaventure wrote: "Through the Word made flesh the fall of both men and angels is repaired. . . . If the cure was to be universal, it was wholly becoming that angel, woman, and man should concur in the mystery of the incarnation: the angel as the herald, the Virgin as the conceiver and the Man as the conceived Offspring."⁵² With the coming of Christ man might again dream of Paradise. Commenting upon the joyful moment, a disciple of Bonaventure exclaimed: "Such happiness had not been heard since the beginning of time to the end. . . . Today is even more the festivity of human nature, for its salvation and redemption have begun, and the reconciliation of the whole world is taken up and sanctified."⁵³

The greatest sign of the Virgin's sanctity was her miraculous virginity, which linked her chastity with the mythic power to overcome evil.⁵⁴ From the third century on, Mary's perpetual virginity—*ante partum*, *in partu*, and *post partum*—had been an accepted belief, although it was not formally defined until the Lateran Council of 649.⁵⁵ Her miraculous womb passed its final test with the birth of Christ. The angelic prediction was fulfilled, and Mary's virginity was unblemished. Mary's womb, the fabulous vessel that was able to carry "the One whom the heavens cannot contain," had long been an object of veneration in song, exegesis, and prayer. Her body was lik-

ened to all forms of enclosed architecture—a temple, a tent, a church, a castle, to name only a few—and prefigured in any number of images from the Old Testament. In the liturgy, the words of Elizabeth, which expand upon those of Gabriel: “Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb!” (Luke 1:42), repeatedly remember her motherhood. Ambrose called her womb “the pot which, by means of the fervent Spirit which hovered over her, filled the whole world when she brought forth the Savior.”⁵⁶ There are almost as many verses dedicated to the Virgin’s womb during the season of Advent and on the feast of the Assumption as there are on the feast of the Annunciation.

The wedding between Christ and the Virgin, initiated at the Annunciation, culminated in Mary’s death and assumption.⁵⁷ Believed to be higher than the angels and given the title of mediatrix of the salvation of the world, the Virgin began her ascent to sit at the right hand of God with the Incarnation. Because this event made her the mother of Christ the King and because she joined him in the mission of redemption, she was called a queen long before she received her heavenly crown. The conception and birth of Christ guaranteed her singular reward of bodily assumption. By the fifteenth century, her body was believed incorruptible in two senses: by her own birth free from sin (the Immaculate Conception, a doctrine championed by the Franciscans led by Duns Scotus in the thirteenth century) and by the chaste birth of Christ. As she gave mortal life to Christ, so did she gain immortality of body and of soul.⁵⁸ For that reason paintings of the Coronation or the Assumption of Mary are often joined by scenes of the Annunciation, just as the liturgy joins references to the Incarnation with those of the king and queen ruling in heaven in the feast of the Assumption. An antiphon of this feast day returns to the image of the nuptial bedroom: “The Virgin Mary has been taken up into the heavenly bridal chamber where the King of Kings is sitting on his starry throne.”⁵⁹ Alternatively, Annunciation scenes often contain specific references to the Assumption and the Coronation.

The inclusion of the two angels, one on either side of the Virgin, surely refers in part to her queenly state. Additional angels in Annunciations are not unusual, but they most frequently accompany Gabriel, and sometimes God the Father, as part of a heavenly host. When they are seen with the Virgin, they generally support a cloth of honor behind her or hover around her throne.⁶⁰

Even Memling, who was predisposed toward angelic attendants, did not repeat these figures dressed in alb and amice in any of his other Annunciations. His vested angels appear almost always as devoted subjects flanking an enthroned Virgin and Child, sometimes alone, sometimes joined by saints and donors. Most frequently they make joyous music or present fruit to the Christ Child. They appear in largest number and scale as a chorus on either side of Christ the *Salvator Mundi* in the Antwerp triptych. Similarly, several Annunciations done by Memling’s followers, which repeat the scheme of this *Annunciation*, do not include angelic attendants. In the panel in the Vicente Collection in Madrid, in the fragment of the *Annunciation* from the Infancy Altarpiece in the Art Gallery and Museum in Glasgow, and in a later panel from an altarpiece in the Philadelphia Museum attributed to the Master of Hoogstraeten, the Virgin receives Gabriel alone while kneeling in the usual three-quarter position beside a prie-dieu.⁶¹

The attendant angels in Memling’s *Annunciation* perform a dual purpose. They present the eucharistic offering and proclaim the Virgin bride and queen. Even in paintings of the enthroned Virgin and Child, Memling did not often portray the Virgin Queen as a richly crowned and ornamented woman in the tradition of van Eyck and, to a lesser extent, Rogier. This Virgin is no exception. Her white garment is sparingly bejeweled, and the regal purple tunic worn beneath peeps out only at the neck and wrists. But the lifting of her train identifies the Virgin as a royal bride. It is a motif most often associated with her Coronation. In an early Burgundian tondo of about 1400, now in Berlin, two vested angels stand behind the kneeling Queen. One holds her train, while a third angel draws back the curtain beside God’s throne (Figure 7). The Coronation page of the *Très Riches Heures of Jean, Duc de Berry*, shows a similar action.⁶² In the Visitation from the *Boucicaut Hours* an obviously pregnant Virgin, wearing a long cloak held by an angel, meets Elizabeth; her queenly appearance surely commemorates the moment when Mary is first addressed as the Theotokos, the Mother of the Lord. In another Burgundian panel, attributed to Henri Bellechose, a vested angel holds Christ’s mantle while Christ administers the last sacrament to St. Denis (Figure 8). Such an action recognizes Christ’s kingship and the sacramental act, as it may well do in the Memling *Annunciation*.

The theme of the wedding of Christ and the Vir-



Figure 7. Anonymous French master, *Coronation Tondo*. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie (photo: Walter Steinkopf)

gin at the time of the Incarnation is also underscored by these angels. One picks up her gown, as noted, but they both appear to give her physical assistance. Her position seems to answer the Bridegroom's call in the Song of Songs, "Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away" (2:10).⁶³

Short of finding a text to explain their presence, it would seem that these angels were drawn from the courtly tradition upon which so much of Northern art depends. By the late medieval period in the West, angelic pages were common, and Gabriel himself knelt like any noble knight.⁶⁴ The angels remind the viewer that the Virgin had often been served by angels and was most comfortable in their presence. As told in the Protoevangelium (8:2), angels continually ministered to her and fed her daily when she lived in the Temple. Many commentators hasten to explain that the Virgin did not fear Gabriel once she realized that he was an angel; it was only his message that momentarily "troubled" her.⁶⁵ Moreover,

attending angels are part of the standard iconography of Mary's Assumption and Coronation. She shares with them the state of virginity, and in her divine mission was often favorably compared to them and found second only to God.⁶⁶

Like most attendant angels in Northern Renaissance painting they are small in scale. Lesser in station than Gabriel or Michael, the chosen champions of God the Father, such angels often hover around the sacred figures, performing worldly tasks or echoing the psychological state, whether triumphant or suffering, of the divinity they serve. These creatures sometimes seem more human than the anthropomorphic Savior or saints they attend; often the size of children, they appear to act innocent and spontaneous. In attitude, however, Memling's small angels are solemn, their mood comparable to that of Gabriel. Only the hint of a smile touches the lips of the angel who bends to lift the Virgin's garment. The other, whose visage closely resembles that of

the Virgin, looks directly at the spectator as he presents her sacred body. His gesture, like the Virgin's indication of the text, goes beyond the narrational to the liturgical. Both claim our attention and help isolate the Virgin and her mission. Even the brocaded Gabriel is a barefooted suppliant before the new mother, bride, and queen.

Because Memling did not extend the ceiling over the foreground space, terminating it with the top of the bed, the slightly tilted floor acts like an open stage for the holy figures. It stretches into our space as the ceiling does not, displaying all the main players as it rolls out to meet the viewer. On the measured Rogierian tilework one can see that Gabriel's foot has been placed slightly behind that of the Virgin, for her visible toe rests on a tile one row nearer to us. The three-quarter turn of Gabriel's body acts as another foil for the frontal Mary.

Although Memling eschews the use of obvious divine rays, he lets fall upon all the holy personages a most unusual light. The long garments of Gabriel, the Virgin, and the angels are white; yet both Gabriel and even more so Mary are cast in a light so blue as almost to obscure the local color of their robes. Gabriel's icy-blue alb and wings contrast with

the warmth of his skin, his golden-red cope, and the sunlit room. The small angels seem to react to the light in opposing ways. The blue shadows and pink highlights give the alb of the angel to the Virgin's right a lavender cast. This, along with the dark green of his wings, suggests that he is somewhat in shadow, while the other angel seems bleached by light. An unseen spotlight searches out his face and breast, casting mauve shadows on his wings and garment and yellow highlights on his chest.

The final effect is one of iridescence. Limited to Mary and the angels, this shimmering surface gives them an unearthly quality, separating them from the more believable world of the bedchamber. It disconnects them from their surroundings just as their feather-light placement on the floor turns them into transient visitors. Memling imbues the reality of the drama with a touch of mystery, and invents yet another means to wed the sacred to the secular within the confines of a naturalistic style.

Although one finds flashes of such fluorescent color in the work of Rogier van der Weyden, in Memling's *Annunciation* this color falls consistently upon those two exceptional angel attendants, giving them a separate aura, like that created by the rain-

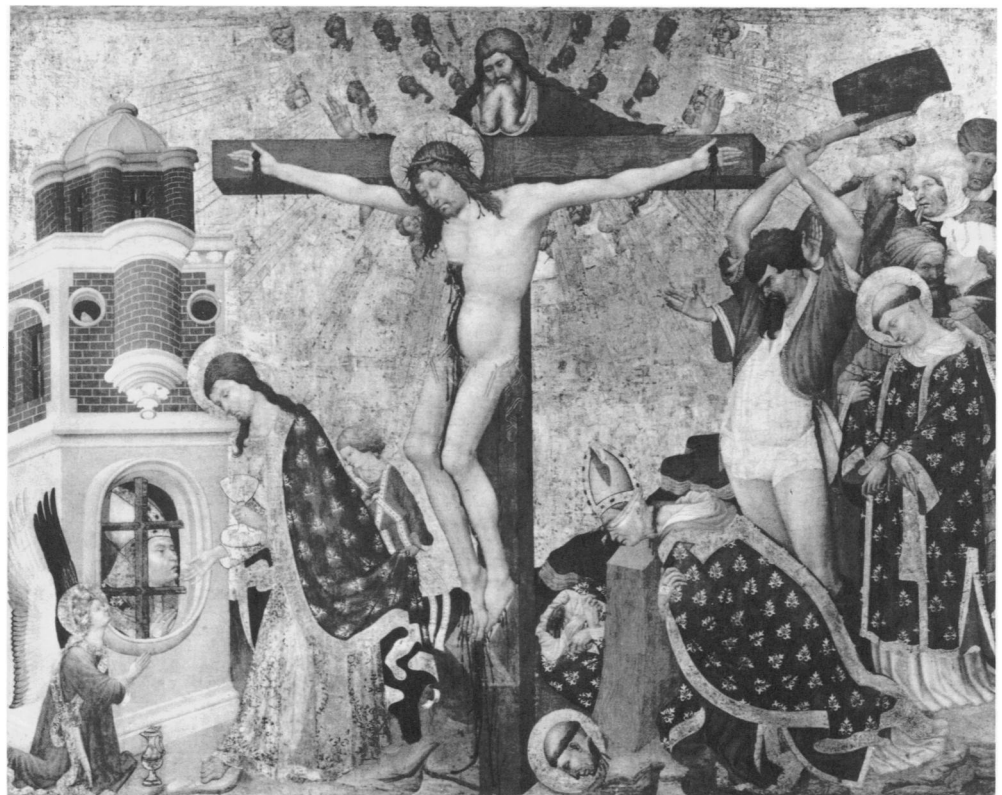


Figure 8. Henri Bellechose (ca. 1380–ca. 1440), *The Martyrdom of St. Denis*. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des musées nationaux)

bow of colors in the light rays surrounding the dove of the Holy Spirit. A harbinger of the sixteenth century, this Mannerist-like substitution of expressive color for local color has an unsteady effect. One loses momentarily the rationality of the representation, the very underpinning of much of Flemish art. It cannot be accidental that the radiance also falls directly upon the Virgin's body, displayed in all its fullness as if it were "a lantern that shown and shimmered with beauty from the moment God was enclosed in it."⁶⁷

By its arrangement, Memling's *Annunciation* plays with symmetry in much the way that Jan van Eyck's does, equating asymmetrical elements without producing a restless imbalance. The three figures in the right half are balanced on the left by the single Gabriel. Unlike the Virgin, he is not centered within his half of the room, and his body turns diagonally in space almost parallel to the foreshortened window, further diminishing his pictorial weight. The articulation of the orthogonals on his side opposes the series of transversals on the other.

Memling tips the balance of the painting in favor of the Virgin. Centered beneath the bed and the dove and flanked by angels, one of whom overlaps Gabriel's half of the panel, she forms a separate icon within the narrative. Their symmetrical arrangement and frontal position further remove this group from the immediacy of the encounter with Gabriel. Although placed in the right half of the panel, they are the devotional center. Looking back at Rogier's Louvre *Annunciation* and the wing of the Columba Altarpiece, from which Memling took so much, we find no such dominance: in both, Mary kneels in humility as Gabriel's tall figure descends upon her or stands above her. Not only has Memling given the Virgin greater importance; he has lifted her beyond the dramatic exchange. She is at once the girlish recipient of the Ave Maria and the New Eve, God's chosen vessel, who serves as a human monstrosity elevated by angels. As the bearer of God, a concept made explicit by the position and lighting of her body, she is worthy of devotion in her own right. We witness the moment in which the Virgin is overshadowed. The humble Mary of Nazareth rises in her middle-class Flemish home to become Our Lady, the mediatrix, who opened the gates of heaven with her *Fiat*.⁶⁸

NOTES

1. This was a favorite painting of Guy Bauman, who devoted much of his scholarly life to Memling, an artist he knew to be much more than a "major minor master."

2. The painting entered the Robert Lehman Collection from the collection of Prince Anton Radziwill of Berlin. Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Hans Memling and Gerard David* (New York, 1971) VIA, cat. no. 26, follows Gustav Waagen in dating the work to 1482. The date may have been still apparent on the original frame (now lost) when the work was exhibited in Bruges in 1902 in the Exposition des Primitifs Flamands.

3. Memling is assumed to have been Rogier's pupil in Brussels about 1460, as Vasari was the first to suggest in his life of Antonello da Messina in *Lives of the Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, A. B. Hinds, trans. (New York, 1980) I, p. 356. There are, however, no documents that connect Memling directly with Rogier's workshop.

4. Anne Markham Schulz reviews the opinions that have led many to believe this painting is based upon a lost prototype and that it is not from the hand of Rogier van der Weyden. "The Columba Altarpiece and Rogier van der Weyden's Stylistic Development," *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 22 (1971) pp. 69–70 n. 40.

5. For a discussion of the introduction of the bedchamber as well as the domestic interior into Renaissance painting of the North and South, see Jeffrey Ruda, "Flemish Painting and the Early Renaissance in Florence: Questions of Influence," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 47 (1984) pp. 213–223. For Rogier's invention and the development of the Flemish bourgeois Annunciation, see David Robb, "The Iconography of the Annunciation in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *The Art Bulletin* 18 (1936) pp. 500–518. The Birth of the Baptist in the *Turin-Milan Hours* might serve as one example of the type from which Rogier borrowed. For another view of the development of the Annunciation, see Jeanne Vilette, *L'Ange dans l'art d'Occident du XIIème au XVIème siècle* (Paris, 1940) esp. chap. 4, "L'Ange de l'annonciation," pp. 218–251.

6. See Linda Seidel, "'Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait': Business as Usual?," *Critical Inquiry* 16 (1989) p. 69 n. 31.

7. *The Works of St. Bernard of Clairvaux III, The Song of Songs II*, Kilian Walsh, trans. (London, 1976) Sermon 23:15, pp. 38–41.

8. For the development of this imagery particularly associated with the Nativity, see Carol Purtle, *The Marian Paintings of Jan van Eyck* (Princeton, 1982) pp. 31–32, 104ff.

9. See Cynthia Hahn, "The Holy Family in the Mérode Triptych," *The Art Bulletin* 67 (1986) p. 63. Hahn would argue that the marriage of Joseph and Mary also provided an ideal of holy matrimony. The comparison between the marriage of Christ to his Church and that of a man and woman was made explicit in the words of Paul to the Ephesians, 5:22–33. See R. W. Baldwin, "Marriage as a Sacramental Reflection of the Passion: The Mirror in Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini Wedding*," *Oud Holland* 98 (1984) pp. 58–59.

10. Hahn, "The Holy Family," pp. 62–63.

11. See Hilda Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion* (New York, 1965) I, p. 249, quoting Aelred of Rievaulx (d. 1167).

Yrjo Hirn quotes other sources which called Gabriel the spokesman for God sent to woo the Virgin and arrange the marriage, in *The Sacred Shrine* (Boston, 1957) pp. 291–293.

12. Susan Koslow, "The Curtain-Sack: A Newly Discovered Incarnation Motif in Rogier van der Weyden's *Columba Annunciation*," *Artibus et Historiae* 13 (1986) pp. 9–33.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 32–33. Koslow notes that the canopy bed was replaced in the 16th century by the four-poster, a bed that enjoyed a much longer popularity.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 12ff.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 9–24.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 27–31.

17. See Koslow, "The Curtain-Sack," *passim*, for a number of examples.

18. To cite two sources for this iconography: Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Princeton, 1964) I, p. 143, and J. J. M. Timmers, *Symboliek en iconographie der christelijke kunst* (Roermond/Maaseik, 1947) no. 1123.

19. Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine*, p. 460.

20. Charles Minnott, "The Theme of the Mérode Altarpiece," *The Art Bulletin* 51 (1969) p. 270. For the example closest to Memling, see the *Annunciation* by a follower of Rogier van der Weyden in the MMA (17.190.7). In this work the Virgin kneels before a prie-dieu and actually holds the ball of waxed flax, now lit, over the book. William S. Heckscher in "The Annunciation of the Mérode Altarpiece: An Iconographic Study," *Miscellanea Jozef Duvrger* (Ghent, 1968) I, p. 64, takes this as a sign that the conception has not taken place, for the coming Divine Light has not yet overshadowed the physical light.

21. Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine*, pp. 343–345.

22. For a discussion of the glass carafe and its virginal and bridal associations, see Purtle, *Marian Paintings*, pp. 33–34, 115, 122–123. Ingvar Bergström in "Medicina, Fons et Scrinium: A Study in Van Eyckian Symbolism and Its Influence in Italian Art," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 26 (1957) pp. 12–14, also suggests that such carafes refer to the Virgin as the *fons vitae*, the fountain or well of living water, taken from the Song of Solomon. But he notes that when closed by a stopper, which often appears to be a piece of paper (as in the Memling *Annunciation*), the carafe refers primarily to the *fons signatus*, or sealed fountain (Song of Songs 4:12), a further reference to Mary's virginity.

23. Bernard of Clairvaux and Amadeus of Lausanne, *Magnificat: Homilies in Praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (Kalamazoo, 1979) Homily III, p. 83.

24. Carla Gottlieb, "The Mystical Window in Paintings of the Salvator Mundi," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 66 (1960) pp. 313–332.

25. As Jan Bialotoski noted, the window reflections in Annunciations stress the Incarnation as the event in which "God shed his light," rather than that by which he wrought salvation. "The Eye and the Window," *Festschrift für Gert van Osten* (Cologne, 1970) pp. 168–169.

26. Millard Meiss, "Light as Form and Symbol in Some Fifteenth-Century Paintings," *The Art Bulletin* 26 (1945) pp. 179–180.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

29. Purtle, *Marian Paintings*, pp. 33–34.

30. Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine*, p. 282. See also Heckscher, "The Annunciation," pp. 38–39 n. 1. The flower is sometimes interpreted as Christ, rather than the Virgin. For a review of this association, see John L. Ward, "Hidden Symbolism in Jan van Eyck's Annunciations," *The Art Bulletin* 57 (1975) p. 197.

31. Panofsky, I, p. 141 and n. 3. The presence of the iris in the vase argues for the interpretation of all the flowers as virginal.

32. E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Late Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1986) pp. 62–63, and Vilette, *L'Ange*, pp. 88ff.

33. M. B. McNamee, "The Origin of the Vested Angel as a Eucharistic Symbol in Flemish Painting," *The Art Bulletin* 54 (1973) pp. 263–278; see also "The Good Friday Liturgy and Hans Memling's Antwerp Triptych," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 37 (1974) pp. 353–356, for a full explanation of angelic liturgical dress.

34. Ursula Nilgen, "The Epiphany and the Eucharist: On the Interpretation of Eucharistic Motifs in Medieval Epiphany Scenes," *The Art Bulletin* 49 (1967) p. 311 n. 3.

35. Adolf Harnack, *Outlines of the History of Dogma* (London, 1893) pp. 310–312. See also Carla Gottlieb, "Respicens per fenestras: The Symbolism of the Mérode Altarpiece," *Oud Holland* 85 (1970) p. 74.

36. See Barbara G. Lane, *The Altar and the Altarpiece* (New York, 1984) pp. 41–77, and Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Program of Chartres Cathedral* (Baltimore, 1959) pp. 12–14. When the Annunciation takes place in a church, an equally common occurrence in Netherlandish art, the eucharistic significance is unmistakable. See also Purtle, *Marian Paintings*, p. 11.

37. Jean Danielou, *The Bible and the Liturgy* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1956) pp. 130–132.

38. See Lotte Brand Philip, *The Ghent Altarpiece and the Art of Jan van Eyck* (Princeton, 1971) pp. 69–70, for this interpretation. Others have suggested that the position of the dove imitates that found in mystery plays of the Annunciation, when a dove was lowered over the head of the Virgin. For a summary of this view and sources, see Lane, *The Altar*, pp. 47–50, and Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine*, pp. 114–115.

39. Two appearances of such a dove in works associated with Rogier are found on the exterior Annunciation of the Beune *Last Judgment Altarpiece* (these panels of Gabriel and the Virgin are often ascribed to a follower rather than to Rogier himself), and in a small painting in Antwerp whose attribution is also questioned. See Martin Davies, *Rogier van der Weyden* (London, 1972) pp. 197–199, for the Beune *Last Judgment Altarpiece* and p. 195 for the Antwerp *Annunciation*. Petrus Christus, so often following in van Eyck's footsteps, used such a dove in the Annunciation wing in Berlin, dated 1452, a composition that also depends upon Rogier's Louvre *Annunciation*.

40. Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine*, pp. 294–299, discusses the manner in which the Annunciation came to embody the idea of the Incarnation even though in the canonical Gospels the Virgin's motherhood is merely a promise stated in the future tense. Nothing is mentioned as to how or when the conception will take place. In "L'Hymen et la couleur: Figures médiévales de la Vierge," *La Part*

- de l'oeil* no. 4 (1988) 6–21, Georges Didi-Huberman gives a number of examples of Italian Annunciations from the time of Giotto through the 15th century, which, he suggests, use light rays and color to indicate the moment of impregnation. For an extended discussion of the representation of the impregnation by divine rays, see Leo Steinberg, “‘How Shall This Be?’ Reflections on Filippo Lippi’s *Annunciation* in London, Part I,” *Artibus et Historiae* 16 (1987) pp. 25–44, esp. pp. 26–32, for *conceptio per aurum*. For further explanation of Lippi’s imagery, see Samuel Y. Edgerton, Jr., “‘How Shall This Be?’ Part II,” *Artibus et Historiae* 16 (1987) pp. 45–53.
41. Hilda Graef cites an unusual text in which a student of Bonaventure likened the Virgin’s consent to her own death, saying that at the time of Christ’s conception it was as if the Virgin were crucified. Graef, *Mary*, I, p. 291.
42. See Shirley N. Blum, “Symbolic Invention in the Art of Rogier van der Weyden,” *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 46 (1977) p. 119.
43. Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine*, p. 280.
44. *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger, trans. (New York, 1969) pp. 206–207.
45. *Magnificat*, pp. 84–85.
46. John McHugh, *The Mother of Jesus in the New Testament* (New York, 1975) pp. 57–58, and Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex* (New York, 1983) p. 11.
47. Didi-Huberman, “L’Hymen,” pp. 10–11.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14.
49. René Laurentin, *Court traité sur la Vierge Marie* (Paris, 1968) pp. 123–125, 146–148.
50. Julius Held, “A Tondo by Cornelis Engelbrechtsz,” *Oud Holland* 67 (1952) p. 236.
51. Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, p. 66. For a summary of the early Marian feasts, see Laurentin, *Court traité*, pp. 172–173.
52. *The Works of Bonaventura: The Breveloquium II*, José de Vinck, trans. (Paterson, N.J., 1963) p. 151.
53. Bonaventura (Pseudo-), *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, I. Ragusa and R. Green, trans. (Princeton, 1961) p. 20.
54. Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, p. 67.
55. L. G. Owens, “Virgin Birth,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Washington, D.C., 1961) XIV, p. 694.
56. Quoted by Charles E. Scillia, “Jan van Eyck and the *Olla Moabitidis*: A Symbol of the Virgin,” *Studies in Iconography* 6 (1980) p. 75.
57. Purtle, *Marian Paintings*, pp. 8–9.
58. Caroline Feudale, “The Iconography of the Madonna del Parto,” *Marysas* 7 (1954–57) pp. 14–20; and Purtle, *Marian Paintings*, pp. 8–9, 37–39.
59. *Ibid.*
60. Such angels are fairly common in manuscript illumination. For one example, see the Annunciation in the *Hours of the Virgin* by the Rohan Master, illustrated in *The Rohan Master: A Book of Hours*, with an introduction by Millard Meiss and Marcel Thomas (New York, 1973) pl. 43; or the Annunciation by a master from Bruges or Ghent at the end of the 15th century illustrated in Janet Backhouse, *Book of Hours* (London, 1985) no. 15. For examples from painting, see the *Annunciation* by Johann Koerbecke from the Marian altarpiece of 1457 illustrated in A. Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik* (Kraus Reprint, 1969) VI, pl. 18, and another by Michel Wolgemut from 1479 illustrated in vol. IX, pl. 90. There is a rather unusual use of angelic attendants in the grisaille shutters of the *Annunciation* on the exterior of the Master of Moulins triptych in the Cathedral of Moulins. Gabriel on the right alights with several angels behind him, and the Virgin kneels on the left wing, introduced by two large angels who hover in the air above. Illustrated in Greta Ring, *A Century of French Painting* (Glasgow, 1949) cat. no. 293, pls. 159–163.
61. For illustrations, see Friedländer, *Memlinc and David*, VIA, pls. 131 and 125, and Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Quentin Massys* (New York, 1971) VII, pl. 84.
62. Illustrated in *The “Très Riches Heures” of Jean, Duke of Berry*, intro. by Jean Longnon and Raymond Cazelles (New York, 1969) pl. 59.
63. For an interpretation of the Mérode *Annunciation* as a wedding picture, see Gottlieb, “*Respiciens per fenestras*,” pp. 76–83.
64. Vilette, *L’Ange*, pp. 17–18, 246.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 220–222, gives a number of reasons for her being “troubled.”
66. Two authors who try to explain the presence of the two angel attendants in Memling’s work are K. Smits, *De Iconographie van de Nederlandsche primitieven* (Amsterdam, 1933) p. 49, who notes the equality of Mary and the angels because of their shared virginity; and Vilette, *L’Ange*, p. 247, who states that Mary is “already Queen of heaven.”
67. Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine*, p. 316, citing a German hymn.
68. I would like to express my deep appreciation to Patricia Godfrey, who read and commented so carefully upon this text.

Implications of Revised Attributions in Netherlandish Painting

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THE REEVALUATION of the attributions of several paintings in the Metropolitan Museum's early Netherlandish painting collection presents an opportunity to consider a particular aspect of the state of research in this field.¹ New information provided by infrared reflectography and dendrochronology poses a challenge to long-held tenets about the oeuvres of even the most eminent painters of the Northern Renaissance. A corpus of technical documents has now been assembled for some of the major Netherlandish artists (Rogier van der Weyden, Robert Campin, Hieronymus Bosch, Gerard David, Petrus Christus, Jan van Scorel, and Lucas van Leyden among them) that provides essential insights into their working methods and may be used to reconsider basic questions of attribution and dating.² This informed reassessment of individual works is accompanied by more general queries into the production of paintings in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in the Netherlands, particularly with regard to the demands of the patron class and to the notion of artistic individuality versus the anonymity of workshop production.

Two recently changed attributions of paintings in the Metropolitan Museum's collection compel us to address these questions. The authorship of both *Christ Appearing to His Mother*, until recently thought to be by Rogier van der Weyden (1399?–1464), and *The Adoration of the Magi*, long considered to be a work by Hieronymus Bosch (active by 1480–died 1516), has been convincingly reevaluated as a result of new technical information.

We now know that *Christ Appearing to His Mother* (Figure 1; originally part of a triptych dedicated to the Virgin, the remaining two panels of which are still in the Spanish Royal Chapel in Granada) is a slightly smaller copy after Rogier's own version of

this work (Figure 2), donated by Juan II of Castile to the Cartuja of Miraflores in 1445 and found today in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin. As recently as 1979 (in the catalogue of the Brussels exhibition "Rogier van der Weyden," as well as in the 1978 *Catalogue of Paintings* for the Gemäldegalerie), the weight of scholarship was in favor of the attribution of the New York–Granada Altarpiece of the Virgin to Rogier, relegating the Berlin version to Rogier's studio.³ The traditional priority of the Granada–New York triptych is linked to its distinguished provenance as part of the collection of Queen Isabella of Castile (1451–1504) and the subsequent donation of the panels to the Capilla Real in Granada after her death. In addition, the extraordinary quality and condition of the Berlin triptych was considerably masked until its recent cleaning and restoration by the Gemäldegalerie.

The first significant effort to clarify the relationship between the two versions of *Christ Appearing to His Mother* came in 1981–82, when an article by Rainald Grosshans discussed new information about the Berlin painting. He demonstrated that certain features of that version reveal Rogier's specific handling: clearly evident is his typical brush underdrawing style with its hook-ended strokes. Furthermore, Grosshans identified adjustments to the preliminary design of the painting that are not evident in the New York *Christ Appearing to His Mother*.⁴ Figure 3 shows the infrared reflectogram assembly with the changes in the composition made more visible through a tracing of the underdrawing and the final version of the background cut out. Grosshans's arguments, based on the study of the Berlin version with infrared reflectography and the New York painting with infrared photography, can be summarized as follows: while Rogier executed the underdrawing found beneath the paint layers of the Berlin version, making numerous changes in the architecture and figures (their poses and the form of their draperies in Figure 3), a copyist ap-

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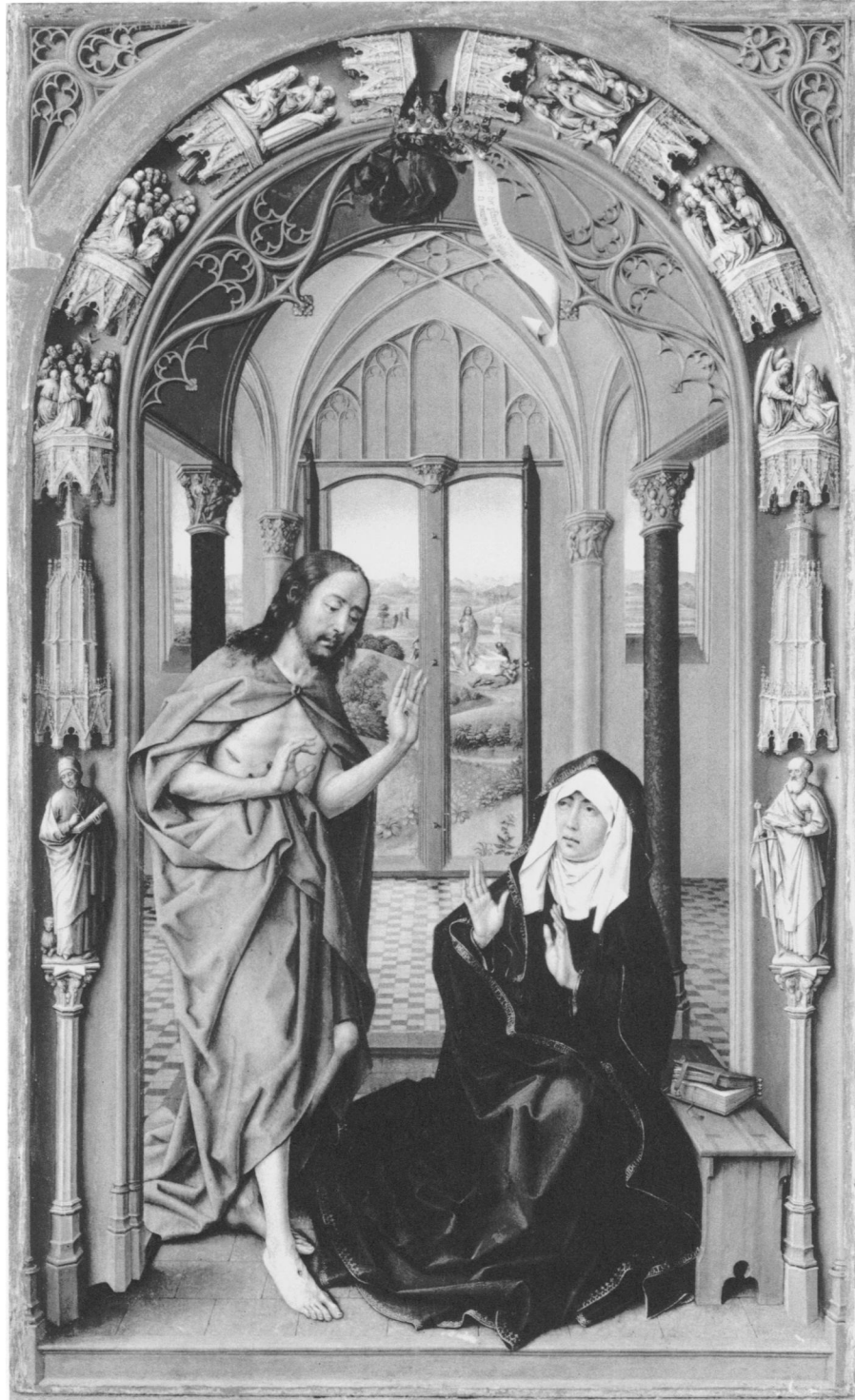


Figure 1. Copy after Rogier van der Weyden (1399?–1464), *Christ Appearing to His Mother*, ca. 1484. Oil on panel, 63.5 × 38.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Bequest of Michael Dreicer, 1921, 1922, 22.60.58



Figure 2. Rogier van de Weyden, *Christ Appearing to His Mother*, ca. 1435. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie (photo: J. Anders)

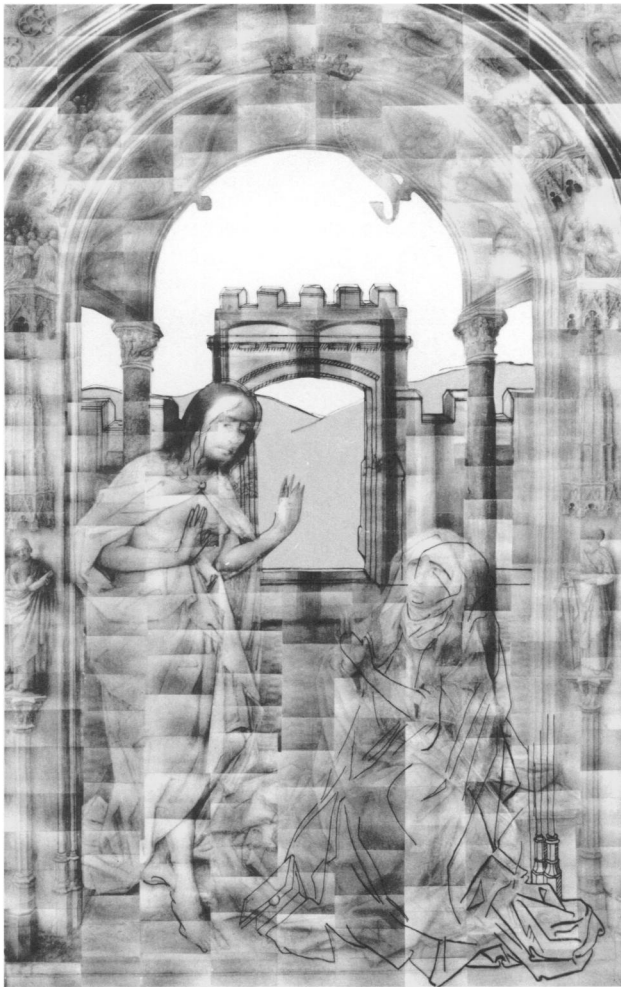


Figure 3. Infrared reflectogram assembly of Figure 2, Berlin version, with tracing of underdrawing (infrared reflectography by J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer; assembly by G. Schultz)

parently produced the formulaic and rather weak underdrawing of the Metropolitan Museum version, which presents no major compositional adjustments and instead simply reproduces the surface design of the Berlin painting. In addition, Grosshans observed that the Berlin composition's construction was based on an empirical system of perspective typical of fifteenth-century paintings; the artist of the Metropolitan Museum version made explicit corrections, particularly in the architecture, in order to bring the original design in step with the one-point perspective system that became standard usage by the end of the fifteenth century.⁵

My subsequent study of the Metropolitan painting with infrared reflectography, which revealed more of the painting's underdrawing than was apparent in the infrared photograph, confirmed Grosshans's hypothesis (Figures 4, 5).⁶ The underdrawing is apparent in the architecture and figure of Christ, as well as in the hands and face of the Virgin. The draperies of the Virgin were not penetrated by infrared reflectography, indicating that the artist used a different, more opaque blue pigment than was employed in the Berlin version. The underdrawing in the Christ figure appears to have been executed in two mediums, one a dry, crumbly one (probably black chalk) in a rather free sketch, and the other in brush or pen that made minor adjustments over it. Neither underdrawing shows Rogier's characteristic hook-ended strokes. There are no significant changes in the composition or figures—only slight shifts from the underdrawing to the painted layers in contours and in Christ's right hand and feet. Based on all of this evidence, it can thus be established definitively that the Berlin composition is the primary version and the one in New York the replica.⁷

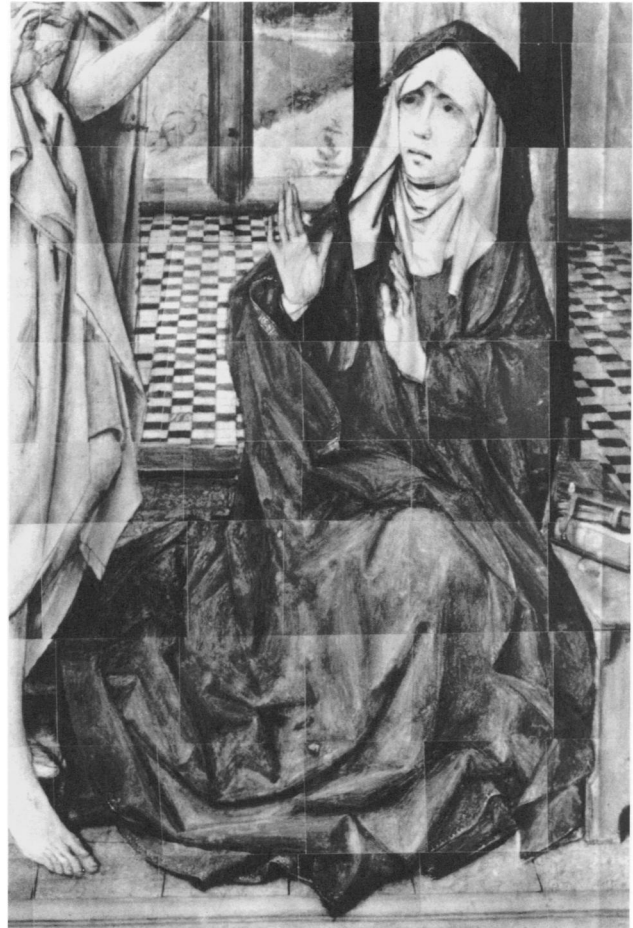
But the evidence of the underdrawing alone was not sufficient to take the attribution of the painting away from Rogier van der Weyden, particularly in view of the fact that the two paintings appear so similar. Commenting on the two versions of *Christ Appearing to His Mother* when they were last studied side by side in 1947, the Museum's painting conservator at the time, Murray Pease, remarked that "the most important consideration about these paintings is that they resemble each other to a degree approaching bank notes."⁸ (Compare Figures 6 with 7 and 8 with 9.)

Close comparison of the two paintings today through color-slide details and macro photographs does reveal some significant differences in technique and execution.⁹ At once most striking are the varied mixtures of the red and blue paints used for the draperies of Christ and the Virgin. Christ's cloak in the Metropolitan version shows an abbreviated layering structure with a more thorough mixture of red and white pigments to create a rich rose color, while in the Berlin painting a deeper, more saturated red is produced by red glazes built up in multiple thin layers. As previously mentioned, the blues of the Virgin's drapery also vary in their composition, that in the Berlin painting being transparent to infrared light and that in the Metropolitan version appearing opaque with infrared reflectography. Like the reds, the blues also differ in the com-



Figure 4. Infrared reflectogram assembly of Figure 1, MMA version, showing detail of Christ figure (photo: M. Ainsworth)

Figure 5. Infrared reflectogram assembly of MMA version showing detail of the Virgin (photo: M. Ainsworth)



plexity of their layering structure; the Metropolitan painting shows a simpler structure typical of developments in painting technique at the end of the fifteenth century.

As often happens with the production of copies, the lighting system of the Museum's replica exaggerates that of the Berlin painting (compare Figures 6 and 7). The extremely subtle transitions between light and dark areas in Christ's draperies in the Berlin painting become more sharply defined and strongly lit in the drapery folds in the Metropolitan version. The copyist modeled the ridges of the folds in a manner different from Rogier's, defining them

with parallel hatching in dark red glazes, a method characteristic of painters such as Dieric Bouts in the decades after Rogier van der Weyden.¹⁰ Similar observations may also be made about the execution of the flesh tones in Christ's right hand (compare Figures 10 and 11). Here the illusionistic three-dimensional quality of the hand in the Berlin painting (Figure 10) is achieved by a complicated structure of opaque and transparent glaze layers. The illusion is lost in the Metropolitan version (Figure 11) where the artist's simplified technique of thinner paint layers, as well as his less able execution, particularly in the rigid drawing of the fingers, flattened the form.



Figure 6. Detail of Figure 2 showing the figure of Christ (photo: G. Schultz)



Figure 7. Detail of Figure 1 showing the figure of Christ



Figure 8. Detail of Figure 2 showing the figure of the Virgin (photo: G. Schultz)



Figure 9. Detail of Figure 1 showing the figure of the Virgin



Figure 10. Detail of Figure 2 showing Christ's right hand (photo: G. Schultz)



Figure 11. Detail of Figure 1 showing Christ's right hand (photo: K. Luber)

Small details in each painting reveal further disparities between the two in the specific nature of the rendering of subsidiary forms. A striking difference in approach is found in the depiction of landscape details. Rogier executed his background bushes (Figure 10) using regular arclike strokes and a schematic dotting of each branch tip with white highlights. The copyist (in Figure 11) took natural observation into account, discriminating between branches that ought to appear fully lit and those that should be in shadow as a gentle breeze passed through them. The increased interest in landscape *per se* developing at the end of the fifteenth century must have been a determining factor in regard to the execution of the copyist. In addition, Rogier painted a metal hook on the doorjamb to receive the corresponding sliding bolt on the adjacent door; the copyist misunderstood the function of the hardware, instead painting a square-headed nail on the doorjamb of his painting. Though generally very close to each other in form, each painting reveals its author in the handling of such comparatively insignificant details.

A final piece of evidence regarding the relationship between the two paintings was provided by the dating of each oak panel by Peter Klein, the acknowledged expert in dendrochronology.¹¹ Klein's research had already shown that the Berlin triptych fell well within the dating, as proposed by some scholars, to Rogier's early period, about 1435.¹² Klein's subsequent investigation of the Metropolitan Museum version indicated that it could not have been made much before about 1484, some twenty years after Rogier's death.¹³ The unsettling conclusion, therefore, must be that the New York–Granada triptych was produced by a very talented copyist, who remains anonymous.¹⁴ Though the names of two northerners who worked in Spain for Queen Isabella—Juan de Flandes and Michel Sittow—have been suggested, positive proof is lacking. The artist in question most likely produced the Metropolitan Museum painting in Spain in the presence of the original, for its ground preparation is calcium sulfate, which is commonly used in southern Europe (northern ground preparations are made of calcium carbonate).¹⁵



Figure 12. Style of Hieronymus Bosch (act. by 1480–d. 1516), *The Adoration of the Magi*, first half of 16th century. Oil on panel, 71.1 × 56.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, John Stewart Kennedy Fund, 1912, 13.26



Figure 13. Hieronymus Bosch, *The Adoration of the Magi*. Madrid, Museo del Prado (photo: Museo del Prado)

It is worth pointing out that these results do not represent an isolated example, for in the case of the two triptychs of the *Life of St. John*, also attributed to Rogier van der Weyden, dendrochronology pointed to the same discrepancy.¹⁶ Again, the Berlin Gemäldegalerie version of Rogier's *St. John* triptych is the one that can be dated within the artist's lifetime, while the version in Frankfurt (Städtisches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie) turns out to be an extremely faithful copy from the first decade of the sixteenth century.

It is rather disconcerting to discover that artists of this period could so faithfully reproduce not just the composition but also the details of the style of another artist's work. This realization certainly confounds any effort to attach a name to the Metropolitan Museum's *Christ Appearing to His Mother*. Perhaps we can turn this to our advantage by considering not the artist's identity but instead the very anonymity and the consummate skill of artists whose craft superseded any specific artistic identity. We have yet to understand fully how these copies were made and for what purposes.¹⁷ To ignore these questions is to thwart further discoveries about artistic production in the Netherlands in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

In another recently reevaluated work, the *Adoration of the Magi* (Figure 12), long attributed to Bosch, certain features of the painting have been in question for some time.¹⁸ The pastiche nature of the composition can be recognized in the combination of a landscape reminiscent of Bosch's *Adoration of the Magi* (ca. 1510) in the Prado, the two standing kings from the Philadelphia *Adoration of the Magi* (according to Peter Klein, datable ca. 1526, after Bosch's death),¹⁹ and the Eve type from the Prado's *Garden of Earthly Delights* (ca. 1503–4), who is here cast in the role of the Virgin.²⁰ In addition, these elements are placed in a perspectival space unlike any found elsewhere in Bosch. The incompatibility of the naive figure types and the advanced spatial construction have caused scholars to vacillate between an early and a late date.²¹

The recent investigation, in July 1990, of the underdrawing in the Metropolitan *Adoration* has cast further doubt on an attribution to Bosch. The preliminary drawing on the ground preparation of the painting does not show the hand of Bosch but that of an unknown imitator. The style and idiosyncrasies of Bosch's underdrawings have been characterized in studies by Garrido, Van Schoute, and Filedt Kok.²² From this body of comparative material, it is possible to investigate further and identify specific

deviations of the underdrawing in the Metropolitan painting from the characteristic style found in securely attributed Bosch paintings. Whereas Bosch normally used the underdrawing in his paintings as a working drawing, sketching the landscape and figures and changing the placement of objects and the description of forms from the drawing to the painted layers, as seen in the underdrawing of the Prado *Adoration* (Figures 13–16),²³ the painted layers of the Metropolitan Museum *Adoration* (Figure 12) follow the drawing closely. When Bosch made adjustments, he most often painted the figures and forms smaller than the underdrawing suggests.²⁴ By contrast, the changes in the sleeves of the two kings and the profile of the kneeling king in the Metropolitan painting show an enlargement of these forms in the painting from the underdrawing (Figures 17, 18). Bosch's typical underdrawing describes the composition fully,²⁵ but the Metropolitan painting indicates underdrawing only in the figures. A characteristic of Bosch's drawing style is its use of short, broken strokes for contours (see Figures 15, 16); the Metropolitan painting reveals long, unbroken contour lines, as in the figure of the Virgin (Figure 19).²⁶ These observations support an attribution not to Bosch himself but to an artist in his orbit.

The determination of the date, however, is dependent upon factors in addition to those outlined above. The spatial construction of the Metropolitan painting suggests a date of about 1520 or later. Exactly how much later might be indicated by comparison with information about another version of the same composition in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen in Rotterdam (Figure 20).²⁷ Very little of the underdrawing of this painting is visible—only minimal drawing in the faces of the kings. Also, there are no apparent changes in the Rotterdam version as there are in the Metropolitan painting (such as the angel painted out in the larger of the two turret windows or the slight adjustments to the contours of forms).²⁸ It might thus be concluded from this evidence that the Metropolitan painting precedes the Rotterdam version, as it shows to some extent an evolving, not totally fixed design. A startling revelation about these panels, however, concerns their dendrochronological dates. Peter Klein has shown that the Rotterdam painting was made in about 1550, more than thirty years after Bosch's death.²⁹ The felling date of the tree for the Metropolitan panel, however, is about 1472, well within Bosch's lifetime.³⁰

The possible conclusions one might draw from the dendrochronological evidence alone is that the

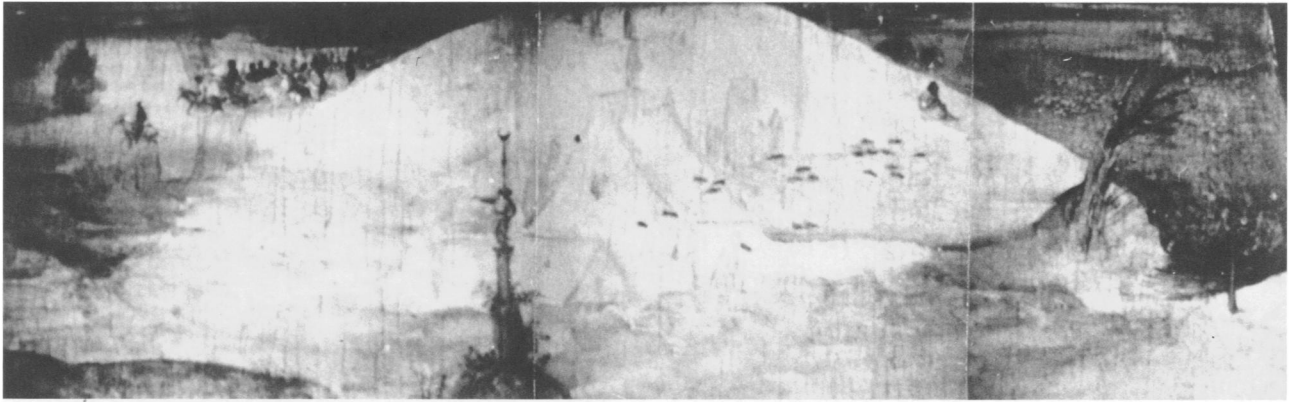


Figure 14. Infrared reflectogram assembly of Figure 13, Prado version, showing a detail of the landscape (photo: C. Garrido)

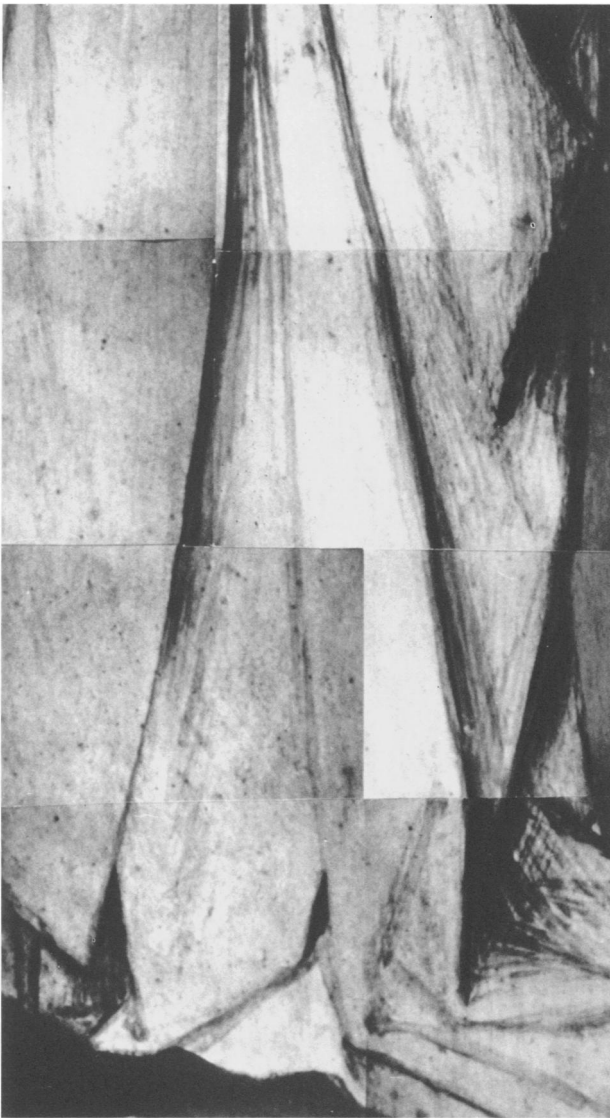


Figure 15. Infrared reflectogram assembly of Prado version showing a detail of the draperies (photo: C. Garrido)



Figure 16. Infrared reflectogram assembly of Prado version showing a detail of the shed, including an unpainted head (photo: C. Garrido)

Rotterdam painting is either a later version of the Metropolitan painting or, by contrast, that the Metropolitan version is contemporary with the later Rotterdam copy, but simply painted on wood that was stored for a longer period of time. In this case, dendrochronology seems to give a more definitive answer for the Rotterdam painting than for the

Metropolitan painting. Although we can be certain that the Metropolitan painting is not by Bosch, the date it was painted is as yet unclear. Further examination of the two works together, a study we hope to carry out in the near future, will provide additional information and help answer the unresolved questions.

What broader implications can be drawn from the changed attributions discussed here? Although some doubts concerning the authorship of both the Rogierian and Boschian paintings had persisted over the years, the relatively late datings for the Metropolitan's *Christ Appearing to His Mother* and the Rotterdam *Adoration of the Magi* were not anticipated. Part of the difficulty in considering these questions of chronology is due to modern concepts of originality. Our emphasis on unique artistic identity has led us to shun copies, automatically eliminating them from the first rank of prized works of art. But now that some of our most prized works



Figure 17. Infrared reflectogram assembly of Figure 12, MMA version, showing a detail of the kneeling king (photo: M. Ainsworth)



Figure 18. Infrared reflectogram assembly of MMA version, showing a detail of two standing kings (photo: M. Ainsworth)

have been irrefutably identified as later copies, produced in some cases even after the purported artist's death, our attention shifts to questions of the method of production and the possible meaning of these copies in their own time.

A more positive outlook on what may initially seem a dilemma encompasses further discoveries in the field of Netherlandish painting. Recent research into period contracts and new information about the contemporary art market has helped to explain

the apparently widespread production of exact copies in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Jeltje Dijkstra has shown that this period in Flanders was characterized by the production of copies after the paintings of earlier masters.³¹ This is clear not only from the extant pictures, but also from the period contracts compiled by Dijkstra. In eleven of the thirty-one contracts consulted from the fifteenth century and twenty-five of forty-eight from the first half of the sixteenth century, the commissioned work was to be made following the model of an already existing one.³² In other words, the patrons themselves were a powerful determining influence on the practice of copying. Perhaps as a result of deeply conservative religious and societal preferences, it was not original (and thus unfamiliar) works that were desired but ones that had already established their value, either from a material or a spiritual point of view.³³ These notions are a continuation of prevailing concerns expressed in medieval writings. As Jonathan Alexander notes, of greatest importance was the value of the actual materials used and the technical virtuosity evident in the production of artworks. Little mention is made of any premium placed on novel representations.³⁴ The example of the *Notre-Dame de Grace*, thought to be a portrait of the Virgin and Child made by St. Luke himself, comes readily to mind. In 1454/55 Hayne of Bruxelles was commissioned to make twelve copies of this Italo-Byzantine icon housed in the cathedral of Cambrai; Petrus Christus was asked to make an additional three in 1454.³⁵ Rogier van der Weyden and Dieric Bouts, among others, also fostered the widespread diffusion of adaptations of this particular image.

The Metropolitan Museum's exact copy of Rogier's *Christ Appearing to His Mother* represents a perpetuation of these medieval and early Renaissance ideals. It was not a new representation of the theme, but a facsimile that was explicitly desired. Queen Isabella of Castile may have commissioned the copy in the late fifteenth century to be made after the triptych given by her father, Juan II, to the Cartuja of Miraflores, for her personal devotional use at any of her numerous residences. Other, later adaptations of *Christ Appearing to His Mother* attest to the broader popularity of this particular composition.³⁶

The Bosch copy of *The Adoration of the Magi* represents a different phenomenon, one probably more dependent on the requirements of the open market. Its conflation of motifs from Bosch paintings of slightly different periods shows a deliberate selection of some of the artist's most characteristic

features. What confuses the modern observer, disposed toward seeing a clear and logical progression in Bosch's works, is the eclectically composed nature of a painting that deviates from the established chronological developments of Bosch's oeuvre. The awkward conflation of an early figure style with a later spatial construction undermines any notion of continuity. That artists intentionally chose certain popular motifs from different periods and joined them in a single work is a late-fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century phenomenon in need of further investigation. It is still uncertain whether or not this was done simply in response to the collecting patterns of foreign patrons (as has been suggested in the case of Gerard David's *Sedano Triptych*, a conflation of features of some of the most notable Netherlandish art from the previous sixty years),³⁷ or whether the question of deception or forgery had already come into play at this early date.

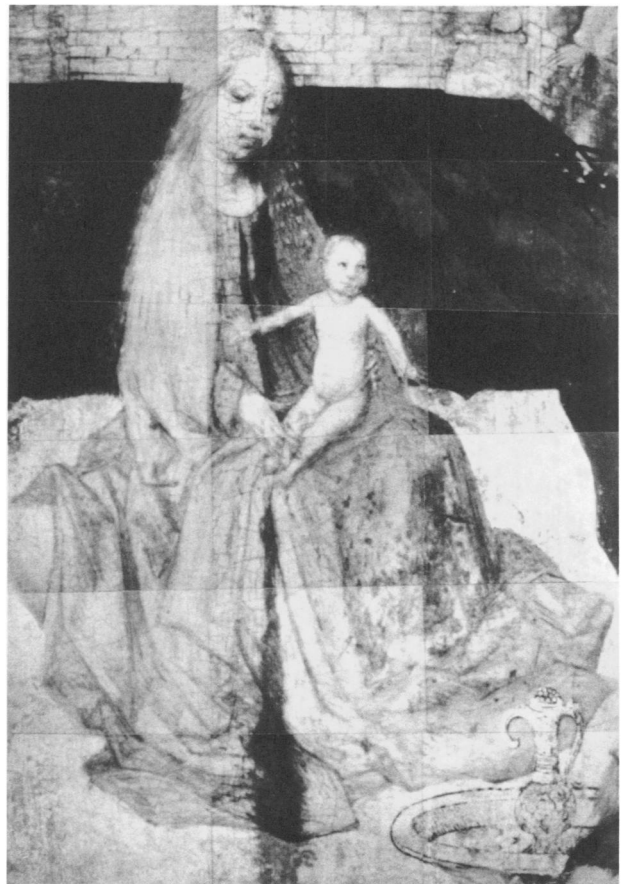


Figure 19. Infrared reflectogram assembly of MMA version, showing a detail of the Virgin and Child (photo: M. Ainsworth)

Specifically in regard to the works of Hieronymus Bosch, there is the perplexing account of Felipe de Guevara, who in his *Comentarios de la pintura* (ca. 1560) called attention to countless forgeries of Bosch, “pictures to which he [Bosch] would never have thought of putting his hand but which are in reality the work of smoke and the short-sighted fools who smoked them in fireplaces in order to lend them credibility.”³⁸ He continues: “That which Hieronymus Bosch did with wisdom and decorum others did, and still do, without any discretion and good judgment.”³⁹ Unlike medieval commentators who stressed the value of materials and virtuosity in execution, de Guevara instead considered the superior intellect manifest in the work’s novelty and invention as the indicator of authenticity.⁴⁰ It is interesting to note that de Guevara’s comments are contemporary with the likely production of the Rotterdam *Adoration of the Magi* (ca. 1550), a factor that ought to be taken into account in the reassessment of this painting.

Numerous questions regarding the duplicative nature of works of art in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries await study.⁴¹ The level of technical expertise that artists acquired through training in a rigorous craft tradition has not been fully acknowledged. Our modern preoccupation with the concept of originality has perhaps forced us to assign paintings to rigid categories, such as “prototype” or “replica,” where they do not properly belong. We have not been sufficiently cognizant of images that were conceived as multiples from the outset, that is, with no primary version intended or consciously produced. Furthermore, we too readily assume that similar compositions date from the same time, ignoring the continued appeal of certain representations over several decades.⁴²

Before one can begin to answer these questions, however, the various types of copies and diverse methods of producing them need to be more precisely established. This phenomenon of copying seen from the point of view of physical production has been studied with renewed interest since Taubert’s ground-breaking thesis of 1956 (the portions concerning copying techniques were published later, in 1975).⁴³ Methods of transferring motifs or entire compositions exactly from one drawing or painting to another are best revealed by infrared reflectography—be they by pouncing, tracing, stencils, or other techniques. From the evidence of the underdrawing, it becomes clear which portions of the composition were fixed and which were variable. For example, in certain works by Isenbrandt, one

finds that the figures are transferred from a pounced design, while the setting is freely sketched directly on the panel (see the *Virgin and Child* in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, and a *Virgin and Child* exhibited at Colnaghi’s, New York, in 1983).⁴⁴ In other cases, as with Gerard David’s *Milk-Soup Madonna* paintings, one finds that multiple versions of the same composition have a common origin in the same cartoon—that is to say, they were apparently conceived from the outset as identical objects for sale on the open market.⁴⁵

A thorough study of versions of the same composition through both infrared reflectography and dendrochronology will clarify not only the method of duplication but also the period of time over which there was a sustained interest in the same composition. The Metropolitan Museum copy after Dieric Bouts’s *Mater Dolorosa*, for example, is notable for two reasons. With only minor adjustments, its pounced underdrawing precisely follows the brush underdrawing in a *Mater Dolorosa* (now in the Art Institute of Chicago) probably produced in the workshop of Dieric Bouts after a design made by the master himself.⁴⁶ Peter Klein’s dendrochronological date for the Metropolitan Museum copy is about 1525, attesting to the long-standing popularity of this particular image.⁴⁷

With further research we may be able to gather specific evidence supporting a hypothesis that certain artists basically cornered the market on particular compositions—that their workshops were known as the distribution centers of particular thematic representations.⁴⁸ One thinks of the many extant versions of Joos van Cleve’s *Holy Family*, for example, or of Gerard David’s *Milk-Soup Madonna* and *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* compositions. If this is the case, we might wonder whether the personal identity of the artist is superseded by the image known to have come from his shop. How then might we reconsider long-standing evaluative criteria such as “originality,” “quality,” and “genius”? How uniformly would these notions have been embraced by either the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century patrons or the artists themselves?

We are only just beginning to ask questions about the influence of the art market on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Flemish painting.⁴⁹ It is through continued joint study of both archival material and the actual physical methods of producing the paintings that we will arrive at a clearer picture of artistic production of the Northern Renaissance.

If we come back to our original problem of the Rogierian painting *Christ Appearing to His Mother*, we



Figure 20. Style of Hieronymus Bosch, *The Adoration of the Magi*. Flemish, ca. 1550. Oil on panel, 70 × 56.7 cm. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (photo: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen)

might well ask, "If it was good enough for Queen Isabella of Castile, shouldn't it be good enough for us?" Momentarily postponing the obvious answer could be most instructive, especially keeping in mind the object as it presents itself to us now: a nearly exact copy of a masterpiece by Rogier van der Weyden, with a superior provenance and an extraordinarily compelling presence, but no secure attribution.

This essay perhaps raises as many questions as it answers. It is meant as a statement of where we now stand in our efforts to reconstruct the complex and unfamiliar ways in which fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century artists and patrons understood the art they made and used. It is hoped that the issues raised here will stimulate further research into these intriguing problems.

NOTES

1. It is fitting to continue here discussions begun with Guy Bauman over various attributions of early Netherlandish paintings in the Metropolitan Museum. I hope that he would have enjoyed the route further research has taken and the results of those initial inquiries.

2. See J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer, J. Dijkstra, and R. van Schoute, *Underdrawing in Paintings of The Rogier van der Weyden and Master of Flémalle Groups*, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 41, 1990 (Zwolle, 1992); on Bosch, see R. van Schoute, "Le portement de croix de Jérôme Bosch au Musée de Gand: considérations sur l'exécution picturale," *Bulletin de l'Institut Royale du Patrimoine Artistique* 2 (1959) pp. 47–58; R. van Schoute, "Over de techniek van Jeroen Bosch," *Jheronimus Bosch: bijdragen bij gelegenheid van de herdenkingstentoonstelling te's Hertogenbosch* (1967) pp. 71–79; J. P. Filedt Kok, "Underdrawing and drawing in the work of Hieronymus Bosch: a provisional survey in connection with the paintings by him in Rotterdam," *Simiolus* 6, no. 3/4 (1972/73) pp. 133–162; P. Vandenbroeck, "Problèmes concernant l'oeuvre de Jheronimus Bosch: Le dessin sous-jacent en relation avec l'authenticité et la chronologie," *Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture*, Colloque IV, 1981 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982) pp. 107–120; R. van Schoute, M. C. Garrido, J. María Cabrera, "L'Adoration des Mages du Musée du Prado à Madrid," *Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture*, Colloque V, 1983 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1985) pp. 211–215; R. van Schoute and M. C. Garrido, "Les péchés capitaux de Jérôme Bosch au Musée du Prado à Madrid. Étude technologique. Premières considérations," *Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture*, Colloque VI, 1985 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1987) pp. 103–106; R. van Schoute and M. C. Garrido, "El tríptico de la Adoración de los Magos de Hieronymus van Acken Bosch: estudio técnico," *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 6 (1985) pp. 39–77; R. van Schoute and M. C. Garrido, "Brèves observations sur les Petits Bosch du Prado," *Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture*, Colloque VII, 1987 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1989) pp. 159–162; for Gerard David, see M. Ainsworth, "Gerard David's Drawings for

the Justice of Cambyses Once Again," *The Burlington Magazine* 130 (July 1988) pp. 528–530; M. Ainsworth, "Reassessing the Form and Function of Gerard David's Drawings and Underdrawings," *Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture* (1987) pp. 123–130, and book in preparation; for Gerard David and Petrus Christus, see the archive of underdrawings at The Metropolitan Museum of Art; for Jan van Scorel, see M. Faries, "Underdrawings in the workshop production of Jan van Scorel: a study with infrared reflectography," *Scientific Examination of early Netherlandish Painting*, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 26 (1975) pp. 89–228, and book in preparation; for Lucas van Leyden, see J. P. Filedt Kok, "Underdrawing and Other Technical Aspects in the Paintings of Lucas van Leyden," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 29 (1978) pp. 1–184; bibliographies including other artists are found in H. Verougstraete-Marcq and R. van Schoute, eds., *Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture*, Colloques VI (1985) and VII (1987) (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1987, 1989).

3. Berlin, Picture Gallery, *Catalogue of Painting, 13th–18th Centuries* (1978) pp. 484ff., and C. Périer-d'Ieteren, in *Rogier van der Weyden*, exh. cat., Musée Communal (Brussels, 1979) pp. 144ff., no. 8y.

4. R. Grosshans, "Rogier van der Weyden: Der Marienaltar aus Kartause Miraflores," in *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 23 (1981) pp. 49–112, and "Infrarotuntersuchungen zum Studium der Unterzeichnung auf den Berliner Altären von Rogier van der Weyden," in *Jahrbuch Preuss. Kulturbesitz* 19 (1982) pp. 137–177, esp. pp. 137–144.

5. Grosshans, "Rogier van der Weyden," p. 93, figs. 13, 14.

6. The Metropolitan Museum painting was first studied by the author and Chiyo Ishikawa with infrared reflectography in 1981 and more recently, in 1991, with the assistance of Jeffrey Jennings. The results of van Asperen de Boer's study appears in van Asperen de Boer, Dijkstra, and van Schoute, *Rogier van der Weyden*, pp. 236–245.

7. See my memo to Mary Sprinson de Jesús of Jan. 4, 1984, suggesting the reconsideration of the attribution of the Metropolitan Museum painting based on the new information (in archive files of the Department of European Paintings).

8. Murray Pease, "Report of Comparative Examination of Two Paintings Attributed to Rogier van der Weyden, *Christ Appearing to His Mother*," Nov. 18, 1947 (in Paintings Conservation department files).

9. The recent comparison of the two paintings has been made possible through the kind cooperation of Rainald Grosshans (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie), who has exchanged with me color slides of many details of the two paintings. I have also benefited greatly from discussions with Hubert von Sonnenburg concerning the technique of the two paintings.

10. For an illustration of this type of parallel hatching with a glaze for the modeling of drapery, see C. Périer-d'Ieteren, *Colyn de Coter et la Technique Picturale des Peintures Flamandes du XV^e Siècle* (Brussels, 1985) fig. 2c–d.

11. Peter Klein, "Dendrochronological Untersuchungen an Eichenholztafeln von Rogier van der Weyden," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 23 (1981) pp. 113–123; "Dendrochronological Untersuchungen an Bildtafeln des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture* (1987) pp. 29–40; and "Dendrochronological Studies on Oak Panels of Rogier van der Weyden and His

Circle," *Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture* (1989) pp. 25–36. The last of these articles explains the method and variables associated with dendrochronology as Peter Klein has practiced it in more than 1,500 Northern Renaissance and Baroque panels so far.

12. Klein, "Dendrochronological Studies," pp. 25–36.

13. At my request Peter Klein came to study the panel, submitting a report on May 13, 1987; see also my memo concerning the results to Everett Fahy and Guy Bauman of Jan. 25, 1988 (archive files, Department of European Paintings); and Klein, "Dendrochronological Studies," pp. 25–36.

14. Michel Sittow is the painter suggested by Jeltje Dijkstra in her published dissertation, *Origineel en Kopie. Een onderzoek naar de navolging van de Meester van Flémalle en Rogier van der Weyden* (Amsterdam, 1990) chap. 4, esp. pp. 95–97.

15. Murray Pease first identified and commented upon the ground preparation type in his 1947 report (see note 8 above). I thank Marycolette Hruskocyc of the Paintings Conservation department for rechecking the ground type in June 1991. On the matter of defining the northern or southern origin of panel paintings based on the analysis of their ground preparation, see Dijkstra, *Origineel en Kopie*, pp. 91–97 and n. 364; also R. M. Merrill, "A Technical Study: Birth and Naming of St. John the Baptist," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 63, no. 5 (1976) pp. 136–145, esp. p. 138.

16. Klein, "Dendrochronological Untersuchung an Eichenholztafeln," p. 122, suggests a date of about 1453 for the *Altarpiece of St. John* in Berlin and about 1508 for the Frankfurt version; see also idem, "Dendrochronological Untersuchung an Bildtafeln" and "Dendrochronological Studies."

17. See Dijkstra, *Origineel en Kopie*, for a discussion of these issues and a complete bibliography on the topic. She has suggested an ingenious solution to the method of copying in the Rogierian altarpieces of Mary and St. John based on a reduction system related to the geometrical proportions of an equilateral triangle. Dijkstra discusses her theory in detail in chap. 4 of her dissertation. In the case of the Berlin and New York versions of *Christ Appearing to His Mother*, though the proportional reduction suggested by Dijkstra is borne out for the figures, the architecture has been altered outside of the geometrical proportion, and there are no indications in the underdrawing of the New York painting that prove the proposed method was employed. Instead, the underdrawing is of two types—a free sketch in a crumbly medium (black chalk?) which is gone over with brush or pen, here and there making minor adjustments. Given the consummate skill of the artist in copying Rogier's style, it is perhaps not inconceivable that his technical virtuosity encompassed the ability to copy directly by eye from the model.

18. See C. De Tolnay, *Hieronymus Bosch* (Basel, 1937) pp. 103, 128, and in reprint ed. (1965) p. 382, no. 47, fig. 36; L. von Baldass, *Hieronymus Bosch* (Vienna, 1943) p. 38ff.; D. Bax, *Ontcijfering van Jeroen Bosch* (The Hague, 1949) pp. 248–250, 264, 272; C. Eisler, book review of Erik Larsen, *Les primitifs flamands au Musée Metropolitan de New York (Utrecht and Antwerp, 1960)* in *The Art Bulletin* 46 (1964) p. 104; G. Lemmens and E. Taverne, *Hieronymus Bosch* (Uppsala, 1970) pp. 166ff., 185, 258, pl. 1; and G. Unverfehrt, *Hieronymus Bosch. Die Rezeption seiner Kunst im frühen 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1980) p. 123ff., cat. no. 23.

19. Personal communication from Peter Klein, July 8, 1990.

20. Some of these observations and others have been summarized by Unverfehrt, *Hieronymus Bosch*.

21. Earlier literature tends to date the painting to Bosch's formative years, while subsequent discussions favor a late date because of the comparison of the background with the Prado *Epiphany* (see, for example, P. Reuterswärd, *Hieronymus Bosch* [Uppsala, 1970] pp. 166ff., 185, 258).

22. See note 2.

23. See Filedt Kok, "Underdrawing and drawing," p. 154; R. van Schoute, M. C. Garrido, and J. María Cabrera, "L'Adoration des Mages," and M. C. Garrido and R. van Schoute, "El tríptico de la Adoración."

24. Filedt Kok, "Underdrawing and drawing," p. 150, fig. 14.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 154ff.

26. For examples, the reader may consult the articles of Garrido and van Schoute, as well as Filedt Kok (see note 2).

27. I am indebted to Jeroen Giltaj and J. R. J. van Asperen de Boer for information about this painting (personal communications of Aug. 31, 1990, and Oct. 1, 1990, respectively). Dr. van Asperen de Boer studied the Rotterdam painting twice with infrared reflectography, most recently on Sept. 24, 1990.

28. The Rotterdam painting is in relatively better state than the MMA version, which is badly damaged. As a result, great care should be taken in the comparison of the two works for visible differences, since most of these are caused by paint losses in the Metropolitan painting (e.g., in the Metropolitan painting, the curtailed drapery of the kneeling king, the absence of a herding crop held by the shepherd in the window at the left, various differences in the folds of Joseph's drapery, and the absence of the guiding star at the painting's upper right corner). The stripped-state photo of the MMA painting clearly shows these losses, which are not fully detectable in the partial X-radiograph.

29. Personal communication from Peter Klein, July 8, 1990.

30. Personal communication from Peter Klein, April 30, 1991.

31. Jeltje Dijkstra, "On the Role of Underdrawings and Model-drawings in the Workshop of the Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden," *Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture* (1989) pp. 37–52, and idem, *Origineel en Kopie*, chap. 1, pp. 7–28.

32. *Ibid.*

33. On the spiritual power of certain images, see Nicholas of Cusa, *The Vision of God*, Emma Gurney Salter, trans. (London, 1928) p. 15, and Joseph Leo Koerner's discussion in "Albrecht Dürer and the Moment of Self-Portraiture," *Daphnis: Zeitschrift für Mittlere Deutsche Literatur* 15, no. 2/3 (1986) pp. 409–439.

34. J. J. G. Alexander, "Facsimiles, Copies, and Variations: The Relationship to the Model in Medieval and Renaissance European Illuminated Manuscripts," *Studies in the History of Art* 20 (1989) p. 63.

35. On this issue and the interpretation of the documents, see Dijkstra, "On the Role of Underdrawings," pp. 39–41, and notes on pp. 48–49; see also C. Périer-d'Ieteren, "Une copie de Notre-Dame de Grâce de Cambrai aux Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique à Bruxelles," in *Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten* 3/4 (1968) pp. 111–114.

36. For a discussion of a copy in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., as well as other versions, see John Hand's entry

in J. O. Hand and M. Wolff, *Early Netherlandish Painting: The Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue* (Washington, D.C., 1986) pp. 254–257.

37. As I suggested in my review of *Gerard David* by Hans van Miegroet, in *The Art Bulletin* 72, 4 (Dec. 1990) p. 650.

38. Felipe de Guevara, "Comentarios de la pintura que exhibió Don Felipe de Guevara," in F. J. Sánchez Cantón, ed., *Fuentes literarias para la historia del arte español*, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1923–41) I, pp. 159–60, or as translated in Wolfgang Stechow, ed. and trans., *Northern Renaissance Art, 1400–1600: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966) p. 19.

39. *Ibid.*

40. See the discussion of J. Muller, "Measures of Authenticity: The Detection of Copies in Early Literature on Connoisseurship," *Studies in the History of Art* 20 (1989) pp. 141–149.

41. As noted in L. Silver, "The State of Research of Northern European Art of the Renaissance Era," *The Art Bulletin* 68, no. 4 (Dec. 1986) pp. 518–535, esp. p. 520. Significant recent contributions have been made concerning copies. In addition to Dijkstra, *Origineel en Kopie*, see especially J. Wilson, "Workshop patterns and the production of paintings in 16th-century Bruges," *The Burlington Magazine* 132 (Aug. 1990) pp. 523–527 and bibliography in notes, and J. Wilson, "Connoisseurship and Copies: The Case of the Rouen Grouping," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (May–June 1991) pp. 191–206. A framework for the discussion of these issues in different periods of the history of art is provided by the published papers of the 1985 CASVA symposium, "Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies and Reproductions," *Studies in the History of Art* 20 (1989).

42. As suggested for David's *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* compositions, see Ainsworth, review of *Gerard David*, p. 653, and *idem*, "Gerard David's Workshop Practice—an Overview," *Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture*, Colloque IX (in press).

43. *Ibid.*; and Dijkstra, *Origineel en Kopie*, and Wilson, "Workshop Patterns" (esp. n. 34); also M. Ainsworth, "...paternes for phiosioneaymes...", Holbein's Portraiture Reconsidered," *The Burlington Magazine* 132 (Mar. 1990) pp. 173–186.; J. Taubert, *Zur Kunstwissenschaftlichen Auswertung von Naturwissenschaftlichen Gemäldeuntersuchungen* (Marburg, 1956), and *idem*, "Pauspunkte in Tafelbildern des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts," *Bulletin de l'Institut royal du patrimoine artistique* 15 (1975) pp. 387–401. The practices of copying and transfer of design which were in use in Italy during the same period under discussion are being studied by Car-

men Bambach Cappell. See her dissertation, "The Tradition of Pouncing Drawings in the Italian Renaissance Workshop: Innovation and Derivation," 2 vols., Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1988, from which a book is forthcoming.

44. These were studied in 1986 and 1983, respectively. I am indebted to Dr. Hubert von Sonnenburg, then director of the Doerner Institute, for permission to study the Munich painting with infrared reflectography, and to the directors of Colnaghi, New York.

45. M. Comblen-Sonkes, "A propos de la *Vierge et Enfant à la soupe au lait*, Contribution à l'étude des copies," *Bull. Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten te Brussel* I–III (1974–80) pp. 29–42; and as suggested in Ainsworth, review of *Gerard David*, p. 653, and *idem*, "Gerard David's Workshop Practice."

46. Discussed in M. Ainsworth, "Northern Renaissance Drawings and Underdrawings: A Proposed Method of Study," *Master Drawings* 27, no. 1 (1989) pp. 5–38, esp. p. 11. On the Chicago *Mater Dolorosa*, see M. Wolff, "An Image of Compassion: Dieric Bouts's *Sorrowing Madonna*," *The Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 15, no. 2 (1989) pp. 112–125. See also Peter Klein, "The Differentiation of Originals and Copies of Netherlandish Panel Paintings by Dendrochronology," *Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture*, Colloque VIII (1989) (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1991) pp. 29–42.

47. Personal communication from Peter Klein, report of Mar. 20, 1989.

48. For a discussion of specialization and the art market, see Lorne Campbell's excellent article, "The Art Market in the Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century," *The Burlington Magazine* 118 (1976) pp. 188–198.

49. Recent important inroads in this area have been made by J. Wilson, "The Participation of painters in the Bruges 'Pandt' market, 1512–1550," *The Burlington Magazine* 125 (1983) pp. 476–479, and *idem*, "Marketing Painting in Late Medieval Flanders and Brabant," in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Age: Colloque international* 3, X. Barral Altet, ed. (Paris, 1990) pp. 621–627; J. M. Montias, "Socio-Economic Aspects of Netherlandish Art from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century: A Survey," *The Art Bulletin* 72, no. 3 (Sept. 1990) pp. 358–373, with helpful bibliography; D. Ewing, "Marketing Art in Antwerp, 1460–1560: Our Lady's Pandt," *The Art Bulletin* 72, no. 4 (Dec. 1990) pp. 558–584; and L. Jacobs, "The Marketing and the Standardization of South Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces: Limits on the Role of the Patron," *The Art Bulletin* 71 (1989) pp. 203–229.

The Sign of the Rose: A Fifteenth-Century Flemish Passion Scene

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A FLEMISH PANEL by an anonymous master depicting the bearing of Christ's body to the sepulcher (Figure 1), now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, evokes the idea of passion and compassion in conceptual and symbolic terms. Rendered in a style between those of Rogier van der Weyden and the Master of Frankfurt, this *imago pietatis* of "the rigid kind" belongs, as is well known, to the ascetic realm of the *Devotio Moderna*, with its adamant emphasis on Christ's sufferings and emphatic religious melodrama. Petrus Christus's similarly tragic *Lamentation* in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 2)¹ seeks to evoke a comparable emotional response to this subject, which has always been central to church doctrine and was of particular concern to the piety of the period.

Graphic representations of Christ's sufferings were common in *Devotio Moderna* circles, the pietistic Netherlandish reform movement founded by Geert Groote (1340–84).² Groote and his followers, the Brethren of the Common Life, insisted on the necessity of establishing a direct emotional relationship with Christ and his physical sufferings endured during the Passion. Their teachings were codified in the extremely popular treatise by Groote's disciple Thomas à Kempis (1380–1471), the *Imitatio Christi*, or *Imitation of Christ*.³ The *Devotio Moderna* movement promoted not only popular piety in the Netherlands but many developments in devotional art as well, including physical realism in Passion scenes.

The Getty *Bearing of Christ's Body* is one of numerous variants of an earlier, drawn Deposition in the Louvre (Figure 3) or possibly of another, closely related prototype by Rogier van der Weyden or his school, which has not yet been found, though its existence can be inferred.⁴ The questions of the attribution, date, prototypes, and influence of the Getty painting have been addressed in detail elsewhere.⁵

Here, however, we are concerned with the symbolism of certain elements in the composition whose significance may be less obvious to the modern beholder but which were meant to elicit an immediate response from the fifteenth-century one.⁶ Visual clues such as the depiction of the dead Christ and the emotional response of the witnesses are familiar devices of the *Devotio Moderna*, inviting the viewer to complete the emotional process initiated by the painter. However, an additional, and more specific, response was perhaps intended by the deliberate inclusion of the prominent white rose on the belt of the Magdalene, on the right (Figure 4). This unique, possibly heraldic, device is not included in the Louvre drawing, while the Magdalene in the so-called Watervliet Deposition (Figure 5) is wearing a smaller, different type of insignia.⁷ In a society very conscious of enigma and symbolism, the inclusion of a heraldic rose in a Passion scene with a traditional iconography could hardly escape attention.

The heraldic rose in its conventional form is a stylized dog rose with five displayed petals. It duplicates exactly the wild rose of the hedgerow. A cluster of five additional petals may form an inner ring around the center, whose anthers are stylized into seedlike dots.⁸ As is the case in the Getty picture, the earliest representations of the heraldic rose show the intervening spaces between the petals as they can be observed in the wild rose. Such a wild rose, colored gold, was the badge of Edward I, though his descendants varied its color. Eventually, a white rose was adopted by the House of York as its badge, as shown in a sixteenth-century copy of a portrait of Elizabeth of York (Figure 6), while the House of Lancaster adopted the red rose.⁹ It should also be noted that heraldic roses often contain a cluster of five additional petals around the center, and a triple row of petals is not unusual. Such a rose appears in the pendant badge of the Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, the most ancient English order of chivalry, where the rose is shown with three rows of

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Figure 1. Flemish Master, *The Bearing of Christ's Body to the Sepulcher*. Oak panel, 61 × 99.7 cm; painted surface 59.3 × 97.5 cm. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum (photo: J. Paul Getty Museum)



Figure 2. Petrus Christus (act. by 1444–d. 1472/73), *The Lamentation*. Tempera and oil on wood, 26.1 × 35.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Marquand Collection, Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1890, 91.26.12



Figure 3. *The Bearing of Christ's Body to the Sepulcher*. Pen and brown ink over lead, 24 × 35.7 cm. Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

six-petaled leaves (Figure 7).¹⁰ If the white heraldic rose depicted here is indeed the famous badge of the House of York, why, then, does it appear in an apparently apolitical Passion scene? And is there evidence to show a connection between *Devotio Moderna* religiosity in the Netherlands and the House of York? And why, of all the sacred personages shown, is it specifically the Magdalene who wears the badge?

The Yorkist presence in the Netherlands became significant when, on July 3, 1468, Margaret of York, sister of the English kings Edward IV (r. 1461–83) and Richard III (r. 1483–85), married Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.¹¹ Margaret's brother Edward IV had arranged this marriage to strengthen the commercial and political alliance between England and the Burgundian Netherlands—an alliance directed against France.¹² Edward (and Margaret) could count on such powerful political allies in the Netherlands as Lodewijk Gruuthuuse of Bruges, who was one of only three foreigners dur-



Figure 4. Detail of Figure 1



Figure 5. Watervliet Master, Center panel, triptych with the *Bearing of Christ's Body to the Sepulcher*, ca. 1515. Oil on wood, center panel 238.5 × 235.4 cm. Watervliet (East Flanders), Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk (photo: ACL, Brussels)

ing the entire fifteenth century to receive an English peerage for services rendered to the Yorkist cause.¹³ The Burgundian chronicler Olivier de la Marche recounts that the extravagant wedding festivities in Damme and Bruges lasted no less than nine days and were among the most splendid seen in fifteenth-century Europe.¹⁴

Margaret of York spent some time in Lille, Le Crotoy, Arques, Male, Brussels, and Bruges. But for

most of the nine years of her married life she was in the palace Ten Walle in Ghent, where she celebrated the victories of her brother Edward IV at Barnet, then Tewkesbury, in 1471 with a formidable bonfire. After the death of her husband, Charles the Bold, on January 5, 1477, the duchess established her permanent residence in Mechelen, where she purchased an old town house from the bishop of Cambrai and redesigned it and eight adjacent houses

into a single palace.¹⁵ Margaret's political authority in the Burgundian Netherlands increased with the years: in 1480 she was the chief mediator in the Netherlands alliance with England against France, and from 1482 to 1497 she was instrumental in consolidating the Burgundian Netherlands.¹⁶

Her hostility toward Henry VII, the Lancastrian king, reached unprecedented heights after the Yorkist defeat by Henry VII in the final engagement of the Wars of the Roses in 1485. (The conflict derives its name from the badges of the rival dynasties: the white rose of the Yorkists, the red of the Lancastrians.¹⁷) Shortly after his accession to the throne, Henry VII married Edward IV's daughter, Elizabeth of York. This calculated move resulted in the union of the roses into a single badge (the Tudor rose) after 1487. But the dowager duchess refused to give up the dynastic struggle. From 1486 onward the war was fought by diplomatic rather than military means. Margaret of York still wielded great authority in the Burgundian Netherlands and used it effectively against Henry VII. She could also count on the support of James IV of Scotland, who distrusted English power, and of the Scottish community in the Netherlands.¹⁸ In fact, many Scottish families had settled in Bruges, where there were more Scots than representatives of any other foreign nation.¹⁹

The duchess had a wealth of personal resources, which she spent lavishly, part on personal luxuries and part in the cultivation of her influence in religious and political matters. In her private patronage Margaret reveals a preference for serious subjects combined with discriminating artistic taste. The manuscripts in her library—Hughes has identified at least twenty-six that were once in her Mechelen collection²⁰—dealt primarily with moral and religious subjects.²¹ But they were of high artistic quality and were illuminated by such leading artists as Willem Vrelant, Simon Marmion, Dreux Jean, Lieven van Lathem, Loyset Liédet, and the Master of Margaret of York. The library contained illuminated breviaries, books of hours, and various sermons and moral discourses, such as *Traité de morale* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, MS 9272–76), *Benois sont les miséricordieux* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, MS 9296), Jean Gerson's *Le Miroir de l'humilité* (Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 240), and Gerson's *Oeuvres* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, MS 9305–06). Between 1474 and 1476 the duchess commissioned from the translator and scribe David Aubert and his workshop in Ghent a number of co-

dices, including Guy de Thurno's *La Vision de l'âme* (Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 31), *Traité moral et religieux* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 365), Laurent du Bois's *Somme le Roi* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, MS 9106), and Boethius's ever-popular *De la consolation de philosophie* (Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Gall. F.85). The duchess also owned a version of William Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, printed in late 1474 or early 1475 in Bruges, and a French translation of Quintus Curtius Rufus's *Historia Alexandri Magni*, done by the Portuguese scholar Vasco de Lucena, who was in the service of Margaret of York until 1477 (London, British Library, MS Royal 15 D IV). This representative selection of titles indicates that many of the duchess's manuscripts were devotional and further suggests that she had little interest in broader humanistic topics.

The public side of Margaret of York's patronage expresses a predilection for reformed Catholic devotion. This is recognized and well documented by such prominent contemporaries as the chronicler Wielant, who wrote in his *Antiquités de Flandre* that "Madame Marguerite d'York, veuve de Monseigneur Charles, avoit sa dévotion de practiquer la réforme des cloîtres jacobins, frères mineurs, et aultres, et fust cause qu'il en eust beaucoup réformés."²² Wielant's statement refers to Margaret's active involvement in, among other things, the reform of the Black Sisters of Saint Augustine (Leuven), the Premonstratensians in their rich abbey of Bonne Espérance, the Cistercians of L'Olive-sur-l'Hermitage (both near Binche), the Augustinian convent of Bethany (Mechelen), the Recollets (Mechelen), and the Victorines (Mechelen).

The duchess became a close ally of the reformed branch of the Franciscans, the Friars of the Observance (*Recollets*) and the affiliated sisters, the Coletine branch of the Poor Clares. In 1503 she was buried in the gray Franciscan robe in the convent of the Friars of the Observance in Mechelen.²³ Ascetic Franciscan reform, also known as "Observance," was propagated in the Netherlands by influential preachers such as St. Bernardino of Siena and St. John Capistrano, who was in Bruges in 1443. Margaret of York helped to finance the building of the convent and the church of the Observant Friars outside the Ezelpoort in Bruges, on land donated by Tommaso Portinari.²⁴ She also financed the reconstruction of the library of the Friars Minor in Mechelen in 1497.²⁵ Her patronage was not without political motives and included the donation of a wide variety of art objects, frequently marked with her

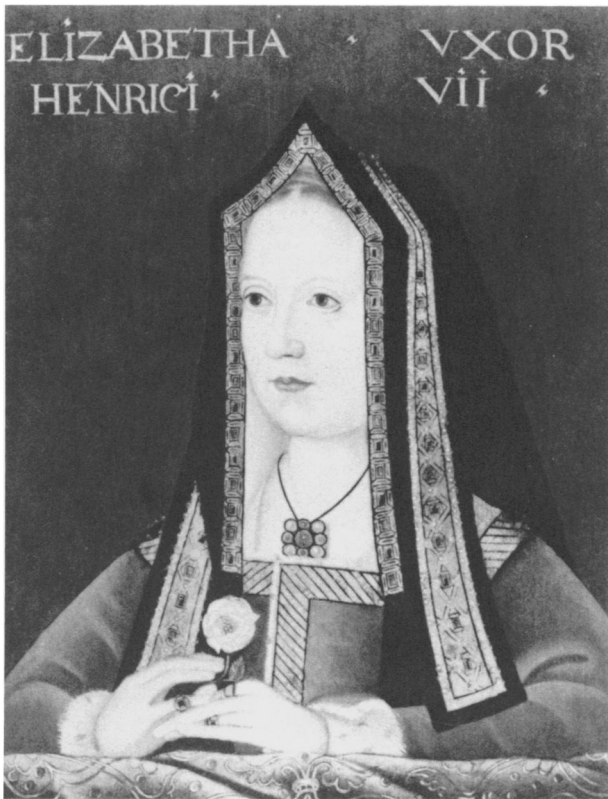


Figure 6. Sixteenth-century copy based on a contemporary portrait of Queen Elizabeth of York holding the white rose of York. London, National Portrait Gallery, Kings and Queens Series (photo: ACL, Brussels)



Figure 7. Pendant badge of the Chancellor of the Order of the Garter. London, British Museum (photo: British Museum)

insignia emblems or motto or both. She presented, for instance, a *Vie de Sainte Colette* (Nicolette Boylet, 1381–1447, foundress of the Colettines), illuminated with twenty-five miniatures, to the Franciscan convent of the Poor Clares in Ghent (Ghent, Convent of Clarisses, MS 8). At the end of the volume she wrote the inscription “Votre loyale Margarete dangleterre, Prayez pour elle & pour son salut.” One leaf (London, British Library, MS Arundel, fol. 9) is all that remains of a Gradual Margaret presented to the Grey Friars of Greenwich, who founded a religious house there in 1482.²⁶ A note on the verso reads “This book was the book called the Graile given unto the Graie Observant friars of Greenwich by Margaret Duchesse of Bourgoigne, sister of K. Edward 4. This book was made beyond the seas.”

Although Margaret’s artistic patronage was distinctly in the realm of austere devotionism, it was not exclusively limited to the Franciscan order. In 1494 she had built in Binche a convent of the Augustinian Black Sisters, the so-called Soeurettes, and was instrumental in the building of a Carthusian convent in Leuven. She also gave money and a variety of works of art, including manuscripts, reliquaries, stained-glass windows, and paintings to the churches of the Onze-Lieve-Vrouw in Bruges, St. Rombauts and the Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van Hanswijck in Mechelen, the Onze-Lieve-Vrouw in Dendermonde, St. Maarten in Aalst, and St. Ursmer in Binche. It is not difficult to imagine that the Getty Deposition could have been commissioned and donated in similar circumstances. That the duchess may have commissioned an austere devotional painting such as the Getty Deposition accords with her religious patronage and biography. The same preference is expressed in her own manuscripts, such as Nicolas Finet’s *Le Dyalogue de la Duchesse de Bourgogne à Iesu Christ* (London, British Library, MS Add. 7970), illuminated by the Master of Girart de Roussillon, in which Christ engages in a discussion with the duchess concerning true spirituality, or in the *Traité de morale* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, MS 9272–76), where Margaret is even shown in front of the dead Christ in the forthright style of the *Imitatio Christi*.

There is one instance where the Devotio Moderna Passion theme can be linked to both Margaret of York’s white rose, and specifically to the Magdalene wearing the Yorkist badge. In 1485, the year of the final Yorkist defeat of Bosworth, Margaret of York founded in Mons (Hainaut) a religious community called the Filles des Madeleine, the Daughters of the Magdalene.²⁷ She took great personal interest in this

newly constituted community, which was exclusively devoted to rescuing young women from prostitution. The duchess not only made her personal property and money available, but she also endowed the convent with annual revenues and had Bishop Henri van Berghen draft the rules of observance. Whether the duchess or another Yorkist benefactor actually donated the Getty Deposition to these Daughters of the Magdalene in Mons is not documented. But the depiction of Mary Magdalene wearing a Yorkist badge in a Deposition scene must have evoked a particular response in the reformist milieu of the Daughters of the Magdalene or in any comparable setting.

Thus the image may be considered designed to evoke the spectator's reaction by being both evocative and informative, by offering both general and specific clues. The emotional climate surrounding the death of Christ involves less information than understanding. It involves a capacity to generalize and empathize, and is, as such, accessible to most spectators, past and present. But the Magdalene with the Yorkist white rose imparts very specific information, relating to a very particular political-religious context, and requires specific prior knowledge from the spectator, past and present, to be intelligible. To such a knowledgeable audience the sign of the rose constitutes a subtle, yet perpetual, reminder of Margaret of York's protection of a community devoted to the Magdalene. Other references, insignia, and inscriptions may have been found on the original frame, but it is now lost. In any event, the internal structure of the image and its assumed contextual response make the proposed scenario, or a comparable one, quite plausible. This further underscores the importance of Yorkist patronage and its response, both of which need further interdisciplinary study as part of a greater effort to negotiate the historical context of early Netherlandish art.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The many inspiring dialogues I had with Guy Bauman in January 1988 were instrumental in completing this research, conducted in 1986. I would also like to thank Ann Wharton, Walter S. Gibson, Dirk de Vos, Maximiliaan P. J. Martens, Antoine de Schryver, and George Goldner and his staff for their most valuable help and comments.

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4. See Frits Lugt, *Inventaire général des écoles du nord: Maîtres des anciens Pays-Bas nés avant 1550* (Paris, 1968) pp. 9–10, no. 16; and Micheline Sonkes, *Dessins du XVe siècle: Groupe Van der Weyden in The Flemish Primitives, III: Contributions à l'étude des primitifs flamands* (Brussels, 1969) pp. 134–139, no. C. 23, pl. xxix.
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6. Similar ideas are expressed by Michael Bockemühl, *Die Wirklichkeit des Bildes—Bildrezeption als Bildproduktion: Rothko, Newman, Rembrandt, Raphael* (Stuttgart, 1983); Wolfgang Kemp, ed., *Der Betrachter ist im Bild: Kunstwissenschaft und Rezeptionästhetik* (Cologne, 1985).
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8. *Bouttel's Heraldry*, rev. by J. P. Brooke-Little (London/New York, 1970) pp. 87–88.
9. R. Strong, *National Portrait Gallery Kings and Queens Series, 1485–1603: The Tudor House* (London, 1967) p. 3; and Ralph A. Griffiths and Roger S. Thomas, *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty* (New York, 1985) p. 104. For the York and Lancaster badges, see A. C. Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (London, 1985) pp. 202–203.
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22. Muriel J. Hughes, "The Library of Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy," *The Private Library*, 3rd ser., 7/2 (1984) pp. 53–78.
23. Hughes, "Margaret of York," p. 16.
24. V. Duclos, *Bruges: histoire et souvenirs* (Bruges, 1910) p. 542.
25. R. Tambuyser, "Margareta van York and Mechelen," *Handelingen van de koninklijke kring voor oudheidkunde: Letteren en kunst van Mechelen* 56 (1952) p. 216.
26. Dogaer, "Margaretha bibliofole," pp. 107, 110.
27. Hommel, *La duchesse Junon*, p. 323.

Baldung Grien's Grünen Wörth Altarpiece and Devotion to the Two St. Johns

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WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK of the 1986 exhibition on the art of Nuremberg,¹ Guy Bauman was able to present together, for the first time in two centuries, the three panels of the altarpiece that Hans Baldung Grien painted in 1511 for the commandery of Grünen Wörth in Strasbourg (Figure 1). Surrounding *The Mass of St. Gregory* from the Cleveland Museum (Figure 3),² the left wing, now at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.,³ depicts *St. Anne with the Christ Child, the Virgin, and St. John the Baptist* (Figure 2), and the right wing, a recent acquisition of the Metropolitan Museum (1983), pictures John the Evangelist on Patmos (Figure 4).⁴

The history of Grünen Wörth explains the dismantling of the altarpiece and the difficulties of its reconstruction. In 1371 the Hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem, or Johannites, established themselves in the old monastery of the Trinity at Grünen Wörth, also called l'Île-Verte, *Viridis Insulae*, where they developed a prestigious commandery. They were expelled, however, in 1633, as it became necessary to strengthen city fortifications at that site. In 1687 they finally found a new home in the old monastery of St. Mark; in 1789 the Revolution put an end to their community and brought about the dispersion of their wealth.⁵

The reconstruction of the Baldung altarpiece—which was dismantled for the first time in 1633, put into storage for half a century, and then dismantled after the end of the eighteenth century—is a result of recent research. The two lateral panels were published in 1934 by Pariset,⁶ who dated them to about 1510–11. In 1951 Carl Koch dated *The Mass of St. Gregory* to 1511 and identified the Johannite represented on the right as Erhart König (or Kienig), Commander of Grünen Wörth from 1504 until his death on November 3, 1511.⁷ The three panels were

shown as two separate entities at the 1959 Baldung exhibition in Karlsruhe; the two St. Johns were thought to be the wings of a triptych with a missing, probably sculpted, central piece.⁸

In 1977 Gert von der Osten revealed that the three panels were mentioned consecutively, without any possibility of error, in the 1741 inventory of the commandery's possessions.⁹ He thus demonstrated that together they constituted the altarpiece for which Baldung received two payments from Grünen Wörth in 1511; elements of style, the general coherence of the composition, the use of identical support and vertical height for the three panels, and analogies in the gilding further confirmed the reconstruction suggested by archival documents.¹⁰ The combined width of the two lateral panels actually greatly exceeds that of *The Mass of St. Gregory* and makes it impossible to fold them back over the central panel, but we know that the backs of these panels were not painted; thus, it was not a triptych with movable wings. It has been thought to be either an antependium, with its two wings placed against the sides of the altar, or more probably a triptych with stationary wings.¹¹ The four personages represented at the left in *The Mass of St. Gregory* have also been identified as most likely Raymundus Perault, cardinal legate for all Germany; Wilhelm III von Honstein, bishop of Strasbourg; and more hypothetically Hieronymus Baldung, protonotary apostolic, and, behind him, his brother Hans Baldung, episcopal procurator of Strasbourg. The last two were actually members of the artist's family.¹²

Certain elements are still unknown. For example, the exact location of this altarpiece in the commandery could not be determined.¹³ The iconography of the ensemble also raises questions, and comparisons with similar compositions clarify only some aspects. We must recognize that on the left wing, the group of *Anna Selbdritt* does not truly relate to the two woodcuts that Baldung executed at the same time.¹⁴ The composition used on the right wing was

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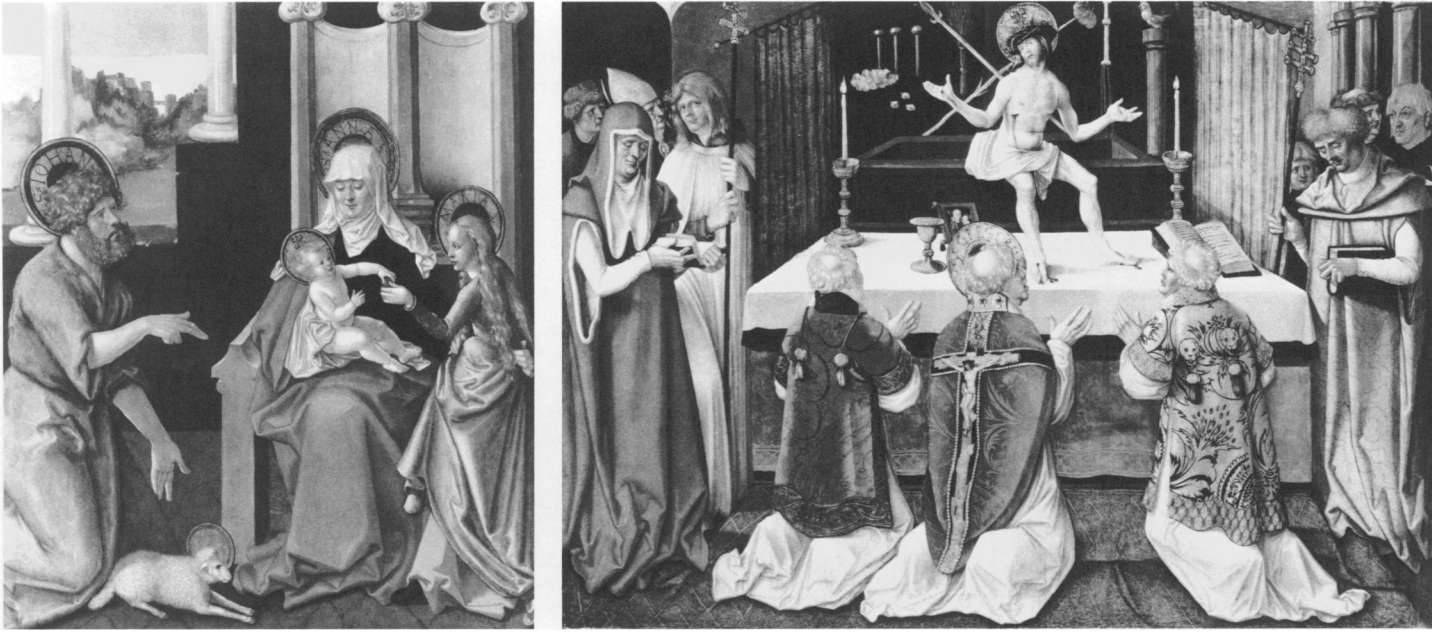


Figure 1. Hans Baldung Grien (c. 1484–1545), Grünen Wörth Altarpiece, 1511. Photographic assemblage of the panels in Washington, Cleveland, and New York

repeated in a woodcut dated to 1513.¹⁵ In *The Mass of St. Gregory* the composition is very different from that of the woodcuts made by Baldung in 1511 and 1519, even if the detail of the *Man of Sorrows* is close in the work of 1511.¹⁶ No comparison can help explain the general composition of the altarpiece, which appears to be unique in associating the two St. Johns with *The Mass of St. Gregory*.¹⁷

Nevertheless, a general eucharistic meaning is clearly conveyed, as well as an emphasis on the role of the Virgin Mary, who is also represented on the altar of the central panel,¹⁸ in the story of the Redemption.¹⁹ But until now the parallel between the two St. Johns has not been considered as a major aspect of the altarpiece's iconography. In each lateral panel the determining element has been thought to be their relation to the Virgin and Child. The presence of the two St. Johns seems justified by the fact that the Evangelist would normally accompany John the Baptist, patron of the order,²⁰ or else because one of the people depicted, such as Hans Baldung, had one of the two St. Johns as his patron.²¹

Without questioning the previous statements regarding the iconographic unity of the altarpiece and its eucharistic symbolism, I would like to demonstrate that the theme of the two St. Johns is an absolutely essential element in this work, one that

allows us to locate the altarpiece within an old iconographic tradition. This tradition was not only strongly felt in the Rhineland at the end of the Middle Ages, but it also constituted one of the major axes of religious life in the commandery of Grünen Wörth. As a whole, the texts used for the devotional and mystical life of this institution at l'Île-Verte have allowed us to ascribe a central position within the commandery to the Baldung altarpiece.

I can only briefly mention in this article the history of the theme of the two St. Johns in the art and thought of the Middle Ages.²² It appeared very precisely in the Roman pontifical milieu, at the Lateran and in the Constantinian Basilica of the Vatican from the fifth to the seventh century. During the following years, it survived only in lesser examples, such as the well-known plan of St. Gall. Finally, it was greatly revived in the twelfth century, particularly in the illustration of the *Speculum Virginum*. The major development of this iconography took place between the middle of the thirteenth and the middle of the fourteenth century. While the two St. Johns were most often placed on both sides of a central element that they surrounded symmetrically according to a formula still in use in the Renaissance, two new aspects were introduced: the parallel lives and the Crucifixions with the two St. Johns in attendance. Numerous parallel cycles dedicated to the



two saints' legends abound in French stained glass of the thirteenth century, but I can also mention Giotto's frescoes at the Peruzzi Chapel at Santa Croce in Florence, about 1310–16, or those of the St. John Chapel in the Palace of the Popes in Avignon, by Matteo Giovannetti, about 1346–48. Crucifixions with the two St. Johns appeared only at the beginning of the fourteenth century, but were found in great numbers until the end of the Middle Ages.

Works combining the two St. Johns by themselves existed at a later date, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The traditional and more frequent version of the theme did not present a double image but a triple one: the two St. Johns added to a third element that they surround. Even in the case of the Peruzzi Chapel, one of the key elements of the general composition is the medallion painted on top of the arch on the east wall, combining but also separating the walls dedicated to each of the two saints and representing the sacrifice of the Lamb on the altar. On the stained-glass windows of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, the same can be said of the Passion, which forms the symmetrical axis of the parallel lives.

Multiple forms were used to convey the symbolism of the theme of the two St. Johns, although it developed in two major directions. When we con-

sider the most frequent central element of this triple iconography across time, either Christ or the Virgin and Child, the texts and works combined reveal a symbolism that one could call "pseudotypologic" or of the two Testaments. Opposite John the Baptist, the last of the prophets at the close of the Old Testament, stands John the Evangelist, the most beloved disciple, the man to whom Christ entrusted his mother, as Rupert de Deutz, among others, described in a masterly fashion: "Ecce quomodo sibi consonant maximae tubae duorum Testamentorum: Hic Joannes praecipuus Evangelistarum; et ille alius Joannes maximus prophetarum. . . . Hic Evangelista in novi Testamenti capite; ille consistens velut in extremo veteris instrumentis margine."²³ The general composition of the Grünen Wörth altarpiece also played on this opposition: at both ends, John the Baptist, kneeling, and John the Evangelist, seated, were meant to introduce and conclude the composition. Through their body alignment, two symmetrical diagonals were created, which in turn emphasized the central, dominant figure—Christ on the altar.

When we no longer consider the central element grouped with the two St. Johns across time, but focus instead on Christ's nature as a sacrificed being, the theme then reaches a eucharistic meaning. The two St. Johns can be seen as the two witnesses of the Lamb. The Baptist, who announced the Lamb of the Gospel, finds his counterpart in the Evangelist, who revealed the Lamb of the Apocalypse. In the images, the two saints are often positioned symmetrically vis-à-vis the figure of the Lamb, and the texts are clear in stating that the Lamb presented by John the Baptist is the same as the one described by the Evangelist in the Apocalypse.²⁴ We can note that a woodcut illustrating an incunabulum from Cologne dated to 1498 presents the two St. Johns surrounding *Anna Selbdritt* in an association analogous to that of the Grünen Wörth altarpiece (Figure 5). In fact, this woodcut illustrates a book of sermons published by Albert le Grand on the Eucharist.²⁵ This insistence on the eucharistic symbolism of the two St. Johns is a further confirmation of our interpretation of the altarpiece.

The importance given to the theme of the two St. Johns in the art and religious life of the Rhine Valley can help us understand the role it played at Grünen Wörth. This theme can be found in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries on the St. Gall portal of the Basel Cathedral, on the stained-glass windows of the north side of the Strasbourg Cathedral, and in the sculptures of the Lamb portal and the porch



Figure 2. Left wing of Figure 1: *St. Anne, with the Christ Child, the Virgin, and St. John the Baptist*. Tempera and oil on wood, 89 × 77.5 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection (photo: National Gallery of Art)

of the Freiburg im Breisgau Cathedral. It was developed in the fourteenth century on the Bern antependium and on the stained-glass windows of Niederhaslach.²⁶ In the fifteenth century, the two St. Johns were associated on the nearby altarpieces of Oberweier, Lautenbach, and Blaubeuren, among other works, but they also played an important part in devotional life. A chapel dedicated to John the Baptist and John the Evangelist has been documented in Strasbourg in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²⁷ The important role of these two saints in the Dominican devotion resulted in an extreme case that was geographically close: the Dominican nunnery of Katharinenthal in Thurgau. In the fourteenth century the nuns gave the two saints a prominent position in their art, before the convent was torn apart by a violent internal conflict opposing the “Baptisterinnen” and the “Evangelisterrinnen,” with each camp defending its favorite St. John, an event known to the Alsatian monasteries.²⁸

With which faction can we put the commandery of the Hospitallers of St. John at Grünen Wörth vis-

à-vis the themes that prevailed in the Upper Rhine area? At the beginning of the sixteenth century, it was a very prestigious place, often visited by the aristocratic and intellectual elite of Strasbourg. The emperor Maximilian, who confirmed the privileges of Grünen Wörth in 1495, stayed there seven times between 1496 and 1507.²⁹ During the years 1524 to 1529, when the city slowly embraced the Reformation, an unbreakable bond with the Catholic faith characterized Grünen Wörth.³⁰ But the religious life of the commandery can be best understood in the light of its particular history.

This institution was not founded by the Hospitallers in their usual manner, but it was given to them at the end of the fourteenth century by Rulman Merswin, a Strasbourg patrician, who based the religious life at Grünen Wörth on the devotional and mystical themes developed by the Friends of God. Rulman Merswin, born in 1307 into a powerful and ambitious family, became an important banker before turning to a spiritual life between 1347 and 1352. Although Tauler was his confessor for a time,

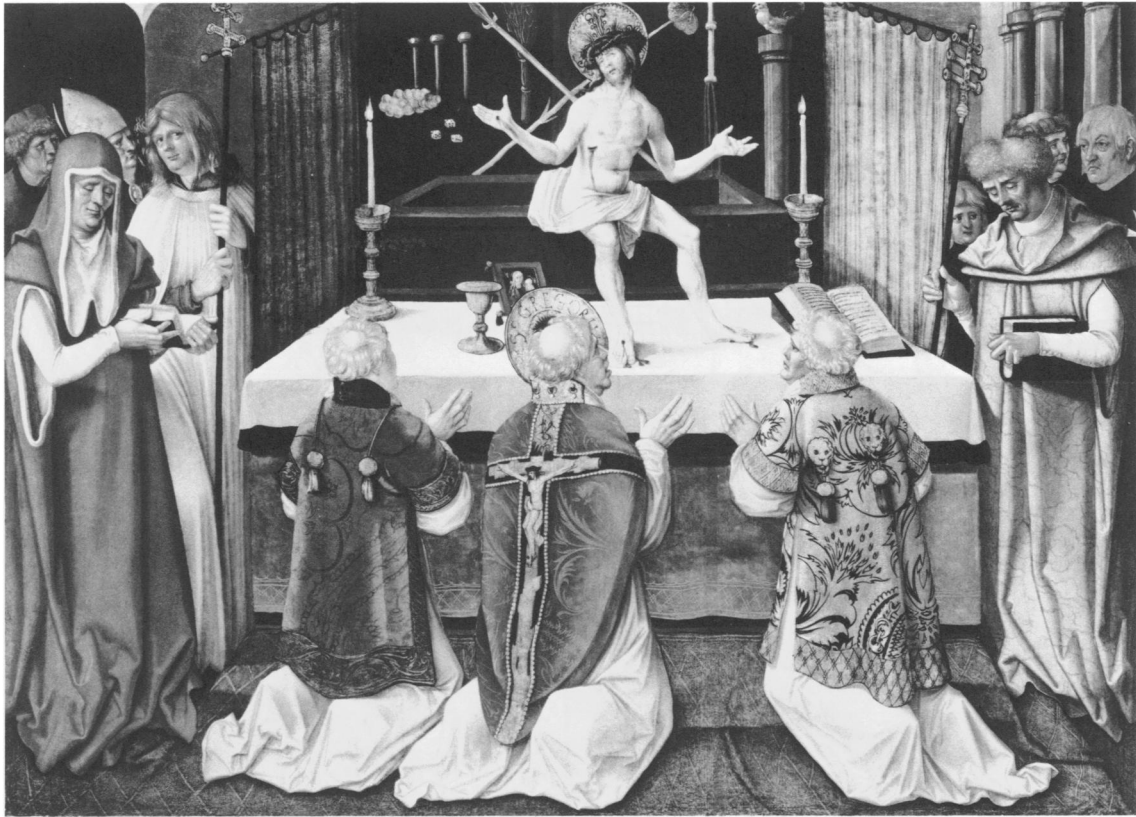


Figure 3. Central section of Figure 1: *The Mass of St. Gregory*. Tempera and oil on wood, 89.2 × 124.8 cm. Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of the Hanna Fund (photo: Cleveland Museum of Art)

Figure 4. Right wing of Figure 1: *St. John on Patmos*. Tempera and oil on wood, overall: 89.5 × 76.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers, Fletcher, Victor Wilbour Memorial, The Alfred N. Punnett Endowment and Marquand Funds; The Vincent Astor Foundation, The Dillon Fund, The Charles Engelhard Foundation, Lawrence A. Fleischman, Mrs. Henry J. Heinz II, The Willard T. C. Johnson Foundation, Inc., Reliance Group Holdings, Inc., Baron H. H. Thyssen-Bornemisza and Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gifts; Joseph Pulitzer Bequest; John Stewart Kennedy, Marquand and Rogers Funds, by exchange; Thatcher M. Adams, George A. Hearn and Hugo Reisinger Gifts, by exchange; Bequests of Lillian S. Timken, Josephine Bieber, Millie Bruhl Fredrick and Julia Alwine Spies, by exchange; Gifts of Henry W. Cannon, J. Pierpont Morgan, Henry G. Marquand, Marquand Collection, Mrs. William Wheeler Smith and George A. Hearn, by exchange, 1983, 1983.451





Figure 5. *St. Anne, The Virgin and Child Between the Two St. Johns*. Woodcut. Frontispiece of Albert le Grand, *De Eucharistiae sacramento sermones XXXII* (Cologne, 1498)

Merswin's association was mostly with the mystical groups of the Friends of God, which were very active in the Rhineland in the fourteenth century. Besides his own texts, Merswin considered his correspondence with the Friend of God of the Oberland essential, as well as the works that he attributed to this mysterious character.³¹ Today it is more or less agreed that the Friend of God of the Oberland is a literary creation, invented either by Merswin or by his secretary, Nicolas de Louvain, and that there is a lack of originality in the religious thinking offered as a whole in those texts. However, they constitute an extensive ensemble on which the religious life of the commandery of Grünen Wörth was founded.

Merswin himself founded the commandery, and he organized it on very precise grounds, designed to prevent all deviations from the spiritual choices of the founder. In 1366, in order to carry out his wish to retire from the world, Merswin bought (from the Benedictines of Altorf) the old and almost ruined monastery of the Trinity on the site of Grünen Wörth. His first attempt to establish secular priests there did not prove satisfactory, and in 1371 Merswin entrusted the monastery to the Hospitalers of St. John of Jerusalem, who thus added this commandery to the other institutions that they already possessed in Alsace. But Merswin did not let them manage Grünen Wörth. The contract stipulated that three secular administrators or trustees (*Pfle-*

ger), invested with important powers in all areas, would have a role to play. Rulman and his brother Jean Merswin were two of the first three trustees, and their successors were chosen mostly from influential Strasbourg patricians, who were concerned with keeping alive the memory of the founder and his ideals.

Following the death of his wife in 1371, Rulman Merswin lived at Grünen Wörth. He built a new church parallel to the old church of the Trinity in 1378, and from 1380 until his death in 1382 he retired to his cell, after rewriting the texts he wanted left to the community.³² This inheritance was not lost: Nicolas de Louvain, Merswin's former secretary, became a Johannite and took care of the writings until his own death in 1402, while the Johannites continued to collect books for their library and thus formed the most important collection in Strasbourg specializing in ascetic and mystical literature.³³

In fact, we find that the devotion to the two St. Johns was central in the texts left by Merswin and later handed down to us through the Hospitalers of Grünen Wörth. In a short treatise, for example, a prayer is addressed to "Maria gnodenriche . . . muter . . . und lieber min getruwer gnediger vatter sant Johans Baptist, lieber herre sancte Johans Ewangelist, und liebe . . . Maria Magdalena und alle engele und heiligen. . ."³⁴ The expression

“the two St. Johns” is even used in a letter dated 1377: “der zweier löbelichen heiligen sante Johansen.”³⁵ But most often the two St. Johns are called “princes of the sky” and are associated with the Trinity, the Virgin Mary, and all angels. We find such an example in the *Second mémorial latin*: “die almechtige ewige heilige trivalentikeit, Maria die wurdige muter gottes, die hohen himelfursten sancte Johans Baptist und sancte Johans Ewangelist und alle lieben engele, die löbelichen gnodenrichen patronen und erlichen husherren. . . .”³⁶ An identical formula also appears in the *Livre épistolaire*, in the *Mémorial augmenté*, and twice in the *Mémorial des tuteurs*.³⁷ The two St. Johns, the “lofty and beloved princes of the sky,” are thus included in the small group of the commandery’s patrons: “Die patronen zu dem Grünenwerde sint och drie: die heilige drivalentikeit, das heilige sacramente und die zwene sante Johannse, der Baptist und der Ewangelist.”³⁸ This patronage was of miraculous origin since, in regard to the commandery, we read: “domus est renovata . . . in honore sanctae Trinitatis et individuae Unitatis et sanctae Mariae, coelestis reginae, sancti Johannis Baptistae et sancti Johannis Evangelistae, sancti Michaelis et omnium angelorum, qui in magnis miraculis et . . . testimoniis et signis huius templum patroni facti sunt.”³⁹

While the proper manner to carry out an enlargement of the church was investigated and discussed at the commandery,⁴⁰ a letter from the Friend of God to Merswin dated August 1, 1377, reported a dream of his, which occurred on the night of July 25. In this dream a heavenly apparition would have pointed out to him the respect due to the old church of the Trinity and the central position that the two St. Johns should have in the new building: “der lieben grossen heiligen den beden sante Johannesen, und den selben nuwen fronalter, den man do machende wurt, und den kor und daz nuwe gebuweze alles miteinander wihen in ere der lieben grossen heiligen, der bede sante Johannese.”⁴¹

The texts of Grünen Wörth insist on the angel’s revelation regarding the importance of the two St. Johns in the new close choir that was to be built:

Die visione

Der engel dem gottes frunde tut offenbor,
Wie man buwen sol den beslossen kor
und wihen in beder sant Johans ere
Noch der heiligen trivalentikeit lere. . . .⁴²

The text describing the consecration of the new church, on October 28, 1378, seven years after the

establishment of the Hospitalers, is also very explicit: “Item post hoc annis septem reolutis aedificabatur chorus cum arcubus et ecclesia ante chorum, quae etiam cum choro est consecrata in laude et honore sanctorum patronorum praescriptorum scilicet s. Johannis Baptistae et sancti Johannis Evangelistae . . . anno domini 1378. Etiam omnia altari fuerunt renovata et alio modi posita et situata et quodlibet de novo alia vice consecratum excepto altari sanctae Trinitatis et individuae Unitatis, quod adhuc stat in suo veteri loco immutatum et non a loco transpositum seu translatum.”⁴³

Jean Rott’s recent and essential contributions on the ancient topography of the commandery⁴⁴ help us to understand these texts. In the patronage mentioned, the reference to “St. Michael and all angels” corresponds to the sacristy that contained an altar of the angels, which was also called St. Michael’s church.⁴⁵ If we leave out the chapel of the hospital founded in 1381 by Conrad zu der Megede, dedicated to the Holy Sacrament and to St. Elizabeth of Hungary,⁴⁶ the churches form two parallel naves: the old one, on the south side, dedicated to the Trinity and the new one, dedicated in 1378, with the two St. Johns, the high and beloved princes of the sky, as patrons.

In a document from Grünen Wörth such as this one, for example:

Die Patronen

Die heilg trivalentikeit und Maria gottes muter
Sant Johans Baptist und Ewangelist vil guter
Sint dez Grünenwerde oberste patronen⁴⁷

If we refer the evocation of the Trinity to the old nave, as is indeed necessary, we find in the text an exact definition of both the major devotions of the new church and the iconographic program of the Baldung altarpiece. In fact, the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, John the Baptist, and John the Evangelist are precisely the essential figures of this altarpiece, in which the St. Johns are painted on the wings, whereas the Virgin Mary appears with her Child three times: on each of the lateral panels and on the central panel, where she is at last dominated by the adult Christ as the Man of Sorrows.

In another location the altarpiece that von der Osten reconstructed would be perfectly coherent and would possess the iconographic unity and the eucharistic meaning already mentioned. However, its Grünen Wörth provenance further strengthens its unity, as its program is literally dedicated to the major patrons of the commandery. The presence of

the two St. Johns corresponds to the texts in such a way that it further confirms the provenance of both lateral panels, whereas that of the central panel was already established by the sole figure of the Johannite.

Considering that in 1378 the new church of the commandery was explicitly dedicated to the two St. Johns, and that they were the patrons of Grünen Wörth, along with the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, could we go further and hypothesize that the Baldung altarpiece was executed for the high altar? This would not be contradicted by documents, since the 1495 and 1686 listings for the altars (the document of 1686 describing the condition in 1633) suggest that the new high altar for the 1378 church was dedicated to John the Evangelist, who would certainly accompany the Baptist, who, although not mentioned himself, had a right to be represented in the choir as a patron of the order.⁴⁸ However, von der Osten has pointed out that the small dimensions of the Baldung altarpiece make it improbable that it was placed on the altar of a church, and thus it was more likely placed on the altar of a sacristy or a private chapel within the commandery.⁴⁹ This hypothesis is in complete agreement with the iconography of the altarpiece, which emphasizes both the major patron saints of the institution, the celebration of the Mass, and the elite members of Strasbourg society who came to share instances of liturgical life at Grünen Wörth with the commander represented on the altarpiece.

We could also ask whether Merswin alone was responsible for choosing the patronage of the two St. Johns at Grünen Wörth or if we should link it to the Hospitalers' fundamental interest in John the Baptist. It may be that Merswin's predilection for these two saints was naturally encouraged by the newcomers. However, it is difficult to determine, because we cannot know which part of the texts was written before 1371, the date of the installation of the Johannites. In either case, this devotion was well integrated within the influences of its time. Chiquot underlined the importance of works by Thomas de Chantimpré, Jacobus de Voragine, and César de Heisterbach in Merswin's spiritual training.⁵⁰ The story of the two theologians fighting to decide which of the two St. Johns was superior to the other, before the saints intervened and led them to agree, is edifyingly developed in those authors' works.⁵¹ We know beyond doubt that Merswin was in contact with the Alsatian Dominican nunneries, which were well aware of the conflict tearing Katharinenthal apart in the name of the two St. Johns⁵²: two of

Merswin's sisters were prioresses at St.-Mark in Strasbourg.⁵³ Another element, albeit indirect, reveals a contemporary tendency: several manuscripts from the early fifteenth century, including the *Belles Heures de Jean, Duc de Berry* (Figure 6), organized the heavenly court around the dominant figures of the two St. Johns, the angels, the Trinity, and the Virgin Mary,⁵⁴ which is exactly the association that we have noted in the texts left by Merswin and the Friend of God of the Oberland. Even the expression of the two princes of the sky, constantly used by Merswin to describe the two St. Johns, is, beyond the idea of a simple parallel, highly revealing of the movement that brought the two saints together and finally made them become companions. In the fifteenth century many works abandoned the rigid structure of the two symmetrical saints surrounding a third element and reunited them as two brothers, in an atmosphere of intimate friendship.⁵⁵

It may be that the strongly asserted devotion to the Virgin Mary and Child and to the two St. Johns that characterized Grünen Wörth at the end of the fourteenth century was still in force around 1510. Two series of events confirm that it was. First, the structure established by Merswin proved efficacious because the Hospitalers carefully kept the bulk of his founding texts throughout their history while at the same time developing the library along the lines of its initial intent. Second, we have the evidence found by Jean Rott regarding the state of Grünen Wörth at the beginning of the seventeenth century. We also have information from the year 1686 that four stone statues executed about 1455 remained, until 1633, in the choir of the church built by Merswin.⁵⁶ These were statues of Christ, the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, and John the Evangelist. That four statues corresponding exactly to the patronage already mentioned were placed in the choir in the middle of the fifteenth century and were left there as long as the Hospitalers stayed at Grünen Wörth is a proof that this patronage had not been questioned after Merswin's death. Other works bring further evidence of it, such as the cycle of mural paintings in the main room dedicated to the life of John the Evangelist in 1505,⁵⁷ and the painting representing the Virgin Mary and the two St. Johns documented and briefly described in the 1741 inventory.⁵⁸

After Merswin's death, the commandery not only remained faithful to the patronage of the two St. Johns but at times also contributed to its propagation, as is the case for the Tempelhof of Bergheim. In 1312, when their order was suppressed, this Al-



Figure 6. Pol de Limbourg, *The Heavenly Court*, 1405–8, *The Belles Heures of Jean, Duc de Berry*, fol. 218. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1954, 54.1.1

satian institution of Knights Templars became a commandery of the Hospitalers of St. John under the commandery in Sélestat. In 1388 it came into the possession of the commandery at Grünen Wörth, and its ties of dependence were still confirmed in 1521.⁵⁹ But of the three altarpieces originating from the Tempelhof of Bergheim and now in the Unterlinden Museum in Colmar, one, painted by Jost Haller about 1445–50,⁶⁰ associates John the Baptist with St. George, patron of this institution;

the other two present the two St. Johns together. The so-called ornaments of Bergheim (Figures 7, 8), major works in the art of Alsace dated about 1420, form two narrow panels painted with black outlines against a gold background.⁶¹ They tie the two St. Johns to ten scenes of a christological cycle in which the figure of John the Baptist concludes the left wing after the *Crucifixion*, while that of John the Evangelist introduces the right wing, from the *Resurrection* to the *Last Judgment*. The composition



Figure 7. *The Life of Christ with the Two St. Johns*, left wing of the Bergheim Altarpiece. Alsace, ca. 1420. Colmar, Musée d'Unterlinden (photo: Octave Zimmermann)



Figure 9. Detail of Figures 7, 8. The two St. Johns surround a now-missing central part (photo: Octave Zimmermann)

thus links the Baptist to the earthly life of Christ and the Evangelist to his glorious life—a symbolism that emphasizes the shifting of the world into a new age. The two saints are symmetrically bent toward a now-missing central element (Figure 9), and their position suggests that these two panels were surrounding a lost piece, possibly a Virgin with Child. The third altarpiece, when open, presents an ensemble of bas-reliefs sculpted by Veit Wagner about 1515⁶² and, when closed, a painting from the first

half of the sixteenth century in which the two St. Johns are joined (Figure 10).⁶³ The importance given by the Hospitalers of Grünen Wörth to the devotion to the two St. Johns can explain their presence on these altarpieces, which were among the Hospitalers' possessions at Bergheim.

I also believe that, under the influence of Grünen Wörth, Geiler de Kaysersberg (the famous preacher at the Strasbourg Cathedral who died in 1510) developed a strong personal devotion to the two St.



Figure 8. *The Life of Christ with the Two St. Johns*, right wing of the Bergheim Altarpiece (photo: Octave Zimmermann)



Figure 10. Exterior sides of the wings of the Bergheim Altarpiece, Alsace, second quarter of 16th century. Colmar, Musée d'Unterlinden (photo: Octave Zimmermann)

Johns. We know that Geiler was a very good friend of the commandery. He often visited Grünen Wörth and preached there in 1505 before the emperor Maximilian. The Hospitalers considered him an “intimus amicus, promotor et pater huius domus,” and erected a funerary monument to his memory on their premises.⁶⁴ In a poem written by his friend Pierre Schott, we learn that the patron saints of Geiler were John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, and John Chrysostom.⁶⁵ And Hans Hammer had

planned to integrate the related statues of the two St. Johns into the cathedral pulpit that he had made for Geiler in 1485.⁶⁶

Let us consider if the author of the Grünen Wörth altarpiece, Baldung, had other contacts with the theme of the two St. Johns or if he was limited to the execution of this particular work. We know for certain that Baldung kept lasting relations with Grünen Wörth. He first portrayed the sixth commander, Erhart Kienig, on the 1511 altarpiece, and



Figure 11. Hans Baldung Grien, *The Two St. Johns*, ca. 1517–19. England, private collection

then painted the portraits of the seventh commander, Balthasar Gerhardi, in 1528⁶⁷ and of the eighth commander, Gregorius Beit, in 1534.⁶⁸ The Rhodes drawings, dated shortly after 1522, are very likely another commission from the Hospitalers.⁶⁹ In fact, Baldung kept in constant contact with the Johannites. Of course, the two St. Johns on the wings of the Schnewlin altarpiece, executed about 1515–16 in Freiburg im Breisgau by Baldung's workshop,⁷⁰ were partly repeating the composition of the Grünen Wörth panels. But the presence of the two St. Johns in the *Crucifixion* that Baldung painted in 1512 is not truly specific,⁷¹ and the saints are not really placed in parallel positions comparable to those in the Isenheim Altarpiece painted by Grunewald about 1512–16.

However, another drawing by Baldung reveals a direct influence from Grünen Wörth. A stained-glass window project (Figure 11) carried out by Baldung about 1517–19 and then dated 1520 by the master glassmaker associated the two St. Johns.⁷²

The arms represented are not, as it has been said before, those of the Bock family but the very closely related arms of the Böcklin or Böcklin of Böcklin-sau family, another important name in the Strasbourg aristocracy.⁷³ Indeed, the Böcklin family played a prominent role among the trustees of Grünen Wörth at the beginning of the sixteenth century: they provided three successive trustees—Wilhelm Böcklin in 1492 and 1500, Balthasar Böcklin in 1507, and Ludwig Böcklin in 1511 and 1525—which constitutes a unique case in history.⁷⁴ This drawing by Baldung must be either the model of a small stained-glass window to be donated to the commandery or, more likely, a stained-glass window project designed for a member of the Böcklin family for his own house and alluding to the major devotion of a prestigious religious institution that he was proud to administer.⁷⁵

In conclusion, the presence of the two St. Johns on the altarpiece painted by Baldung for the commandery of Grünen Wörth in 1511 cannot be ex-

plained simply because John the Evangelist would normally accompany John the Baptist as a complement or an annex, or because one of the personages reproduced on the altarpiece was named John.⁷⁶ Their presence can be understood only in the light of the devotional movement started by the founder, Merswin, and kept alive by both the Hospitalers and the secular patricians who were the trustees of this institution. The central position thus given to the two high and beloved princes of the sky, the two St. Johns, was reaffirmed in the new church dedicated to them in 1378. Further, they were linked to the Trinity, which reigned over the old monastery, and to the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, together all general patrons of the institution. While historical, material, and stylistic data, as well as dating and provenance from a prestigious religious institution, combine to make possible the reconstruction of this altarpiece, the analysis of the devotions further confirms it. In turn, this allows us to place the altarpiece within the religious life of the commandery and gives a new resonance to the iconographic unity and the eucharistic symbolism it displays.

Translated from the French by Chantal Combes

NOTES

AdBR—Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin at Strasbourg
AMS—Archives Municipales of Strasbourg
BNUS—Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg

1. MMA, *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg 1300–1550*, exh. cat. (New York, 1986) no. 179, pp. 375–379, notice by Guy Bauman. The idea of this article originated in conversations with Guy Bauman at the time of the exhibition about the possibilities of extending to Grünen Wörth my previous research on the theme of the two St. Johns.

2. The Cleveland Museum of Art, 52.112; 89.2 × 124.7 cm. *The Cleveland Museum of Art catalogue of Paintings. III. European Paintings of the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries* (Cleveland, 1982) no. 65, pp. 160–162; Gert von der Osten, *Hans Baldung Grien: Gemälde und Dokumente* (Berlin, 1983) no. 13, pp. 70–74.

3. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1961.9.62; 89 × 77.5 cm; Colin Eisler, *Complete Catalogue of the Samuel H. Kress Collection. Paintings, European Schools Excluding Italian* (Oxford, 1977) pp. 29–30; von der Osten, *Hans Baldung Grien*, no. 12, pp. 66–69.

4. New York, MMA, 1983.451; 89.5 × 76.8 cm; von der Osten, *Hans Baldung Grien*, no. 12, pp. 66–69.

5. Philippe André Grandidier, *Nouvelles oeuvres inédites* (Colmar, 1900) V, pp. 25–68; Marguerite Jouanny, "Les Hospitaliers

en Basse-Alsace de 1217 à 1529, suivi du nécrologe de la commanderie de Saint-Jean à Strasbourg," diss., École nationale des Chartes, Paris, 1931; Médard Barth, *Handbuch der elsässischen Kirchen im Mittelalter* (Strasbourg, 1960) cols. 1393–1397; Jean Rott, "La commanderie Saint-Jean en l'Île-verte à Strasbourg et ses trésors artistiques avant 1633," *Cahiers Alsaciens d'Archéologie d'Art et d'Histoire* 32 (1989) pp. 239–256. On the painter Wilhelm Stetter, brother at Grünen Wörth at the beginning of the 16th century, see Jean Rott, "Le maître W.S. à la croix de Malte, Wilhelm Stetter," *Revue d'Alsace* 91 (1952) pp. 112–119.

6. François-Georges Pariset, "Deux oeuvres inédites de Baldung Grien," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 76, 6th ser., XI (1934) pp. 13–23.

7. Carl Koch, "Über drei Bildnisse Baldungs als künstlerische Dokumente vor Beginn seines Spätstils," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 5 (1951) pp. 62–64.

8. Staatliche Kunsthalle, *Hans Baldung Grien*, exh. cat. (Karlsruhe, 1959) nos. 14–16, pp. 41–42.

9. Inventory by François-Joseph-Ignace Goetzmann, AdBR, H 2232, p. 149, nos. 24–26.

10. Gert von der Osten, "Ein Altar des Hans Baldung Grien aus dem Jahre 1511—und eine Frage nach verschollenen Werken des Malers," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 31 (1977) pp. 51–61; see also von der Osten, *Hans Baldung Grien*, pp. 71–74.

11. Von der Osten, *Hans Baldung Grien*, p. 72; MMA, *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg*, p. 376.

12. Von der Osten, "Ein Altar," pp. 55–56, and idem, *Hans Baldung Grien*, pp. 72–73. On the links between Perault and Grünen Wörth, see Joseph Albert Gass, "Der Cardinallegat Perault und die Johanniter in Strassburg," *Strassburger Diözesanblatt* 18 (1899) pp. 271–280.

13. Von der Osten, "Ein Altar," p. 60, and idem, *Hans Baldung Grien*, p. 72.

14. Woodcut dated to 1511, Staatliche Kunsthalle, *Hans Baldung Grien*, p. 241, no. II H 22, and Matthias Mende, *Hans Baldung Grien: Das graphische Werk* (Unterschneidheim, 1978) fig. 18; James Marrow and Alan Shestack, *Hans Baldung Grien*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art (New Haven, 1981) no. 21, pp. 129–131. Woodcut in the *Hortulus animae*, published in Strasbourg in 1511, Staatliche Kunsthalle, *Hans Baldung Grien*, p. 326, no. II B X.30; Maria Consuelo Oldenbourg, *Die Buchholzschnitte des Hans Baldung Grien* (Baden-Baden, 1962) no. 266, p. 59 and fig. 101; Mende, *Hans Baldung Grien*, fig. 332. See Pariset, "Deux oeuvres inédites," p. 20, and particularly von der Osten, *Hans Baldung Grien*, p. 69.

15. Woodcut on frontispiece of the *Térence*, published in Strasbourg in 1513, Staatliche Kunsthalle, *Hans Baldung Grien*, p. 347, no. II B XXI.1; Oldenbourg, *Die Buchholzschnitte*, no. 321, p. 86, and fig. 155; Mende, *Hans Baldung Grien*, fig. 417.

16. Woodcut in the *Hortulus animae*, published in Strasbourg in 1511, Staatliche Kunsthalle, *Hans Baldung Grien*, p. 323, no. II B X. 3; Oldenbourg, *Die Buchholzschnitte*, no. 239, p. 57, and fig. 74; Mende, *Hans Baldung Grien*, fig. 362. Woodcut used for Strasbourg publications in 1519 and 1524; Oldenbourg, *Die Buchholzschnitte*, no. 340, p. 108, and fig. 173; Mende, *Hans Baldung Grien*, fig. 433.

17. On this theme, see Schnütgen Museum, *Die Messe Gregors des Grossen: Vision-Kunst-Realität*, exh. cat. (Cologne, 1982).
18. The painted pax next to the chalice depicts the Virgin and Child.
19. Von der Osten, "Ein Altar," p. 59, and idem, *Hans Baldung Grien*, pp. 69 and 74; Eisler, *Complete Catalogue*, pp. 29–30; MMA, *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg*, p. 376.
20. Von der Osten, "Ein Altar," p. 59, and idem, *Hans Baldung Grien*, p. 69.
21. Von der Osten, *Hans Baldung Grien*, p. 74.
22. See Karl Künstle, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst* II (Freiburg, 1926) p. 343; Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1958) III, p. 713; Engelbert Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikongraphie* (Freiburg, 1974) VII, pp. 191–193, notice by Gregor Martin Lechner; and Christian Heck, "Les deux saints Jean. Etude de l'iconographie jumelée de saint Jean-Baptiste et de saint Jean l'Évangéliste en Occident, des origines à la fin du Moyen-Âge," 2 vols., Ph.D. diss., University of Aix-Marseille, 1979.
23. Rupert de Deutz, *Commentaire sur Jean*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus . . .*, Series Latina, vol. 169 (Paris, 1894) col. 225.
24. Our research on the two St. Johns was first presented in Christian Heck, "La Chapelle du Consistoire et les Crucifixions dans la peinture murale avignonnaise du XIVe siècle: le renouvellement d'un thème d'origine romaine au service de l'affirmation de la légitimité pontificale," *Genèse et débuts du Grand Schisme d'Occident, Actes du Colloque du C.N.R.S.* 586, Avignon, 1978 (Paris, 1980) pp. 431–443; idem, "Le portail à l'agneau de la cathédrale de Fribourg-en-Brisgau," *Cahiers Alsaciens d'Archéologie, d'Art et d'Histoire* 32 (1989) pp. 165–176; idem, "Rapprochement, antagonisme ou confusion dans le culte des saints: art et dévotion à Katharinenthal au quatorzième siècle," *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 21 (Los Angeles, 1990) pp. 229–238.
25. Albertus Magnus, *De Eucharistia sacramento sermones XXXII* (Cologne, 1498).
26. Heck, "Le portail à l'agneau," p. 167.
27. Barth, *Handbuch*, cols. 1406–1407.
28. Heck, "Rapprochement, antagonisme," pp. 237–238.
29. Grandidier, *Nouvelles oeuvres inédites*, pp. 27 and 31.
30. About this period, see Joseph Fridolin Vierling, *Das Ringen um die letzten dem Katholizismus treuen Klöster Strassburgs* (Strasbourg, 1914) pp. 27–30 and 64–66; Francis Rapp, *Réformes et Réformation à Strasbourg: Église et société dans le diocèse de Strasbourg, 1450–1525* (Paris, 1974) p. 217.
31. There is an extensive bibliography on the Friends of God, Rulman Merswin, and the Friend of God of the Oberland. See in particular Karl Rieder, *Der Gottesfreund vom Oberland: Eine Erfindung des strassburger Johanniterbruders Nikolaus von Löwen* (Innsbruck, 1905); A. Chicot, *Histoire ou légende . . . ? Jean Tauler et le Meisters/Buoch* (Strasbourg/Paris, 1922); A. Chicot, "Ami de Dieu de l'Oberland" and "Amis de Dieu," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique* (Paris, 1937) I, cols. 489–492 and 493–500; Francis Rapp, "Merswin," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité . . .* (Paris, 1980) X, cols. 1056–1058; Luzian Pflieger, *Kirchengeschichte der Stadt Strassburg im Mittelalter* (Colmar, 1943) pp. 84 and 140–145; Louis Cognet, *Introduction aux mystiques rhéno-flamands* (Paris, 1968) pp. 202–208; Bernard Gorceix, *Amis de Dieu en Allemagne au siècle de Maître Eckhart* (Paris, 1984).
32. On the history of the commandery, see note 5 and C. Schmidt, "Rulman Merswin, le fondateur de la maison de Saint-Jean de Strasbourg," *Revue d'Alsace* 7 (1856) pp. 145–162 and 193–203, and Rieder, *Der Gottesfreund*, pp. 121–164.
33. Chicot, *Histoire ou légende*, pp. 170–173; the catalogue of the Hospitalers' library has been handed down by J. J. Witter, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum in bibliotheca sacri ordinis Hierosolymitani Argentorati asservatorum* (Strasbourg, 1746), and J. N. Weislinger, *Armentarium catholicum*, followed by his *Catalogus librorum impressorum in bibliotheca . . . Sancti Johannis . . .* (Strasbourg, 1749).
34. In the text *Gebet zum Leiden unsers Herrn*, included in the *Grosse Deutsche Memorial*, BNUS, L als 96 a, fols. 273a, b; Rieder, *Der Gottesfreund*, p. 44*.
35. Included in the *Briefbuch*, AdBR, H 2185, fol. 32a, in Rieder, *Der Gottesfreund*, p. 114*.
36. *Zweite Übriggebliebene Lateinbuch*, which ends with comments in German, AdBR, H 2184, fol. 50b, in Rieder, *Der Gottesfreund*, p. 62*.
37. *Briefbuch*, AdBR, H 2185, fol. 41a, in Rieder, *Der Gottesfreund*, p. 117*; *Erweiterte Pflegememorial*, missing original, copies from the 16th and 18th centuries, in Rieder, *Der Gottesfreund*, p. 219*; *Pflegememorial*, AdBR, H 1383, in Rieder, *Der Gottesfreund*, pp. 160*, 161*.
38. *Erweiterte Pflegememorial* in Rieder, *Der Gottesfreund*, p. 222*.
39. *Erste Übriggebliebene Lateinbuch*, known by an 18th-century copy, partly written in Latin, BNUS, L als 96, in Rieder, *Der Gottesfreund*, p. 232*.
40. Schmidt, "Rulman Merswin," pp. 195–197.
41. *Briefbuch*, AdBR, H 2185, fol. 14b, in Rieder, *Der Gottesfreund*, p. 78*.
42. *Figuren und Gedichte des Meistermemorials*, in the *Briefbuch*, AdBR, H 2185, fol. 73b, in Rieder, *Der Gottesfreund*, p. 153*.
43. *Erste Übriggebliebene Lateinbuch*, in Rieder, *Der Gottesfreund*, p. 234*.
44. Rott, "La commanderie saint-Jean," pp. 239–243.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 242.
46. Schmidt, "Rulman Merswin," p. 203; Grandidier, *Nouvelles oeuvres inédites*, V, p. 57; Rott, "La commanderie saint-Jean," p. 242.
47. *Figuren und Gedichte des Meistermemorials*, fol. 73b, in Rieder, *Der Gottesfreund*, p. 152*.
48. AdBR, H 1414, fol. 1v, for 1495, and H 1408, p. 11, regarding the situation in 1633, in Rott, "La commanderie saint-Jean," pp. 242 and 244. There are seven references among the altars listed in 1495: the altars of the Trinity, St. John the Evangelist, the Cross, the Virgin Mary, St. James, St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins, and the angels. Within this listing, which seems to be by order of importance beginning with the old church, the second reference must correspond to the main altar of the new church. The listing of the state of 1633 mentions in order: a high altar (not named) and the altars of the Trinity, the Cross, the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, St. Anne, St. Ursula and her companions, the Deposition of the Cross, and the angels. If the altar dedicated to John the Evangelist is no longer listed under

his name in 1633, it is precisely because it is the same as the high altar mentioned in the first place, just before the Trinity of the old choir. This is further confirmed by the presence of four statues mentioned below.

49. Von der Osten, *Hans Baldung Grien*, p. 72.
50. Chicot, *Histoire ou légende*, pp. 173–175.
51. The theme is developed in César de Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*, Thomas de Chantimpré's *De Apibus*, Voragine's *Légende Dorée*, and Guillaume Durant's *Rational des divins Offices*; Heck, "Rapprochement, antagonisme," p. 237.
52. Heck, "Rapprochement, antagonisme," pp. 237–238.
53. Philippe Dollinger, "Strasbourg et Colmar foyers de la mystique rhénane (XIIIe–XIVe siècle)," *La mystique rhénane*, Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 1961 (Paris, 1963) p. 10.
54. Three other illuminations executed between 1405 and 1422 repeat this composition from the *Belles Heures*. Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourg and Their Contemporaries* (London, 1974) figs. 388–391.
55. Heck, "Rapprochement, antagonisme," pp. 235–236.
56. Rott, "La commanderie Saint-Jean," pp. 242, 244.
57. AdBR, H 1408, p. 28, in Rott, "La commanderie Saint-Jean," pp. 242, 244.
58. Inventory by Goetzmann, AdBR, H 2232, p. 147, no. 13: "Item ein gross taffel worauf B.V.S.S. Johanni Bapt. und Evang. unter dem lettner mit einer schwarzem ram ohne zierad." This description is too vague to determine the date of the painting, located under the rood-screen in the new installation of the Hospitalers.
59. Grandidier, *Nouvelles oeuvres inédites*, V, pp. 28, 56; Barth, *Handbuch*, col. 126; Walter Hotz, *Handbuch der Kunstdenkmäler im Elsass und in Lothringen* (Berlin, 1976) p. 17.
60. Christian Heck and Esther Moench-Scherer, *Catalogue général des peintures du musée d'Unterlinden* (Colmar, 1990) no. 142. The attribution to Jost Haller of the so-called Berghheim Predella was made possible thanks to Charles Sterling, "Jost Haller: Maler zu Strassburg und zu Saarbrücken in der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 33 (1980) pp. 99–126.
61. Heck and Moench-Scherer, *Catalogue général*, no. 537.
62. Roland Recht, *Nicolas de Leyde et la sculpture à Strasbourg (1460–1525)* (Strasbourg, 1987) XIII.10, p. 293.
63. Heck and Moench-Scherer, *Catalogue général*, no. 543.
64. Léon Dacheux, *Un réformateur catholique à la fin du XV^e siècle: Jean Geiler de Kaysersberg* (Paris/Strasbourg, 1876) pp. 506–507; Grandidier, *Nouvelles oeuvres inédites*, V, pp. 31, 33; Rapp, *Réformes et Réformation*, p. 157; Rott, "La commanderie Saint-Jean," p. 242; this monument to Geiler was transferred to the cathedral in 1633.
65. The commandery of Grünen Wörth also possessed relics of St. John Chrysostom. See Médard Barth, "Reliquien aus elsässischen Kirchen und Klöster," *Archiv für elsässische Kirchengeschichte* 10 (1935) p. 127.
66. On the poem by Schott and the pulpit, see Recht, *Nicolas de Leyde*, p. 228.
67. Munich, Alte Pinakothek. Koch, "Über drei Bildnisse Bal-

dungs," pp. 62–64; von der Osten, "Ein Altar," p. 51; idem, *Hans Baldung Grien*, no. 64, pp. 183–185.

68. Bamberg, Neue Residenz. Koch, "Über drei Bildnisse Baldungs," pp. 60–64; von der Osten, "Ein Altar," p. 51; idem, *Hans Baldung Grien*, no. 81, p. 227.

69. Carl Koch, *Die Zeichnungen Hans Baldung Griens* (Berlin, 1941) nos. 227–230; von der Osten, "Ein Altar," p. 51; idem, *Hans Baldung Grien*, p. 184.

70. Von der Osten, *Hans Baldung Grien*, no. W 97, pp. 256–259; Sibylle Gross, "Die Schrein- und Flügelgemälde des Schnewlin-Altars im Freiburger Münster, Studien zur Baldungs-Werkstatt und zu Hans Leu dem Jüngeren," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 45, 1/2 (1991) pp. 88–130.

71. Kunstmuseum, *Hans Baldung Grien im Museum Basel*, exh. cat. (Basel, 1978) no. 3, pp. 17–19; von der Osten, *Hans Baldung Grien*, no. 17, pp. 80–82.

72. Feather on paper, 313 × 248 mm, England, private coll. It remained unknown until the Baldung exhibition in Karlsruhe in 1959, cat. no. 236, p. 102, fig. 58. It was also shown at the exhibition *German Drawings from a Private Collection* (London, British Museum; Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art; and Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum) 1984, cat. by John Rowlands, no. 23. I am grateful to John Rowlands and Giulia Bartrum for drawing this recent publication to my attention and for obtaining reproduction rights from the owner.

73. Ernest Lehr, *L'Alsace noble* (Paris, 1870) II, pl. 11, pp. 89, 99. The he-goat depicted on the arms of the Bocks (curvilinear horns with characteristic double curve) is replaced by an ibex on the arms of the Böcklins de Böcklinsau (curvilinear horns forming a great single and concave curve). Lehr adds on p. 99 that even if there has been some confusion in a few cases, "usage almost constantly maintained a difference between the two animals selected by the Bocks and Böcklins, respectively."

74. Grandidier, *Nouvelles oeuvres inédites*, V, p. 67. Let us also note that Sophie Böcklin (or Bock?), who died in 1510 and had donated most of her fortune to Grünen Wörth, is sometimes hypothetically identified as the spouse of the count of Löwenstein, whose portrait was painted by Baldung in 1513. Further, a deed dated to 1545 links Baldung to several members of the Böcklin family; von der Osten, *Hans Baldung Grien*, pp. 93–94 and doc. 95, pp. 296, 315. Another drawing by Baldung dated to 1534 depicts the arms of the Bock family; Koch, *Die Zeichnungen Hans Baldung Griens*, no. 159.

75. The Bock family, close to the Böcklins, is also linked to Grünen Wörth. The family endowed the most anniversaries (Masses said for the soul of a deceased person), and Jean Bock was tutor of the commandery in 1525 and 1527; Grandidier, *Nouvelles oeuvres inédites*, V, p. 66; Jouanny, *Les Hospitaliers en Basse-Alsace*, p. 126.

76. However, such a case can be found. For example, the *Vierge de Miséricorde*, painted by Enguerrand Quarton in 1452 and now at the Musée Condé, Chantilly, reunites the two St. Johns because of the names of the donors, Jean Cadard and Jeanne des Moulins. But in this case, the two donors are specifically presented by their holy patrons and no other figures are shown. See Michel Laclotte and Dominique Thiébaud, *L'École d'Avignon* (Paris, 1983) p. 226.

Addenda to *Flemish Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*

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SOME OF THE BEST catalogue entries published by the Metropolitan Museum during the past decade are those that Guy Bauman contributed to *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection* (1984) and to *Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections* (1985). Their worth was proven again when a problematic picture seen in 1988 led me back to Guy's essay on a rare panel in Vaduz, "the masterpiece of Jan de Cock."¹ In two fluid pages Guy explains the uncommon subject and iconography, the artist's distinctive presentation, and the "historical personage" himself—all quite remarkable considering that the identity of this obscure but important Flemish painter of the early sixteenth century has been a matter of extensive speculation in the literature. When I told Guy how much I admired this catalogue entry, he said, both to my surprise and to my relief, that whenever he began to wonder if he would amount to much as an art historian, he would reread the Jan de Cock essay and decide to go on.

The exceedingly complex and fragmentary evidence encountered in the area of Early Netherlandish painting was well met by Guy's restraint and sense of responsibility in writing about works of art. For the present article, in which the task is simply to discuss works added to the collection of seventeenth-century Flemish paintings since 1984,² Guy's example goes beyond what is needed, although his criticism is missed. A later publication of addenda to the Flemish catalogue will consist of revisions to the entries dating from 1984. Those notes especially will seem to me an inevitable and inadequate tribute to Guy.

1. MMA, *Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections*, exh. cat., New York, 1985, p. 276 under no. 176, *The Meeting of Sts. Anthony Abbot and Paul of Thebes* by Jan de Cock (act. by 1506–d. before 1527).

2. Walter A. Liedtke, *Flemish Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1984. The catalogue was reviewed by Hans Vlieghe in *Oud Holland* 100 (1986) pp. 200–204, and by Charles Scribner III in *Burlington Magazine* 128 (1986) pp. 515–16.

Subsequent notes in this article follow each entry.

ADDITIONS TO THE COLLECTION OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FLEMISH PAINTINGS

A. New Accessions

PETER PAUL RUBENS (1577–1640)

A Forest at Dawn with a Deer Hunt (Figure 1)

Oil on wood

Height, 24¼ in. (61.6 cm); width, 35½ in. (90 cm)

In very good condition overall. The painting was cleaned in 1989; the use of colored varnish to fill the pattern of craquelure in the receding trees and forest floor to the right had considerably diminished the impression of space and atmosphere, as is evident in earlier photographs. The foliage and a small pond in the lower left corner read unclearly due to craquelure and some light abrasion. The panel is composed of ten small boards (see Figures 3, 4). Their configuration suggests that the central section was first intended as a support and then was expanded; it seems likely that this occurred at an early moment in the course of Rubens's work.

This superb landscape of about 1635 is a crucial addition to the Museum's collection of Flemish paintings: with twelve varied works by Rubens, the *Feast of Achelöus* by Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder, five paintings from Rubens's workshop, and five early copies after compositions by Rubens, a landscape painting by Rubens was the single most desired acquisition in this area. *A Forest at Dawn* is the first finished landscape by Rubens in America, and it appears to be the last that will appear on the market for decades to come. Almost all of the approximately three dozen known landscape paintings by Rubens have long been secure in British and Continental collections, many of them royal or princely.

The picture has been in a distinguished Welsh collection for more than 180 years: that of Sir Wat-

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Figure 1. Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), *A Forest at Dawn with a Deer Hunt*, ca. 1635. Oil on wood, 62.2 × 90.0 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Annenberg Foundation, Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, Michel David-Weill, The Dillon Fund, Henry J. and Drue Heinz Foundation, Lola Kramarsky, Annette de la Renta, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, The Vincent Astor Foundation and Peter J. Sharp Gifts; The Lesley and Emma Sheaffer Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Sheaffer, and Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, by exchange; Gift of George R. Hann, in memory of his mother, Annie Sykes Hann, by exchange; Gifts of George A. Hearn, George Blumenthal, George H. and Helen M. Richard and Mrs. George A. Stern and Bequests of Helen Hay Whitney and John Henry Abegg and Anonymous Bequest, by exchange; supplemented by gifts and funds from friends of the Museum, 1990, 1990.196

kin Williams-Wynn (1772–1840), fifth baronet, and his descendants. Their seat is Llangedwyn Hall in North Wales; so far as is known, *A Forest at Dawn* remained there almost continuously after its purchase in 1806 at the sale of the celebrated Lansdowne collection. In the catalogue of the auction held on March 19 and 20, 1806, at Lansdowne House in Berkeley Square, London, the painting appears as lot 62: “A Grand Landscape; scene, the Sun setting in fervid Heat, darting its fierce Rays from behind a Wood, in that richness of vivid splendor that art can seldom describe, and none but the daring hand of a great painter would attempt to accomplish—it almost dazzles the eye to look at it.”¹

The sale was attended by Sir Abraham Hume, a connoisseur, collector, and friend of Sir Joshua Reynolds. Hume’s copy of the sale catalogue (Courtauld Institute Library) is annotated against lot 62: “This picture (which is engraved among Rubens landscapes [Figure 2]) belonged to Sir Joshua Reynolds and was sold by him in his life time to a friend for £100: bought by Sir W. W. Wynne [*sic*] for £320.” Reynolds died in 1792; two years earlier the *London Morning Herald* (April 5, 1790) reported on the March 27 sale of the collection of Nathaniel Chauncey (1716/17–1790): “The beautiful little landscape by Rubens, late in the Chauncey Collection, was purchased by Lord Lansdowne. . . . The

fervid sun-beams, through the trees, Sir Joshua appears to have been *fired* with when he painted his *Iphigenia!*”² Reynolds painted a portrait of Chauncey (1774?),³ and is known to have had other dealings in pictures with him.⁴

The only owner of the painting now known to have preceded Sir Joshua Reynolds is Rubens himself: *A Forest at Dawn* is almost certainly identical with no. 108 in the 1640 inventory of Rubens’s estate: “Un bois avec un chasse à l’aube de jour, sur fond de bois.” This entry in the *Specification* is the origin of the picture’s present title. The lost Flemish original of the French *Specification* is derived from an inventory of Rubens’s possessions begun on June 8, 1640, nine days after the artist’s death.⁵

The point is of interest because the subject may have been, for Rubens, a forest at sunset. Whether the yellow and red rays of the sun suggest “l’aube de jour,” as they did in 1640, or “the Sun setting in fervid Heat” (1806) will be a matter of opinion and personal experience.⁶ It should be considered, however, that a fair number of landscapes by Rubens dating from the 1630s depict scenes in which a setting sun is surely intended.⁷ Similar effects of light pouring through trees are found in Rubens’s *Landscape with Cows* in the Gemäldegalerie (SMPK), Berlin, and in the *Landscape with a Waggon at Sunset* in

the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam.⁸ Goethe noted that the setting sun in the *Return from the Harvest* in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence, casts shadows in two directions and that this was an example of Rubens’s artistic freedom.⁹ As in the case of Rembrandt’s *Night Watch* (which became a “Day Watch” after cleaning), changing the title of *A Forest at Dawn* would be to argue naturalistic causes for artistic effects.

Rubens painted landscapes during two periods of his career: from about 1614 to 1620; and from the late 1620s (when he worked in Madrid and in London) to about 1638. His later interest in the subject is often related to his purchase in May 1635 of the Château Het Steen at Elewijt, and it is generally considered a more private side of his activity.¹⁰ The support here (see Figures 3, 4), a panel made up of small, seemingly leftover bits of wood, suggests that Rubens painted the picture for his own pleasure. A number of his landscape paintings remained in the artist’s collection. Their imaginary viewers were, in a sense, Titian, Bruegel, Rubens himself, and a few of his artistic contemporaries, rather than the grand but less qualified critics for whom he had so often worked.

Rubens’s Northern antecedents are sensed more strongly in his late landscape paintings, even while



Figure 2. Schelte à Bolswert (ca. 1581–1659), after Peter Paul Rubens, *A Forest at Dawn with a Deer Hunt*, ca. 1635–36. Engraving, 30.7 × 44.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951, 51.501

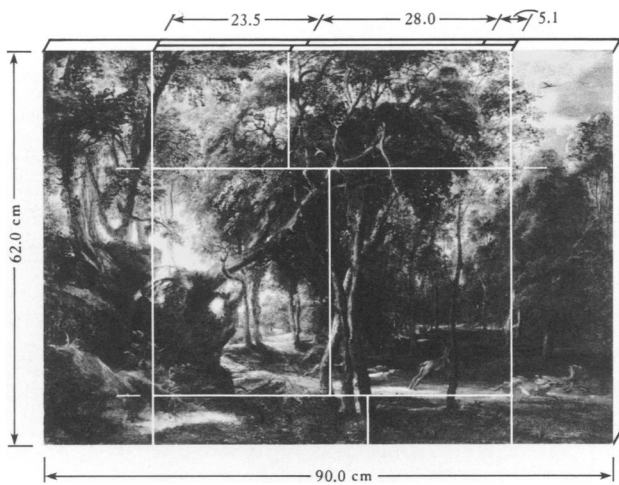


Figure 3. Figure 1, with sketch showing location of support panels (prepared by George Bisacca; drawn by Johannes Knoops)

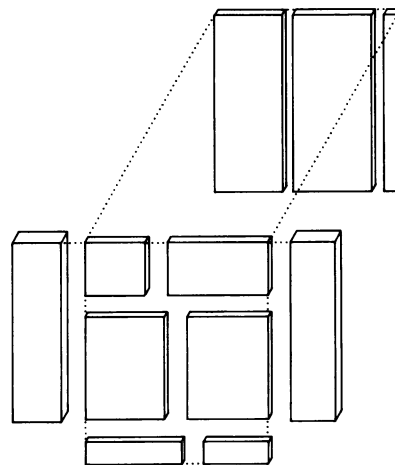


Figure 4. Exploded drawing of the panel structure of the Rubens painting in Figure 1. The grain of the wood is vertical in all elements (prepared by George Bisacca; drawn by Johannes Knoops)

his admiration of Titian colors the Flemish scenery. The most immediate models for this dramatic woodland view are found in paintings by Roelant Savery (see Figure 6) and by Gillis van Coninxloo. However, Rubens always found possibilities in works by other artists that they never exploited to the same extent; in general, he carried their ideas further by a renewed reference to nature (more objective versions of the light effects seen here occur in Rubens's drawings of actual landscapes),¹¹ and by adopting their and other artists' influences to the principles of his own style. Here, for example, Rubens's experience not only of Titian but also of Elsheimer affects the mood of the landscape (although Rubens's contact with Elsheimer can no longer be traced in any single motif).

The composition of *A Forest at Dawn* is inspired by patterns employed in earlier Flemish forest scenes, such as those by Savery, Coninxloo, Abraham Govaerts, and Jan Brueghel the Elder. Coninxloo's oeuvre offers the most obvious examples of a surface filled with tree trunks and foliage. His space is organized by groups of trees closing the view to either side, and a third cluster of trees in the center divides the view into two principal recessions.¹² Brueghel modified this pattern in a more realistic direction (as had his father, Pieter Bruegel the Elder, in drawings) by opening up the masses and stressing continuity of space from side to side in the middle ground and background.¹³ The particular kind of *repoussoir* seen on the left, with a blasted tree embedded in a mound of earth (Figure 5), was a

favorite motif of Savery's and was admired by Jacob van Ruisdael and other artists who represent a more naturalistic stage of landscape painting than that of Savery. An engraving after Savery (Figure 6) offers the precedent of a brightly backlit forest complete with a hunter and hounds chasing three deer (a stag and two does, as appear in this picture).¹⁴

Few artists could obscure their references to earlier painters as much as Rubens does here and in other landscapes. His skill in reformulating compositions is complemented by a fluidity of brushwork quite unlike the linear handling of his forerunners. Strokes of bright color penetrate the darker passages and suggest daylight dissolving the apparent solidity of forms. Even in this densely wooded corner of nature one senses the sweep of earth and sky that conveys Rubens's conception of creation, or so it seems in contemporaneous and slightly later paintings, such as the *Landscape with Rainbow* (Wallace Collection, London) and the *Landscape with the Château Het Steen* (National Gallery, London).

Rubens's view of nature in the present picture differs from that in his more pastoral scenes. The bright flash of sunlight through the trees has the startling quality of an alarm, a signal that the chase has begun. Rubens's romantic vision of nature as an encounter of elemental forces, of opposites such as light and darkness, life and death, growth and decay, extends the imaginary, sometimes mystical tradition of Northern landscape and gives his essentially realistic landscapes a sense of myth and metaphor.



Figure 5. Detail of Figure 1

A much smaller oil on panel (23 × 30 cm) in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich, is considered by some scholars to be a preparatory study for the Museum's picture.¹⁵ However, the comparison raises strong doubts about the Munich sketch's authorship.¹⁶

Schelte à Bolswert's engraving of the mid- to late 1630s (Figure 2) crops the view and suppresses the pool of water in the foreground. In the translation to a linear medium much is lost, while the debt to Savery (Figure 6) becomes more noticeable.

On the basis of comparisons with other landscapes by Rubens a date of about 1635 may be proposed. Wolfgang Adler suggested the period 1631–35, while Julius Held placed the painting and the oil sketch in Munich about 1635–36.¹⁷

1. Quoted in F. Broun (see Refs.), p. 137; the transcription in W. Adler (see Refs.) is inaccurate.
2. The information in this paragraph up to this point is entirely indebted to Broun (see Refs.), pp. 136–38.



Figure 6. Aegidius Sadeler (1570–1629), after Roelant Savery (1576–1639), *A Forest with a Deer Hunt*, ca. 1620–25. Engraving, 22.5 × 28.3 cm. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum (photo: Wallraf-Richartz Museum)

3. Ellis K. Waterhouse, *Reynolds*, London, 1941, p. 64, pl. 159, as formerly in the collection of A. V. Radford, Malvern.
4. Broun (see Refs.), p. 138 n. 5.
5. J. M. Muller (see Refs.), 1989, pp. 91–93, on the *Specification*.
6. The subject remained a forest at sunset in Smith's catalogue of 1830 and in the 1835 exhibition at the British Institution, no. 151.
7. Adler (see Refs.), nos. 31, 33, 35, 37, 41, 43, 48, 51, 58, 64, 66, 68.
8. *Ibid.*, nos. 31 and 58 (pls. 89 and 141).
9. *Ibid.*, p. 152 under no. 48.
10. See *ibid.*, pp. 27–35, for an elaborate qualification of this view.
11. Compare *Trees at Sunset* in the British Museum (J. S. Held, *Rubens: Selected Drawings*, London, 1959, no. 135, colorpl. in vol. I opp. p. 80).
12. Compare Coninxloo's landscape of 1598 in MMA, *op. cit.*, no. 179.
13. See my discussion in *ibid.*, pp. 286–88, under no. 182 by Jan Brueghel the Elder.
14. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, *Roelant Savery in seiner Zeit (1576–1639)*, Cologne, 1985, no. 120. The similarity to Savery is underscored by comparisons of Rubens's deer hunt with Dutch and Flemish treatments of the subject from about the same time: for example, Salomon van Ruysdael's landscape of ca. 1630 in the Los Angeles County Museum, no. 52.24 (W. Stechow, *Salomon van Ruysdael*, Berlin, 1975, no. 238A).
15. J. S. Held, 1980 (see Refs.), no. 454, pl. 440; Adler (see Refs.), no. 49a.
16. This view is taken by Konrad Renger, curator of Flemish paintings at the Alte Pinakothek, and by Hubert von Sonnenburg, former director and chief conservator at Munich and now the head of Paintings Conservation, MMA. The composition of the Munich picture does not coincide with the central section of the Museum's panel (see Figure 3) but is a version, in a taller format, of the finished design.
17. Held, 1980 (see Refs.), p. 619.

REFERENCES: *Morning Herald* (London, April 5, 1790) observes that this landscape was purchased at the Chauncey sale by Lord Lansdowne for "sixty-one guineas only"; J. Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters* II, London, 1830, pp. 31, 201, no. 730, as sold with the collection of the Marquis of Lansdowne in 1806; J. Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters* IX (*Supplement*), London, 1842, p. 314, no. 251, as the property of Sir Watkins W. Wynn; M. Rooses, *L'Oeuvre de P. P. Rubens*, IV, Antwerp, 1890, p. 378, no. 1192; E. Dillon, *Rubens*, London, 1909, pp. 184, 237; L. Burchard, "Anmerkungen zu den Rubens-Bildern der Alten Pinakothek in Munchen," *Kunstchronik*, n.s. 23 (1911–12) col. 264, notes that the Munich picture is described in the catalogue entry [in Pinakothek cat.] as a study for the Williams-Wynn painting, but agrees with Rooses that it is simply a copy; E. Kieser, *Die Rubenslandschaft*, Rudostadt, 1926, p. 35; C. J. Sterling, "Les Paysages de Rubens (Esquisse d'une étude)," *Travaux des étudiants du Groupe d'Histoire de l'Art . . . de la Sorbonne*, 1928, p. 204; J. Denucé, *The Antwerp Art-Galleries, Inventories of the Art-Collections in Antwerp in the 16th and 17th Centuries*,

The Hague, 1932, p. 61, publishes the inventory of Rubens's collections made in 1640, in which this picture figures as no. 108; H. Herrmann, *Untersuchungen über die Landschaftsgemälde des Peter Paul Rubens*, Berlin and Stuttgart, 1936, pp. 15, 34, 42, 69 n. 27; G. Glück, *Die Landschaften von Peter Paul Rubens*, Vienna, 1945, pp. 38, 64ff., catalogues the Munich painting as a sketch by Rubens, considers it the first thought for the Wynn painting; L. Burchard, *Peter Paul Rubens*, exh. cat., Wildenstein & Co., London, 1950, pp. 48ff., no. 38, ill., observes that the smaller, sketchier version in Munich "has occasionally been underrated"; J. Burckhardt, *Recollections of Rubens* [English translation of *Erinnerungen aus Rubens*, 1898], London, 1950, p. 154; *Flemish Art 1300–1700*, exh. cat., Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1953, pp. 60ff.; L. van Puyvelde, *Le Siècle de Rubens*, exh. cat., Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, 1965, p. 204; J. S. Held, *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens*, Princeton, 1980, I, pp. 619ff.; W. Adler, *Landscapes and Hunting Scenes* (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, Part XVIII) London and New York, 1982, I, pp. 154–57, no. 49, figs. 130, 172 (diagram of the supports), considers the Munich picture a preparatory sketch; L. Vergara, *Rubens and the Poetics of Landscape*, New Haven and London, 1982, p. 196, no. 29; G. Martin, review of Adler, *Landscapes and Hunting Scenes*, in *Burlington Magazine* 125 (March 1983) p. 166; F. Broun, "Sir Joshua Reynolds' Collection of Paintings," Ph.D. diss., Princeton, 1987, p. 134 nn. 135–38, no. 4, pl. 36, no. 108; J. M. Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector*, Princeton, 1989, p. 116, pl. 51; M. Jaffé, *Catalogo completo Rubens*, Milan, 1989, p. 365, no. 1388; G. Bauman et al., *Flemish Paintings in America*, Antwerp, 1992, pp. 211–13, no. 65.

EXHIBITED: British Institution, London, 1835, no. 151 (as *A Woody Landscape, Sunset*, lent by Sir W. W. Wynn, Bt. M.P.); British Institution, London, 1847, no. 42 (as *Landscape*, lent by Sir W. W. Wynn, Bt. M.P.); Royal Academy of Arts, London, "Winter Exhibition," 1888, no. 151 (as *Landscape*, lent by Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Bart.); Wildenstein & Co., London, "Peter Paul Rubens, Kt.," 1950, no. 38 (as *A Forest with a Deer Hunt*, lent by Lt.-Colonel W. O. Williams-Wynn); Royal Academy of Arts, London, "Flemish Art 1300–1700," 1953–54, no. 181 (as *Deer Hunt in the Forest*, lent by Lt. Col. Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn, Bt.).

EX COLL.: Peter Paul Rubens, Antwerp (d. 1640; no. 108 in inventory of his estate); Sir Joshua Reynolds, London (sold to Chauncey for £100); Charles and Nathaniel Chauncey, London (Charles d. shortly before or in 1790, Nathaniel d. 1790; sale, Christie's, London, March 26–27, 1790, no. 87, for 62 gns. to Lord Lansdowne); William, 1st Marquess of Lansdowne, Lansdowne House, London (1790–d. 1805; sale, Lansdowne House, March 19–20, 1806, lot 62, for 305 gns. to Sir W. W. Wynn); Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn, 5th Baronet, Llangedwyn Hall, Oswestry, Wales (1806–d. 1840); the Baronets Watkin Williams-Wynn, Llangedwyn Hall, Oswestry, Wales (1840–1951); Sir Owen Watkin Williams-Wynn, 10th Baronet, Llangedwyn Hall, Oswestry, Wales (1951–87); Trustees of the 1987 Williams-Wynn Settlement (1987–89; sale, Christie's, London, Dec. 8, 1989, lot 68, for £3,300,000, to Artemis); [Artemis, London, 1989–90]; Purchase, The Annenberg Foundation, Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, Michel David-Weill, The Dillon Fund, Henry J. and Drue Heinz Foundation, Lola Kramarsky, Annette de la Renta, Mr. and Mrs. Ar-

thur Ochs Sulzberger, The Vincent Astor Foundation and The Peter Jay Sharp Foundation Gifts; The Lesley and Emma Sheaffer Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Sheaffer, and Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, by exchange; Gift of George R. Hann, in memory of his mother, Annie Sykes Hann, by exchange; Gifts of George A. Hearn, George Blumenthal, George H. and Helen M. Richard and Mrs. George A. Stern and Bequests of Helen Hay Whitney and John Henry Abegg and Anonymous Bequest, by exchange; supplemented by gifts and funds from friends of the Museum, 1990

1990.196

MICHIEL SWEERTS (1618–1664)

Clothing the Naked (Figure 7)

Oil on canvas

Height, 34¼ in. (81.9 cm); width, 45 in. (114.3 cm)

The painting is in very good condition. It was cleaned in 1982, probably for the first time in this century.

This compelling picture is a comparatively late work by Sweerts, who was born in Brussels in 1618 and died in Goa, India, in 1664. In 1646 Sweerts was recorded as an *aggregato*, or assistant, of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, where he remained until at least 1652 and probably until 1654 or 1655. In 1656 he obtained permission from the city of Brussels to open a drawing academy. By 1659–60 he had moved to Amsterdam, where he painted this picture about 1660–61. A Lazarist priest who met Sweerts in the summer of 1661 records that the artist "eats no meat, fasts almost every day, gives his possessions to the poor, and takes communion three or four times a week." Sweerts's subsequent travels with the Société des Missions Etrangères to Persia, and alone from Isfahan to India, are described in the present author's article on this picture and in the sources cited there.¹

Sweerts's religious convictions, which became obsessive at the end of his life, explain to some extent this moving and seemingly personal work. The subject is one of the Seven Acts of Mercy, six of which are described in Matthew 25:35–36. On rare occasions the Seven Acts were depicted in a single picture, as in Caravaggio's canvas painted in 1606 for the Pio Monte della Misericordia, Naples (where the work remains).² The Acts were more commonly divided into seven scenes, which were well suited to the decoration of a church or charitable institution. For example, two artists from Bruges—Jacob van



Figure 7. Michiel Sweerts (1618–64), *Clothing the Naked*, ca. 1660. Oil on canvas, 81.9 × 114.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 1984, 1984.459.1

Oost the Elder and Jozef van den Kerkhove—painted a series of seven panels, each with an explanatory inscription, for the Church of Our Savior in their native city; one of the three panels by van Oost is dated 1643.³ Sweerts himself painted a series of seven canvases for an unknown patron in the early 1650s.⁴

Accordingly, it has been assumed that the Museum's picture is the only surviving or known composition from a series of seven canvases,⁵ but there may have been no others. There is surely a strong element of self-identification here, which would not have been easy to sustain in scenes of offering drink, food, shelter, and comfort to the sick and to prisoners. The latter two subjects and the seventh act, Burying the Dead, are also difficult to imagine as formal companions to the present picture. Furthermore, by the middle of the seventeenth century a few of the Seven Acts were in effect rendered indi-

vidually as other subjects, such as "St. Martin and the Beggar" (clothing the naked), "The Good Samaritan" (sheltering a stranger), and "Cimon and Pero" (which Caravaggio employed to represent simultaneously feeding the hungry and comforting prisoners). Isolated acts of charity, such as giving money to the poor, are seen in Dutch paintings of church interiors and in some other contemporary pictures, such as Jan Steen's *The Burgher of Delft and His Daughter*, dated 1655.⁶ Acts of charity were advocated by Dutch preachers and were performed by several civic institutions as well as by religious groups.⁷ Given this context and Sweerts's own inclinations, *Clothing the Naked* can be understood as an independent work, however original it may be. Another possibility is that this is the first work of an ambitious commission that was then abandoned.⁸

In several paintings probably dating from the late 1650s Sweerts set two figures side by side; their

meaningful glances and gestures are emphasized by the half-length or bust-length format and by the close cropping of the view. *Feeding the Hungry*, a small canvas in the St. Annen-Museum, Lübeck, is similar to the Museum's picture in composition and in the gesture of giving, but the adolescent protagonists both look to the viewer's right.⁹ In their lack of visual exchange they differ dramatically from the *Unequal Lovers* in the Louvre, a painting that underscores the Flemish nature of Sweerts's design in compositions of this type. Sixteenth-century genre scenes and double portraits (for example, Gossaert's *Elderly Couple* in the National Gallery, London), and even earlier inventions, such as diptychs in which a donor turns with joined hands toward the Virgin or Christ, come to mind in connection with the pattern employed in *Clothing the Naked*.

At the same time, the composition seems entirely current with contemporary paintings in Amsterdam. The most striking parallel is with Rembrandt's *Jewish Bride*, dated 1662 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), where two nearly frontal figures are united by a significant gesture, by sympathetic glances that do not meet, and by the absence of superfluous scenery and details. (The impression that both artists have devoted considerable thought and feeling to the subject is a more personal coincidence.) Sweerts also resembles younger artists in Amsterdam, such as Ferdinand Bol, Bartholomeus van der Helst, and Wallerant Vaillant, in the fluidity of his technique, although this quality is already evident in Sweerts's Brussels period (for example, in the *Portrait of a Young Man*, dated 1656, in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg).¹⁰ Sweerts sets this manner off against the more emphatic modeling of the shirt in the immediate foreground, which resembles the sometimes white cloths used illusionistically in monochrome still lifes (for example, by Willem Claesz. Heda and Jan den Uyl). Thus the shallow space gains in intensity, while the essential motif takes on the weight of a moral conviction.

The figures in *Clothing the Naked* bear a haunting resemblance to the seemingly more particularized figures in Sweerts's *Two Men in Turbans* (Figure 8).¹¹ The latter are probably portraits, perhaps of members of the Mission, while the figures in the Museum's picture may be types based on the same models or on people the artist knew.¹² Together the two paintings reflect a moment on the eve of a mission to very foreign lands, for purposes above common standards and beyond common sense.

1. Liedtke, 1983 (see Refs.), pp. 21–23, which includes references for the biographical information given above. See also my entry in Bauman, 1992 (see Refs.), no. 94.
2. A. Moir, *Caravaggio*, New York, 1982, pl. 37, with a discussion of the subject. See also David Teniers the Younger's *Seven Acts of Mercy* in the Dulwich College Picture Gallery.
3. J. L. Meulemeester, *Jacob van Oost de Oudere en het zeventiende-eeuwse Brugge*, Bruges, 1984, pp. 348–50, no. B51 (the provenance is presumed).
4. Museum Boymans (see Refs.), nos. 24–28. Four of the seven canvases are in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; one is in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford; another is in an English private collection; and the seventh was sold at Christie's, New York, May 31, 1991, no. 71.
5. Museum Boymans (see Refs.), p. 59, under no. 55.
6. National Gallery of Art, *The Treasure Houses of Britain*, exh. cat., Washington, D.C., 1985–86, cat. no. 294.
7. For a survey, see Historisch Museum, *Arm in de Gouden Eeuw*, exh. cat., Amsterdam, 1965.
8. If Jozef van den Kerkhove (1667–1724) is indeed the artist who completed Jacob van Oost the Elder's series of panels for a church in Bruges (see text above and note 3), then there would have been a gap of at least fifty years in the execution. The painting by Sweerts in Lübeck, *Feeding the Hungry*, is also the only known work of a possible series (see text following).



Figure 8. Michiel Sweerts, *Two Men in Turbans*, ca. 1659–62. Oil on wood, 21.7 × 17.8 cm. Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum (photo: The J. Paul Getty Museum)

9. Museum Boymans (see Refs.), no. 54.
10. MMA, *Dutch and Flemish Paintings from the Hermitage*, exh. cat., New York, 1988, no. 50; W. Liedtke, "Dutch and Flemish Paintings from the Hermitage: Some notes to an exhibition catalogue, with special attention to Rembrandt, Van Dyck and Jordaens," *Oud Holland* 103 (1989) pp. 165–66, on the question of whether or not this is a self-portrait.
11. Museum Boymans (see Refs.), no. 57; Mauritshuis, *Terugzien in bewondering*, exh. cat., The Hague, 1982, no. 85; Liedtke, 1983 (see Refs.), p. 23, fig. 2.
12. The inscription on the very small (21.7 × 17.8 cm) panel in the Getty Museum (where the painting is entitled *Double Portrait*) reads: "Sig:r mio videte / la strade de sa / lute per la mano di sweets." One possible interpretation would be the following: "My Lord [the recipient of the painting], see the way to salvation [a way of life, or mission, as conveyed by the appearance of the figures], by the hand of [as depicted by] Sweets." The intimate size of the panel suggests that it may have been a personal souvenir or "friendship portrait"; the type is known from painted miniatures, from portrait drawings in personal albums (e.g., Jacob van Campen's drawing of Pieter Saenredam, inscribed by the sitter and dated 1628, in the British Museum), and also from larger pictures (e.g., Van Dyck's *Thomas Killigrew and William, Lord Crofts*, in the collection of H.M. Queen Elizabeth II).

REFERENCES: W. Martin, "Michiel Sweerts als Schilder. Proeve van een Biografie en een Catalogus van zijn Schilderijen," in *Oud Holland* 25, 1907, p. 153, no. 22; W. Bernt, *Die Niederländische Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1948, III, no. 812; R. Kultzen, "Michael Sweerts (1624–1664)," Diss., Hamburg, 1954, no. 88; Museum Boymans, *Michael Sweerts en Tijdgenoten*, exh. cat., Rotterdam, 1958, p. 45 under no. 24; pp. 58–59, no. 55; p. 60 under no. 57; pl. 56; W. Liedtke, "Clothing the Naked by Michiel Sweerts," *Apollo* 117 (1983) pp. 21–23; G. Bauman, et al., *Flemish Paintings in America*, Antwerp, 1992, no. 94.

EXHIBITED: Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, "Michael Sweerts en Tijdgenoten," 1958, no. 55; Rome, Palazzo Venezia, "Michael Sweerts," 1959.

EX COLL.: Ernestina Gräfin von Schönborn-Wiesentheid, Schloss Pommersfelden; Dr. Karl Graf von Schönborn-Wiesentheid, Schloss Wiesentheid; Rudolf Graf von Schönborn-Wiesentheid, Schloss Weiler; [Michael Tollemache Ltd., London, 1981]; Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, Palm Beach, Florida, 1981–84; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 1984

1984.459.1

JAN BRUEGHEL THE YOUNGER (1601–1678)

Aeneas and the Sibyl in the Underworld (Figure 9)
Oil on copper
Height, 10¾ in. (27.3 cm); width, 14¼ in. (36.2 cm)

Good condition. Surface scratches and small losses at the edges were retouched in 1992.

This small painting on copper, which probably dates from the 1630s, represents an aspect of Jan Brueghel the Younger's work very different from the Museum's fine *Still Life: A Basket of Flowers*.¹ However, both types of pictures were directly inspired by Jan Brueghel the Elder (Jan I), whose unexpected death in the summer of 1625 brought Jan II back from a three-year sojourn in Italy to take over his father's highly successful studio in Antwerp.

All of Jan II's "hell landscapes" apparently date from the second half of the 1620s onward, beginning with the *Temptation of St. Anthony* and *Christ's Descent into Limbo*, both of which are known in two nearly identical versions.² The Museum's picture, which has never been published or exhibited, repeats a composition known from at least three other autograph works, paintings on copper of about the same size: Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, no. 6249 (26.7 × 35.9 cm), and examples in European private collections.³ About 1645–50 the artist and his studio also produced versions of *Juno in the Underworld*. Each of these series derives from similar subjects of different composition by Jan I; it seems unlikely that he ever painted works of identical design.⁴

However, Jan Brueghel the Elder was well known for his inferno scenes,⁵ and he was clearly the leading figure in what may be considered a Flemish Baroque revival of a Netherlandish tradition that began with Hieronymus Bosch and continued with St. Anthony scenes by Bosch's follower Pieter Huys (MMA, no. 14.133), and with hell landscapes by Herri met de Bles (MMA, no. 1976.100.1, is an example after Bles).⁶ Contemporaries of Jan I, including Pieter Schoubroeck, depicted spectacular conflagrations such as the *Burning of Troy*,⁷ and in the broadest view one may also compare fire-lit nocturnal subjects by Elsheimer, Rubens, and Rembrandt.

Nonetheless, the present picture responds almost exclusively to the legacy of Jan Brueghel the Elder, who combined Bosch-like monsters and settings with such classical heroes as Aeneas, Juno, and Orpheus. These figures first entered the realm of

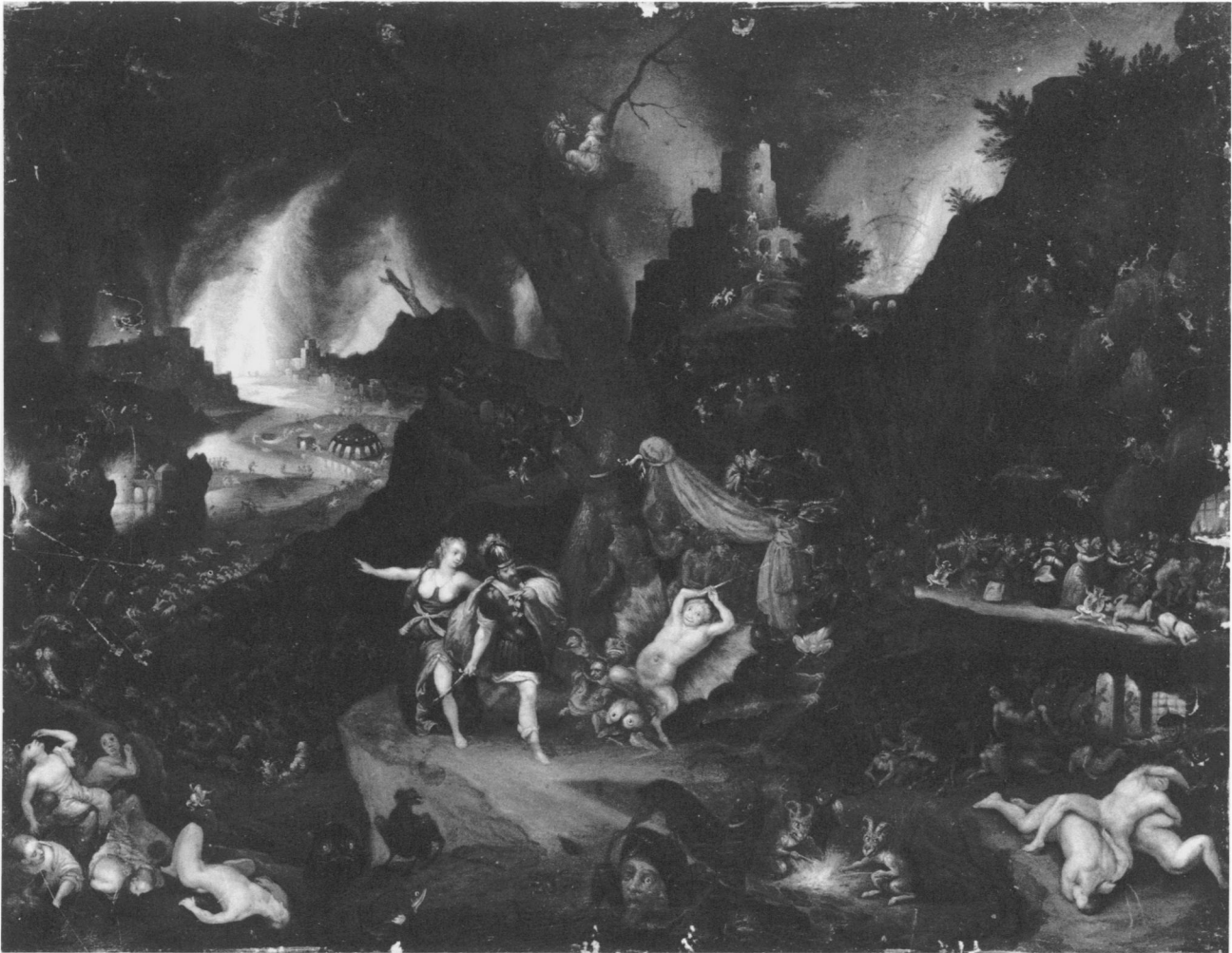


Figure 9. Jan Brueghel the Younger (1601–1678), *Aeneas and the Sibyl in the Underworld*, ca. 1630–40. Oil on copper, 27.3 × 36.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Erna S. Blade, in memory of her uncle, Sigmund Herrmann, 1991, 1991.444

Netherlandish nightmare when Jan I was in Rome and Milan (1592–96) working for such distinguished patrons as the Cardinals Ascanio Colonna and Federigo Borromeo. The small copper, *Orpheus Singing for Pluto and Proserpina* (Florence, Galleria Palatina), is dated 1594, and the *Aeneas Carrying Anchises out of Burning Troy* (Munich) and *Juno in the Underworld* (Dresden) have been plausibly dated to about 1595–96.⁸ The most immediate precedent for the present picture, Jan I's *Aeneas and the Sibyl in the Underworld* (Budapest, no. 553), is dated 160[o?],⁹ and he painted two versions of the subject, one somewhat similar and the other very different, around the same time (Budapest, no. 551, dated 1600; and an undated work in Vienna).¹⁰ One of the Budapest paintings (no. 553) provides precise models for the nudes in the lower corners, and it

similarly features a distant river and inhospitable creatures throughout. Jan II's legendary couple and their nearest antagonists derive from the other picture in Budapest (no. 551), although the Sibyl's pose more closely resembles that of Juno in the Dresden painting. A review of all the relevant material reveals that Jan II skillfully mixed motifs from several of his father's compositions to arrive at something new, which he then varied only slightly in replicas. Some of the monsters and amazing structures (for example, the domed building on the riverbank) recall the Bosch tradition more than anything in Jan I's work.

The subject is in good part merely a pretext for another painting of this type, but its source in Virgil's *Aeneid*, Book VI, would have been familiar to many people in Jan II's cultural sphere. After years

of Trojan travel, Aeneas consults the Cumaean Sibyl, who foretells his wars in Latium. She escorts Aeneas to the nether world, where they cross the Styx and encounter various dead figures, such as fallen lovers (including Dido, whom Aeneas had abandoned in Carthage) and warriors. In the haven of Elysium, Aeneas finds his father, Anchises, who points out the souls of men who in the future would be founders and heroes of Rome.

1. Walter A. Liedtke, *Flemish Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1984, I, pp. 22–24 (including biography), II, pl. 13, colorpl. III.
2. Klaus Ertz, *Jan Brueghel der Jüngere*, Freren, 1984, pp. 65 (on the *Höllenlandschaft* in Jan II's oeuvre), 299–302, cat. nos. 126–129. The St. Anthony scenes are in Karlsruhe and Pommersfelden, while the Purgatory views are in The Hague and Aschaffenburg. A version of the latter composition in an English private collection is dated by Ertz to the late 1630s (p. 65, cat. no. 136, colorpl. 25) because its smoother, harder manner and more local coloring suggest greater distance from the style of Jan I.
3. Ertz, op. cit., cat. nos. 130–132.
4. The St. Anthony picture in Karlsruhe (Ertz, op. cit., cat. no. 126) was previously published by Ertz as the work of Jan I (Klaus Ertz, *Jan Brueghel der Ältere*, Cologne, 1979, cat. no. 59, fig. 138), and Ertz was similarly unsure about the Brussels *Aeneas and the Sibyl* (1979, p. 130).
5. See Georges Marlier, *Pierre Brueghel le Jeune*, Brussels, 1969, chap. 3, on the name “Hell Brughel” (“Brueghel d’Enfer”), which has been misapplied to Jan I's younger brother, Pieter Brueghel the Younger. On all the fiery landscapes by Jan I (which include several subjects never treated by Jan II), see Ertz, op. cit., 1979, pp. 116–36.
6. Katharine Baetjer, *European Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art by artists born in or before 1865: A Summary Catalogue*, New York, 1980, II, p. 364 (both ill.). Two hell scenes by Bles are in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, nos. 5690, 5691.
7. Marlier, op. cit., figs. 12–14.
8. Ertz, op. cit., 1979, cat. nos. 5, 26, 32, figs. 126, 135, 120, respectively. The view of Troy is modeled on Rome.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 124, cat. no. 66, colorpl. 119.
10. *Ibid.*, cat. no. 65, fig. 121; cat. no. 67, fig. 133.

EX COLL.: Gift of Mrs. Erna S. Blade, in memory of her uncle, Sigmund Herrmann, 1991

1991.444

B. *Old Accessions Newly Catalogued as Flemish Paintings*

JAN JANSZ. DE HEEM (1650–after 1695)

Still Life: A Banqueting Scene (Figure 10)

Oil on canvas

Height, 53¼ in. (135.3 cm); width, 73 in. (185.4 cm)

Signed (lower left, on white tablecloth): JDH [in monogram]

Inscribed (falsely, in lower left corner): De Heem f

The painting is in sound condition, with minor losses at the edges and in the curtain in the left background. Lining of the canvas support, a herringbone twill, caused some flattening of the paint surface. Infrared reflectography reveals minor modifications in the course of execution, such as the height and alignment of the chair and the shape of the column's pedestal. Isolated passages—for example, the cut lemon and the neck of the lute—have become transparent with age and show completed forms below. This appears to reflect the painter's usual working procedure rather than revisions to the composition.

This large canvas, though not well known,¹ has been published recently as by Jan Davidsz. de Heem,² the celebrated Dutch painter who introduced this kind of luxurious still life in Antwerp after his arrival there in 1636.³ The close relationship to compositions by Jan Davidsz. de Heem is obvious (see Figure 11), but the execution is not nearly so refined as his or that of his most gifted son, Cornelis. One scholar has proposed an attribution to Jan van der Hecke (1620–1684), who painted similar objects and arrangements in the 1640s.⁴ Exhibitions of the past decade have made it somewhat easier to distinguish Jan Davidsz. de Heem's many Dutch and Flemish followers, who included Alexander Coosermans, Jan Pauwel Gillemans, Johannes Hannot, Jan van der Hecke, Cornelis de Heem, the much younger Jan Jansz. de Heem, Christiaan Luyckx, Jacob Marrel, Pieter de Ring, and Joris van Son.

In 1983 Ingvar Bergström was the first to suggest Jan Jansz. de Heem, one of the least familiar artists in this group, as the possible author of the Museum's picture.⁵ Since then, Sam Segal has independently proposed the same attribution on several occasions.⁶ Two works in the 1991 Utrecht exhibition, “De Heem and His Circle,”⁷ and comparisons with a few other pictures that have been assigned convincingly to Jan Jansz. de Heem leave no doubt for the present writer that he is indeed responsible for the ambitious painting in New York.

Johannes de Heem, now known as Jan Jansz., was the first son of Jan Davidsz. de Heem's second mar-



Figure 10. Jan Jansz. de Heem (1650–after 1695), *Still Life: A Banqueting Scene*, ca. 1670–80. Oil on canvas, 135.3 × 185.4 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Charles B. Curtis Fund, 1912, 12.195

riage, to Anna Ruckers. Jan Jansz. was baptized in the St. Joriskerk in Antwerp on July 2, 1650, and was thus nineteen years younger than his half brother Cornelis de Heem. On the day before he died (May 17, 1695), Cornelis referred to each of the surviving children of Jan Davidsz. de Heem in a notarized statement, which is the last known mention of Jan Jansz. The only other details known of his life are that he lived in Utrecht with his parents between 1667 and 1672 and that (according to the contemporary biographer Arnold Houbraken) he was his father's pupil.⁸

One painting exhibited (*hors-catalogue*) in Utrecht is a great banqueting still life set on a terrace with a column and curtain in the background, and is somewhat similar to the present picture in composition and in the motif of a tall guild cup.⁹ In both paintings the metal and glass objects are impressively

rendered, the fruit less so (although the leaves are gracefully described), while the drapery is flat and dull throughout. These uneven characteristics are also evident in the other banqueting picture exhibited in Utrecht,¹⁰ in which the drawing, highlights, and slightly textured surfaces of the silver tray and covered pitcher come very close to their counterparts in the chair and to the wine can (*wijnkan*, a pewter pitcher) on the table in the painting in New York.

Finally, the large canvas sold in Monaco as by Jan Jansz. de Heem is very similar in execution to the Museum's picture and bears the same monogram.¹¹ The treatment of the guild cup and the other metal objects corresponds in every way, from the closed, mechanically rhythmic outlines to the painterly dabs and strokes that suggest highlights in a seemingly Flemish, not Leiden-like way. Regular curves drawn

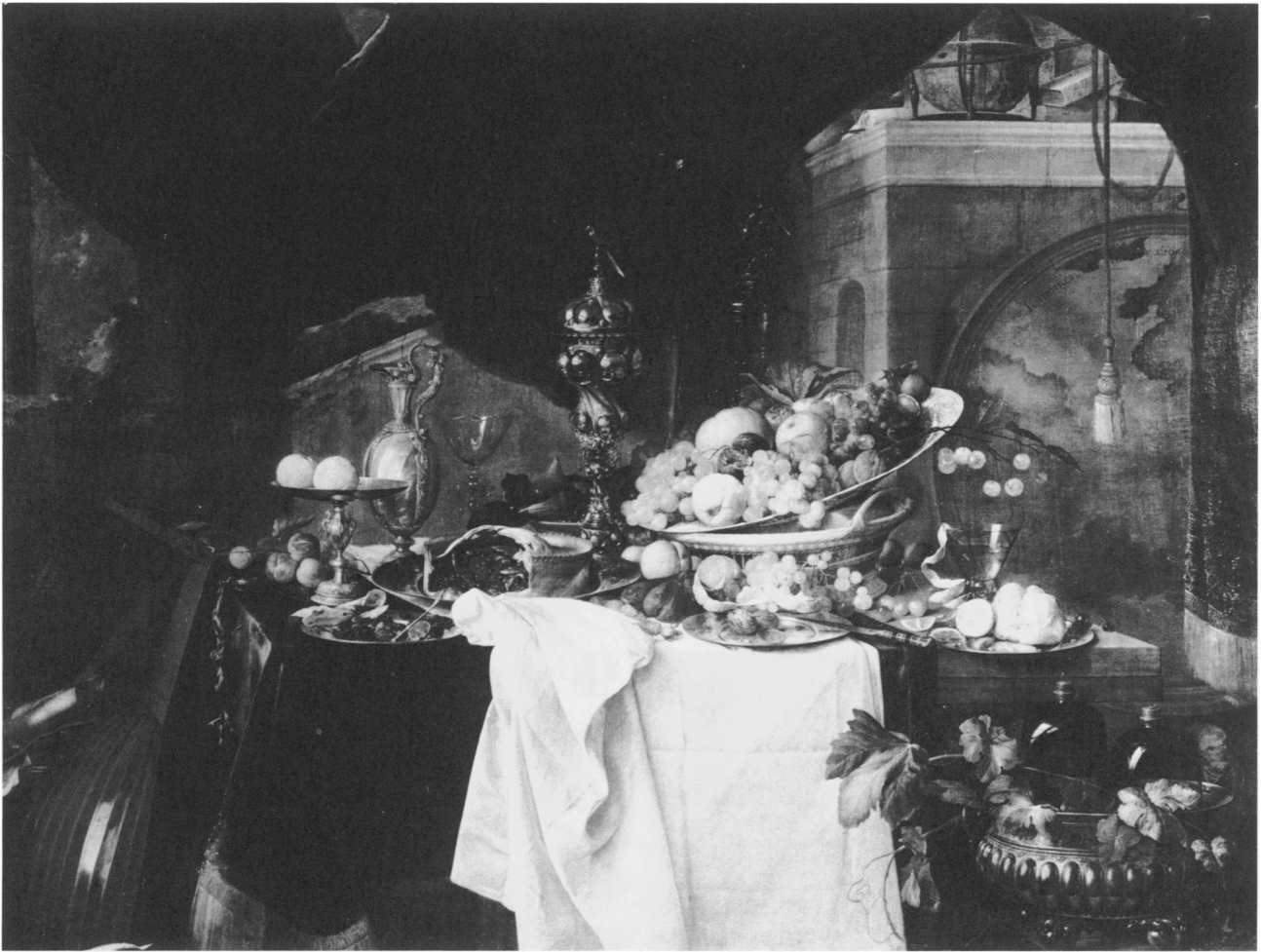


Figure 11. Jan Davidsz. de Heem (1606–83/84), *Un Dessert*, 1640. Oil on canvas, 149 × 203 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

by Jan Jansz., as in the pitcher handles, foreshortened plates, and chairback, tend to align themselves with the picture plane to artful effect (the trait is more manner than mistake). In general, the calligraphic gestures of Jan Davidsz. and Cornelis de Heem become with Jan Jansz. a sort of marching music of the spheres. On a small scale, however, he recalls his half brother's arabesques, as in the twisting lute strings to the left.

The objects depicted here are mostly standard for a *pronk* (a “show” or “preen”) still life, except for the clock and the guild cup surmounted by a bird. The latter is probably derived from the slightly different guild cup in Jan Davidsz.'s celebrated canvas *Un Dessert* in the Louvre (Figure 11), which is dated 1640 and “was possibly the first” picture of this type.¹² The Louvre painting features similar drapery and tablecloths, a narrow landscape view to the left, a

lute, a basket of fruit, and pewter plates with lemons at the near edge of the table. A different *façon de Venise* wineglass and two tall wine flutes (the shorter one with a glass cover) are also found in Jan Davidsz.'s composition. The circular map, the globe, and books in the father's painting may be compared in both formal and symbolic terms to the monumental vanitas motif of the clock in the son's composition. Elaborate symbolic programs are often read into still lifes of this type, but here nothing more is meant than that the objects offer merely temporal pleasures in addition to their richly decorative effects.

Large clocks are unusual in Dutch and Flemish still lifes, and the form of this one is unfamiliar.¹³ It would appear to be of provincial manufacture, using common metals and woods. An expert in the field has described the clock as probably weight-

driven, with the movement in a “posted frame,” a single hour hand, and a striking mechanism. He describes the object as perhaps, to some extent, an invention by the artist; as probably dating from the first half of the seventeenth century; and as definitely unsuited to its elegant surroundings in the picture.¹⁴ Perhaps this was the artist’s idea: the clock intrudes like a skull in an elegant portrait, or like a church bell announcing the lateness of the hour.

The chair, the basin and ewer on it, and the tall guild cup are all consistent with early-seventeenth-century designs. The blue-and-white pitcher, however, has a twisted handle like those that occur in Northern European ceramics from about 1660 onward.¹⁵ The execution as well as the design of the painting has a distinctly mid-seventeenth-century look, leading to the conclusion that it dates from the 1670s rather than later on.

Formerly attributed to Jan Davidsz. de Heem

1. The painting was last on view in the mid-1970s and was rarely exhibited during the preceding thirty years.
2. See Greindl (see Refs.), Larsen (see Refs.), and Sutton (see Refs.).
3. I. Bergström, *Dutch Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1956, chap. 5; S. Segal, *A Prosperous Past*, The Hague, 1988, chap. 8; S. Segal, *Jan Davidsz de Heem en zijn kring*, exh. cat., Centraal Museum, Utrecht, 1991.
4. Claus Grimm, oral opinion, on a visit to the MMA in October 1983. Compare the canvas by van der Hecke signed and dated 1645 in Kunsthandel P. de Boer, *Collection 1956*, Amsterdam, 1956, n.p. (ill.), listed in Greindl (see Refs.), p. 359, no. 1, among twenty-one works by or attributed to the artist.
5. I. Bergström, oral opinion, Dec. 5, 1983. In 1987 Bergström identified a canvas signed IDH as by Jan Jansz. de Heem (sold at Christie’s, Monaco, Dec. 3, 1988, no. 14, ill. in color); this painting is discussed below.
6. Most recently in March 1991, at Maastricht, where we discussed his de Heem exhibition (Segal, 1991).
7. Segal, op. cit., 1991, nos. 34, 34A (see note 9 on the latter). This exhibition concentrated on questions of connoisseurship by comparing works by de Heem with those by his pupils, followers, and copyists.
8. Segal, op. cit., 1991, p. 65, for Jan Jansz.’s biography, and p. 58 for the family tree.
9. A printed addendum (no. 34A) to the catalogue, with full details but no photograph, was made available at the Utrecht exhibition in 1991. The privately owned painting (canvas, 86 × 118.5 cm) was sold at Christie’s, London, May 4, 1979, no. 3 (ill.), and at Christie’s, Amsterdam, May 21, 1985 (evening session), no. 187 (color ill.), in both sales as by J. D. de Heem (in 1985 with a certificate from W. Bernt dated 1978). The painting is confusedly entered three times by Greindl (see Refs.) in her list of paintings by J. D. de Heem, pp. 359–61, nos. 10, 69, and 88.

10. Segal, op. cit., 1991, no. 34, a canvas, 82.5 × 107.5 cm, color ill. on p. 103.
11. See note 5.
12. Segal, op. cit., 1988, p. 145. The painting was exhibited in the Musée du Petit Palais, *Le Siècle de Rembrandt*, Paris, 1971, no. 103.
13. Pocket watches are, of course, a common vanitas element in still lifes of this type and in the Haarlem and Leiden banquet still lifes from which they originate. See Andrew Moore, *Dutch and Flemish Paintings in Norfolk*, London, 1988, no. 15, pl. vi, for a large clock of different design similarly placed in the composition. Moore catalogues this picture, called *The Yarmouth Collection* (Norwich Castle Museum), as “Dutch School,” ca. 1665, and discusses possible authors, of whom Pieter van Roestraten is the most plausible.
14. Letter from Jonathan Snellenburg, Sept. 15, 1988.
15. Dutch and English examples are well known. A later (ca. 1700–25) Dutch example in the MMA is illustrated in Louis L. Lipski, *Dated English Delftware*, Michael Archer, ed., London, n.d. (1984?), fig. 268. All the objects in this painting were thoroughly researched by Nancy Minty during her internship at the MMA in 1988.

REFERENCES: Louis Decamps, “Un musée transatlantique,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 5, 2nd ser. (1872) as by “Johan de Heem”; “Accessions and Notes,” *MMAB* 7 (1912) p. 229, as by Jan Davidsz. de Heem, the objects described, “their delineation is impeccable”; Bryson Burroughs, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Catalogue of Paintings*, New York, 1931, p. 157; A. P. A. Vorenkamp, *Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis van het hollandsche Stilleven in de XVII Eeuw*, Leiden, 1933, p. 45, compared with others paintings by de Heem; A. P. de Mirimonde, “Musique et symbolisme chez Jan-Davidszoon de Heem, Cornelis-Janszoon et Jan II [sic] Janszoon de Heem,” *Jahrboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*, Antwerp, 1970, pp. 283, 285, fig. 40, mentions the lute; Katharine Baetjer, *European Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art by artists born in or before 1865: A Summary Catalogue*, New York, 1980, II, p. 409, as by Jan Davidsz. de Heem; Edith Greindl, *Les peintres flamands de nature morte au XVIIe siècle*, Sterrebeek, Belgium, 1983, p. 124, describes this picture and others as typical compositions by Jan Davidsz. de Heem; Erik Larsen, *Seventeenth Century Flemish Painting*, Freren, Germany, 1985, pp. 309–10, fig. 240, as by Jan Davidsz. de Heem, “a good example of the sumptuousness of his style”; Peter C. Sutton, *A Guide to Dutch Art in America*, Grand Rapids, 1986, p. 190, as a “banquet piece by Jan Davidsz. de Heem.”

EXHIBITED: Corning Museum of Glass, Ithaca, N.Y., “Glass Vessels in Dutch Painting of the 17th Century,” 1952, p. 24, pl. VIII (ill.), p. 30, no. 2 (listed); Isaac Delgado Museum of Art, New Orleans, “Fêtes de la Palette,” 1963, no. 34, pl. 54; Arkansas Art Center, Little Rock, “Five Centuries of European Painting,” 1963, p. 28 (ill. and described); Bronx County Courthouse, New York, “Paintings from the Metropolitan,” 1971, no. 25.

EX COLL.: [Horace Buttery, London]; Purchase, Charles B. Curtis Fund, 1912

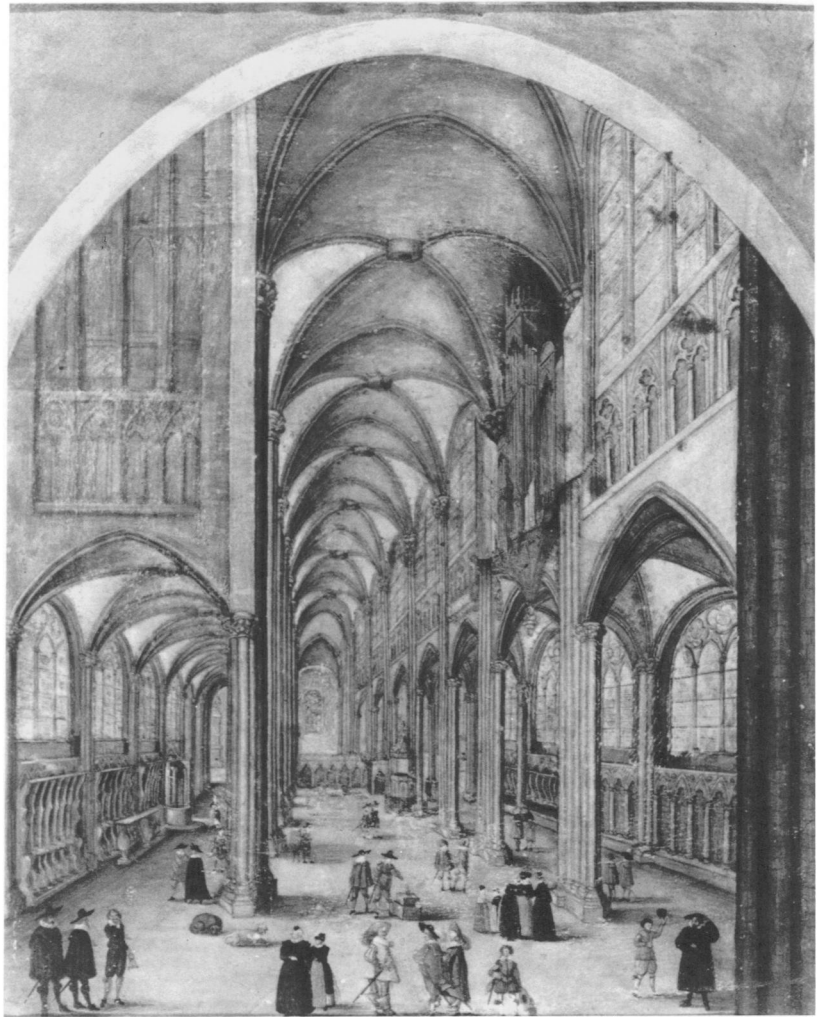


Figure 12. Attributed to Jacob van der Heyden (1573–1645), *The Interior of Strasbourg Cathedral*, ca. 1625–30. Tempera and shell gold on vellum, 13.3 × 10.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1950, 50.209

ATTRIBUTED TO JACOB VAN DER HEYDEN
(1573–1645)

The Interior of Strasbourg Cathedral (Figure 12)
Tempera and shell gold on vellum
Height, 5¼ in. (13.3 cm); width, 4⅛ in. (10.5 cm)

The work is lightly abraded overall, with some flaking, especially within 3 centimeters of the bottom. The figure in black to the lower right has been consolidated; there is inpainting and consolidation in the area of the choir screen. The vellum is slightly cockled.

This very small painting on vellum corresponds closely in reverse to Jacob van der Heyden's engraving of the interior of Strasbourg Cathedral (Nôtre Dame).¹ The engraving (Figure 13) bears a Latin inscription stating that the subject was drawn in 1616 and that the print was made by Jacob van der Hey-

den, "engraver of Strassburg," in 1627. The figures in the painting wear costumes dating from about the mid-1620s; on the whole, they correspond to figures in the print, but there the figures are slightly less numerous and the costumes seem earlier in date (the four male figures in the center foreground of the painting, in clothing of about 1625, do not occur in the print). Quite independently of this consideration, it is highly unlikely that the engraving is based on the present work, which is about one-quarter of the size of the printed image.

It would appear, then, that the painting and the engraving are both based on a single drawing, presumably the one made in 1616. The author of the drawing must have been van der Heyden himself: the style of the figures in both images resembles his,² and he was an artist skilled in rendering a wide variety of subjects, including city views.³



Figure 13. Jacob van der Heyden, *The Interior of Strasbourg Cathedral*, 1627. Engraving, 33.3 × 24.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1956, 56.597.19

Van der Heyden's father, Jan, a portrait painter from Mechelen (Malines), fled to Cologne for religious reasons by 1590 and in 1600 became a citizen of the Protestant free city of Strasbourg. The information given by all modern biographers (but not by Sandrart in 1675) that Jacob van der Heyden was born in Strasbourg in 1573 is illogical, since he was already a teenager when the family left the Southern Netherlands. The report that he was a pupil of another Mechelen painter, Raphael Coxie, is consistent with the hypothesis that Jacob was in Mechelen or Brussels (where Coxie was active from about 1586 onward) until the end of the 1580s.

Van der Heyden's activity in Strasbourg from 1608 to about 1635 is documented by his many engravings. During the last ten years of his life he probably resided mostly in Brussels. It is likely, however, that van der Heyden's work as a publisher and

as an engraver for foreign presses had him traveling frequently. It has also been supposed that some of the German princes portrayed in van der Heyden's engravings were visited by him at their own courts (for example, Baden-Durlach and Hessen), which would seem to be implied by Sandrart's remark that the artist was "bei den hohen Potentaten sehr wohl angesehen."⁴

Paintings by van der Heyden are recorded, but none is identified today. The present picture—which could be considered a colored drawing but for its medium—recalls the few surviving drawings of church interiors by Flemish architectural painters such as Hendrick van Steenwyck the Younger.⁵ The closest known precedent for a small painting on vellum of precisely this type—that is, a view of an entire Gothic church interior from an ideal vantage point—is signed in monogram by Marten van Val-

ckenborch and dates from about 1600.⁶ Similar small paintings on panel and on copper are well known and, when comparable to this work in subject and in composition, may be described as a distinctly Flemish specialty.⁷

The design employed here was common in architectural paintings of the Antwerp school from the 1580s onward;⁸ van der Heyden would certainly have known examples by the van Steenwycks and by Pieter Neeffs the Elder. In the latter artist's pictures the staffage is arranged quite similarly, although the line of figures in the immediate foreground of the painting on vellum (not in the print) is a peculiar and, on this scale, naively appealing idea.

One is so accustomed to seeing views of Antwerp Cathedral and of imaginary Catholic churches presented in this way that the Protestant nature of the subject should be emphasized. Apart from stained glass and the organ, the church has been stripped of altarpieces and all the other embellishments that it would have had before the Reformation. Worship is centered not at the choir but at the pulpit at the side of the nave. The choir stalls to the left and in the southern aisle in the right background were presumably removed from the choir, which reveals nothing but a window beyond the distant choir screen. None of the visitors is worshipping; at the moment, the church interior is an extension of the market square. In the lower left corner a warder carries a large ring of keys. The man to the lower right is a minister. A gentleman puts something into the collection box in the middle of the nave. These figures slightly modify the figures found in the print, which may have been made (following the drawing of 1616) at about the same time.

Known impressions of the print bear a three-line dedication in German to Anna Maria Widd (née Brandt) on New Year's Day 1628.⁹ One might wonder whether she was also presented with this charming keepsake of Strasbourg Cathedral.

Formerly attributed to Pieter Neeffs the Elder

1. F. W. Hollstein, *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts ca. 1400–1700*, Blaricum, 1984, XIII A, no. 14.
2. *Ibid.*, nos. 159–64, for comparison.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 77, 81, 82.
4. Joachim von Sandrart, *Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste*, 1675, A. Peltzer, ed., Munich, 1925, p. 181 (quoted by B. C. Kreplin in Thieme-Becker, XVII [1924], p. 17).
5. For example, the round drawing probably by van Steenwyck in the Lugt collection (Victoria and Albert Museum, *Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth Century from the Collection of Frits*

Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris, London, 1972, p. 130, no. 97, pl. 30 and color ill. on cover); and the supposed view of the Jacobskerk, Antwerp, a drawing in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, which is attributed to Daniel de Blicq (W. Bernt, *Die Niederländischen Zeichner des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1957, I, no. 69) but is in my view by Hendrick van Steenwyck the Younger.

6. Sold at Christie's, New York, "Old Master Drawings," Jan. 10, 1990, no. 179 (ill. in color).
7. Walter Liedtke, *Flemish Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1984, pp. 131–37, for examples by Pieter Neeffs the Elder and the Younger.
8. H. Jantzen, *Das Niederländische Architekturbild*, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 27–28, fig. 7 (Hendrick van Steenwyck I).
9. J.-Y. Mariotte, Director of the Archives in Strasbourg, provided the following information in a letter of Aug. 28, 1991. Anna Maria Brandt, daughter of the Strasbourg merchant Thiebold Brandt, married Reinhardt Widd (or Widt, Wied, Wydt) on May 15, 1615. He was born on July 7, 1582; her birthdate is not known. The couple had a son, Johann Reinhardt, baptized on Trinity (the eighth Sunday after Easter) in 1617. The godfather was the baby's grandfather, Heinrich Widd, who was a member of the Chambre des XV (city governors) from 1609 to 1620. A Widd family owned important properties in Dorlisheim, near Strasbourg, but it is not certain that they are the same Widds. The archives of Notre Dame are preserved in the city archives, but Mr. Mariotte did not find anything relevant in them.

EX COLL.: Carl Ernst Huver, Long Island City, New York (until 1950); Rogers Fund, 1950

50.209

HENDRICK VAN STEENWYCK THE YOUNGER (about 1580–1649)

A Renaissance Portico with Elegant Figures

(Figure 14)

Oil on copper

Diameter, 4³/₈ in. (11.1 cm)

Signed (bottom center, on step): HEN[—] V. STE[—]
WYCK 16[—]

The paint surface is in good condition, with small chips lost in several places, especially in the woman seated on the step, and in the architecture to the extreme left. Cleaned and retouched in 1945.

This very small painting on copper was assigned to the Department of European Paintings' collection of miniatures when it was given to the Museum in 1945. In subject and size the picture is not a typical



Figure 14. Hendrick van Steenwyck the Younger (ca. 1580–1649), *A Renaissance Portico with Elegant Figures*, ca. 1615. Oil on copper, Diam. 11.1 cm (reproduced slightly enlarged). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. James Eads Switzer, in memory of her aunt, Yrene Ceballos de Sanz, 1945. 45.94.2

miniature, and it should have been included in the catalogue of Flemish paintings, as were small views of church interiors by Pieter Neeffs the Elder and by Pieter Neeffs the Younger.

Hendrick van Steenwyck the Younger was the son of Hendrick van Steenwyck the Elder, who left Antwerp and settled in Frankfurt, probably during the troubled 1580s. In 1604 Carel van Mander described the elder van Steenwyck as reportedly having died the year before and the younger van Steenwyck as already active as a painter.¹ He may have worked in Antwerp before moving to London, where he was “currently living” according to a declaration made in Amsterdam by the Antwerp picture dealer Anthony Goetkint.² In 1626 or 1629 van Steenwyck added perspective backgrounds to two Holbein portraits in the collection of Charles I,³ and

in 1626 he painted the monumental architectural background in Daniel Mijtens’s portrait of the king (Galleria Sabauda, Turin).⁴ Van Steenwyck probably moved to Holland by about 1640, and he is described as an “architectural painter of The Hague” in the inscription below his portrait in the 1645 edition of engravings after Van Dyck known as the *Iconography*.⁵

Imaginary views of Late Renaissance architecture (which include church interiors, views of elegant companies in stately rooms, and so-called palace courts, such as the present example) have well-known origins in Antwerp,⁶ but after 1600 appear to have been collected by aristocratic connoisseurs of art and architecture in London and The Hague. The subject here can certainly be described as courtly both in the figures and in the architecture.

The portico in the foreground, with its balcony and stepped terrace, suggests an entrance to a palace in the latest architectural style, a decorative Doric comparable to that found in Flemish church design from about 1610 onward. The building in the left background recalls the Queen's House at Greenwich (designed by Inigo Jones in 1616) but has taller proportions and an open gallery above that lends an Italianate flavor to the whole. An arcade connects this building with a fanciful Late Gothic chapel in the right background, which completes the impression of a grand palace complex. Similar elements are found in van Steenwyck's more extensive palace views dated 1610 (National Gallery, London) and 1614 (Mauritshuis, The Hague). The representation of porticoes, terraces, arcades, and other features unsuited to the Netherlandish climate was popularized by the prolific painter and printmaker Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527–ca. 1606), but his elaborate inventions are reflected here only in the general arrangement and in the deep red, veined marble column.⁷

Two couples, at least one of them amorous, linger on the portico, where a gentleman emerges from the doorway bearing a tall flute of red wine.⁸ Eight men in the left background are engaged in some sort of athletic exercise (not fencing), which is watched by small groups of mostly female figures in the middle ground, to the left, and under the arcade. The costumes, the picture's palette (with its brown-cream-green zoning of space), and comparisons with other paintings by van Steenwyck suggest a date of about 1615.⁹

The small size and perhaps the shape of the painting raise the question of whether it may have played a part in a larger decorative scheme, for example, on a chest or cabinet. The support, the copper, and the subjects usually found on Flemish cabinets speak against the idea. Finely detailed paintings small enough to be held in the hand were occasionally kept in cabinet drawers, for example, the "Boxe" of several drawers in the "Cabbonett Room" of Charles I, which was reserved mostly for "Meddalies and Limbed peeces and all other rarities."¹⁰ The royal collection included at least twelve pictures by Hendrick van Steenwyck the Younger and "A little boock of Prosspectives" by him.¹¹

1. Carel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, Haarlem, 1604, p. 261v.
2. A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, The Hague, 1915–21, VII, pp. 166–67.
3. Oliver Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart, and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, London, 1963, p. 58, under no. 27 (pl. 12), and p. 62, under no. 39 (pl. 15).
4. Liedtke (see Refs.), p. 33, fig. 1. Pendant pictures of Charles I and Henrietta Maria in similar architectural settings are in Dresden (nos. 1187 and 1188); both are dated 1637, and the king's portrait is signed HENRI VAN STEINWICK.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34, for a fuller discussion of van Steenwyck's probable activity in or around The Hague in the 1640s, and p. 70 for a reproduction of the portrait print.
6. Walter Liedtke, "From Vredeman de Vries to Dirck van Delen: Sources of Imaginary Architectural Painting," *Bulletin of Rhode Island School of Design* 57, 2 (Dec. 1970); J. Briels, *Vlaamse Schilders in de Noordelijke Nederlanden*, Antwerp, 1987, chap. 9, and the literature cited by Briels in chap. 9, n. 8.
7. Compare Vredeman de Vries's painting in Vienna: Jantzen, *Das Niederländische Architekturbild*, Leipzig, 1910, fig. 5; T. D. Kaufmann, *The School of Prague*, Chicago and London, 1988, no. 25.3. The portico recalls that found in an engraving by Hendrick Hondius after Paul Vredeman de Vries, 1606 (Briels, *op. cit.*, fig. 337).
8. This detail and some of those described below were examined under a microscope. The picture may have been painted and perhaps was originally appreciated with the aid of a magnifying glass.
9. Microscopic examination of the date reveals only that the third digit may be a "1." An old cardboard liner inside the brass frame now encasing the picture bears the inscription "Jan van Delen. 1614. Amsterdam." This appears to be a comparatively modern error for the architectural painter Dirck van Delen and an attempted reading of the date.
10. Arthur MacGregor, ed., *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories*, London and Oxford, 1989, p. 413.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 416.

REFERENCE: W. Liedtke, "The Court Style: Architectural Painting in The Hague and London," in Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, *Perspectives: Saenredam and the architectural painters of the 17th century*, Rotterdam, 1991, p. 35, fig. 5.

EXHIBITED: MMA, New York, "Four Centuries of Miniature Painting," Jan. 19–March 19, 1950 (listed on page 4 of the 16-page leaflet).

EX COLL.: Gift of Mrs. James Eads Switzer, in memory of her aunt, Yrene Ceballos de Sanz, 1945

45.94.2

A Sèvres Biscuit Bust of Louis XV Acquired by The Frick Collection in Memory of Guy Bauman

EDGAR MUNHALL

Curator, The Frick Collection

WITH FUNDS GENEROUSLY CONTRIBUTED by friends of Guy Bauman, The Frick Collection has purchased in memory of its former lecturer and curatorial assistant a Sèvres bust of Louis XV on a gilded green pedestal (Figure 1). This acquisition, which joins a small but distinguished group of Sèvres porcelains,¹ represents the museum's first example of a biscuit sculpture.² This bust is one of five surviving examples of the model, and it is the only one with such a gilded pedestal.

The Frick sculpture is a soft-paste biscuit porcelain bust of Louis XV (1710–74), about 1760, on a sloping quadrangular socle fired in one with the bust. The subject, who is shown bareheaded, his flowing locks knotted at the back of the neck, looks up and slightly to his left. He is garbed as a Roman emperor, wearing an embossed cuirass beneath a fringed cloak affixed with a circular brooch on the left shoulder.

The four sides of the hollow, tapering, green-ground pedestal swell out slightly at the top and bottom; they are decorated with gilded and tooled trophies symbolizing war, architecture, music, and painting. The sloping bands of the bracket-footed base are decorated with floral sprays, as are the arched feet. The upper and lower edges of the pedestal, as well as the side panels, are banded with gilding. The top of the pedestal (Figure 2) is notched to receive a flange that is normally part of the circular base of such busts (cf. the Boston and St. Petersburg examples in note 3), but is missing here, along with the usual circular base, which may have been removed for reasons of condition. The Frick bust and pedestal have been together only since 1987.

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 27

The notes for this article begin on page 127.

The Sèvres biscuit busts of Louis XV have been referred to in catalogues of notable porcelain collections, most recently—and in considerable detail—by Rosalind Savill⁴ and Aileen Dawson⁵—but heretofore they have never been the subject of an independent study. The busts of Louis XV and Marie Leczinska and the pedestal “en gaine” designed to support them are first recorded in Sèvres documents in 1759. Because Louis XV assumed total financial responsibility for the manufactory that year, it has been thought that the busts were produced in recognition of that fact. Sales records of the following year list busts and pedestals as having been sold to Madame Louise, to Madame de Pompadour, to the then-current artistic director of Sèvres, Bachelier, and to the dealers Poirier and Sprot. The model for the pedestal was still recorded in 1773.

On the basis of summary eighteenth-century descriptions, it is difficult to identify extant examples as those recorded in the Sèvres sales records. However, the Boston pair of busts with their dark blue pedestals (Figure 3) may correspond to the two with “lapis” ground bought by Sprot on October 2, 1760, and two of the four mismatched pedestals with rose and green ground colors, in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 4) and the Wallace Collection, may correspond to a pair with busts and the same ground colors sold to Madame Louise in December of the same year.⁶ Further, it is tempting to associate the pedestal of the new Frick bust with one of the pair of “pieds d'estaux en gaine” with green ground and gilding, which were sold for 72 *livres* each to Poirier in 1760,⁷ and in turn with a pair of busts referred to in a letter by the Parisian banker Bonnet, dated April 15, 1760. This letter concerned porcelain that Poirier had sent from Paris to the chief minister of the ducal court of Parma, Guillaume Dutillot, including “le portrait du Roi et de la Reine aussi en biscuit sur des petits pieds-destaux



Figure 1. Sèvres, Biscuit bust of Louis XV on a gilded pedestal, ca. 1760. Bust: H. 11.0 cm; pedestal: H. 15.3 cm. New York, The Frick Collection (photo: Richard di Liberto)

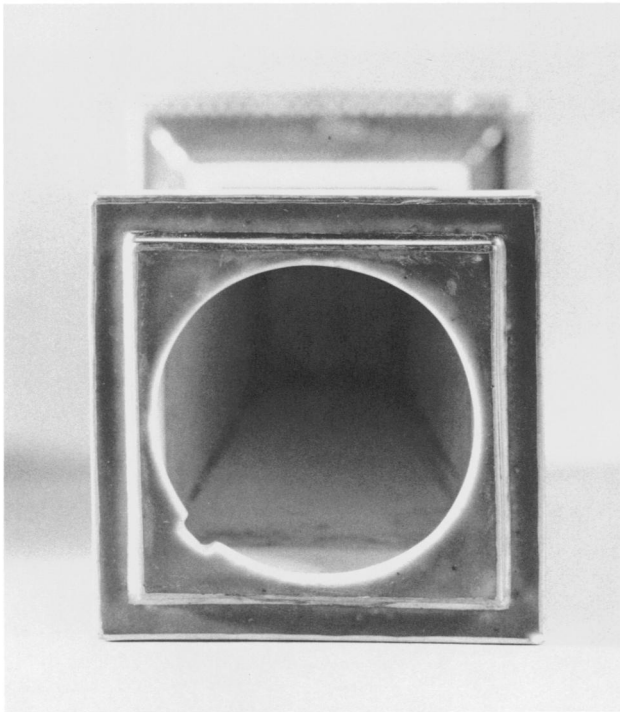


Figure 2. Detail of Figure 1 showing top surface of pedestal (photo: Richard di Liberto)



Figure 3. Sèvres, Biscuit busts of Louis XV and Marie Leczinska on gilded pedestals, probably 1760. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Bequest of R. Thornton Wilson, in memory of Florence Ellsworth Wilson (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)



Figure 4. Sèvres, Flower stands (pair) with pink and green ground colors, 1759. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 1958, 58.75.92ab, 93ab

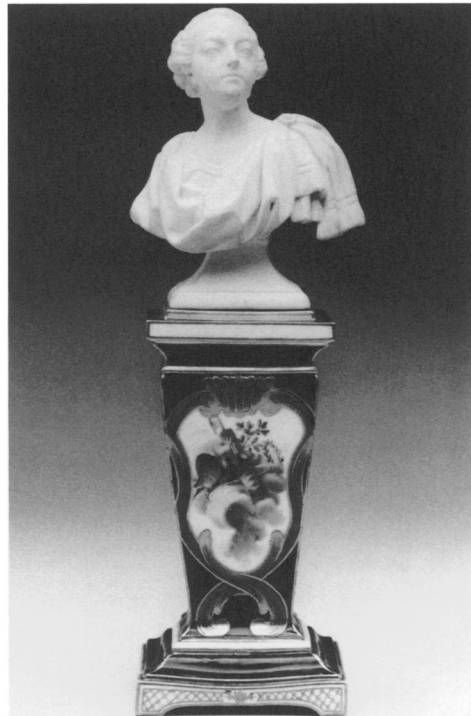


Figure 5. Sèvres, Biscuit bust of Louis XV on a gilded and painted pedestal, probably 1761. London, The British Museum, Bequest of Sir B. Eckstein, Bt., 1948 (photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum)



Figure 6. Detail of Figure 1 showing trophy of war (photo: Richard di Liberto)



Figure 7. Detail of Figure 1 showing trophy of architecture (photo: Richard di Liberto)

qui servent a mettre des fleurs lorsque l'on ny met pas les petites bustes.”⁸

Among extant examples, the pedestal of the Frick Collection bust is unique for its gilded and exquisitely tooled trophies. While difficult to decipher completely, the principal elements of these compositions correspond in a general way to symbolic trophies painted on numerous examples of Sèvres porcelain, notably on the trophies of the related pedestal in the British Museum. The Frick and British Museum trophies of war (Figures 6, 5), for instance, share the fasces, ax, and plumed helmet, although the London composition includes an olive branch and a laurel wreath, symbols of peace and victory. The two examples come close, however, in their evocation of architecture (Figures 7, 8), in that both include representations of a French Ionic capital. Further, the British Museum trophy of sculpture helps us read the Frick trophy of painting (Figures 9, 10), since both include a representation of Saly's familiar *Bust of a Young Girl* (Figure 11). The fourth trophy on the Frick pedestal alludes to music (Figure 12), whereas the British Museum example

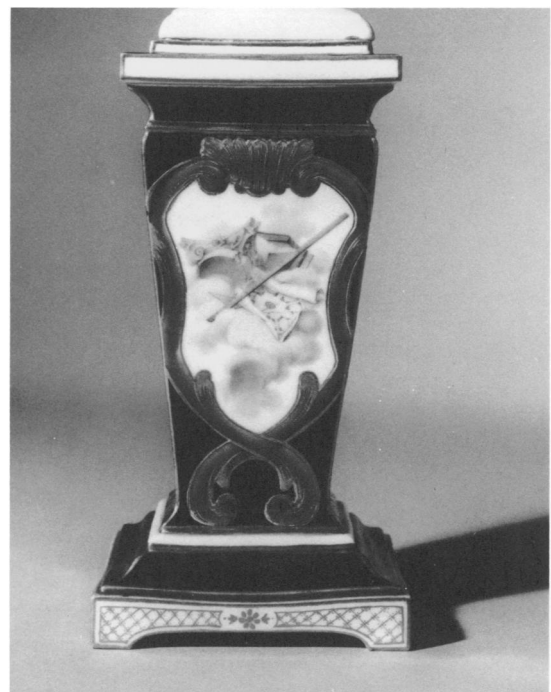


Figure 8. Detail of Figure 4 showing trophy of architecture (photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum)



Figure 9. Detail of Figure 1 showing trophy of painting (photo: Richard di Liberto)



Figure 11. François-Jacques-Joseph Saly (1717–76), *Bust of a Young Girl*, ca. 1750. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)



Figure 10. Detail of Figure 5 showing trophy of sculpture (photo courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum)

evokes geography. The most notable element shared by all the Frick and British Museum trophies is the billowing clouds that form their backgrounds: on the latter they are painted with dazzling atmospheric effect; on the former they are more three-dimensional.

According to Tamara Préaud, there are no models for any of these trophies preserved at Sèvres.⁹ The closest parallel to the pedestal, technically speaking, is the pair of flowerpots with green ground and tooled gilding once at Mentmore and



Figure 12. Detail of Figure 1 showing trophy of music (photo: Richard di Liberto)

now at Dalmeny House, Edinburgh, which Rosalind Savill associates with the two sold to the dauphine on December 30, 1758.¹⁰

The model for the bust is unknown, but it has traditionally been associated with Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne (1704–78), despite the lack of any evidence at Sèvres of his participation in the production of the bust. Of his many portrait sculptures of Louis XV, Lemoyne's lost equestrian monument of the king inaugurated at Bordeaux in 1743 (Figure 13) corresponds most clearly to the present miniature portrait. In it the monarch was similarly depicted in a cuirass à la romaine, with his neck bare, his head uncovered and thrown back, and his shoulders draped with a flowing cloak.

Dupuis's engraving after Cochin's drawing of this sculpture, which was exhibited at the Salon of 1759, may have served as a model for the unknown sculptor at Sèvres who was responsible for the biscuit bust. Despite differences between the two images (Figures 13, 14)—such as the details of the cloak and of the monarch's hair—the head of the eques-

trian monument, which was engraved by Cochin himself, and that of the Sèvres bust are strikingly similar in their renderings of the signs of age in the royal visage—the sagging lower eyelids, the heavy jowls, and the receding hairline.¹¹

A possible alternative model recently came to light in a previously unpublished miniature terracotta bust of Louis XV inscribed *Lemoine* (Figure 15). The terracotta appears to be an autograph reduction of the head and torso of Lemoyne's monument to Louis XV inaugurated at Rennes in 1754; like the Bordeaux monument, the sculpture was destroyed during the Revolution.¹² While the terracotta differs from the Sèvres bust too greatly to be regarded as its model, its similar size (10.2 cm) provides evidence of a type of model the unknown sculptor at Sèvres might have utilized. Curiously, the marks of aging that characterize both the Sèvres bust and the Bordeaux monument as engraved by Cochin are less evident in this reduction of the Rennes monument, which is later in date by almost a decade. However, when Lemoyne's model for the



Figure 13. Nicolas-Gabriel Dupuis (1698–1771) and Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715–90), *Equestrian Statue of Louis XV* (detail). Engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1957, 57.581.68



Figure 14. View of Figure 1 from below



Figure 15. Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne, *Louis XV*. Private collection

Rennes monument was exhibited at the Salon of 1751, one critic noted that “it is too bad that the head of the king does not at all resemble him perfectly.”¹³

The rarity of examples of the Sèvres biscuit busts of Louis XV, the exceptional quality of the gilding on the pedestal of the Frick Collection example, and the eerie suggestion of mortality in the miniature royal portrait together make this an appropriate acquisition in memory of a friend and colleague whose time shared with us was so brief yet so memorable.

NOTES

1. See J. A. Pope, M. Brunet, *The Frick Collection: An Illustrated Catalogue VII: Porcelains* (New York, 1974) pp. 181–351.

2. Exhibited: “Vincennes/Sèvres,” Deborah Gage (Works of Art), Ltd., London, June 7–20, 1990, no. 23 (lent by John Whitehead). Collections: sale (pedestal only), Sotheby’s, New York, Oct. 16, 1987, lot 161 (this reference was kindly communicated to the author by Tamara Préaud in a letter dated May 4, 1991); Hector Binney, London, until 1987 (bust only); John Whitehead, London (bust and pedestal); purchased from him by The Frick Collection in 1990. Literature: J. Whitehead, *Vincennes/Sèvres*, exh. checklist (London, 1990) no. 23.

3. Comparable examples: (1) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 53.54.1964, Bequest of R. Thornton Wilson, in memory of Florence Ellsworth Wilson; biscuit bust on circular base with flange, fitted in a glazed and gilded dark blue pedestal, with companion bust of Queen Marie Leczinska (Figure 3); (2) London, British Museum, reg. no. 1948.12-3.5, Bequest of Sir B. Eckstein, Bt., 1948; biscuit bust on glazed and gilded dark blue pedestal decorated in enamel colors with trophies of architecture, sculpture, geography, and war and peace (Figure 5); (3) Sèvres, Musée National de la Céramique, MNC 10058; bust on a truncated columnar base decorated with swags, both in biscuit; (4) Saint Petersburg, Hermitage, inv. N 26512; biscuit bust on circular base with flange. Derivative examples of the bust alone in other mediums are discussed by A. Dawson in *French Porcelain in the British Museum* (forthcoming). Ms. Dawson kindly shared her draft manuscript with the author.

In this context the existence of a second model of the bust of Louis XV should be noted. In it the monarch is shown wearing armor and enveloped in a cloak bearing the star of the Order of the Saint-Esprit. Examples include one at Versailles, Musée National de Versailles et de Trianon (C. Maumené, L. d'Harcourt, *Iconographie des Rois de France* [Paris, 1931] no. 171), another at the Musée Lambinet, Versailles (no. 647), and a third, formerly in the Elizabeth Parke Firestone collection (sold, Christie's, New York, March 21, 1991, lot 148). Each has a simple, round socle base without a pedestal.

4. R. Savill, *The Wallace Collection, Catalogue of Sèvres Porcelain* (London, 1988) I, pp. 117–126.

5. Dawson, *French Porcelain in the British Museum*.

6. See C. C. Dauterman, J. Parker, E. Standen, *Decorative Art from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*

(New York, 1964) pp. 207–208; Savill, *The Wallace Collection*, I, p. 124.

7. See Savill, *The Wallace Collection*, I, p. 126 n. 11(a). This association was first proposed by John Whitehead, *Vincennes/Sèvres*, no. 23.

8. Quoted in C. Briganti, "Documents sur les arts à la Cour de Parme au XVIIIème siècle," *Antologia di Belle Arti* (Dec. 1977) p. 396 (reference pointed out by John Whitehead in a letter to the author dated Feb. 18, 1991). This document, incidentally, throws interesting light on alternative uses made of such pedestals, illustrated—as Rosalind Savill pointed out (*The Wallace Collection*, I, p. 118)—in Trière's engraving after Moreau le jeune's "*J'accepte l'heureux présage*" (no. 15 in the *Monument du Costume I* [Bocher 13501]; MMA, 33.6.29).

9. Letter to the author dated May 4, 1991.

10. Rosalind Savill pointed out this relationship to the author. See Savill, *The Wallace Collection*, I, p. 89 n. 14(e)3.

11. For the history of Dupuis's and Cochin's engraving, see P. Courteault, *La Place Royale de Bordeaux* (Paris/Bordeaux, 1923) pp. 387–391; M. Marionneau, "Correspondance de J.-B. Lemoyne et de l'Intendant de Tournay au sujet de la gravure de la statue équestre de Louis XV, érigée en 1743, sur la place Royale de Bordeaux," in *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts des départements* (Paris, 1882) pp. 154–155; M. Roux, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Estampes, Inventaire du fonds français: Graveurs du XVIIIème siècle* (Paris, 1955) VIII, p. 398, no. 155.

12. The author is grateful to Joseph Baillio for bringing to his attention this terracotta in a private collection.

13. Quoted in L. Réau, *Une Dynastie de sculpteurs au XVIIIème siècle: Les Lemoyne* (Paris, 1927) p. 78.

Philippe-Laurent Roland in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

JAMES DAVID DRAPER

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ONE OF A CURATOR'S favorite missions is to nurture interest in a given artist or school through acquisition. The sculptor Philippe-Laurent Roland (1746–1816) offers an attractive case in point.

Until 1975, the only works in the Museum to which his name could be attached were some decorative wood panels (Figures 6–8). They amply demonstrate his competence in supplying ornament in the best Louis XVI manner, but one would have no reason to guess from them alone that their maker was a master investigator of the human figure. Since 1975, three works by Roland have been added to the collection, two quite recently. These prove that he is worthy of consideration on the same high plane as Pajou, Julien, Clodion, and Houdon—his elders by a few years—even if his name is less familiar than theirs. In fact, his lesser fame is probably a result of the frequent merging of his talents in architectural programs such as those to which the carved panels belonged. This article seeks to bring the merits of his figural style to the fore.

Roland was born in 1746 in Pont-à-Marc, near Lille, the son of a tailor and innkeeper. After lessons at the local drawing school, he went to Paris and entered the shop of the great Augustin Pajou (1730–1809) in 1764. Although Pajou encouraged him to specialize in marble carving, Roland's actual employment was on the decorative schemes that kept his master busiest: he participated in Pajou's outdoor reliefs in limestone for the Palais-Royal (1767–69), ordered by the duc d'Orléans, and was a principal assistant on Pajou's wood and stucco embellishments for the royal opera at Versailles (1768–70), a collaboration with the architect Nicolas-Marie Potain (1713–1796), who was later to become his father-in-law. Roland would venerate Pajou to the end of his days.¹

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With this solid experience behind him, Roland went to Italy for a stay of five years. It is a sign of his independence that he went at his own expense rather than go through the motions of trying for a *prix de Rome*. In view of his known occupations in Paris before and after, the Italian sojourn must have taken place between 1770 and 1776. His famous pupil and biographer, Pierre-Jean David d'Angers (1788–1856), knew three sculptures of the Roman period. The noble rhetoric of David d'Angers's prose may sound more than a little old-fashioned today, but it captures beautifully the striving for perfection that motivated Roland. The large principles to which his pupil appeals are somehow vitiated by translation and are therefore presented here in the original:

Après quelques années d'un labeur opiniâtre, Roland put consacrer le fruit de ses épargnes à voyager en Italie; il y passa cinq ans. Alors commencèrent pour lui ces études si sérieuses d'après l'antique, et les grands exemples que nous a légués l'art italien. Entre autres ouvrages où il s'essaya, ses premières inspirations se traduisent par un gracieux buste de jeune fille, et une statue mi-corps de jeune dormeur, par un vieillard également jusqu'à mi-corps. Ces deux derniers sont en terre cuite; le vieillard se voit actuellement dans le musée d'Angers. On remarque une vérité incroyable de nature dans ces productions: c'est de la chair qui, pour palpiter, semble n'attendre qu'une étincelle du feu sacré; mais ce n'est pas encore la vie grandiose et le goût épuré qu'on admire dans ses autres ouvrages.²

In 1990 the Museum had the good fortune to acquire at auction in Monte Carlo the captivating terracotta bust of a sleeping boy from the Roman period (Figure 2). It was described in the sale catalogue only as French, eighteenth century,³ but was recognizable as Roland's for two reasons: the mention by David d'Angers and the publication of the marble of this composition in an article of 1901.⁴ The Museum's agent had no competition at the sale;

perhaps the coat of white paint failed to attract bidders. This usage, if not original, is an old one; it served the double function of regularizing surface damages (especially visible here along the edges of drapery and corners of the self-base), most likely caused when a plaster mold was taken from the bust, and of indicating to a potential buyer how the image would appear if executed in white marble.

The image is as tenderly meditated as a finished sanguine drawing by Greuze. Roland must have had in mind genre studies such as Greuze's half-lengths, which seem to render the eyewitness scrutiny of people's daily habits intimately and convincingly, close up. Yet the derivation is as classical as it can be.

Graeco-Roman sculpture presents numerous variations on the theme of the sleeping boy, beginning with the supine Cupid whose head is often propped up by one arm.⁵ A clothed type dozing beside a lantern exists, figured to be a slave boy who has nodded off while waiting for his master.⁶ The Museo Pio-Clementino in the Vatican, whose collections were just being arranged during Roland's Roman period, has several figures of boys standing while asleep, one arm of each tucked under the head, the other arm backed by an upturned torch—funerary types presumed to be Somnus when unwinged but Thanatos or a genius of death when alate.⁷ The generous proportions and the triangulations of the latter type indicate that it comes closest to having served Roland as a source, although by instinct and training he is far more naturalistic, paying greater attention to the hair and to the way the fleshy cheek wells up under the pressure of the fingers that also make the mouth skew slightly to the side.

Busts that include the arms were a commonplace in European sculpture. The youngster's left arm, if it had been included, would have hung indecorously below the cut of the bust, so Roland chose to show only the supporting arm, using the drapery both as a counterbalance and to cover the truncated arm. The Musée des Beaux-Arts in Angers owns the *Old Man Asleep* made by Roland during the Roman stay (Figure 1). It is easy enough to see that it is contemporaneous with the *Sleeping Boy*. The grave ponderations are the same, and so is the combing of the hair in wavy striations like undulating corduroy. They even have comparable damage. Although the *Old Man Asleep* includes both arms and is no doubt based directly on Roland's observation of a venerable Italian model, it was probably also inspired by his recollection of Pajou's head of an ancient with balder pate and curlier beard shown at the Salon of 1761.⁸

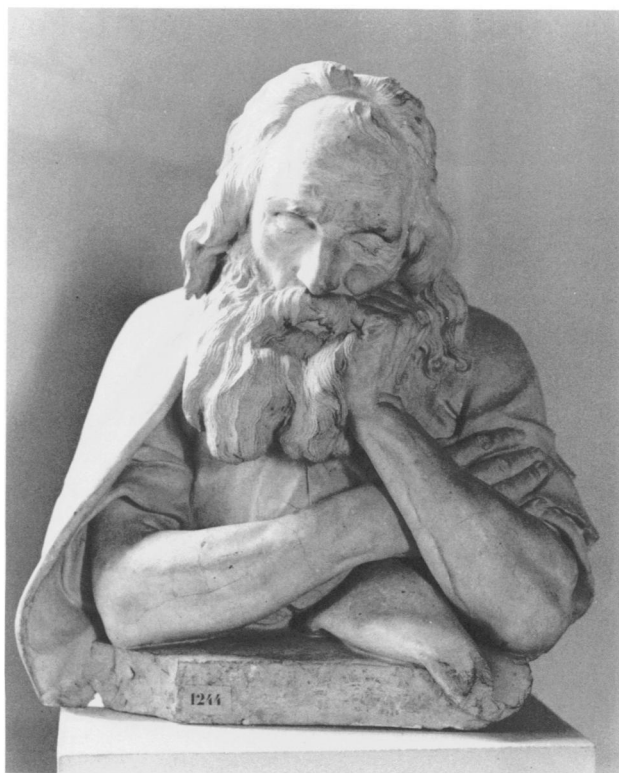


Figure 1. Philippe-Laurent Roland (1746–1816), *Old Man Asleep*, ca. 1774. Terracotta, H. 75 cm. Angers, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Musée d'Angers)

Even as Roland consulted his master, nature, and the antique, one can hardly escape the impression that these works are also grounded in Christian imagery, whether consciously or not. The young Christs and Baptists of countless French and Italian masters come to mind, and so do their renditions of the drowsing Saint Joseph.

David d'Angers much later summarized the meaning of the Roman sojourn and its application to the highly analytical Roland, as he learned to combine the study of nature with corrective lessons from the antique and from his predecessors: "Ce qui distingue avant tout les productions du statuaire de Lille, c'est un sentiment de vie et de correction uni au grandiose exigé par l'art. A Rome, il comprit que c'est par l'étude raisonnée de l'antique et des anciens maîtres que doit se former le goût de qui-conque aspire à interpréter la nature dans ses manifestations les plus sublimes. La sculpture de Roland offre un air incontestable de parenté avec la sculpture romaine de la belle époque d'Auguste."⁹



Figure 2. Philippe-Laurent Roland, *Sleeping Boy*, ca. 1774. Terracotta, painted white, H. 60 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Wrightsman Fund, 1990, 1990.206



Figure 3. Philippe-Laurent Roland, *Young Roman Girl*, signed and dated 1774. Marble, H. without socle 39.4 cm. Location unknown (photo from *Catalogue of the Rodolphe Kann Collection*, 1907)

Roland's papers in the Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie (Bibliothèque Doucet), Paris, and his inventory and that of his widow in the Archives nationales, Paris, give several details concerning the later history of the *Sleeping Boy* and the other compositions studied here. The Bibliothèque Doucet conserves a bill of 1808 from one Micheli, a furnisher of plaster casts, for casting various compositions for Roland. He asked six francs for an "enfant mort," surely our poor boy, although mistitled.¹⁰ The sculptor still thought highly enough of the model to show "Un jeune dormeur" in the Salon of 1814 (medium not given).¹¹ There is no mention of it in the inventory of the sculptor's dwelling at "rue

et maison de Sorbonne no. 11," which in any case names few works of art,¹² but it appears in the inventory of his widow's house, at 91, rue du Cherche-Midi, in 1845; the marble bust representing "un enfant endormi" was valued, together with some pictures, at 950 francs.¹³ Mme Roland's only heir was their daughter, Lise, who had married Jean-Marie-Nicolas Lucas de Montigny, nominally the son of the sculptor Jean-Robert-Nicolas Lucas de Montigny, but actually the son of the comte de Mirabeau. The Bibliothèque Doucet has a manuscript list of Roland's works prepared by or for a family member, in which three Roman works are itemized under the date 1774:

1774. Buste de jeune fille romaine (Vous avez le marbre).
Le petit dormeur, marbre.
Une statue de vieillard que David dit être au Musée d'Angers.¹⁴

The reference to David's book dates this list after 1847. The marble of the *Sleeping Boy* remained in the hands of Roland's descendant Gabriel de Montigny until at least 1901, when it was published by another Roland descendant, Henry Marcel.¹⁵ The small size of the illustration in the article makes it difficult to comment on quality, but it can be noted that Roland dispensed with the irregular rectangle of support that gives the terracotta some of its floating, dreamlike character; he replaced it with a lower, more earthbound circle, while filling out the area under the elbow with drapery, thereby making the whole more symmetrical if less winning. The composition of the marble, not the terracotta, was followed in an indifferent late bronze casting in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille.¹⁶ The provenance of the bronze is unknown. Was it perhaps the gift of a family member to Roland's native city, cast after a *surmoulage* of the marble?

The third work from the Roman stay, the bust of a young girl in marble, signed and dated 1774, was last seen in the collection of Rodolphe Kann, Paris (Figure 3).¹⁷ The girl, with flowers in her braided hair, is a stricter work, according more with the latest Neoclassical canons than do the *Sleeping Boy* and the graybeard in Angers.

In 1782, Roland was accepted (*agréé*) into the Royal Academy upon the presentation of his plaster *Cato of Utica* (the beautiful sketch-model is in the Louvre), but he neglected to follow through with the requisite marble *morceau de réception*. The Academy imposed a new subject, *Samson*, in 1786, but

Roland only got around to completing a marble for the Salon of 1795, by which time the Royal Academy had been suppressed. It may not have been so much a question of dilatoriness as that he was simply overwhelmed with work. The last years of the ancien régime were his most productive, since he was able to reestablish the ties that led to contracts after his return from Italy. The benevolent Pajou was responsible for sending several opportunities Roland's way. In 1776, Pajou recommended him for the relatively minor task of replicating his own bust of the dauphin.¹⁸ In 1782, he arranged his protégé's marriage to the daughter of the architect Potain.¹⁹ In 1783, Pajou and his wife pressed the comte d'Angivillers, the king's superintendent of buildings, to acknowledge their favorite's qualities of grace and truth to nature by awarding a commission.²⁰ In 1784, Pajou obtained a studio for Roland

in the Louvre that was later exchanged for one in the converted chapel of the Sorbonne.²¹

One of Roland's first projects after his return was the decoration of Bagatelle (Figure 4), the *folie* of the comte d'Artois, the future Charles X. The eighteen-year-old Artois acquired this property on the edge of Paris in 1775, and in 1777 erected his gem of a Neoclassical house in nine weeks—in time, the story goes, to win a bet with his sister-in-law, Marie Antoinette.²² Bagatelle has suffered over the years because of its damp climate and because it has changed hands several times, but it leaves distinct impressions on the visitor's memory, from the strutting peacocks that encircle the building to the peculiar layout within, most rooms having several doors that allowed the easy and perhaps frequent passage of the lighthearted comte d'Artois's guests from room to room.



Figure 4. François Joseph Belanger (1744–1818, architect), Château de Bagatelle, Bois de Boulogne, Paris, erected in 1777 (photo: Roland Dreyfus)

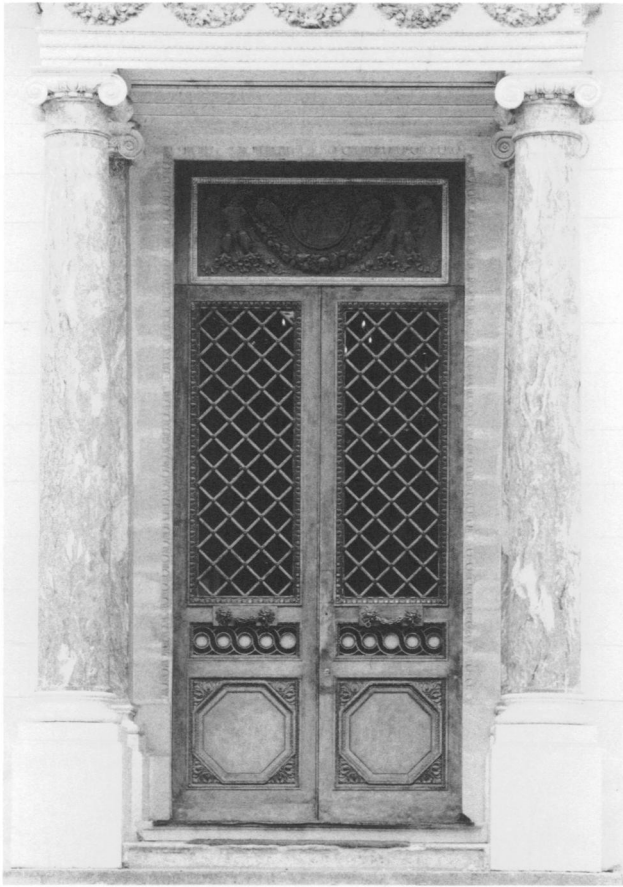


Figure 5. Philippe-Laurent Roland. Door, entrance portal at Bagatelle, subsequently modified (photo: Roland Dreyfus)

The architect of Bagatelle was François-Joseph Belanger (1744–1818). Roland's contribution was very considerable but can be gauged only partially. In a recent article Jean-Jacques Gautier traced Roland's two sphinxes in *ierre de Conflans*, carved for the steps leading up to the house, to the Château de Bonnemare (Eure).²³ The sphinxes and Roland's many models for relief sculpture at Bagatelle were subcontracted by a stucco specialist, Nicolas-François-Daniel Lhuillier. The Bibliothèque Doucet preserves Roland's *mémoire* of various works he had done. The date it supplies for the work at Bagatelle, 1776, may be approximate. Denise Genoux reprinted this list, headed "Pour Lhuillier pour Bagatelle."²⁴ Several of the models for arabesques and garlands mentioned by Roland are untraceable—some of these designs would hardly be distinguished amid the wealth of tracery in relief that was provided for several rooms, of which the chief surviving glory is the circular music room, with its stucco decor in white and gold on a buff-colored ground.

Another memorable aspect of the château is its entrance portal (Figure 5), and here we can be very sure of the extent of Roland's role. A delightful sense of coloristic harmony has been achieved by the combination of purplish marble columns, partially gilt iron and white marble balcony, and the ox-

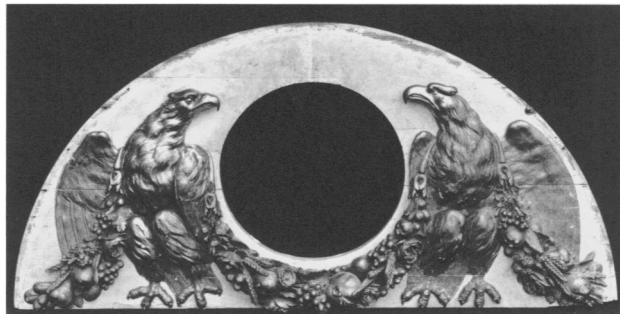
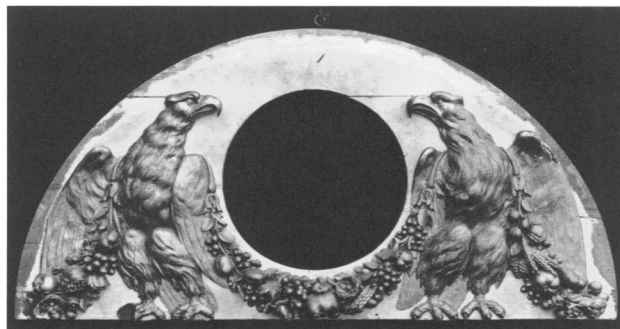


Figure 6. Nicolas-François-Daniel Lhuillier, after a model by Philippe-Laurent Roland. Overdoor for the portal at Bagatelle, ca. 1776. Oak, 73.7 × 165.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906, 07.225.18

idized bronze double door with its grilles.²⁵ Over the door was an oak relief by Roland (Figure 6), since replaced by a metal copy. We know from Roland's *mémoire* that he received 216 *livres* for "2 aigles, bas relief en bois avec guirlande" that he supplied to Lhuillier, but apparently he consigned only the terracotta model to Lhuillier, who then translated it into wood.²⁶ In any case, this is the wide panel that came to the Metropolitan Museum as part of the vast collection of objects bought by J. P. Morgan from the Paris architect Georges Hoentschel (Figure 7). The panel came into Hoentschel's hands in the wake of extensive changes wrought by the fourth marquis of Hertford, who bought the château in 1835, and by his adopted son, Sir Richard Wallace, who had it until 1890. In fact, both men died there, in the comte d'Artois's bedroom.

The Museum's panel is of oak built up in sections and coated with dark greenish paint to resemble bronze. The young woman sacrificing at an altar in the center seems hardly perturbed by the flanking eagles. They probably allude to the young Artois's military distinctions: he was Colonel General of the Swiss Guards and Grand Master of the Artillery.²⁷

Eagles also adorn two *oeil-de-boeuf* reliefs in the Museum, again from Bagatelle via the Morgan collection (Figures 7, 8). These, too, are of laminated oak, but were later gilt. Where exposed, the ground is a white coat over an original layer of turquoise blue. The model for these overdoors is apparently alluded to in Roland's *mémoire* as "dessus de porte de 2 aigles," for which he was paid 100 *livres*.²⁸ They served, however, as overmirrors in the château's billiards room, where they faced each other, one over the fireplace, the other on the window wall overlooking the park. Only one of these spaces is occupied by a mirror today, enframed by a late surround (Figure 9). Gautier reports that the date of 1836 discovered on the wall behind the trumeau reflects the date of the mirrors' gilding, and that another date found there, 1855, is that of their removal.²⁹ The original overdoors, as opposed to the overmirrors, survive above the four entrances in the billiards room; one is dimly reflected on the mirror in Figure 9. It is one of a pair of gaming trophies comprising jesters flanking tambourines. The gaming trophies alternate with a pair of military trophies composed of helmets flanking laurel wreaths. All have been regilt, no doubt during the same campaign of 1836 that resulted in the regilding of the Museum's overmirrors. The room's original delicate polychromy is hardly to be grasped in the present white-and-gold scheme. Gautier accounts for the wood sculptures'



Figures 7, 8. Philippe-Laurent Roland. Overmirrors for the Château de Bagatelle, ca. 1776. Oak, painted and gilt, 58.7 × 121 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906, 07.225.17ab

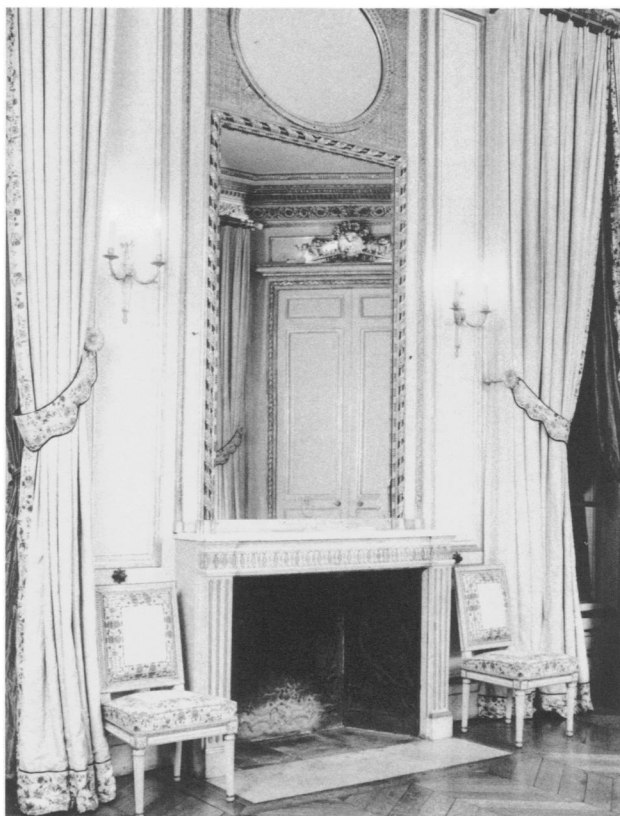


Figure 9. François Joseph Belanger (architect). Billiards room at the Château de Bagatelle, 1777 (photo: Roland Dreyfus)



Figure 10. Philippe-Laurent Roland. Detail of the marble mantelpiece from the Hôtel de Sérilly, Paris, 1778. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

history, ascribing their carving, after Roland's models, to Daniel Aubert, who requested the very large sum of 20,652 *livres* for sculpture at Bagatelle, making him the likely candidate for most of the work of this sort there.³⁰ A defter hand was engaged in the realization of Roland's elegant, curvilinear over-mirror than was the case with the exterior overdoor.

Bagatelle was only one of several important sites that received Roland's attention in the 1770s and 1780s. In 1778 he carved the herm-figures for a marble chimneypiece in the Hôtel de Sérilly, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Figure 10).³¹ Echoing the French past all the way back to Claus Sluter, the figures establish Roland's total command of the techniques of marble carving. Among the ripest, most brilliant of all contributions to Neoclassical relief sculpture are his limestone friezes with scenes of ancient sacrifice on the rue de Lille façade of the Hôtel de Salm-Kyrbourg (Figure 11); he exhibited the models in the Salon of 1783. The individual forms are perhaps a step more severe than those of our sacrificing vestal from Bagatelle (Figure 6).

Eminently visible in the heart of Paris, the Hôtel de Salm-Kyrbourg, now the Palais de la Légion d'Honneur, was built by the architect Pierre Rousseau (1751–1810). By this time Roland was very well connected, enjoying the advantages of Pajou's and Potain's recommendations besides that of Potain's other son-in-law, the same Pierre Rousseau who was responsible for various royal projects at Fontainebleau. It was no doubt through Rousseau that Roland gained work at Fontainebleau: a gilt-lead fountain for the king's apartments in 1784, and in 1786 a marble chimneypiece for the king and plaster overdoors for the queen's gaming room and for her spectacular gold- and silver-hued boudoir. The models for the last, representing the Muses, are in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.³² Napoleon made the late king's powder-cabinet his bed-chamber, preserving most of its main elements. It is easy to imagine that Robert's mantel, centered on an eagle grasping thunderbolts, would have continued to appeal to the emperor (Figure 12).

Roland had exhibited at the 1783 Salon in some depth—besides models for the Hôtel de Salm-Kyrbourg, there were two "bustes d'étude," whose subjects are unexplained, and two medallions for the interior of the Halle au Blé. This grain market in Les Halles, the commercial district of Paris, received a total of four marble portrait medallions by Roland representing Louis XV and Louis XVI; Philibert Delorme, the architect of Henri II, who had devised the domed roof of the building; and Jean-



Figure 11. Philippe-Laurent Roland, *Scenes of Ancient Sacrifice*, ca. 1783. Limestone. Paris, Hôtel de Salm-Kyrbourg, now the Hôtel de la Légion d'Honneur (photo: Caisse des Monuments Historiques)

Charles-Pierre Lenoir, the official under whose aegis the restoration by the architects Jacques Molinos (1743–1831) and Jacques-Guillaume Legrand (1753–1809) took place.³³ As a result of later iconoclastic assaults on royal imagery, the roundels were destroyed or dispersed.³⁴ The École des Beaux-Arts owns a plaster cast of the *Philibert Delorme*, which is in need of cleaning but shows the literal, rather numismatic nature of retrospective portraiture

during the reign of Louis XVI (Figure 13). In the Bibliothèque Doucet's manuscript list of Roland's works, the Halle au Blé medallions are said to be colossal,³⁵ but the *Philibert Delorme* is only a couple of feet across. No doubt they were imposing when hung high on the interior walls between the arches of the vast circular space, each enframed in a wreath.³⁶

The reason why the Halle au Blé project is treated



Figure 12. Marble mantelpiece in the Château de Fontainebleau, powder-cabinet of Louis XIV (subsequently the bedchamber of Napoleon I), 1786 (photo: Musée national du château de Fontainebleau)



Figure 13. Philippe-Laurent Roland, *Philibert Delorme*, ca. 1783. Plaster medallion. Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (photo: École des Beaux-Arts)

in some detail here is that the Museum recently acquired a marble roundel portraying Louis XVI, signed by Roland and dated 1787 (Figure 14).³⁷ There is every reason to suppose that this was destined for a second campaign at Les Halles, that of decorating an even older building that had just been restored, again by Legrand and Molinos: the Halle aux Draps, or Drapers' Hall. The edifice in question, long and rectangular, survived from the twelfth century. It was reroofed, and many of the lower surrounding buildings were razed as a precaution against fire. The officials responsible observed that these steps were needed "pour faire de ce dépôt précieux pour le commerce un monument digne de la capitale."³⁸ An interior rearrangement was accordingly commissioned, with Roland once more providing four roundels, representing Philip Augustus, under whom the old Halle aux Draps was erected; Louis XVI, under whom the hall was redone; and two unnamed ministers—perhaps the comptroller, Charles-Alexandre de Calonne, and



Figure 14. Philippe-Laurent Roland, *Louis XVI*, signed and dated 1787. Marble medallion, Diam. 70 cm in a gilt and marbled wood frame, 151 × 158 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Wrightsman Fund, 1990, 1990.234



Figure 15. Philippe-Laurent Roland, *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1785. Marble. New York, private collection



Figure 16. Philippe-Laurent Roland, *Le Grand Condé*, 1785–87. Marble. Versailles, Musée de Château National (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

the baron de Breteuil, named in the memorandum on this massive rehabilitation preserved by the Archives nationales. The Halle aux Draps roundels were probably also installed high up. The memorandum explains that marble tablets, presumably on the walls beneath the portraits, were to have bronze explanatory inscriptions, but the architects found this would involve more cost, and the letters were engraved instead.³⁹

Someone copying from documents left notations in the Bibliothèque Doucet's dossier on Roland to the effect that Roland asked 650 francs for the "médaillon duroi en pierre" in a bill of 1786.⁴⁰ A second notation, dated 1787, records "2 médaillons en marbre mis en place le 3 mars dans la halle aux draps—3000 francs."⁴¹ The account of the archi-

itects prepared on August 25, 1789, gives Roland's share as 3,500 francs, of which 2,800 had been paid and 700 remained to be paid.⁴²

The *Louis XVI* acquired by the Museum serves as the sole remnant of the Halle aux Draps scheme. It will be recalled that Roland had finished the *Louis XVI* for the hall in 1786; it was appropriate to supply the year of installation when he dated the work, so that must be what the date of 1787 on the relief reflects. The account of Molinos and Legrand names all the materials involved in the job, from masonry to a clock by Lepaute.⁴³ It includes mention of woodwork but not in enough detail to allow us to say with certainty whether the marble roundel's exceedingly handsome surround of green marbleized wood and gilt wood, embellished with laurel



Figure 17. Detail of Figure 14

and a sunflower, belonged to the original paneling. This is not a frame in the normal sense, and the molding around the outer edges is later than the rest, but the circumferential rhythms accord remarkably well with the relief's chaste style. Looking back at the *dessus de glace* from *Bagatelle* (Figures 7, 8) and their resonant, responsive interplay of curves and voids, one is tempted to speculate that Roland designed *Louis XVI's* surround as well as the roundel, and that the sunflower-laurel wreath may be a fragment of *boiserie* from the *Halle aux Draps*.⁴⁴

The two projects for Les Halles show Roland honing his talent as a portraitist, a gift that had been little exercised before the 1780s. His marble *Self-Portrait* shows him lean and alert and attaining an authoritative level in this field (Figure 15).⁴⁵ One factor that led him to focus on characterization was his commission for the retrospective figure of the *Grand Condé* in the king's series of the Great Men of France, the plaster for which was shown at the Salon of 1785, the marble at the Salon of 1787 (Figure 16). His approach to surfaces is highly specific. The *Grand Condé*, dressed in a period costume rippling with energy, formed a kind of centerpiece in Ro-

land's career; he was asked to recapitulate it during the Restoration, as one of Louis XVIII's series of colossal marble figures of royalist heroes on the Pont Louis XVI, now the Pont de la Concorde, but he did not live to see that project beyond his maquette.

The king's features were so well known that Roland would not have required a royal sitting for the *Louis XVI* medallion. He could easily have consulted bronze medals with their impeccable sense of balance, in which the coiled wigs lend interest to the almost comically fleshy countenance.⁴⁶ Roland goes through much the same concerted efforts at equilibrium, but as a monumental sculptor he takes a more arching, expansive line. He builds the face up in arcs, while concentrating on the artful curls at the side of the wig, locating the image slightly asymmetrically in the field so as to bring an unaccustomed grace to his royal subject. David d'Angers understood the formulaic aspect of Roland's portraiture quite well: "On ne saurait pousser plus loin la rigidité du trait, l'élégante pureté des contours, la netteté et la grace: c'est toujours, si je puis m'exprimer ainsi, la stéréotypie de la nature à un haut degré."⁴⁷

The *Louis XVI* is of further interest as an illustration of the pointing technique, whereby the drill followed indications in the model that served to establish the relief's measurements. A detail shows not only the curvilinear basis of Roland's style and tiny diagonal flaws in the marble; also visible, on the cheek, nostril, below the inner brow, and on the temple, are four regular holes caused by the drill's going slightly too far while following the working model's points (Figure 17). Such imperfections are frequently encountered in Neoclassical sculpture before improvements took place in the transfer of measurements in the course of the nineteenth century; in any case, they would not have been seen from the floor of the *Halle aux Draps*.

With the Revolution, Roland gained commissions for a statue and a relief, *Law* and *Legislation*, that formerly graced the peristyle of the Panthéon (1792–93). In 1795, he was made a member of the Institut, and in 1798–99, he was one of the commissioners sent to Italy to advise on the works of art to be brought to France by the conquering army. An unpublished notebook he kept during this time shows him uncharacteristically with plenty of time on his hands, awaiting orders in Grenoble, sketching the local sites, and musing on various topics such as longevity. He has heard, for instance, that "la mètresse de Cromvel" lived to be 142!⁴⁸ If the notes are



Figure 18. Philippe-Laurent Roland, *Bacchante Riding a Goat*, signed and dated 1796. Terracotta, H. 40 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Charles Ulrick and Josephine Bay Foundation, Inc. Gift, 1975, 1975.312.8

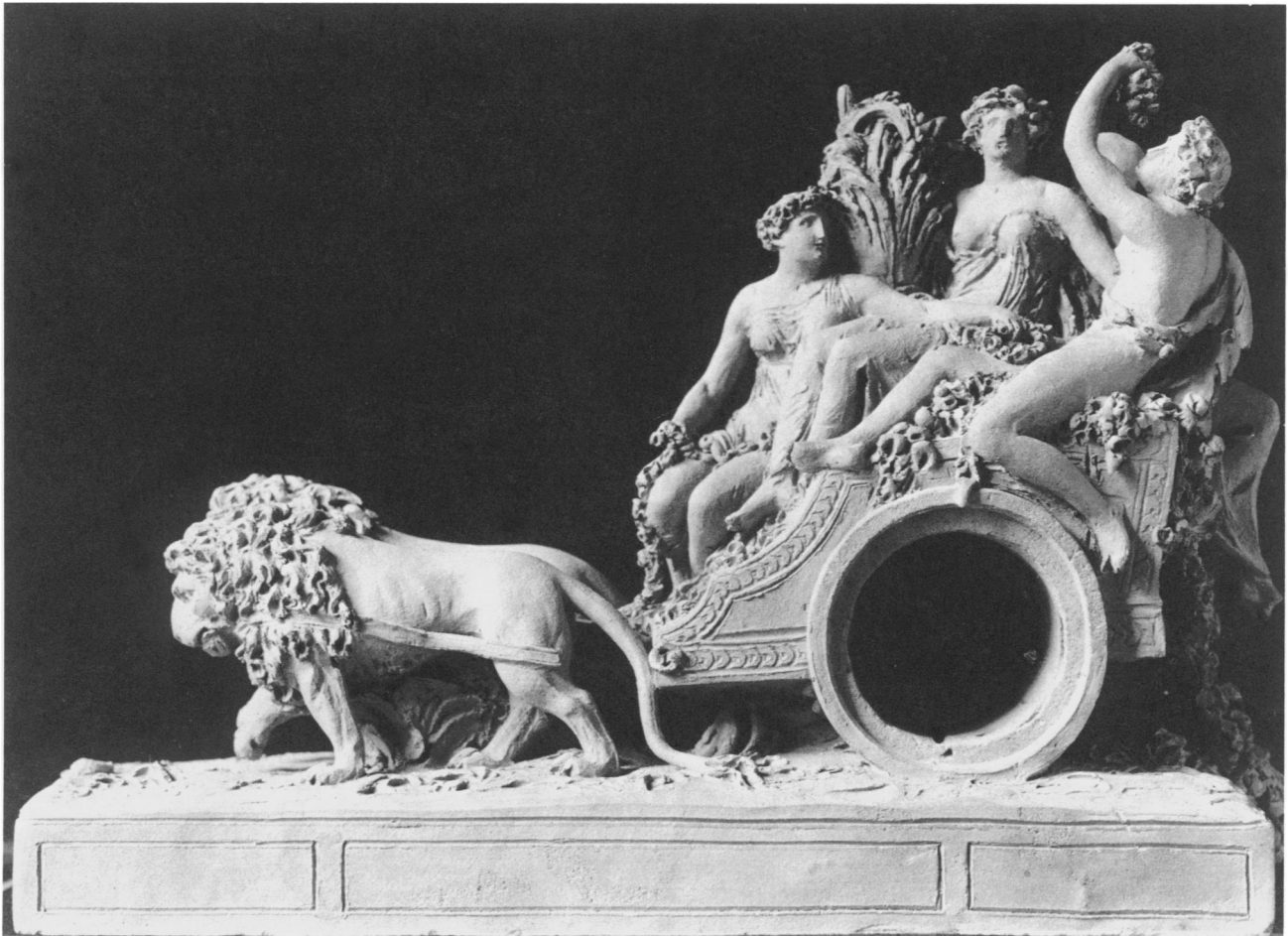


Figure 19. Philippe-Laurent Roland, *Four Seasons in a Chariot Drawn by Lions*, model for a clock case, ca. 1798. Terracotta. Formerly Bouissou Collection, Paris

not always well lettered, there are, by compensation, his avid lists, also unpublished, of the volumes on antiquities he saw in Italian bookstores.⁴⁹

The 1790s produced new economic realities for artists, and Roland seems to have adjusted his sights—in terms of size, not of quality—to meet the frugal spirit of the times. There was the occasional marble nude—*Paris* in the Salon of 1793, *Samson* in the Salon of 1795—but increasingly he exhibited models for works on a smaller scale, no doubt hoping to appeal to new markets.

The best known of the Museum's works by Roland is the latest in date, the careering *Bacchante Riding a Goat*, signed and dated 1796 (Figure 18).⁵⁰ That this terracotta is Roland's autograph model and not a reworked cast is certain, not only because of its dazzlingly variegated surface treatment but also because one can discern the marks of the grain left by the wooden stand upon which the clay was formed.

Despite the difference in dates, this heady work must be the group shown in the Salon that opened on the first of Thermidor, year 6—July 19, 1798.⁵¹ The material is not specified. Roland's other Salon entries that year were a life-size portrait bust, the material also not stated; a marble group, *The Vow of Love*;⁵² and an elaborate bronze clock case with the Four Seasons, cast after Roland's model by the firm of Pierre-Philippe Thomire.⁵³ The maquette for this clock case has lost the Cupid leading the lions (Figure 19). The open, spiraling pose of the Bacchus at far right is reminiscent of that of our *Bacchante*. Her easy stretch recurs in a work of larger scale, in the left-hand figure of Fame in the great relief of the Pavillon de l'Horloge of the Louvre, 1805 (Figure 20).

Roland sold the *Bacchante* soon after the Salon of 1798. His receipts for year 7 (1798–99) include: "Reçu du Citoyen Thomire à compte sur la Bacchante 120 f."⁵⁴ The minutely studied composition

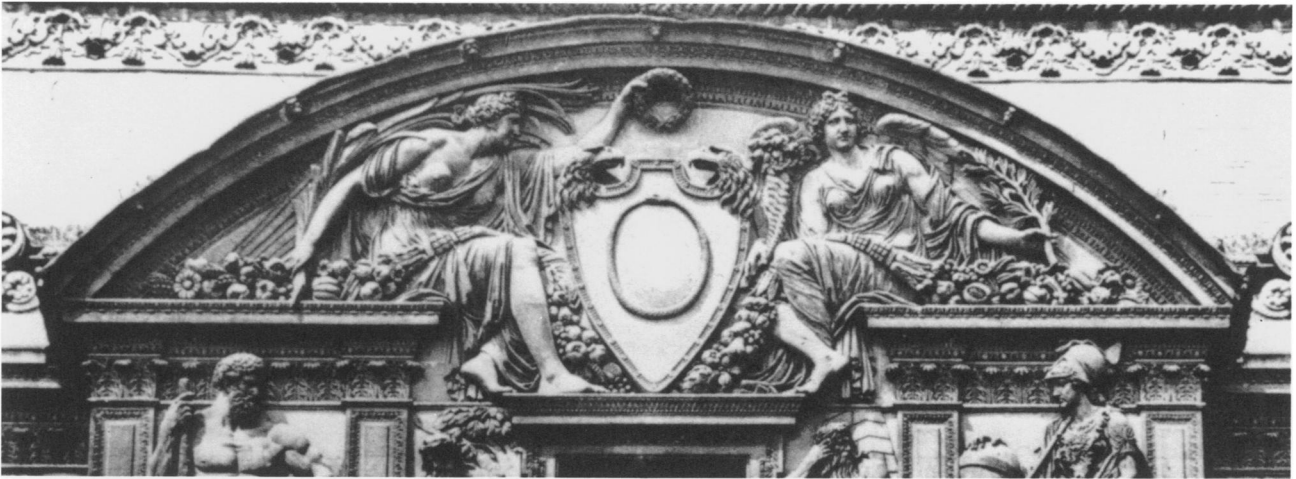


Figure 20. Philippe-Laurent Roland, *Pediment with Fame and Plenty*, 1805. Limestone. Paris, Palais du Louvre, Pavillon de l'Horloge (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)



Figure 21. Louis-François Jeannest, after a model by Philippe-Laurent Roland, *Bacchante with a Goat*, early 19th century. Bronze, H. 41.4 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John R. Gaines in Honor of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the National Gallery of Art (photo: National Gallery of Art)



Figure 22. Detail of Figure 18

was undoubtedly intended from the start to be replicated in bronze. However, surviving bronze casts were not made by the *bronzier* Thomire but by the firm of Louis-François Jeannest. Casts, including one in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., show with what relish the *ciseleurs* attacked particulars such as the goat's hide (Figure 21),⁵⁵ straining to approximate, if never equaling, the surface excitement of the original (Figure 22). A bronze of the *Bacchante* was kept by Mme Roland.⁵⁶

Roland enjoyed official favor under the Empire.

He was the unanimous choice of his colleagues in sculpture, who voted by secret ballot, to produce a marble statue of Napoleon for the Institut, proudly signed by him in 1810 as a member of the Institut as well as of the Légion d'Honneur. Excellent statues of Homer, Cambacérès, Tronchet, and Malesherbes date from his later years, but it could be argued that he never surpassed the rare moment of perfection encapsulated in the *Bacchante*. Despite the endless adumbration of detail and research of texture, there is a quality of abstraction in this ap-

proximation of suspended explosion. Even if she goads her improbable mount audaciously, there is nothing especially naughty about this follower of Bacchus. Her expression is appropriately both possessed and oblivious, but the subject nearly eludes us, the compositional impact being Roland's paramount concern. David d'Angers insisted upon a sort of formal ethic in Roland's female figures that made them superior to the promiscuous charmers turned out by such "apostles of vice" as Clodion: "Roland a doté ses figures de femme d'un sentiment de formes chaste et sérieux et d'un voile de gracieuse modestie. Bien différent en cela de Clodion et d'autres artistes qui, dans leurs modèles de femmes, ont prostitué l'art au plus affreux sensualisme, et se sont faits les apôtres de vice et de la plus excitant débauche."⁵⁷

That "veil of graceful modesty" protects even our Dionysian demoiselle. David d'Angers further singled out the work for its formal purity: "une figure de Bacchante portée sur une chèvre qu'elle tourmente avec son thyrsse. La vivacité, la grâce de la pose et la pureté des formes font ranger cette oeuvre parmi les plus belles qu'ait executées son ciseau."⁵⁸

The integrity of Roland's production is underscored by the fact that he had only four pupils, according to the best of them, the same David d'Angers. The succession Pajou/Roland/David d'Angers guaranteed the purest artistic bloodlines and a lineage of much portent, for David d'Angers would be the prophet of Romantic sculpture. By temperament as well as by association, Roland established a situation within this heritage somewhere near the threshold of modern art.

Proof of the last assertion can be found in David d'Angers's own work, where elements of Ingres meet with presentiments of Bourdelle, and traces of Roland are frequently to be sensed in the mix. The Museum recently purchased two sketch-models by David d'Angers for the *Porte d'Aix* at Marseilles, completed in 1835 (Figures 23, 24).⁵⁹ The brusque surface treatment that was David's special gift to modern sculpture does not conceal the fundamentally curvilinear nature of these figures of Fame with their thrown-back heads. In them he frankly acknowledges a debt to prior allegorical figures by Roland (Figures 19, 20).



Figures 23, 24. Pierre-Jean David d'Angers (1788–1856), *Figures of Fame* for the *Porte d'Aix* at Marseilles, ca. 1830. Terracotta, 26 × 22.2 cm and 26.4 × 23.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Gifts of Friends of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, 1992, 1992.49ab

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NOTES

1. His terracotta bust of Pajou, dated 1797, is in the Louvre; the marble was in the Salon of 1800. For a bronze portrait roundel of 1802, see Denise Genoux, "Quelques bustes et médaillons retrouvés de Philippe-Laurent Roland," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1965) pp. 197–198.

2. Pierre-Jean David d'Angers, *Roland et ses ouvrages* (Paris, 1847) pp. 46–47.

3. Christie's Monaco, June 16, 1990, lot 141, as "Sculpture du XVIII^e siècle" and with the note that the Research Laboratory for Archaeology at Oxford dated a sample by thermoluminescence to between 1700 and 1800.

4. Henry Marcel, "Quelques oeuvres inédites de Philippe Roland," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* ser. 3, 25 (1901) p. 186.

5. Magdalene Söldner, *Untersuchungen zu liegenden Erosen in der hellenistischen und römischen Kunst, Europäische Hochschulschriften*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt/Bern/New York, 1986), presents the thesis that the bronze *Sleeping Eros* in the Metropolitan Museum (43.11.4) lies at the origin of the reclining type.

6. Orietta Vasori in Antonio Giuliano, ed., *Museo Nazionale Romano: Le Sculture* 1, 1 (Rome, 1979) pp. 21–22, no. 23.

7. Georg Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* 3, 2 (Berlin, 1956) pp. 274–275, no. 3 (158), pl. 125 ("Somnus"); pp. 318–319, no. 53 (186), pl. 142 ("Thanatos," discovered only in the late 1780s); p. 408, no. 2 (251), pl. 172 ("Genius of Death," bought in 1791); p. 444, no. 36 (270), pl. 183 ("Genius of Death," perhaps closest in feeling to the *Sleeping Boy*).

8. Henri Stein, *Augustin Pajou* (Paris, 1912) p. 23.

9. David d'Angers, *Roland et ses ouvrages*, pp. 38–39.

10. Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, carton 41bis, fol. 21234.

11. *Livret* of the Salon of 1810, no. 1131 on p. 112.

12. Archives nationales, Min. centr., XXIX, 809, Sept. 23, 1816.

13. Archives nationales, Min. centr., XXIX, 1105, July 24, 1845, fol. 5.

14. Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, carton 41bis, fol. 21397.

15. Marcel, "Quelques oeuvres inédites," pp. 182, 186. Most of the works illustrated were family owned, including the ravishing marble bust of Roland's daughter recently acquired by the Louvre. Jean-René Gaborit in Musée du Louvre, *Nouvelles acquisitions du Département des Sculptures, 1984–1987* (Paris, 1988) no. 30, pp. 108–110.

16. Inv. 34, Sculp. 154, as "Jeune fille endormie," in storage.

17. *Catalogue of the Rodolphe Kann Collection. Objets d'art 2: Eighteenth Century* (Paris, 1907) no. 96. Roland had sold the terracotta in 1790; a note in the Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, carton 41bis, fol. 21394, reads: "le 9 7^{bre} reçu de la terre cuite de la petite romaine 90 F." A plaster remained in the family, illustrated by Marcel, "Quelques oeuvres inédites," p. 182.

18. Denise Genoux, "Travaux de sculpture exécutés par Roland pour Lhuillier, Rousseau l'aîné et Molinos et Legrand," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1966) p. 189.

19. Stein, *Augustin Pajou*, p. 51.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 354–356, and again in 1784, p. 359.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

22. Georges Pascal, *Histoire du château de Bagatelle* (Paris, 1938) pp. 25–29. For Bagatelle, see especially Annie Jacques et al., *La Folie d'Artois* (Paris, 1988).

23. Jean-Jacques Gautier, "L'Art des sculpteurs de Bagatelle," *L'Estampille/L'Objet d'art* 252 (Nov. 1991) pp. 76–79, for these and exterior figures by other sculptors now at Bonnemare.

24. Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Histoire, carton 41bis, fol. 21390; Genoux, "Travaux de sculpture," p. 190.

25. These later bronze doors were faithful to the original design, as can be seen in a contemporary print after Belanger and in sketches by the German architect Friedrich Gilly, who visited in 1797 when the building housed a restaurant. Jacques et al., *La Folie d'Artois*, p. 40; "Description de Bagatelle," *L'Oeil* 126 (June 1965) p. 18; Gautier, "L'Art des sculpteurs de Bagatelle," p. 68.

26. Genoux, "Travaux de sculpture," p. 190; Gautier, "L'Art des sculpteurs de Bagatelle," pp. 68, 69 n. 10, cites Archives nationales RI 322 and 326 for the information that Lhuillier carved the panel.

27. Genoux, "Travaux de sculpture," p. 190. Another eagle design by Roland, "L'aigle dans la couronne de chêne. Modèle de terre" (*ibid.*) has left no trace in the decorations at Bagatelle.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Gautier, "L'Art des sculpteurs de Bagatelle," p. 69.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 69–75. Roland had first supplied a model for overdoors with helmets flanking shields, but the inspector of the comte d'Artois's buildings caused these to be modified to the present design (*ibid.*, p. 71 and n. 14, citing Archives nationales RI 332). For Aubert's *mémoire* on the worth of his sculpture for Bagatelle, see *ibid.*, p. 75 n. 17, cited as Archives nationales RI 308.

31. Genoux, "Travaux de sculpture," pp. 191–192; Margaret English and Lucia Scalisi, "The Sérilly Cabinet. Anne-Marie de Sérilly and the Story of the Boudoir," *The V&A Album* 4 (1905) pp. 197–198.

32. Denise Genoux, "Philippe-Laurent Roland décorateur et ses travaux au Palais de Fontainebleau," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1964) pp. 119–125; Colombe Samoyault-Verlet, "Les Travaux de Pierre Rousseau à Fontainebleau," *Antologia di Belle Arti* 2 (1977) p. 166.

33. Genoux, "Travaux de sculpture," pp. 193–194; Mark K. Deming, *La Halle au Blé de Paris 1762–1813* (Brussels, 1984) pp. 181–183, 229 n. 68.

34. Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, carton 41bis, fol. 21471: a receipt of 1815 from a *sculpteur marbrier* named Alexandre H, who left the marble of Louis XV at Roland's house to dispose of as he liked. According to Genoux, "Travaux de sculpture," p. 193, it is still walled into the interior of a modern building at 89, rue du Cherche-Midi.
35. Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, carton 41bis, fol. 21397.
36. Engraving in Deming, *La Halle au Blé*, p. 183.
37. It appeared at Christie's Monte Carlo, June 18, 1989, lot 177, with no indication of earlier provenance.
38. Archives nationales, cote: H/2/2165, liasse 17, carton 417. Luc-Vincent Thiéry, *Guide des amateurs et des étrangers voyageurs à Paris . . .* (Paris, 1787) I, pp. 479–481, reported on the restoration as it was advancing.
39. Archives nationales, cote: H/2/2165, liasse 17, carton 417.
40. Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, carton 41bis, fol. 21366.
41. Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, carton 41bis, fol. 21367.
42. Archives nationales, cote: H/2/2165, liasse 17, carton 417.
43. Ibid.
44. In the event that the imagery is accepted as royal, the artist would have reached all the way back to Louis's great-great-great grandsire, the Sun King, for the motif of the sunflower.
45. Dated ca. 1785 by Joseph Baillio in *The Winds of Revolution*, exh. cat., Wildenstein (New York, 1989) no. 26. Like the marble of the *Sleeping Boy*, the *Self-Portrait* descended in Roland's family to Henry Marcel. A marble copy by Auguste Dumont is in the library of the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris.
46. *Catalogue général illustré des éditions de la Monnaie de Paris* 1 (1977) pp. 298–301.
47. David d'Angers, *Roland et ses ouvrages*, p. 26.
48. Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, carton 41bis, fol. 20952.
49. Ibid., fol. 21215.
50. It is apparently this terracotta that was in an anonymous sale in Paris, June 29–30, 1829 (Lugt 12101), lot 50 ("Jeune nymphe montant un bouc, terre cuite de Roland"). Its later provenance is sale of Monsieur T., Galerie Charpentier, Paris, June 19, 1934, lot 66, ill. opp. p. 24 (height erroneously given as 57 cm); sale Galerie Charpentier, May 23, 1950, lot 65, pl. 19; Paul Gouvert, Paris.
51. *Livret* of the Salon of the year VI, p. 85, no. 543.
52. This served as the basis for the design of a marble clock case that was sold at Drouot Richelieu, Paris, July 3, 1991, no. 231.
53. Several examples of the clock survive. See Hans Ottomeyer and Peter Pröschel, *Vergoldete Bronzen. Die Bronzearbeiten des Spätbarock und Klassizismus* (Munich, 1986) I, p. 343. That in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, signed and dated 1798 and bought the same year, may be the one that was in the Salon. Roland's authorship of the design is sometimes ignored, as, for example, by Ger vase Jackson-Stops in *The Treasure Houses of Britain. Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C./New Haven/London, 1985) pp. 568–569, and José Colón de Carvajal, *Catálogo de Relojes del Patrimonio Nacional* (Madrid, 1987) p. 183.
54. Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, carton 41bis, fol. 21396.
55. Alison Luchs, in *Art for the Nation. Gifts in Honor of the 50th Anniversary of the National Gallery of Art*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C., 1991) pp. 122–123, discusses one of these casts, surmising that Jeannest was Roland's pupil and that the bronze was exhibited in the Salon of 1798. A similar Jeannest cast is on the London market, and a gilt one was sold by Sotheby's, New York, June 1, 1991, lot 106. It will be recalled that the *Four Seasons* clock case that Thomire cast was described as such in the Salon *livret*, and it may be inferred that a bronze signed as distinctly by the founder as is that in the National Gallery would have been described in comparable terms. The Jeannest casts of the *Bacchante* have slight variations in chasing and in the form of Jeannest's signature. Alison Luchs reports a cast in the Washington area signed "Clodion." An unconvincing-looking marble in the Cassel van Doorn sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, Dec. 9–10, 1955, lot 267, bore a spurious signature of Julien and the date of 1781.
56. "Une statuette un bronze représentant une bacchante montée sur un bouc" valued at 600 francs together with a terracotta statuette representing "La Nature." Archives nationales, Min. centr., XXIX, 1105, July 24, 1845, fol. 6.
57. David d'Angers, *Roland et ses ouvrages*, p. 59.
58. Ibid., p. 25.
59. An engraving of the Porte d'Aix is in Viviane Huchard, *Galerie David d'Angers* (Angers, 1985) p. 92. Signed models in this scale for other areas of the arch are in the Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans.

Hubert Robert's Decorations for the Château de Bagatelle

JOSEPH BAILLIO

IN 1917 THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM of Art received from the estate of its former president, the banker and philanthropist J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913), a set of six Italianate landscapes by the eighteenth-century French painter Hubert Robert (Figure 1). These works (Figures 8, 15, 25, 29, 33, 34) constitute one of the relatively few major decorative ensembles by the artist to have come down to us in its entirety. In terms of their artistic quality, the importance of the patronage that inspired them, and the place they occupy in the context of Robert's complete oeuvre, it is safe to say that the Metropolitan's panels are virtually unrivaled in North American museums. Only the four large ruin fantasies in the Art Institute of Chicago, painted in 1787 for Joseph de La Borde's Château de Méréville, are of comparable interest.¹ Because Robert executed the Morgan paintings as an integral part of one of the true masterpieces of Louis XVI interior decoration, we should attempt to situate them in the setting for which they were originally intended.

Pierre de Nolhac, a curator of the Château de Versailles and one of Robert's principal biographers, understood the necessity of such an approach when dealing with the artist's decorative panels:

Pour apprécier équitablement ses grandes oeuvres, qui parfois à nous-mêmes semblent un peu creuses, il faudrait pouvoir les replacer dans le milieu pour lequel [Robert] les a faites. Quand Diderot leur reproche de paraître peintes à la détrempe, c'est qu'il les juge parmi les autres peintures du Salon, plus empâtées, plus solides, et ne tient pas compte de l'ensemble de décoration dont elles font nécessairement partie. Leurs tons argentins, si remarquables des contemporains, sont d'ordinaire fort exactement choisis pour s'harmoniser avec la claire ornementation des appartements d'alors. La légèreté de leur touche convient aux perspectives bien établies du peintre, à la profondeur de ses ciels, qu'il

aime vastes et remplis de lumière; encastrées aux quatre murs d'un salon du temps, ses bonnes toiles y jouent avec franchise et gaieté leurs rôles de fenêtres idéales ouvertes sur la nature. Ces "tableaux de place," suivant le mot de l'époque, doivent donc être vus à leur place.²

[To judge fairly these large works, which sometimes seem a bit vacuous to us, we need to place them once more within the environment for which Robert created them. When Diderot reproaches them for being painted like gouaches, it is because he is comparing them to other pictures in the Salon with thicker, more densely painted surfaces, and he does not take into account the whole of the decoration of which they are a necessary part. The silvery tones so often mentioned by contemporaries are usually chosen so that they will harmonize with the bright ornamentation of the apartments of the period. The lightness of the brushwork is consistent with the finely worked-out perspectives of the painter, with the depth of his skies, which he prefers vast and filled with light. Set into the four walls of a salon of the period, these genial canvases candidly and cheerfully play out their roles as ideal windows on nature. These *tableaux de place*, as they were called at the time, must be seen in their proper place.]

By the time of the Morgan gift in 1917, it had already been claimed in print that the panels had been painted for Bagatelle, the beautifully designed and decorated late-eighteenth-century pavilion located on the outskirts of Paris between the Bois de Boulogne and Neuilly.³ When it was built in the late 1770s, the Château de Bagatelle and its grounds were the private domain of Louis XVI's youngest brother, Charles Philippe, comte d'Artois (Figure 2), the future king Charles X. The property still exists, although in a greatly altered state. D'Artois was the youngest grandson of Louis XV. By his twelfth year, his father, the dauphin Louis, and his mother, Marie Joséphe de Saxe, were both deceased. As the succession to the throne appeared to be more than secure, it was deemed unnecessary to provide the young prince with a serious education, and he was allowed

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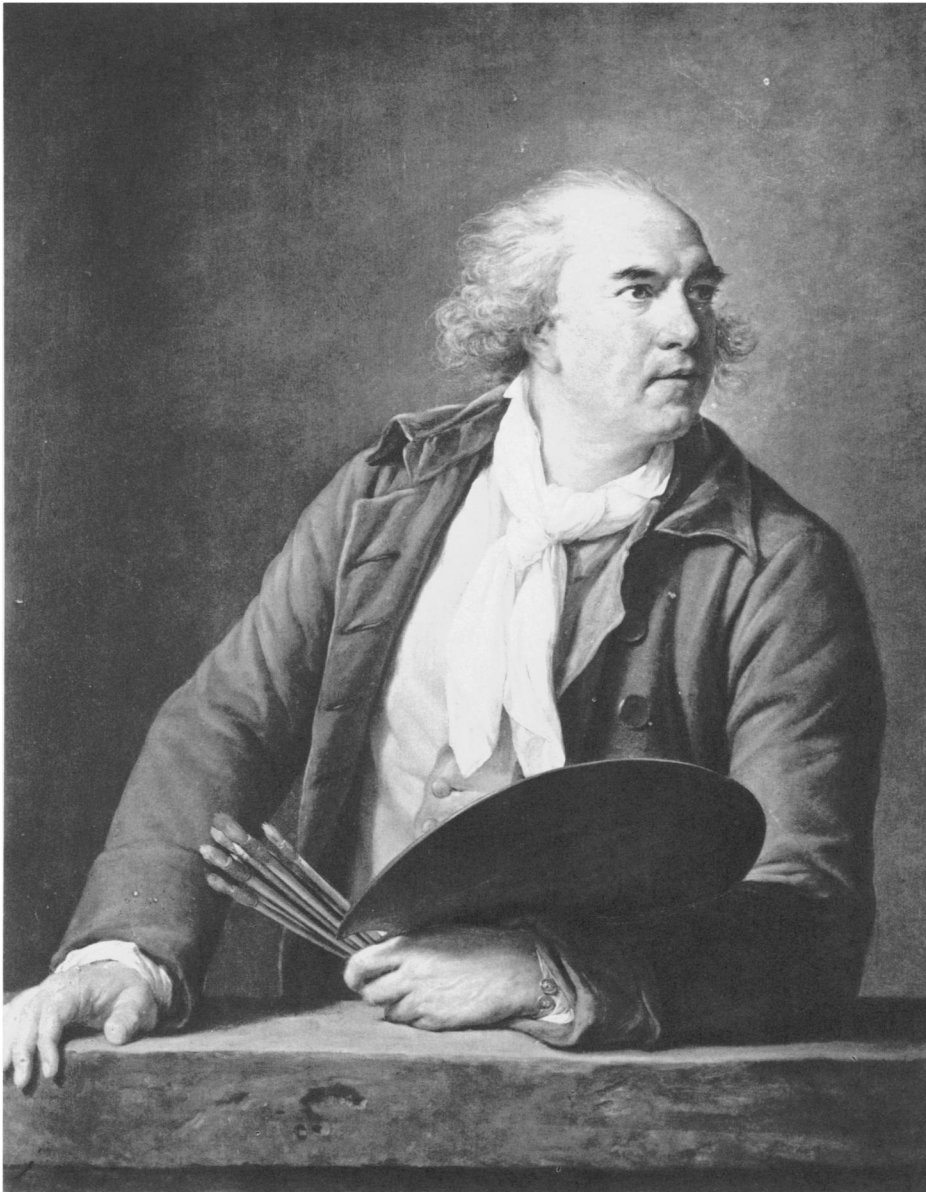


Figure 1. Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun (1755–1842), *Portrait of Hubert Robert* (1733–1808), 1788. Oil on panel. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Archives photographiques)

to become the spoiled child of the court. He was good-natured, handsome, graceful, and relatively athletic, much more so, in any case, than his two older brothers, the dauphin Louis and the comte de Provence, both of whom were introverted, obese, and physically awkward. Constant permissiveness on the part of his family, his governor, and the inept tutors who had unfortunately been entrusted with his upbringing had made of the adolescent Charles Philippe a self-centered, shallow, intellectually apathetic, morally weak, but altogether charming young fop.

In order to steer him away from affairs of state, certain royal ministers, including the aged comte de

Maurepas, encouraged him to spend money and accumulate debts, pursuits for which d'Artois quickly developed considerable flair. As with all the male members of the French royal family, he was assigned a household staff consisting of bodyguards, chaplains, courtiers, administrators, legal and financial advisers, clerks, secretaries, artists, architects, engineers, landscapists, gardeners, cooks, grooms, and countless personal servants. To guarantee him additional status at court and a greater income than that provided by the king's bounty, the Civil List, and the revenue from his many appanages and landholdings, his grandfather conferred on him one of the most prestigious military appointments

of the realm: he was made Colonel General of the Swiss Guards. Moreover, the largely ceremonial office of Grand Master of the Artillery, extinct since 1755, was revived for him. But d'Artois's talents as a leader of soldiers would always fall seriously short of the mark. He felt much more at ease in a salon surrounded by a coterie of sycophantic courtiers than he did on maneuvers. A disreputable and sexually promiscuous older cousin of the Orléans branch of his family, the duc de Chartres, helped to debauch d'Artois further by introducing him to the gambling dens and fancy brothels of nocturnal Paris.

In 1773 Charles Philippe was married to Marie Thérèse de Savoie, one of the unattractive daughters of Victor Amadeus III of Sardinia, and he dutifully sired three children. By the time his eldest brother had become king in 1774 as Louis XVI, he had resumed his libertine ways. He spent lavishly on his mistresses, among them several celebrated ladies of the stage—Anne Victoire Dervieux, Rosalie Duthé, and Louise Contat—and a liberated Englishwoman, Lady Barrymore. His other Anglophilic tastes drew him into further expense. In the company of Chartres and a group of cronies that included the two captains of his personal bodyguard, the little prince d'Hénin and the chevalier de Crusol (whose splendid portrait by Vigée Le Brun is in the Metropolitan Museum), he encouraged the growing fad for Thoroughbred racing on the Plaine des Sablons and at Vincennes.

Like so many of his ancestors, Monseigneur d'Artois had an insatiable appetite for real estate. Acquiring land and building on a sumptuous scale were passions a Bourbon prince was expected to indulge. His apartments in all the great royal houses—Versailles, Fontainebleau, Compiègne, Choisy, and so on—were judged inadequate, so he received as a personal gift from his brother the stately Château Neuf de Saint-Germain, a late-sixteenth-century palace that he would ultimately demolish in a misbegotten attempt at remodeling. The following year he purchased another magnificent estate, the Château de Maisons, which had been built in the seventeenth century by François Mansart. In Paris he enjoyed the use of the Palais du Temple by virtue of his infant son's title, Grand Prior of the Maltese order of St. John of Jerusalem, and he and his wife owned numerous other properties in and around Paris. Naturally, all of the comte d'Artois's residences were fitted out and maintained in accordance with the most fashionable and luxurious standards of taste.⁴

But it is with the diminutive Bagatelle (Figures 3, 4) that history will forever associate the comte d'Artois, for it is the only one of his houses that was designed and built specifically for him. The main pavilion, its dependencies, gardens, and landscaped park were a *folie* in the truest sense of the word, for they were created at great cost (at a time when the royal finances could ill afford such extravagance) and at breakneck speed as the result of a wager between the young prince and his equally light-headed sister-in-law Marie Antoinette. The original Château de Bagatelle, first called Babiole, had been built during the Regency near the old Renaissance Château de Madrid for the maréchal d'Estrées, who paid for it with profits gained from John Law's manipulations of the coffee and chocolate trade. The ten hectares on which it sat were bordered on the east by the Plaine de Longchamp, beyond which flowed the Seine at hardly more than a stone's throw



Figure 2. Antoine François Callet (1741–1823), *Portrait of Charles Philippe, comte d'Artois (1757–1836), Wearing the Ceremonial Robes of the Order of the Saint-Esprit*, ca. 1779. Oil on canvas. Present location unknown

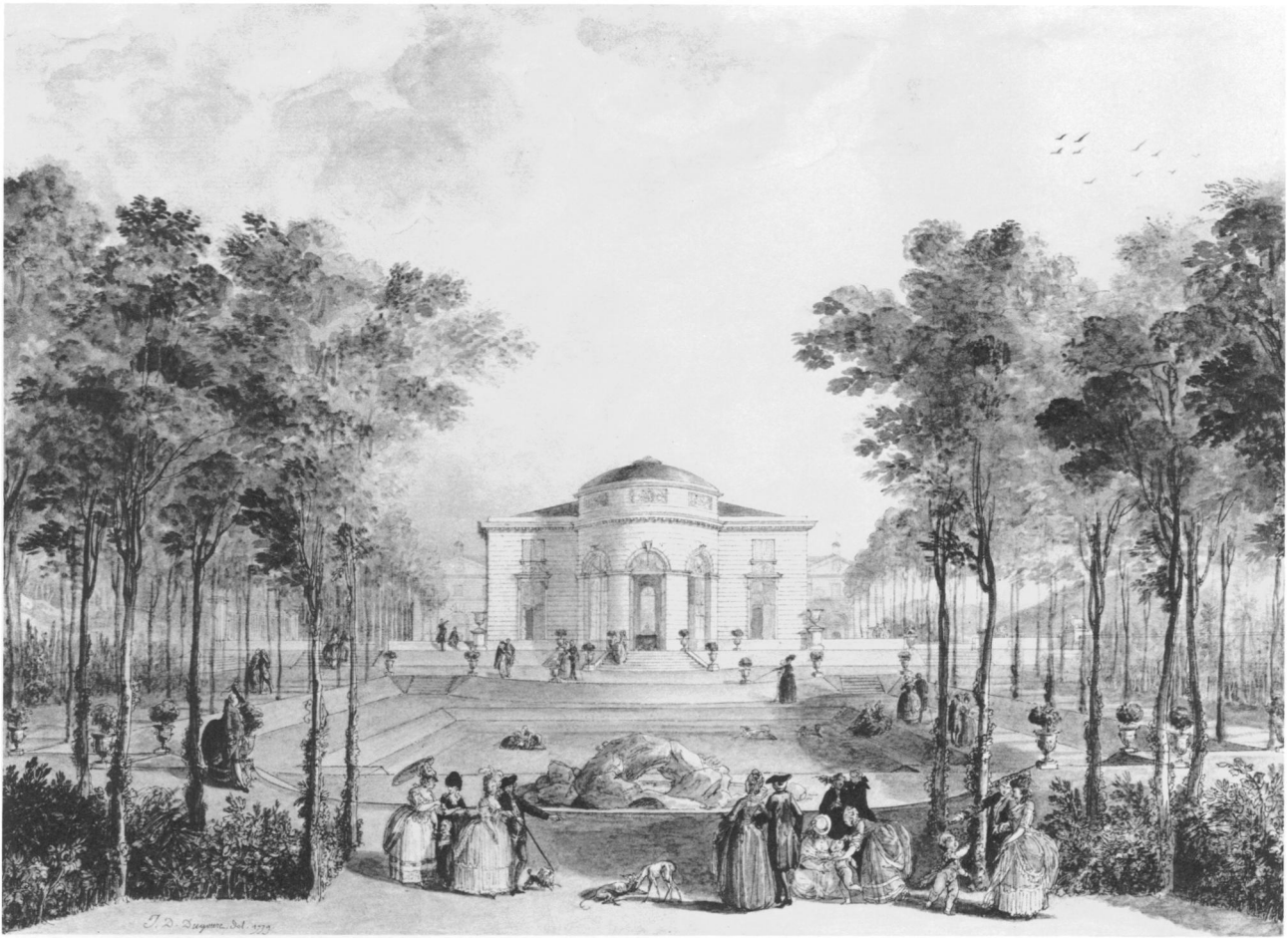


Figure 3. Jean Démosthène Dugourc (1749–1825), *The Garden Façade of Bagatelle*, 1779. Pen and black ink, watercolor, over traces of black chalk. The window of the bathroom in which Robert's paintings were located is on the right. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Susan Dwight Bliss, 1966, 67.55.17

away. Conceived as a *maison de plaisance*, its very name suggested something small and intimate. After the maréchal's death, it was used by his widow, and later by the marquise de Monconseil, as the locale for elaborate fêtes and as a hideaway for the occasional assignation.⁵ During the reign of Louis XV it also served as a secret love nest for the king and several of his less well-known paramours. By 1774 the prince de Chimay, the brother of the aforementioned prince d'Hénin, had taken full possession of Bagatelle. On November 1, 1775, for the sum of 36,000 livres, Chimay and his wife sold their interest in the property to the comte d'Artois, who at first expected to reside there only when hunting in the nearby Bois de Boulogne. The manor house was in a disastrous state of repair, owing to its proximity to the Seine and periodic inundations, and plans were made to rebuild it.

In the summer of 1777 Marie Antoinette visited Bagatelle. She and her gallant nineteen-year-old brother-in-law, who seemed to escort her everywhere, had already been portrayed in the scandal sheets as a pair of incorrigible gamblers. The comte d'Artois bet a large sum of money that an elegant new château and all of its appurtenances could be designed, constructed, and decorated during the court's annual six-week stay at Fontainebleau. Furthermore, he vowed that it would be finished in time to offer her a reception when she returned to Versailles. The queen readily accepted the wager. These circumstances are briefly recounted by Pindansat de Mairobert:

Il y a dans le bois de Boulogne, une espèce de vuide-bouteille appelé *Bagatelle*, qui par divers arrangements se trouve aujourd'hui appartenir au comte d'Artois. Ce

prince annonce un goût décidé pour la truelle; & indépendamment des bâtiments de toute espèce qu'il a déjà entrepris, au nombre de quatre ou cinq, il a eu le désir d'étendre et d'embellir celui-ci, ou plutôt de le changer complètement, & de le rendre digne de lui. Il a pris une tournure fort ingénieuse pour se satisfaire aux frais de qui il appartiendroit. Il a parié cent mille francs avec la reine que ce palais de fée seroit commencé & achevé durant le voyage de Fontainebleau, au point d'y donner une fête à sa majesté au retour; il y a huit cents ouvriers, & l'architecte de son A.R. espère bien le faire gagner.⁶

[In the Bois de Boulogne there is a sort of country house called *Bagatelle*, which by various means has now come to belong to the comte d'Artois. This prince exhibits a decided taste for construction, and besides the buildings of all kinds that he has already undertaken, which number four or five, he wishes to enlarge and embellish this one, or rather to change it entirely and make it worthy of him. He has found a very ingenious way to satisfy himself at someone else's expense. He bet the queen one hundred thousand francs that the fairy-tale palace would be built and completed during the

stay at Fontainebleau so that he could give a reception for her majesty on her return. There are eight hundred workers employed, and his royal highness's architect hopes to allow him to win his bet.]

D'Artois summoned his chief architect, François Joseph Belanger (1744–1818), who realized straightaway that he would have to muster all his organizational skills.⁷ He gathered around him an impressive contingent of architects, draftsmen, masons, carpenters, plumbers, engineers, gardeners, inspectors, and supervisory personnel. The duty of overseeing the costs fell to the officers of His Royal Highness's Bâtiments—the corrupt superintendent of his finances, Radix de Sainte-Foy, his intendants Chalgrin and Briasse, his controller Moyreau, his treasurer Bourboulon, and the chief custodian of his properties, Jubault. But it must have been decided early on that no expense would be spared, for when a final reckoning was made years later, it was clear that *Bagatelle* had cost more than 3,000,000 livres, many times the original estimates.

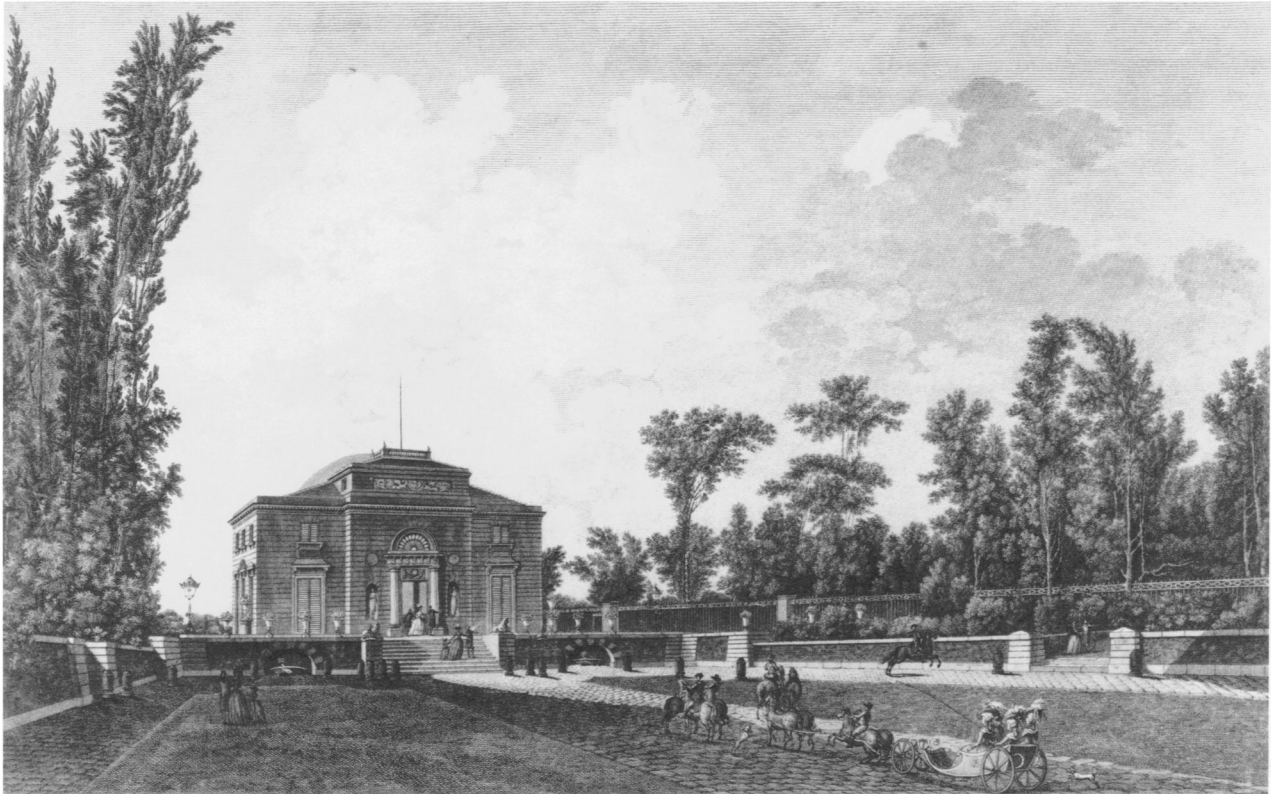


Figure 4. François Denis Née, after François Joseph Belanger (1744–1818), *View of the North Façade of the Château de Bagatelle from the Cour des Princes*. Etching

It took no more than two days for a master plan to be drafted, and it was approved on September 1. The old house was razed to the ground. On its site was to be erected a two-storied Palladian villa containing the apartments of the comte d'Artois, his chief equerries and special guests, and lodgings for his personal valet and footmen. A long courtyard was to separate this building from the so-called pages' wing, which was to include stables, carriage houses, kitchens, laundry, and wine cellars, as well as quarters for the porter and the house staff and, on the second floor, accommodations for the gentlemen and officers of the *picquet d'honneur* that usually accompanied the prince on his visits. To ensure efficient and discreet service, an underground passageway was to connect the main house with the pages' wing. Various outbuildings, a hydraulic machine, and a pump house were also planned. The grounds were initially limited to a formal French garden facing the north façade of the pavilion (Figure 3); in 1779, however, they would be greatly expanded to the south and the east to accommodate an Anglo-Chinese park filled with thought-provoking *fabriques*—sham ruins, an obelisk, a pagoda, primitive huts, grottoes, and bridges—and an elaborate system of streams and waterfalls.⁸ The French garden was laid out by Belanger himself, while the park was eventually landscaped by a Scotsman, Thomas Blaikie (1750–1838). This enchanting land of illusions would in time come to be thematically and conceptually linked to Robert's idealized landscapes.

Pidansat de Mairobert did not exaggerate: more than eight hundred laborers worked night and day in order to accomplish this miracle in the time allotted. The citizenry in the immediate vicinity was resentful when patrols of mounted Swiss Guards snatched up along the highways whole convoys of the building materials of which there happened to be a shortage. Actual construction work began on September 21 and continued day and night until November 26. The astounding performance had taken only sixty-four days, and d'Artois had won the wager. But the inaugural reception in honor of the queen had to be postponed until May of 1780, by which time the haste with which the project had been carried out had become virtually imperceptible.⁹ A seldom-quoted passage from Blaikie's diary provides an amusing anecdotal account of the reception, which typifies the lively and elegant entertainments for which the Bagatelle of the ancien régime became renowned:

... the 20th May [1780] the count gave a great fete at Bagatelle to the King and Queen and the court which was at this time at La Meutte; here was the Superbe Band of Musick placed upon a scaffold on a thicket of trees which as the company walked round to see the Gardins played which with the echo of the trees made an enchanting affects and in differant parts of the wood was booths made of the Branches of trees in which there was actors who acted differant pieces agreeable to the scene; on the further side towards Longchamp there was erected a Pyramide by which was a Marble tomb; this part of the wood being neuly taken in to the grounds there remained the wall of the bois de Boulogne and to rendre this scene More agreeable Mr Belanger had an invention which made a Singulare effect by undermining the wall on the outside and placing people with ropes to pull the wall down at a word; at this pyramide there was an acteur who acted the part of a Majician who asked there Majestys how they liked the Gardins and what a beautifull vue there was towards the plaine if that wall did not obstruct it, but that there Majestys need only give the word that he with his inchanting wand would make that wall disappear; the queen not knowing told him with a Laugh "Very well I should wish to see it disappear" and in the instant the signal was given and above 200 yards opposite where the company stood fell flat to the ground which surprised them all. This fete terminated with a ball in the Pavillion at which they all danced except the King who amuzed [himself] in playing at Billiards at half a crown a game; at this rate he could never ruin his fortune; the whole terminated by iluminations all round the Gardin. This day the King came from Lamuette to Bagatelle afoot; this fete was conducted with great Order and decorum with mirth; this was the first day that Bagatelle began to make its appearance; this day I was presented to the King & Queen as Inspector of the counts Gardins who complimented me on what I had already done.¹⁰

The process of refining the landscape and the interior decoration of the château continued over the next decade. But by the mid-1780s, most of the work had been completed, and the estate was periodically opened to those privileged enough to obtain one of the special passes that were printed up. Bagatelle was a little temple of pleasure devoted to both Cupid and Mars. Many of the Neoclassical motifs adorning the walls of the pavilion, in the form of painted or stuccoed "grotesques," illustrated the temptations of erotic love and sensual gratification to which the hedonistic young prince was by this time thoroughly addicted. But the master bedroom was made up to resemble a commander's tent, and in it the symbols of d'Artois's military rank were

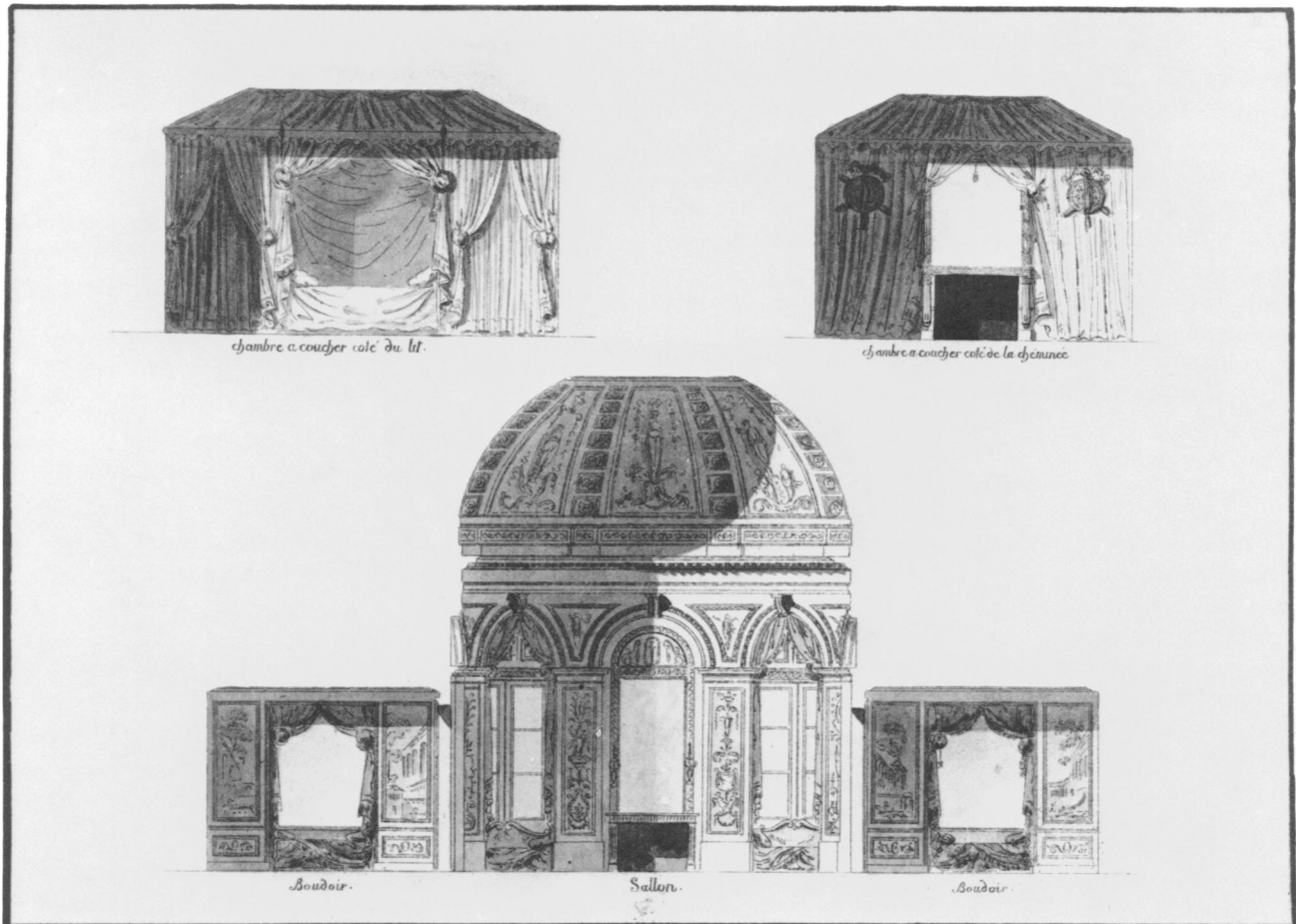


Figure 5. François Joseph Belanger, *Cross-sectional View of Rooms in the Château de Bagatelle*, 1778. Watercolor. Robert's paintings were set into the boudoirs to the left of the domed music room. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale (photo: Bibliothèque nationale)

everywhere in evidence. Belanger was extraordinarily demanding with respect to the quality of materials and craftsmanship. First among his assistants was his own brother-in-law, Jean Démosthène Dugourc (1749–1825), a veritable jack-of-all-trades, who assisted him in designing and coordinating the decoration of the individual rooms, and their collaboration proved to be particularly successful. He called on major suppliers of furniture and objets d'art, the *marchands-merciers* Boucher, Constantin, Daguerre and Francotay, Delaroue, Germain, Guérout, Jacquemart, Le Dreux, and Pirotte, and he engaged the services of a veritable army of talented independent artisans, craftsmen, and manufacturers of luxury items.¹¹ These included the ornamental painters Dusseaux, Félix, and Pion; the sculptors Auger, Lhuillier, Monnot, and Roland; the *stucateur* Reynier; the gilt-bronze founders Gouthière, Rémond, and Thomire; the gilders Aubert and Pre-

germain; the cabinetmakers Berger, Boulard, Bremaire, Delaroue, Denizot, Jacob, Maclar, Ramier, and Rode; the harpsichord manufacturers Miville and Perrin; the locksmith Gariby; the mirror-maker Presles; the lamp designer Basile; the clock-maker Lepaute; the marble-cutters Bocciardi and Carbel; the tile-layer Boudet; the paper-hanger Robert; the carpet weaver Pommier; and such suppliers of fabrics and trimmings as Bailly, Fizelier, Frémont, Guillard, Nau, Oberkampf, and Mme Sollet. Finally, he commissioned works from two prominent painters of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. Charged with six paintings each for the twin boudoirs flanking the spectacular domed music room were the comte d'Artois's painter in ordinary, Antoine François Callet,¹² and the recently appointed designer of the royal gardens, Hubert Robert.

The pavilion at Bagatelle was soon acknowledged

as a singularly perfect example of harmonious design in all of its parts. Luc Vincent Thierry's *Guide des amateurs et des étrangers voyageurs à Paris* includes a brief description of the major architectural and decorative features of the château as it appeared in 1787:

Le vestibule est orné de quatre bustes de marbre blanc, au-dessus desquels des bas-reliefs forment camées. Le fond de la salle à manger qui est à gauche, est occupé par une superbe cuvette à laver, près de laquelle on passe dans le grand sallon de forme ronde. Toute cette pièce, décorée de glaces & d'arabesques en bas-reliefs, est terminée en coupole. L'élégance de l'ameublement répond à la richesse du décor [sic]. La salle de bains placée à gauche de ce sallon, est ornée de glaces & de six tableaux charmans, peints par M. Robert, peintre du Roi, l'un des gardes du Museum, & dessinateur des jardins de sa majesté. Un délicieux boudoir, de l'autre côté du sallon à droite, est pareillement orné de glaces & de six tableaux de M. Callet, peintre du Roi. La porte que l'on trouve entre ce boudoir & la cheminée, communique à la salle de billard, intéressante par son décor. On y voit une superbe pendule, dont le cadran forme le milieu d'un trophée. Cette pièce rend au vestibule, dans le fond duquel deux colonnes servent d'entrée à l'escalier qui conduit à l'étage supérieur: il est d'une très jolie coupe & éclairé par le haut. L'antichambre de la gauche, mène à la chambre à coucher du prince, représentant l'intérieur d'une tente, des mortiers servent de chenets. Trois autres chambres à coucher, placées dans cet étage, ont leurs lits en perse pareille aux tentures. Tous ces appartements jouissent d'une superbe vue, tant sur le jardin françois contigu au château, que sur le jardin pittoresque, qui est à gauche & sur la rivière de Seine, Surène, Puteaux, le Calvaire & Neuilly, qui sont sur la droite.¹³

[The vestibule is ornamented with white marble busts above which low reliefs simulate cameos. The far end of the dining room at the left is occupied by a superb washbowl near which you pass into the large circular-shaped salon. This whole room, decorated with mirrors and arabesques in low relief, is topped with a cupola. The elegance of the furnishings is equal to the richness of the decoration. The bathroom located to the left of the salon is adorned with mirrors and with six charming pictures painted by M. Robert, painter to the King, one of the curators of the Museum and designer of his majesty's gardens. A delightful boudoir to the right of the salon is adorned in like manner with mirrors and with six pictures by M. Callet, painter to the King. The door between this boudoir and the fireplace connects with the billiard room, which is interestingly decorated. In it are seen a superb clock whose face is the center of an arms trophy. This room opens

onto the vestibule, at the rear of which twin columns serve as the entrance to the stairwell leading to the upper floor. It is beautifully designed and illuminated by a skylight. The anteroom on the left leads to the interior of the prince's bedchamber, made up to resemble the interior of a tent, with mortars used as firedogs. Three other chambers located on this floor have bedcovers in printed linen identical to the wall hangings. All these apartments enjoy a superb view, not only of the French garden next to the château but also of the picturesque garden on the left, and of the river Seine, Suresne, Puteaux, the Calvaire, and Neuilly, which are on the right.]

From this and other informative texts of the period we know that the room that is most relevant to a discussion of the Metropolitan's panels is the small boudoir to the left of the circular music room. The memoranda in the *Livre des comptes de Bagatelle*¹⁴ allow us to reconstruct the château's so-called *chambre des bains*. It measured approximately thirteen and a half feet in length and ten feet in width (4.39 m by 3.50 m). The floor was paved with slabs of white marble inlaid with red cabochons. The moldings of the cornices, cast in a honeysuckle and floral pattern, were gilded. Jean Marie Dusseaux executed most of the ornamental painting in pastel tones on an off-white ground. The ceiling was decorated with a blue sky, and on the paneling of the door leading to the salon was depicted a female bather upheld by water nymphs, whose lower anatomies twisted into extravagant arabesque shapes terminating in urns and cameos. The recess of the window looking out onto the formal garden, the doorframes, the cornices, and the borders of the ceiling were edged with delicate painted friezes of striped ribbons and flowers. On the far side of the room stood Augustin Bocciardi's magnificent mantelpiece carved in Egyptian green marble and elaborately embellished with gilt-bronze fixtures by Pierre Gouthière. Its mantel, resting on fluted columns and surmounted by a mirror, was flanked by painted pilasters. The window was hung with curtains of sheer muslin fringed with lace, and the window seat was topped with bolsters and cushions. In the center of the opposite wall was an alcove containing a sculpted oval bathtub, which, when not in use, was disguised as an ottoman. On either side of this niche were mirrored doors, one real and one painted in trompe-l'oeil. The real door opened onto a stairway leading to the comte d'Artois's private dressing room. The bathroom was furnished with a pair of screens, a set of four *chaises à la reine*, and ten less voluminous chairs, six of them

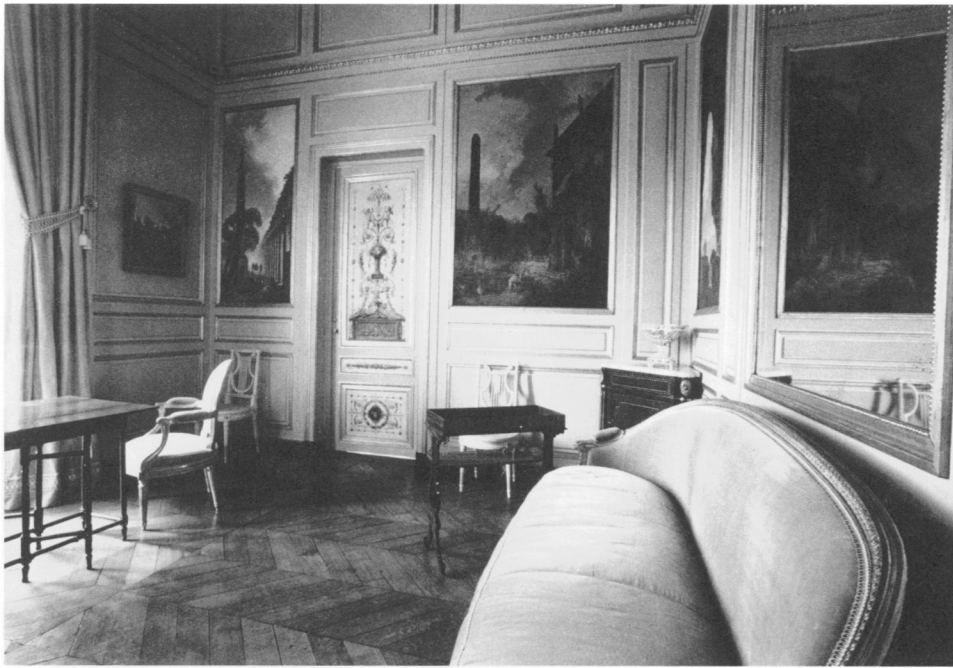


Figure 6. Photograph of the interior of the bathroom at Bagatelle as it appears today. Twentieth-century copies of Robert's paintings decorate the room, which now bears no resemblance to the comte d'Artois's *boudoir-chambre des bains*. Even Dusseaux's ornamental panel is not the one that originally decorated the door leading to the music room (photo: Mairie de Paris)

cane-backed and covered in apple-green linen and white taffeta. From the workshops of Georges Jacob, these pieces were carved by Jean Baptiste Rode and gilded by Aubert. Most of the upholstery fabrics and hangings came from the shop of the *marchand-mercier* Le Dreux, while the silk cords, tassels, and other accessories were supplied by the house of Fizez frères. Such was the sumptuous environment in which the comte d'Artois could take his bath surrounded by Robert's Italian capriccios (Figure 5).¹⁵ Of the original decoration of the room, nothing survives. One of Dusseaux's panels decorates the door leading to the music room, but it is not the one described in the artist's memorandum (Figure 6). The initial payment for Hubert Robert's pictures, documented in the *Livre des comptes*, was issued on May 9, 1779 (see Appendix, Document I).

We can be fairly certain that Robert executed the Bagatelle panels in the enclosure of the Grand-Arsenal du Roi, where he and his family resided between 1770 and the summer of 1778 and where he kept a studio until late December 1779. He was forty-five years old at the time of the commission and was at the peak of his form. The artist had been born in Paris in 1733, the son of a steward in the household of the marquis de Choiseul-Stainville, the representative of the duc de Lorraine at the French court. From birth Robert could rely on the protection of the powerful and influential Choiseul

clan. It was first decided that he would enter the clergy. Between 1745 and 1751 he studied at the Collège de Navarre, where he acquired a solid grounding in the classics. Whereas the boy showed no signs of a religious vocation, he did reveal a decided talent for *les arts du dessin*, and for a short time he seems to have trained as an apprentice in the studio of the Flemish-born sculptor Michel-Ange Slodtz.

In late 1754 the twenty-one-year-old Robert joined the large retinue accompanying the marquis de Stainville, the son and heir of his father's old employer, on his mission to Rome as ambassador to the court of Pope Benedict XIV. Stainville's sponsorship removed many hurdles in Robert's path; he was given room and board at the Académie de France, a signal privilege for an aspiring artist who had never even competed for the *prix de Rome*. Under the paternal guidance of the school's director, Charles Joseph Natoire, he followed the traditional cursus of the students, which included copying from the antique. By September of 1759 the progress he had made encouraged Louis XV's minister of the fine arts, the marquis de Marigny, to make him an official *pensionnaire*. A tireless worker, Robert recorded in innumerable drawings and oil sketches the topography of Rome, Naples, and their environs, the remnants of ancient civilizations, as well as many aspects of contemporary Italian life. Throughout his



Figure 7. Hubert Robert (1733–1808), *The Canal*, 1774. Oil on canvas. New York, private collection

long and prolific career, the artist would glean much of the imagery of his paintings from these early studies. His work at this stage betrays the strong influence of Italy's foremost *pittore di vedute*, Gianpaolo Panini, the Académie's master of perspective. Furthermore, the spirit of emulation derived from the companionship of his fellow pupils, especially Jean Honoré Fragonard, provided a stimulus to his creative energies.

In July 1765 Robert's unusually long sojourn in Italy came to an end, and he returned to Paris. A year later, he was admitted without the usual preliminaries to full membership in the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture as a painter of architecture. In July 1767 he married Anne Gabrielle Soos, by whom he would have four children. That year he showed his work for the first time at the Salon, where his exhibits inspired Diderot to compose his famous discourse on the painting of ancient ruins. Robert's success was almost immediate. Royalty, the nobility, and the wealthiest members of the bourgeoisie began to commission "Robert des ruines" to design their gardens and decorate their interiors. By 1778 he had remodeled the installation

of the Bains d'Apollon at Versailles; as a reward he was granted an official position in the royal administration of the fine arts as Designer of His Majesty's Gardens, and was assigned lodgings in the old palace of the Louvre. He was also made assistant curator of the king's collections and sat on the first committee charged with the creation of a royal museum. As the vogue for his paintings increased, his large output attained ever higher levels of quality and inventiveness. Louise Vigée Le Brun, Robert's close friend and colleague, commented on his great skills as a decorative painter and the resulting vogue for his work: "Il était de mode, et très magnifique, de faire peindre son salon par Robert; le nombre des tableaux qu'il a laissés est-il vraiment prodigieux. Il s'en faut bien, à la vérité, que tous soient de la même beauté; Robert avait cette extrême facilité qu'on peut appeler heureuse, qu'on peut appeler fatale: il peignait un tableau aussi vite qu'il écrivait une lettre; mais quand il voulait captiver cette facilité, ses ouvrages étaient souvent parfaits."¹⁶ [It was fashionable, and very grand, to have one's salon painted by Robert, and so the number of pictures he has left behind is really prodigious. In truth, all are not of equal beauty. Robert was endowed with that extraordinary facility that can be considered either fortunate or fatal: he could paint a picture as fast as he could write a letter. But when he was willing to hold this facility in check, his works were often perfect.]

In August 1779 Hubert Robert sent eleven oil paintings and an unspecified number of watercolors to the Salon of the Académie Royale. Etiquette required that the artist give precedence to three landscapes belonging to his illustrious royal patron, "Mgr le COMTE D'ARTOIS," and they are the first of his works mentioned in the exhibition's handbook.¹⁷ Two of them, measuring five by three feet, were paired under number 89 and were described as depicting *Une Pêche sur un canal couvert d'un brouillard* [Fishing on a Canal Covered with Fog] and *Un grand Jet d'Eau dans des Jardins d'Italie: on voit, sur le devant du Tableau, des Femmes qui jouent à la main-chaude* [A Large Fountain in an Italian Garden: in the foreground of the painting can be seen women playing hot cockles]. It is unknown which of d'Artois's many residences these pendants were meant to decorate, and they have apparently never resurfaced since their brief appearance at the Salon. The composition of the fishing scene, however, probably reflects that of *The Canal* (Figure 7), a significantly larger painting dating from 1774.



Figure 8. Hubert Robert, *The Wandering Minstrels*, 1777–79. Oil on canvas, 174.5 × 122.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.30



Figure 9. Hubert Robert, *A Fête at the Villa Medici in Rome*, 1765–70. Oil on canvas. Present location unknown

A picture of the same height as the aforementioned pendants, but wider by one foot, was catalogued as number 90 and entitled *Une partie de la Cour du Capitole, ornée de Musiciens ambulans près d'une Fontaine* [Part of the Courtyard of the Capitol, animated with itinerant musicians near a fountain]. It is indisputable that the handbook entry designates one of the two widest panels in the Metropolitan's series (Figure 8), and its presence in 1779 in the collection of the comte d'Artois is proof enough that it was indeed part of the Bagatelle decor. None of the many journalists who commented on Robert's contributions to the Salon that year made specific mention of the picture.¹⁸ Most of the reviewers were content to reproach the artist for employing a facile technique that led him to neglect detail and the high degree of finish that were hallmarks of the grand style of history and classical landscape painting, criticism that had frequently been leveled at him since he had joined the Académie.



Figure 10. Hubert Robert, *Study of the Courtyard of an Italian Palazzo*. Black and red chalk. Formerly collection of Louis Deglatigny; present location unknown

Typical was the following commentary from the author of an article printed in the *Journal de Paris*:

Le fécond M. Robert a garni le Sallon d'une multitude de grands Tableaux d'Architecture & de Paysage. Ses compositions ont de la noblesse & de la variété. Il règne dans son exécution une facilité qui plaît généralement. Il ne paroît pas être au pouvoir de cet Artiste de porter ses ouvrages à un certain degré de fini, en sorte qu'ils ont tous l'air de grandes esquisses avancées, où brillent une couleur aimable & un bon effet. Si cet Artiste pouvoit rendre un peu plus les détails & soigner davantage ses figures, ses Tableaux doubleroit de mérite aux yeux des Connoisseurs, & lui acquerroient une réputation à l'abri des caprices de la mode. Ce sont, en tout genre, les ouvrages finis qui conduisent les noms de leurs Auteurs à l'immortalité.¹⁹

[The prolific M. Robert has furnished the Salon with a multitude of large architectural and landscape paintings. His compositions have grandeur and variety. His



Figure 11. Detail of Figure 8 showing group of musicians



Figure 12. Hubert Robert, *Sheet of Studies*, ca. 1760–65. Black chalk. Formerly collections of Hippolyte Destailleur and Louis Deglatigny; present location unknown

skillful technique is generally found pleasing. This artist seems incapable of carrying his works to a certain degree of finish, and so they all look like large advanced sketches, distinguished by lovely coloring and the pleasant impression they make. If this artist would only concentrate more on details and take more care with his figures, his paintings would double in merit in the eyes of connoisseurs and would warrant him a reputation safe from the vagaries of fashion. In every genre it is finished works that lead the names of their authors to immortality.]

Robert's six *Bagatelle* paintings, which all measure approximately 174 centimeters in height, can be grouped in three pairs according to their width: *Wandering Minstrels* (Figure 8) and *The Bathing Pool* (Figure 15) form a first pair, *The Swing* (Figure 25) and *The Dance* (Figure 29) a second, and *The Fountain* (Figure 33) and *The Mouth of a Cave* (Figure 34) a third. The two widest panels are also the most elaborate in composition.

The slight narrative unfolding in Robert's *Wandering Minstrels* takes place in a setting cleverly fabricated by the artist from sites and monuments he had sketched in and around Rome. A study of the painting reveals something about the eclectic manner in which Robert went about piecing together the disparate parts of such a picture into a harmonious, beautifully integrated but totally contrived and artificial whole. In a courtyard three musicians stand at a fountain composed of an Egyptian obelisk, its base flanked on all sides by statues of nymphs holding vases from which water pours into the basin below. Here the shaft of the obelisk creates the upward sweep that characterizes all six of Robert's *Bagatelle* compositions and that was imposed, as it were, by the vertical shape of the canvases. The wandering minstrels—two flute players and a singing guitarist—serenade the women looking down on them from the windows of a palace. The distinctive façade of the building allows us to identify it as



Figure 13. Detail of Figure 14 showing a flutist

either the Palazzo dei Conservatori or the Capitolino, which Michelangelo and Giacomo della Porta had designed for the Campidoglio. In the right-hand corner of the canvas, the colossal statue of a goddess (then identified as Flora and now as Aphrodite), said to have originally adorned the Baths of Caracalla and which in Robert's time was preserved in the Palazzo Farnese, serenely surveys the amusing proceedings from atop her high pedestal. The ground below this vestige of classical Roman art is littered with broken chunks of ancient masonry. In the background, a series of cascades in a hilly landscape evokes the lush gardens of Tivoli. The scene is bathed in warm, golden sunlight.

There are many works relating to the *Wandering Minstrels*.²⁰ Earlier in his career Robert had created a similar festive atmosphere in a picture of musicians and dancers performing in front of the Villa Medici (Figure 9), which probably dates from soon

after the artist's return to France from his Italian sojourn.²¹ Robert may have partially worked out the composition of the *Bagatelle* painting in a black-and-red-chalk drawing (Figure 10), which was originally part of a sketchbook owned in the nineteenth century by the architect Hippolyte Destailleur.²² A black-chalk study of the singing guitarist on the Piazza del Campidoglio is in the Musée de Valence.²³ When it came to portraying the two flute players (Figure 11), Robert simply referred to a study dating back to about 1760–65, which at some point became part of a composite sheet (Figure 12).²⁴ In 1775 the artist had inserted the figure of the flute player with the wide-brimmed hat (Figure 13) in a



Figure 14. Hubert Robert, *The Portico of a Country Mansion*, 1773. Oil on canvas. Exhibited at the Salon of 1775, pendant to Figure 37. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Lucy Work Hewitt, 1934, 35.40.2



Figure 15. Hubert Robert, *The Bathing Pool*, 1777–79. Oil on canvas, 174.5 × 123.8 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.29

panel entitled *Portico of a Country Mansion* (Figure 14), a picture commissioned by the financier Bergeret de Frouville, which, like *Wandering Minstrels*, is in the Metropolitan Museum.

The second of the two widest canvases, *The Bathing Pool* (Figure 15),²⁵ is in one respect the key picture in the series, for its aquatic subject reflects the nature of the little boudoir it was meant to decorate. Female bathers were, of course, a common theme in French eighteenth-century painting, but whereas most artists concentrated their attention on voluptuous nudes—for example, Carle Van Loo's famous *Bathers* of 1759 literally fill the large canvas (Figure 16)—Robert employs such figures as incidental accessories. In this outdoor nymphaeum, we have an idea of the type of artfully designed and rusticated *fabrique* one might expect to come across while strolling through the Anglo-Chinese park of a late-eighteenth-century folly like Bagatelle. In a forest glade, a temple consecrated to Venus, the goddess of love, is visited by a company of elegant ladies and their servants. The classical architecture can be associated with one of any number of round, monopteral buildings that Robert had recorded in drawings made in Italy (for example, the Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli or Bramante's Doric Tempietto at S. Pietro in Montorio in Rome), and Charles Sterling claimed that it is specifically modeled on the so-called Temple of Jupiter Serapis at Pozzuoli, near Naples.²⁶ It also brings to mind such contemporary French structures as the Temple de l'Amour, which had been built in 1777 by Richard Mique for Marie Antoinette's English gardens at the Petit Trianon.

Marble steps lead down to a pool fed by jets of water spouting from bronze lion masks. Two of the women have discarded their clothing and are swimming in the pool, while a third prepares to join them. As these are the figures that give the picture its meaning, light is strongly focused on them. Reflecting tenets of the "picturesque" ideal, little is whole in either nature's profusion or the man-made structures. Tree limbs are shattered, while the cornice and Tuscan columns of the temple, the steps, and the pedestals of the statues are pitted and have begun to crumble. The complex geometry of the composition—the sharp vertical lines of the rotunda's columns are broken by the gnarled trunks of the trees projecting diagonally into the pictorial space—and even the spontaneous brushwork conform to the same proto-Romantic aesthetic. All this implies the slow disintegration accompanying the passage of time, but the light and airy atmosphere

of the scene prevents us from lapsing into any metaphysical speculation on the inexorable fate of civilizations. Here Robert gives free rein to his whimsy, decorating the scene with boxed and potted plants, as well as with examples of ancient and contemporary sculpture. The statue in the temple is a conflation of the Venus Pudica and the Venus de' Medici. On high pedestals dominating the pool are Jean Baptiste Pigalle's famous *Venus* (Figure 17) and *Mercury* (Figure 18), the life-size examples of which were in Potsdam but which Robert probably copied from small-scale replicas.²⁷ *Mercury* also appears in Robert's painting traditionally entitled *The Terrace of the Château de Marly* (Figure 19), which also dates from the late 1770s and may very well depict the terraced gardens of the comte d'Artois's Château Neuf de Saint-Germain.²⁸ Robert took the figure of the bathing woman seen from behind, with her knees protruding from the water (Figure 20), from Balechou's print of Joseph Vernet's *Bathers* (Figure 21).²⁹

After Panini, François Boucher was the painter who had the most enduring influence on Hubert Robert. The latter thought nothing of animating his



Figure 16. Carle van Loo (1705–65), *Bathers*. Shown at the Salon of 1759. Oil on canvas. Private collection

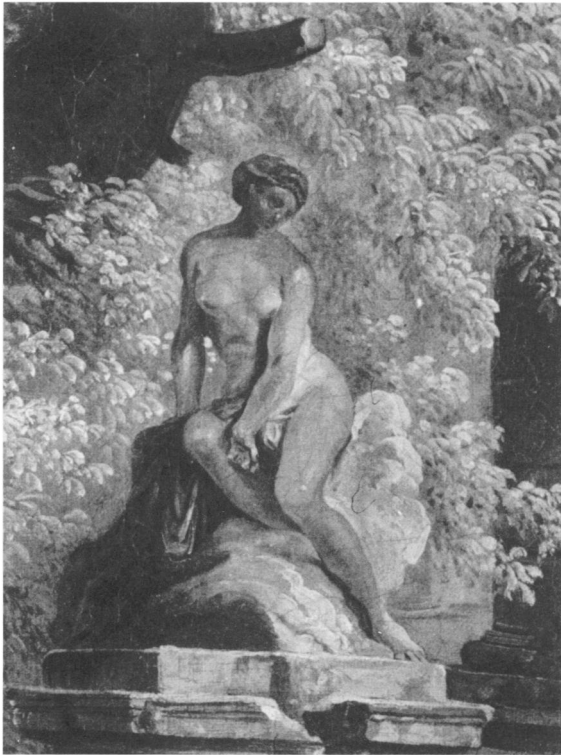


Figure 17. Detail of Figure 15 showing Pigalle's *Venus*

Figure 18. Detail of Figure 15 showing Pigalle's *Mercury*



Figure 19. Hubert Robert. *The Terrace of the Château de Marly*, ca. 1779. Oil on canvas. Kansas City, Missouri, The Nelson-Atkins Museum (photo: Nelson-Atkins Museum)



Figure 20. Detail of Figure 15 showing female bathers



Figure 22. Detail of Figure 15 showing female bather removing her stocking



Figure 21. Jean Joseph Balechou, after Claude Joseph Vernet (1714–89), *Bathers*, 1757. Engraving with etching



Figure 23. Nicolas de Larmessin, after François Boucher (1703–70), *Le Fleuve Scamandre*, 1742. Engraving

compositions by borrowing liberally from the works of the older master with whom he had collaborated immediately after his return to Paris from Rome in 1765.³⁰ The blonde woman removing her stockings (Figure 22) is simply cribbed from Boucher's *Le Fleuve Scamandre*, which he knew from Nicolas de Larmessin's print (Figure 23).³¹ At earlier stages of his career Robert had made good use of the motif, which occurs for the first time in a painting of a lone bather (Figure 24) dating from the end of his stay in Italy. We find it also in one of a group of decorative panels purportedly commissioned in 1776 by

Mme Rouillé de l'Etang, *Washerwomen at a Pool near Antique Ruins*.³²

In *The Swing* (Figure 25) Robert illustrates an episode in a game played by lovers, a particularly fitting subject for the comte d'Artois's boudoir-bathroom at Bagatelle. The scene is staged on the balustraded terrace of an Italian garden in which a marble statue, a section of a broken column, and a stele are incidental reminders of the antique past. Amid the shady luxuriance of high rising trees, a woman on a swing soars into the air. Groups of bystanders look on amusedly as the young swain in the left fore-

ground pulls the cord to which the swing is tethered; at each and every pull, his lover flies to vertiginous heights (Figure 26). The theme was common in eighteenth-century painting and printmaking. More than anyone else, Watteau popularized it, and it is in all likelihood one of his lost arabesque panels, *La Balanceuse*, commemorated in an engraving by Jacques Philippe Le Bas (Figure 27), which served as Robert's immediate inspiration for the two main figures. Both women are seen on swings, with their skirts fluttering in the breeze, and each of the male protagonists suggestively holds the end of a rope. Donald Posner has demonstrated that the image of a woman swinging back and forth related specifically to the rites of carnal love, and it frequently carried with it the connotation of female inconstancy.³³ With typical brio, Robert's friend Fragonard fully explored the possibilities of the theme in several paintings, most notably in the naughty *Swing* in the Wallace Collection, London, in which the sexual overtones so subtly understated in the work of Watteau and other painters in the *fête galante* tradition are made relatively explicit. In the *Bagatelle* panel the statue of a young male nude (Figure 28), a recollection of the Marble Faun in the Capitoline, seems to be eyeing the scene with a lascivious smirk on his face. With this witty conceit, Robert is poking fun at the metaphor. In subsequent years, even quite late in his career, Robert painted a number of variations on the composition, a fact that may suggest that he had easy access to it after completing the *Bagatelle* painting.³⁴

The locale of the painting entitled *The Dance* (Figure 29) is a rugged mountain pass through which a river flows. In the upper register of the composition a caravan of travelers crosses a natural stone bridge (one of Robert's favorite motifs) and enters a tunnel. This type of spectacular scenery had important precedents in such landscapes by Joseph Vernet as the so-called *View of the Alps*, engraved by Jean Ouvrier (Figure 30), which was itself dependent upon the mountainscapes of Salvator Rosa and Gaspard Dughet.³⁵ At the foot of a rocky precipice, near the pool formed by the cascading waters of the river, a guitarist draped in a long cape accompanies the gestures of a young couple executing an "Allemande," a lively German folk dance that the French transformed into a sequence of slow and stately movements accompanied by elaborate intertwinings of arms and hands. Once again Robert lifted his principal figures (Figure 31), poses and costumes alike, from a work by Boucher, *La Danse allemande*, of

about 1765. Because the dancers are not shown in reverse, it can be surmised that Robert referred to Boucher's original drawing (Figure 32) and not to Demarteau's engraving of it.³⁶ The inventory made of Robert's effects after his death accounted for more than a hundred individual sheets by Boucher, so it is not impossible that he even owned *La Danse allemande*.³⁷

The scene depicted in one of the two narrowest panels, *The Fountain* (Figure 33), takes place on a flat terrain dotted with umbrella pines. A group of washerwomen and water carriers busy themselves around a fountain at the base of a column surmounted by the statue of a female deity, one of those free improvisations on imperial Roman triumphal columns—the most likely prototypes being those of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius—that abound in Robert's work. From the right, a roseate light streams through the arched openings of the two-tiered brick-and-concrete façade receding into the depths of the picture. This nonspecific construction may be modeled on Septimius Severus's substructures on the Palatine Hill, or the outer shell of one

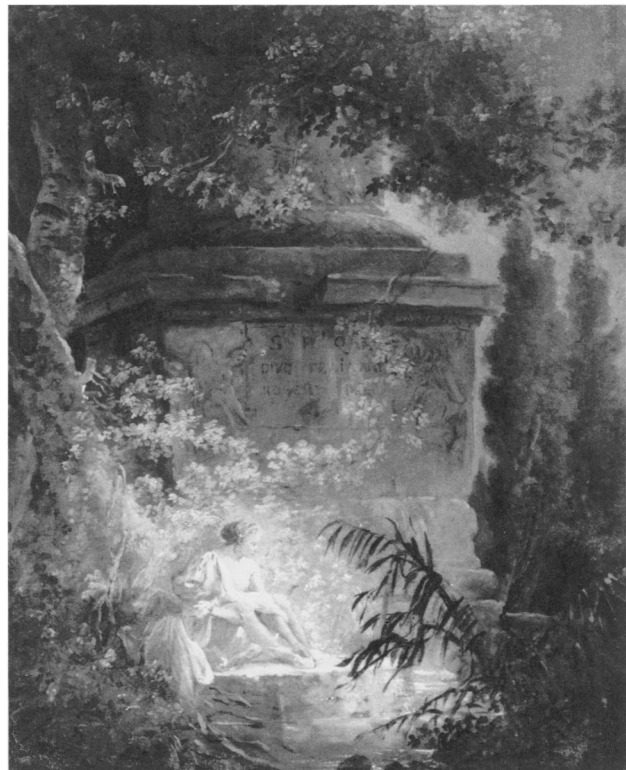


Figure 24. Hubert Robert, *The Bather*, ca. 1762. Oil on canvas. Zurich, private collection



Figure 25. Hubert Robert, *The Swing*, 1777–79. Oil on canvas, 173.5 × 88 cm. Signed lower right on base of statue:
H. ROBERT PINXIT. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.27



Figure 26. Detail of Figure 25 showing woman on a swing

of the imperial baths, or the remains of an aqueduct. A fragment of a broken statue is propped against the foremost pier of the arcade, while a large slab of stone leans against the fountain. In the distance, tiny figures on foot and on horseback advance through a haze of dust and vapor. Ruined monuments are again exploited as picturesque accessories, the setting for the everyday activities of contemporary Romans. And once again Robert's real study is the effect of sunlight on moldering ruins.

The last panel, *The Mouth of a Cave* (Figure 34), depicts a seaside grotto with walls overgrown with moss and hanging vines. Among the lambent shadows of the interior, a fisherman and two women discuss the day's catch, while in the foreground a figure carrying a basket on his back plods through a pool left behind when the tide receded. On the unruffled surface of the sea, far off on the horizon, floats a

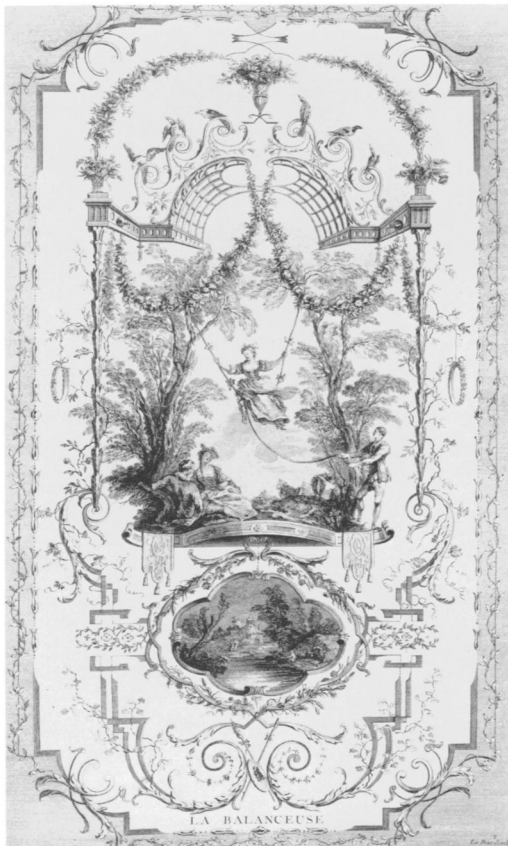


Figure 27. Jacques-Philippe Le Bas, after Jean Antoine Watteau (1684–1721), *La Balanceuse*. Etching. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert N. Straus, 1928, 28.113



Figure 28. Detail of Figure 25 showing Marble Faun



Figure 29. Hubert Robert, *The Dance*, 1777–79. Oil on canvas, 173.5 × 85.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.28



Figure 30. Jean Ouvrier, after Claude Joseph Vernet (1714–89), *A View of the Alps*. Engraving

pair of fishing vessels. This is undoubtedly a fanciful re-creation of one of the caverns the artist had visited in 1760 with his friend and patron the Abbé de Saint-Non during their trip to the kingdom of Naples.³⁸ Such natural curiosities are represented in other marine pictures—for instance, in the *Grotto of Folignano* (Figure 35)—but the high vaulting of the cave and the dramatic contrasts of light and dark add considerable monumentality to the Bagatelle composition. Robert had achieved similar effects in a far more fantastical *veduta* in which St. Peter's basilica in Rome is seen from inside a grotto (Figure 36) and, in architectural terms, in the Metropolitan's *Return of the Cattle* (Figure 37).

The Mouth of a Cave (Figure 34) is the only painting in the series that bears both a signature and a date.³⁹ That date, 1784, is some five years after the commission was completed and payment made to the artist, and five years after *Wandering Minstrels* (Figure 8) was exhibited at the Salon. This discrepancy in chronology is explicable in view of the fact

that by 1783 the humidity endemic to Bagatelle had taken a toll on the furnishings of both ground-floor boudoirs. More heat was required to dry the rooms than could be provided by the hearths, so wrought-iron stoves had to be installed. The artist was asked by the comte d'Artois's new and more conservative superintendent of finance, Marie Jean Jacques de Verdun, to “redo” (*refaire*) the two panels flanking the mantelpiece in the *chambre des bains*, as these had incurred serious harm from the dampness. The new commission is recorded in a report dated May 18, 1784 (see Appendix, Document III). It is conceivable that the damaged pictures in question were in fact the two now-lost pendants in the collection of the comte d'Artois that were shown at the Salon of 1779, *Le Canal* and *Un grand jet d'eau dans des jardins d'Italie*,⁴⁰ and that these were in such poor condition they had to be replaced. Such a hypothesis would mean that *The Mouth of a Cave* (Figure 34) was actually painted in 1784, and this would account for its pristine, apparently unrestored condition. The problems caused by excessive humidity persisted, and in 1787 Robert's paintings had to be removed so that the wainscoting in which they were set could be covered with a protective lining.⁴¹

The subsequent history of Robert's paintings for Bagatelle is somewhat muddled. In 1785 the château ceased to be the haven where d'Artois freely indulged his sexual appetites. A liaison with Louise d'Esparbès, vicomtesse de Polastron, had a stabilizing effect on him. In the fevered political atmosphere of the late 1780s, his reputation as the most reactionary member of the royal family made his name anathema to the masses. During the meetings of the Assemblée des Notables and the États Généraux, he aggressively opposed any reform of the monarchy and championed absolutism. The comte d'Artois became a symbol of the court's decadence and a prime target for the radical press, which launched blistering attacks against him. In the summer of 1789, having learned that d'Artois was a candidate for assassination, that there was actually a price on his head, Louis XVI urged his younger brother to leave the realm. With his family and closest allies, he fled Versailles under the cover of night on July 16–17, only forty-eight hours after the fall of the Bastille. His hasty departure began the great exodus that came to be known as the Emigration. He would not return to France until Napoleon's debacle in 1814.

Behind him the comte d'Artois left his many properties and the colossal debts he had accumu-



Figure 31. Detail of Figure 29 showing peasant couple executing an Allemande



Figure 32. François Boucher (1703–70), *La Danse allemande*, ca. 1768. Red chalk. Private collection

lated during his wasted youth. The estate of Bagatelle was nationalized by the Assemblée, and by the spring of 1792 it had been incorporated into the commune of Neuilly. Briefly opened to the public, it was requisitioned in order to billet a detachment of volunteer troops from the Armée du Midi. In 1793, following the abolition of the monarchy, the Convention decreed that certain of the former royal houses were to be torn down, among them the nearby châteaux of Madrid and La Muette. Fortunately Bagatelle was spared this fate, but to satisfy d'Artois's creditors, between 1793 and 1794 most of the movable effects remaining in the château were auctioned off by order of the municipal officials of Saint-Denis and Neuilly. During much of that time, Robert had been incarcerated in the revolutionary prisons of Sainte-Pélagie and Saint-Lazare. On 29 germinal an III (April 18, 1795), he appealed to the Commission des Arts for the return of the pictures he had painted for the comte d'Artois at Bagatelle. It was decided, however, that the paintings in the boudoirs were part of the wall decoration and as such had to be left in place.⁴²

Although the Maison Nationale de Bagatelle was officially acknowledged as an establishment “beneficial to the Arts and to Agriculture,” the state could not afford to maintain it, so it was sold in 1796 to Claude Leuthereau, an erstwhile wigmaker turned arms dealer, who had also acquired the Hôtel de Salm in Paris. This unsavory character kept Bagatelle for less than a year, vulgarly flaunting his newfound wealth in the company of his glamorous mistress, the actress Anne Françoise Elisabeth Lange. (Citizen Leuthereau was eventually arrested and imprisoned for forging documents.)

The government once more put the château up for sale, and on May 26, 1797, it was taken over by a consortium of investors headed by a restaurateur, André Lhéritier, who promoted it into a popular banqueting establishment and amusement park, an elegant rendezvous where the *muscadins* of the Directoire and the disgruntled royalists who yearned for the return of the Bourbons came to dine, to eat the ices of the Italian *glacier* Garchi, to listen to music, or to wander through the botanical gardens, which at night were illuminated. Yet the venture was costly and yielded little or no profit. The insolvency of several of the partners and growing friction between them led to the dissolution of the company. The estate was the subject of a complicated legal dispute, and its buildings and their contents were placed under judicial seal until Lhéritier was able to

form a new group calling itself the Société des Entrepreneurs de Fêtes, which reopened Bagatelle.⁴³ The former royal property was visited at this time by a young Prussian architect, Friedrich David Gilly (1772–1800). His detailed description of the main building provides incontrovertible evidence to the effect that Robert's paintings were still in situ as late as 1797: "To the left, you enter a small and very hospitable room whose walls are decorated with picturesque architectures by the ingenious hand of Robert. On the opposite side an identical room, decorated by Callet and arranged as a bathroom [*sic*] with extraordinary elegance, is its counterpart, and it connects by a small stairway to the bedrooms on the upper floor. The angles and the alcoves are arranged with exceptional skill and provide the greatest comfort."⁴⁴

Throughout the Consulate and the first years of the Empire, Bagatelle continued to operate as a restaurant under the management of a caterer, François Ignace Born, one of Lhéritier's associates. In 1806 Napoleon's Administration des Domaines bought the property, but Born sublet it and stayed on until 1810, when he was finally evicted. For his own pleasure, Napoleon arranged for the Bois de Boulogne to be replenished with game; he then emptied Bagatelle and transformed it into a hunting lodge, which was renamed the Pavillon de Hollande. Most of the new furnishings for the château came from Joseph Bonaparte's Parisian residence, the Hôtel Marbeuf.⁴⁵ The emperor was able to occupy the château by July 28, 1811. We can only speculate that it was during these major renovations that the pavilion was deprived of some of the original wall decorations, including the boudoir paintings.

The precise whereabouts of Robert's panels during a good part of the nineteenth century are a mystery. An old tradition that cannot be supported by any documentary evidence would have it that, following their removal from Bagatelle, they were allocated to the former Empress Josephine, then living in retirement at her Château de Malmaison. Sometime before her death in 1814, she purportedly gave them to her doctor—her personal physician was Dr. C. E. Horeau⁴⁶—as a token of her gratitude for the care he had given her. The panels eventually found their way to the south of France, where they were acquired by Armand Verdier, comte de Flaux (1819–93), who installed them in one of the reception rooms of his château near the town of Uzès (Gard).⁴⁷ The ownership of the Bagatelle panels passed to his son and daughter, comte

Roger de Flaux (died 1898) and Mme Madeleine Berger. The pictures were still at Flaux in 1908 at the death of the dowager countess, née Clémence Pascal, who had kept them in trust for her three grandchildren. Since old and bitter family disputes had made it difficult for the estate to be divided equitably among the heirs, arbitration was required. On Christmas Eve of 1910 the parties came to a final settlement. The entire fortune, consisting mostly of securities and landholdings, was valued at approximately 2,500,000 francs. The paintings by Hubert Robert were appraised at a mere 130,039 francs, and their happy beneficiary was the de Flaux granddaughter Eliane Berger. Involved in the transactions was a certain Maurice de Verneuil, head of a Paris stockbrokerage firm and the late countess's fiduciary agent. It was probably he who had brought the Robert landscapes to the attention of Jean Forestier, the administrator of the Bois de Boulogne, who had published them that very year as the lost Bagatelle series.⁴⁸

In January 1911 de Verneuil proposed the panels to the Metropolitan Museum, along with two unrelated horizontal overdoors by Hubert Robert that may also have been at Flaux.⁴⁹ This was done through the intermediary of the head of J. Pierpont Morgan's banking house in Paris, Henry Herman Harjes. The asking price was 1,500,000 francs, an astronomical figure when one considers that in 1904 the city of Paris had been able to acquire the entire estate of Bagatelle from Sir Murray Scott for 6,500,000 francs.⁵⁰ The offer was declined, so Morgan bought the pictures himself for 1,200,000 francs, a sum he borrowed from de Verneuil and repaid with interest before the end of the year.⁵¹ We can only wonder if Morgan considered the Bagatelle series to be a suitable complement to the magnificent decorative scheme that Fragonard had painted in 1771/72 for Madame Du Barry's pavilion of Louveciennes, *The Progress of Love* (The Frick Collection), which at the time graced the walls of his London town house.⁵² In March of 1912 he allowed the Bagatelle series to be exhibited at Agnew's galleries in Paris, on the Place Vendôme, and in April they were placed on long-term loan to the Metropolitan.⁵³ When Morgan died in 1913, the paintings remained in the Museum. Four years later, on December 17, 1917, they were accepted by the Museum's acquisitions committee as part of the large Pierpont Morgan bequest.⁵⁴

Although Robert's Bagatelle decorations do contain numerous quotations from the architecture and



Figure 33. Hubert Robert, *The Fountain*, 1777–79. Oil on canvas, 173.5 × 79.7 cm. Inscribed on base of fountain: FONTEM / PUBL. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.26



Figure 34. Hubert Robert, *The Mouth of a Cave*. Oil on canvas, 174.5 × 79.5 cm. Signed and dated lower right: H. ROBERT / 1784. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.25

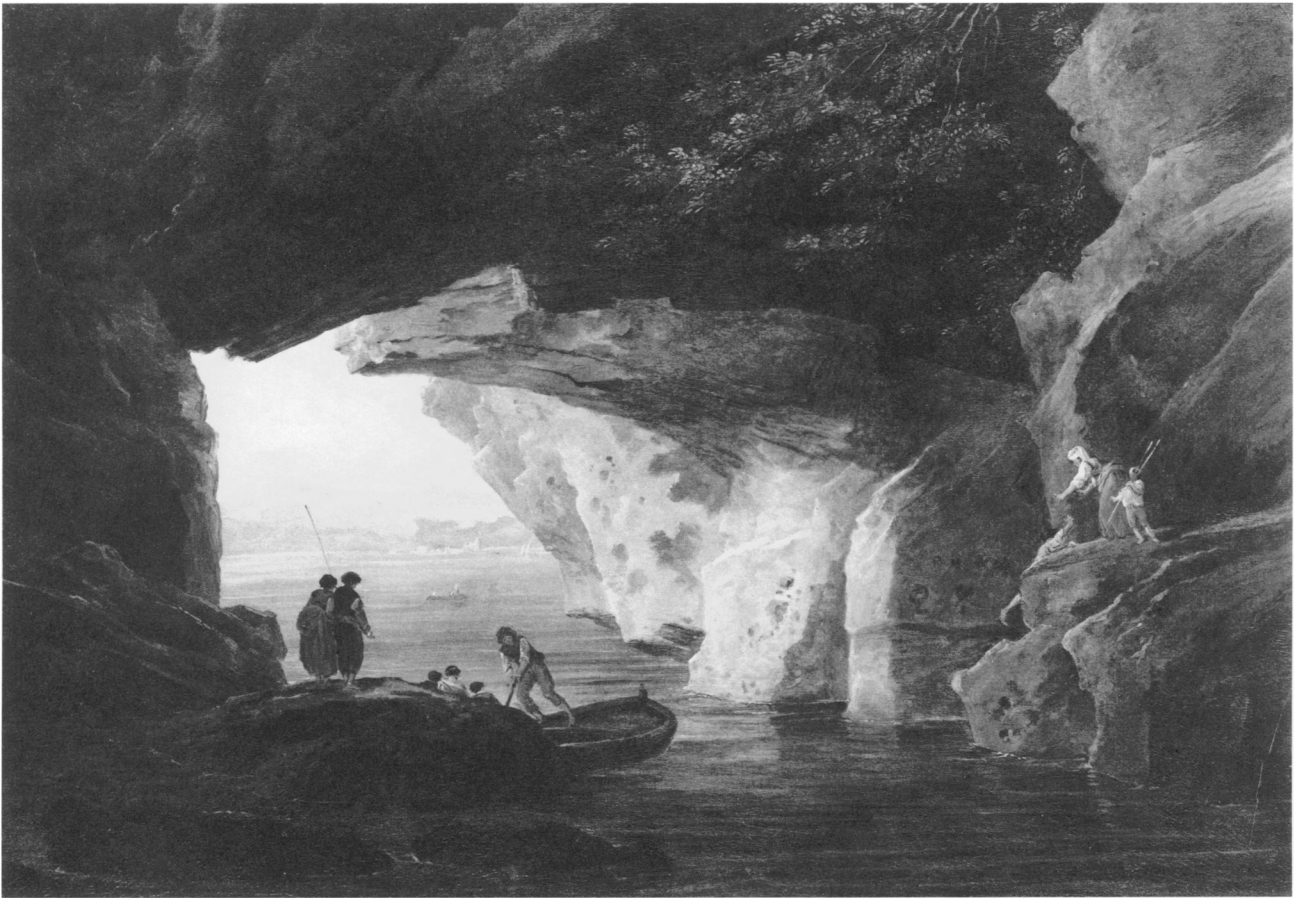


Figure 35. Hubert Robert, *The Grotto of Folignano*, 1775–80. Oil on canvas. Private collection

statuary of ancient Rome, they lack the *gravitas* and Piranesian illusionism that characterize Chicago's Méréville pictures. When Robert painted his Italian caprices for the comte d'Artois, he made no attempt to suggest any lofty moral principles or to elicit in the minds of those who would eventually view them somber meditations on the passage of time, the sublimity of decaying monuments, or human mortality. On the contrary, he intended the six paintings to be so many windows onto a world of exquisite fantasy, the perfect decoration for a boudoir in a princely folly. Their subject matter is therefore entirely frivolous: musicians in a palace courtyard, women bathing in a pool near the temple of Venus, a girl on a swing, lovers dancing at the foot of a waterfall, washerwomen at a public fountain, and fisherfolk in a coastal grotto. Here Robert utilized much of the vocabulary of natural, architectural, and human

forms that he had assembled in sketches and drawings during his eleven-year apprenticeship in Italy, and he combined and contextualized them imaginatively, with little regard for scale or topographical accuracy. Although the staffage is invariably picturesque, Robert subordinates all narrative anecdote to the mood of the landscape, which he interprets sensitively, even poetically, in terms of light and shadow, color, and atmospheric effects. And each of the paintings is notable for a sophisticated interplay between solid forms and spatial recession. Finally, at a time when a slick and polished style was a lauded attribute in an academic painter, he exploited the expressive potentials of the oil medium with particularly felicitous results. In his spirited technique, Hubert Robert proved himself to be one of eighteenth-century France's most natural, uninhibited, and painterly of painters.

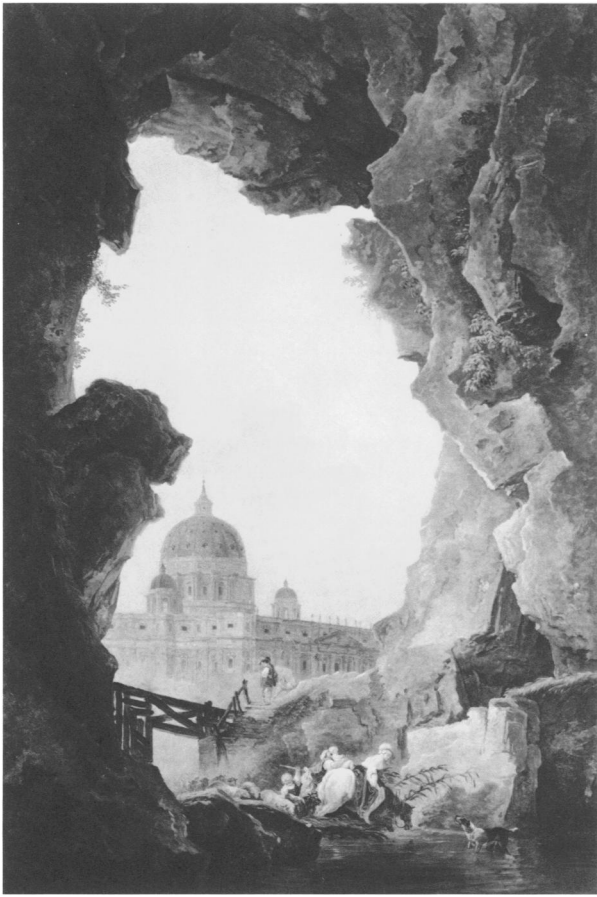


Figure 36. Hubert Robert, *Imaginary View of St. Peter's Basilica from the Interior of a Grotto*, 1773–75. Oil on canvas. Private collection (photo: Galerie Gismondi)



Figure 37. Hubert Robert, *The Return of the Cattle*, ca. 1773. Oil on canvas, pendant to Figure 14. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Lucy Work Hewitt, 1934, 35.40.1

APPENDIX: DOCUMENTS I–VII

I. Documents concerning the commission and conservation of six paintings by Hubert Robert for the *Chambre des Bains* of the *Château de Bagatelle* are preserved with other papers of the comte d'Artois at the Archives nationales, Paris. R¹ 309, *Livres de comptes de Bagatelle*, pièce 47, records payments to Hubert Robert; documents from the *Comte ouvert* dated May 9, 1779, and Jan. 16, 1785:

Robert, peintre.

1779 128 9 may 3 600 Du 1er au 28 février 1789 2 400
du 30 may au 6 juin 1 200

1785 16 janvier 1 200 du 17 au 22 janvier 1789

II. Paris, Archives nationales, R¹ 315, pièce 128, document dated 1779 (mentioned in Nebout, Brel-

Bordaz, and Racary, cited below, II, p. 65). Robert was allocated 3,600 livres for six paintings for the *Cabinet des Bains* during the year 1779. Callet was paid the same sum for six paintings decorating the ground-floor *boudoir* on the opposite side of the music room (see note 12 below).

III. Paris, Archives nationales, R¹ 389. Condition report on two of the narrower panels; document dated May 18, 1784, and addressed to the comte d'Artois's superintendent of finance, M. de Verdun (cited in [L. de Quellern] below, pp. 45–46):

M. le surintendant nous ayant chargé de prendre connaissance des tableaux de paysage qui étoient à refaire dans le *boudoir* de Bagatelle, nous avons été à portée de voir à notre dernier voyage qu'il suffirait de refaire seulement les deux petits qui sont à droite et à gauche de la cheminée: Attendu que celui à gauche de

la croisée peut être encore conservé dans l'état où il est actuellement. Nous engageons en conséquence Monsieur le surintendant à vouloir bien faire passer ses ordres à M. Robert pour refaire ces deux tableaux qui lui ont été payés 25 livres pièce.

[As the superintendent has assigned us the task of assessing the condition of the landscape paintings which were to be redone in the boudoir at Bagatelle, on our last visit we were able to ascertain that it would be sufficient to redo the two smaller ones to the right and left of the fireplace, given that the one to the left of the window can be kept in its present condition. We therefore encourage the superintendent to pass on his orders to M. Robert to redo the two paintings for which he was paid 25 livres apiece.]

Verdun added the following notation to the report:

Bon, pour refaire les 2 petits tableaux, à côté de la cheminée dans la salle de bains; j'écrirai, en conséquence, à M. Robert.

[Approved. The two small paintings next to the fireplace in the bathroom will be redone. I shall accordingly write to M. Robert.]

IV. The paintings are discussed during a session of the Commission Temporaire des Arts that took place on 5 fructidor an III (Aug. 22, 1795). Original document cited in Louis Tuetey, *Procès-verbaux de la Commission Temporaire des Arts* (Paris, 1917) II, p. 321.

Le directoire est chargé d'écrire à Franciade pour inviter l'administration du district à faire conserver avec soin les tableaux qui décorent les appartements de Bagatelle, et qui donnent un nouveau prix à ce domaine national.

[The Directoire is responsible for writing to Franciade to request that the administration of the district preserve with care the paintings decorating the apartments of Bagatelle, and which enrich the national heritage.]

V. On 11 fructidor an III (Aug. 28, 1795), the Directoire of the Commission wrote to the administration of the district of Franciade. Original document in the Archives nationales, F¹⁷ 1046 (Tuetey, *Procès-verbaux*, II, p. 321 n. 1).

La Commission temporaire des arts a nommé des commissaires pour examiner les tableaux et autres objets mis en réserve dans le ci-devant Château de Bagatelle. Le rapport des commissaires portait que ces tableaux seraient transportés à Paris; mais, sur

l'observation de plusieurs membres que ce domaine national était dans le cas d'être vendu, ce serait consulter les intérêts de la Nation en y laissant ces tableaux qui font la décoration des appartements et qui y sont pour la plupart enchâssés dans la boiserie; et que vous seriez invités à veiller à ce qu'ils n'éprouvent aucune dégradation. En outre, par lettre du 19 fructidor, le directoire informait la Commission des arts de laisser en place les tableaux du Château de Bagatelle.

[The Commission Temporaire des Arts has appointed commissioners to examine the paintings and other objects which have been set aside in the former Château de Bagatelle. The commissioners' report indicated that these paintings would be moved to Paris; but as several members observed, the national property was scheduled to be sold and, in the national interest, it would be advisable to retain these pictures which decorate the apartments and which for the most part are set into the woodwork, and you are requested to make sure that they incur no damage. Moreover, by letter of 19 fructidor, the Directoire informed the Commission des Arts to leave the paintings in place at the Château de Bagatelle.]

VI. Minutes of the session of 15 fructidor an III (Sept. 1, 1795) specify that Robert's panels must remain in place at Bagatelle, where they will be restored:

Le directoire fera passer à la Commission d'instruction publique copie de l'arrêté relatif aux tableaux de Robert à Bagatelle et de la lettre écrite à ce sujet au district de Franciade, pour en assurer la conservation dans le lieu où ils se trouvent.

[The Directoire will pass on to the Commission d'Instruction Publique copies of the decree relating to the paintings by Robert at Bagatelle and of the letter written on this subject to the District of Franciade, to make sure that they remain in their present location.]

VII. On 19 fructidor the Directoire wrote to the Commission d'Instruction Publique to confirm the measures he had taken in order to ensure the conservation of the paintings at Bagatelle. (Archives nationales, F¹⁷ 1046; see Tuetey, *Procès-verbaux*, II, p. 330 n. 2.)

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NOTES

1. See John D. Bandiera, "Form and Meaning in Hubert Robert's *Ruin Caprices*: Four Paintings of Fictive Ruins for the Château de Méréville," *The Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 15, 1 (1989) pp. 20–37, 82–85.
2. Pierre de Nolhac, *Hubert Robert* (Paris, 1910) p. 47.
3. On the genesis and history of Bagatelle, see Duchesne; Pascal; Yriarte, July–August, pp. 1–39; Yriarte Sept.–Oct., pp. 380–

414. Consult also the monograph entitled *La Folie d'Artois*, published by the "Antiquaires à Paris" on the occasion of a commemorative exhibition held at Bagatelle in 1988, which contains essays by Claude Arnaud, "Le comte d'Artois et sa coterie," pp. 14–25; Annie Jacques and Jean-Pierre Mouilleseaux, "La Folie d'Artois," pp. 26–49; Monique Mosser, "Histoire d'un jardin," pp. 50–71; Colin Bailey, "Artois, mécène et collectionneur," pp. 72–79; Jean-Jacques Gautier, "Le goût du prince," pp. 80–141; Christian Baulez, "Bronzes et bronziers de Bagatelle," pp. 142–157; and Daniel Alcouffe, "Les Objets Artois au Louvre," pp. 158–165.

4. See Gautier, "Le goût du prince"; Baulez, "Bronzes et bronziers"; and Alcouffe, "Les Objets Artois."

5. From the time of its construction, ca. 1720, until it was acquired by the comte d'Artois, the original Bagatelle had a number of occupants. It was built by the maréchal d'Estrées, marquis de Coeuvres (1660–1737), on a concession of land over which the Crown held proprietary authority but which was accompanied by a transferable lifetime lease. His widow, the maréchale d'Estrées, née Lucie Félicité de Noailles d'Ayen, lived at Bagatelle until her death in 1745, when the lease was sold to Michel Philippe Levesque de Gravelle, a councillor of the Paris Parlement, who resided there for little more than a year. In May 1747 Levesque ceded his rights to a highborn lady of easy virtue, the marquise de Monconseil, née Cécile Rioult de Cursay (1707–1787), the wife of a military officer who spent most of his time with the army of the Rhine. In 1772 she sold her lease to a M. de Boisgelin, who little more than a year later deeded it to a M. de la Regnière. The latter spent only one summer at Bagatelle, after which he in turn sold the concession to the prince and princesse de Chimay. (Philippe Gabriel Maurice Joseph d'Alsace, prince de Chimay, captain of the comte d'Artois's hunt at Saint-Germain, was the brother-in-law of Mme de Monconseil's second daughter, Adélaïde Félicité Henriette, princesse Charles d'Hénin; Chimay's wife, née Laura de Fitz-James, was *dame d'honneur* to Marie Antoinette.)

6. Bachaumont et al., Oct. 22, 1777, p. 259 (text by Matthieu François Pidansat de Mairobert).

7. The authoritative account of the life and works of Belanger, one of the most fascinating artistic personalities at the end of the 18th century, remains Stern's two-volume monograph. It might be noted in passing that Belanger ultimately married one of the comte d'Artois's former mistresses, Mlle Dervieux.

8. Blaikie's role as landscaper of the Anglo-Chinese park at Bagatelle is analyzed in Mosser's copiously illustrated article "Histoire d'un jardin." See also Duchesne, pp. 131–137.

9. Bachaumont et al., p. 175, entry for May 26, 1780 ("... *Bagatelle* ne se ressent point de la précipitation avec laquelle il a été construit & paroît d'une solidité qui dément son nom").

10. Thomas Blaikie, *Diary of a Scotch Gardener at the French Court at the End of the Eighteenth Century*, Francis Birrell, ed. (London, 1931) pp. 166–167.

11. See Duchesne, pp. 139–146, 278–284; Nebout, Brel-Bordaz, and Racary, I, pp. 11–12, and II, pp. 65–67; Gautier, "Le goût du prince," p. 130.

12. Callet was the comte d'Artois's official painter (see Figure 2, a version of which was shown at the Salon of 1779). The six panels he executed for the little boudoir to the right of the music

room have disappeared, but in the Archives nationales is a memorandum for a payment to the artist of 3,600 livres, the same price paid to Robert for his six landscapes (R¹ 315, pièce 129). Not even their subject matter is known, although one historian suggests that they may have included the four pictures auctioned as lots 99–101 in the Sérévile sale of Jan. 22, 1812, under the titles *Une offrande à l'Amour, Serment à l'Amour, Hommage à Flore* and *Bacchante dans l'ivresse, auprès de la statue de Pan* (Marc Sandoz, *Antoine-François Callet, 1741–1823* [Paris, 1985] pp. 102–103, no. 20, and p. 130, nos. 87–90). A painting entitled *Offrande à Vénus* (oil on canvas, 160 × 79 cm; formerly Delaroff collection and now Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen) may very well be one of Callet's six Bagatelle compositions. (See Centre Culturel du Panthéon, Mairie du V^e Arrondissement, *De Versailles à Paris: le destin des collections royales*, exh. cat. [Paris, 1989] p. 216, no. 008). During the Revolution Callet was included among the major creditors of the émigré prince. A certificate issued by the Directoire at Saint-Denis on Oct. 9, 1793, establishes that he was still owed the sum of 3,365 livres. He presumably received this sum in brumaire an V (Nov. 1796) after the furnishings of Bagatelle had been disposed of and the receipts of the various sales counted (see Duchesne, p. 164). The entry in the *Mémoires secrets* for May 26, 1780, claims that a number of erotic paintings by Greuze, Fragonard, La Grenée, and other artists were to be found in the ground-floor *boudoir*, which in fact housed Callet's six panels. ("Le boudoir offre toutes sortes de peintures voluptueuses de nos maîtres modernes, Greuze, Fragonard, la Grenée, &c. Un lit de roses & des glaces qui répètent de tous côtés les attitudes des amants ne présentent cependant que ce qu'on voit dans d'autres châteaux. . . ." [Bachaumont et al., p. 173].) The erroneous statement is probably a reference to the decor of the comte d'Artois's private upstairs *boudoir rose* (see Gautier, "Le goût du prince," pp. 138–139). This was certainly the room that Général Thiébaut (1769–1846) recalls having often visited in his youth in the company of various ladies: "[Bagatelle] est . . . un des lieux que j'ai le plus visités avant la Révolution. J'avais reçu du prince d'Hénin un billet pour y aller quand je voudrais. J'y menais souvent des dames et je m'amusais parfois de l'embarras que leur causait un boudoir, dans lequel, et au milieu des peintures très peu orthodoxes, le plancher, les murs et le plafond étaient tout en glaces, et où il ne leur restait d'autre parti à prendre qu'à se dépêcher à faire de leurs robes des espèces de pantalons." [Bagatelle . . . is one of the places that I most often had occasion to visit before the Revolution. I had received from the prince d'Hénin a pass to go there whenever I wished. I was often accompanied by ladies and was sometimes amused to see the embarrassment they experienced in a *boudoir* in which—amidst some very unorthodox paintings—the floor, the walls and the ceiling were all mirrored and in which they had no other choice but to turn their dresses into makeshift trousers.] (Paul Charles François Adrien Henri Dieu-donné Thiébaut, *Mémoires du Général Baron Thiébaut* [Paris, 1893] I, p. 156.)

13. Thierry, 1787, pp. 28–29.

14. See Appendix, Documents I–III.

15. See note 11.

16. Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun, *Souvenirs* (Paris, 1835–37) I, pp. 233–234.

17. The eight additional paintings in Robert's contribution to

the Salon that year were as follows: four 12-foot-high compositions that decorated the “salon doré” of the Hôtel de Brienne on the rue Saint-Dominique, *The Entrance to a Temple, Porticos and Colonnades among Gardens Surrounded by Water, An Ancient Fountain, and A Palace in Ruin, under Its Arcade Can Be Seen the Cupola of St. Peter's in Rome* (nos. 91, 92); a pair of large horizontal landscapes lent by M. de Thésigny, *The View of a Waterfall in Italy* and *A View of Normandy* (no. 93); a painting belonging to the marquis de Véri, *Circular Arcades Surrounding a Pool of Water, with a View of the Roman Coliseum in the Distance* (no. 94); and *Architectural Ruins with an Equestrian Statue in the Foreground* (no. 95). Several watercolor views of ancient and modern monuments were also featured under no. 96.

18. Reviews of the works Robert sent to the Salon of 1779 are anthologized in the *Collection Deloynes*, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, XI: no. 197, *Premier aperçu des tableaux exposés au salon du Louvre le 15 août 1779*, p. 60; no. 199, *Les Connoisseurs, ou la Matinée du Sallon des Tableaux*, pp. 72–73; no. 201, “Examen au Sallon de l'année 1779,” extracted from the *Journal de Paris*, pp. 116–117, 142–143; no. 106, *Le Visionnaire ou lettres sur les ouvrages exposés au Salon, par un ami des arts, lettre seconde*, msp. 265; no. 207, *Encore un Rêve, suite de la Prêtresse*, p. 320; no. 208, *Ah! ah! Encore une critique du Salon! Voyons ce qu'elle chante!*, pp. 352–353; no. 211, “Coup d'oeil sur les ouvrages de peinture, sculpture et gravure de Messieurs de l'Académie royale exposés au sallon cette année,” extract from Abbé Grosier's *Journal de littérature*, pp. 428–429; no. 212 [L. J. H. Lefebure], *Janot au Salon, ou le Proverbe*, p. 459; no. 213, *Jugement sur un écrit intitulé 'Janot au Sallon, ou le proverbe'*; no. 216, *Le littérateur au Sallon ou l'examen du paresseux suivi de la critique des critiques*, p. 537; no. 217, *Jugement d'un écrit intitulé 'Le littérateur au Sallon ou l'examen du paresseux suivi de la critique des critiques'*, p. 559; no. 219, *Le Miracle de nos jours: conversation écrite et recueillie par un sourd et muet et la bonne lunette, dans lesquels on trouvera non seulement la critique des ouvrages exposés au Sallon, mais la critique de nos peintres et sculpteurs les plus connus*, pp. 585, 603.

19. “Examen au Sallon de l'année 1779,” pp. 116–117.

20. A variant rendering of the Bagatelle composition (244 × 195 cm), in which the figural components have been removed and the landscape modified, was painted by Robert in 1789; it is part of a series of large decorative paintings once in the Paul Durново collection, which are erroneously said to have been commissioned by Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovitch of Russia; the series is now in the Saint Louis Art Museum (gift of Mrs. Frederic W. Allen). A poor copy of the Saint Louis picture was formerly in the Sturges collection, Wakefield, Rhode Island (Sotheby's, New York, Jan. 12, 1989, lot 160). The palazzo is shown in reverse in a so-called *Roman Fantasy* of 1786, now in the National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo (inv. no. P.1977–2). The obelisk fountain is repeated with scarcely a change in a large vertical panel by Robert now in the Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (inv. no. 5722). Finally, a much coarser and abbreviated treatment of the subject of a serenade before a Roman palazzo, probably painted from memory in 1794 during Robert's incarceration in the prison of Saint-Lazare, is in the Musée du Louvre. A watercolor rendering of this composition and dating from the same period belongs to the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (see Eisler and Carlson).

21. Last recorded in the sale of Eugène Kraemer, Paris, Apr. 29, 1913, lot 52. An oil study, probably executed in Rome, appeared in the sale of Mme Gustave Meunié, Paris, Dec. 14, 1935, lot 87.

22. This capriccio drawing was later auctioned in the Louis De-glatigny sale, Paris, May 28, 1937, as part of lot 91.

23. Illustrated in Cayeux, 1985, p. 290, fig. 106. A counter-proof of that drawing, heightened with pen and wash and bearing the date 1776, is in the Ecole Polytechnique in Palaiseau.

24. Last sold, Palais Galliera, Paris, Dec. 9, 1967, lot 6.

25. An anonymous copy of the MMA painting, measuring 173 × 122 cm, appeared in two recent New York auctions: Parke-Bernet, Jan. 22, 1976, lot 199, and Sotheby's, May 30, 1979, lot 60.

26. Sterling suggests that the architecture derives from a red-chalk drawing of the Temple of Serapis now in the Musée de Besançon (illustrated in Maurice Feuillet, *Les Dessins de Fragonard et d'Hubert Robert des Bibliothèque et Musée de Besançon* [Paris, 1926] pl. 54). A *Garden Landscape with the Temple of the Sibyl* is similar in composition to the MMA's *Bathing Pool*, and the depiction of the temple may derive from the same source. (See Walpole Gallery, *Treasures of Italian Art*, exh. cat. [London, 1988] no. 26.) A painting dated 1789, in which a statue of a nude Venus is shown in a ruined circular temple, is in the Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (inv. no. 4758).

27. On Pigalle's *Mercury* and *Venus*, see Gaborit, pp. 38–47, and Clare Le Corbeiller, “Mercury, Messenger of Taste,” *MMAB* 22 (1963) pp. 22–28.

28. See Arnaud Brejon de Lavergnée's discussion of the painting in *The Eye of Thomas Jefferson*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C., 1976) p. 132, no. 208.

29. See Philip Conisbee, *Claude-Joseph Vernet*, exh. cat. (Kenswood, 1976) no. 69.

30. On Boucher's influence on Robert, see Jean Cailleux, “Hubert a pris modèle sur Boucher,” *Connaissance des Arts* (Oct. 1959) pp. 100–107; Cayeux and Boulot, pp. 88–89, 238–239.

31. See Pierrette Jean-Richard, *L'Oeuvre gravé de François Boucher dans la Collection Edmond de Rothschild*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre: Inventaire général des gravures, école française (Paris, 1978) p. 308, no. 1254.

32. Until recently in the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth (sale, Sotheby's, New York, June 4, 1987, lot 166).

33. Donald Posner, “The Swinging Women of Watteau and Fragonard,” *Art Bulletin* 64, 1 (March 1982) pp. 75–87.

34. All the variants display important differences with respect to the Bagatelle painting; some include the central motif of the woman on a swing, while others are uniquely concerned with the landscape decor and accessory staffage. Notable among these are: (1) a canvas measuring 233 × 144 cm, formerly in the Kergorlay collection and lent by Jacques Seligmann et fils to the Hubert Robert retrospective (Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris, 1933; no. 106); (2) one of a pair of large panels measuring 246.5 × 120 cm, last recorded in a Christie's, New York, sale June 10, 1983, lot 171A; (3) an almost identical composition without the figure of the woman on the swing, present location unknown (known to me from a photograph); and (4) a canvas measuring 59 × 38.8

cm, signed and dated 1799, now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels. Other related paintings, by or after Robert, are: one of a pair of decorative panels measuring 255 × 157 cm, in estate sale of the comte de Franqueville, Paris, May 31, 1920, lot 30; one of a pair of park scenes measuring 227 × 108 cm, last sold by Cornette de St Cyr in Paris, Jan. 23, 1989, lot 30; and one of a pair of landscapes in gouache, apocryphally signed "Jean Baptiste Le Prince" and dated 1762, auctioned in New York, American Art Association-Anderson Gallery, Apr. 28, 1938, lot 69.

35. Conisbee, *Claude-Joseph Vernet*, no. 86.

36. See *François Boucher in North American Collections: 100 Drawings*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C., 1973–74) no. 95; Jean-Richard, *L'Oeuvre gravé de François Boucher*, p. 207, no. 769.

37. At the time of his death, Robert owned a considerable number of works by Boucher, including more than two hundred drawings and counterproofs. See list of artworks in Robert's estate sale of Apr. 5, 1809, in Gabillot, pp. 256–271, esp. pp. 266–267.

38. Sterling tentatively identifies the cave as the grotto at Pozzuoli, near Naples, and implausibly suggests that it is related to a drawing done in Naples and today in the Yale University Art Gallery.

39. The anonymous author of the article published in the Jan. 1911 issue of the *Chronique des Arts* mentions that two of the canvases were signed and dated, one in 1777 and another in 1784. In their present state, both *The Swing* and *The Mouth of the Cave* are signed, and the latter painting bears the date of 1784. If *The Swing* was in fact dated 1777, the date has since been removed.

40. These pictures may also have been used as decorations in the comte d'Artois's apartments in the Palais du Temple. On 19 prairial an II and days following, paintings by Poussin, Boucher, Greuze, David, Vincent, Vernet, Robert, and a number of 17th-century Dutch artists were seized at the Temple and catalogued among the belongings of the "émigré d'Artois." (See Louis Tuey, *Procès-verbaux de la Commission Temporaire des Arts* [Paris, 1912] I, p. 296 n. 7.)

41. Gautier, "Le goût du prince," p. 141 n. 1.

42. See Cayeux, 1988, p. 65, and Appendix, Documents IV–VI, above.

43. For the history of Bagatelle between the departure of the comte d'Artois and the fall of Napoleon, consult Duchesne, pp. 157–182.

44. Gilly, p. 22.

45. Denise Ledoux-Lebard, "Le Mobilier Empire du pavillon de chasse de Bagatelle," *Archives de l'Art Français* (Les Arts à l'époque napoléonienne) 24 (1969) pp. 273–307.

46. In a written communication to the MMA (1980), Gérard Hubert, curator of Malmaison, states that no records exist to the effect that Robert's Bagatelle panels belonged to the former empress or that they were given by her to Dr. Horeau.

47. I owe this information to comte Roger de Flaux, to whom I wish to express my sincere gratitude.

48. See [Forestier].

49. *Arches in Ruins* (inv. no. 17.190.31) and *A Colonnade in Ruins* (inv. no. 17.190.32).

50. On the purchase of Bagatelle by the city of Paris, see Duchesne, pp. 300–310.

51. The Pierpont Morgan Library preserves the original records of the purchase of the Robert paintings. The first three documents cited below are written on the letterhead of *M. de Verneuil, Agent de Change, Succr de F. Moreau, Rue Montmartre, N° 129 et 46, Rue Notre Dame des Victoires*. The fourth contains notes concerning de Verneuil taken presumably from the diaries of Morgan's secretary.

(1) Paris, le 30 Mai 1911. Monsieur J. P. Morgan, aux soins de M^r H. Harjes, chez M^{re} Morgan, Harjes et C^{ie}, 31 Boulevard Haussmann, Paris. J'ai l'honneur de vous informer que conformément à vos instructions je verserai demain 31 mai à M^r Maurice de Verneuil la somme de *Douze cent mille francs* (1.200.000 fs) dont je débiterai votre compte chez moi. Suivant le désir que vous aviez exprimé, je vous ferai l'avance de cette somme jusqu'à la fin de l'année courante, sauf règlement antérieur à votre gré. Cette avance portera intérêts à 4% l'an. Je vous serai obligé pour la bonne règle de m'accuser réception de cette lettre. Agréez, Monsieur, mes salutations empressées. p p^r M. de Verneuil.

(2) Paris, le 1 Sept 1911. Monsieur J. P. Morgan aux soins de M^r H. Harjes chez M. M. Morgan, Harjes et C^{ie} 31 B^d Haussmann J'ai l'honneur de vous remettre ci joint, conformément à nos conventions, le relevé de votre compte, arrêté au 31 août et se soldant pr Fr. 1.212.000, dont débit, sauf erreur ou omission. Agréez mes salutations empressées. P/p^r M. de Verneuil.

(3) Paris Le 8 Décembre 1911. Monsieur J. P. Morgan aux soins de Monsieur Harjes 31, boulevard Haussmann. J'ai l'honneur de vous informer que Mess^{rs} Morgan, Harjes et C^{ie}, de notre ville, m'ont versé pour votre compte aujourd'hui la somme de Fs 1.224.933, dont j'ai porté le montant; votre crédit pour solde de compte à ce jour. Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments distingués. P.P^r M. de Verneuil.

(4) On December 5th, 1911, Mr. M. sent the following cable to Mr. Herman Harjes, Paris:—"Please pay de Verneuil for pictures amount in full. Am remitting Morgan, Harjes & Co. cable transfer."

On December 6th, 1911, Mr. M. said:—"The pictures named in the enclosed correspondence are at present under loan to Agnew for exhibition. Make note of this."

52. See *The Frick Collection, An Illustrated Catalogue* (New York, 1968) II (Paintings, French, Italian, Spanish) p. 116.

53. *Exposition d'oeuvres d'Hubert Robert*, exh. cat., Galerie Thos. Agnew & Sons (Paris, March 12–30, 1912) part of nos. 1–8 (described in the checklist as "Panneaux Décoratifs pour un salon, provenant de la collection de Madame de Flaux. Appartenant à Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan").

54. In the first half of the 1920s, the paintings were set into the woodwork of one of the MMA's period rooms (wing F, gallery 23). (For an illustration, see P. R., p. 9.) Since 1977 they have been exhibited in the Wrightsman Rooms.

The Bride and the Cat: A Possible Source for Overbeck's *Freundschaftsbild* of Franz Pforr

HELMUT NICKEL

Curator Emeritus, Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

IN 1981, from May 2 to July 5, The Metropolitan Museum of Art was host to a loan exhibition, "German Masters of the Nineteenth Century: Paintings and Drawings from the Federal Republic of Germany." Number 66 in the exhibition catalogue was Johann Friedrich Overbeck's *Freundschaftsbild* of Franz Pforr from the Nationalgalerie, Berlin (Figure 1).¹ Thus, for a spell of two months, Overbeck's painting was under the same roof with one of its possible iconographic models.

In the Museum's permanent collections is a small panel painting, a portrait of a young man (Figure 2), whose reverse shows a blond girl in an orange-red dress seated at an open window, binding a wreath of forget-me-nots, and a white cat sitting on the windowsill. On the reverse also are the date 1508 and the monogram of Albrecht Dürer, but, unfortunately, both are later additions (Figure 3). The panel is now attributed to Hans Suess von Kulmbach (active by ca. 1505–d. 1522).²

The comparison of two important compositional elements in Overbeck's portrait of Franz Pforr to the scene on the reverse of the Museum's panel reveals striking similarities. In Overbeck's painting the knitting woman at the window is in the same posture as the wreath-binding girl, and in both pictures a cat is prominently placed in the right-hand corner of the window. The Museum's panel is thought to have been in a private collection in Vienna before 1800. In 1815 it was mentioned as a work by "Alberto Duro," signed "la sua cifra," in the collection of the lawyer D. Francesco Santangelo at Palazzo Colombrano, Naples.³ It stayed in the possession of the Santangelo family until at least 1884. By 1906 it was in the collection of Dominic Ellis Colnaghi, a London art dealer,⁴ and soon after, by 1909–13, it was

acquired by J. Pierpont Morgan, who gave it to the Museum in 1917.

The painters Pforr and Overbeck were founding members of the Lukasbund, established in 1809 by a group of artists at the Academy in Vienna who were opposed to the Academy's prevalent pseudo-classicism. As a brotherhood of artists, they strove for a renewal of art with a religious basis and revered the old masters, especially their twin ideals, Dürer and Raphael. Guided by the concept of medieval guilds, the brethren of the Lukasbund even agreed to subject their works to the collective judgment and approval of the group, the better to achieve their avowed goal of the highest artistic and spiritual standards.

During Napoleon's campaign of 1809 in Austria, the Academy had been closed temporarily; when it reopened that fall the dissident Lukasbund members were not readmitted. In May 1810 Pforr, Overbeck, and several other members of the Lukasbund went to Rome. By September 1810 they had set up their community in the abandoned monastery San Isidoro—and were soon to be labeled "the Nazarenes" by fellow artists. In October 1811 Pforr, who had tuberculosis, traveled to Naples; when his condition worsened, his friends brought him back to Albano, near Rome, where he died on June 16, 1812.⁵

Overbeck painted his portrait of Franz Pforr in 1810 as an homage to his friend, who in turn, in 1811, dedicated his diptych, *Sulamith und Maria*, to Overbeck (Figure 4). Once before, in 1808, in Vienna, Overbeck had painted another portrait of his friend Pforr. The *Freundschaftsbild* with its highly symbolic iconography was begun in Rome, but, although it hung in the parlor of Overbeck's home in Rome, it was not fully finished until 1865, shortly before Overbeck's death in 1869.

In a letter dated October 10, 1810, Overbeck de-

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The notes for this article begin on page 187.

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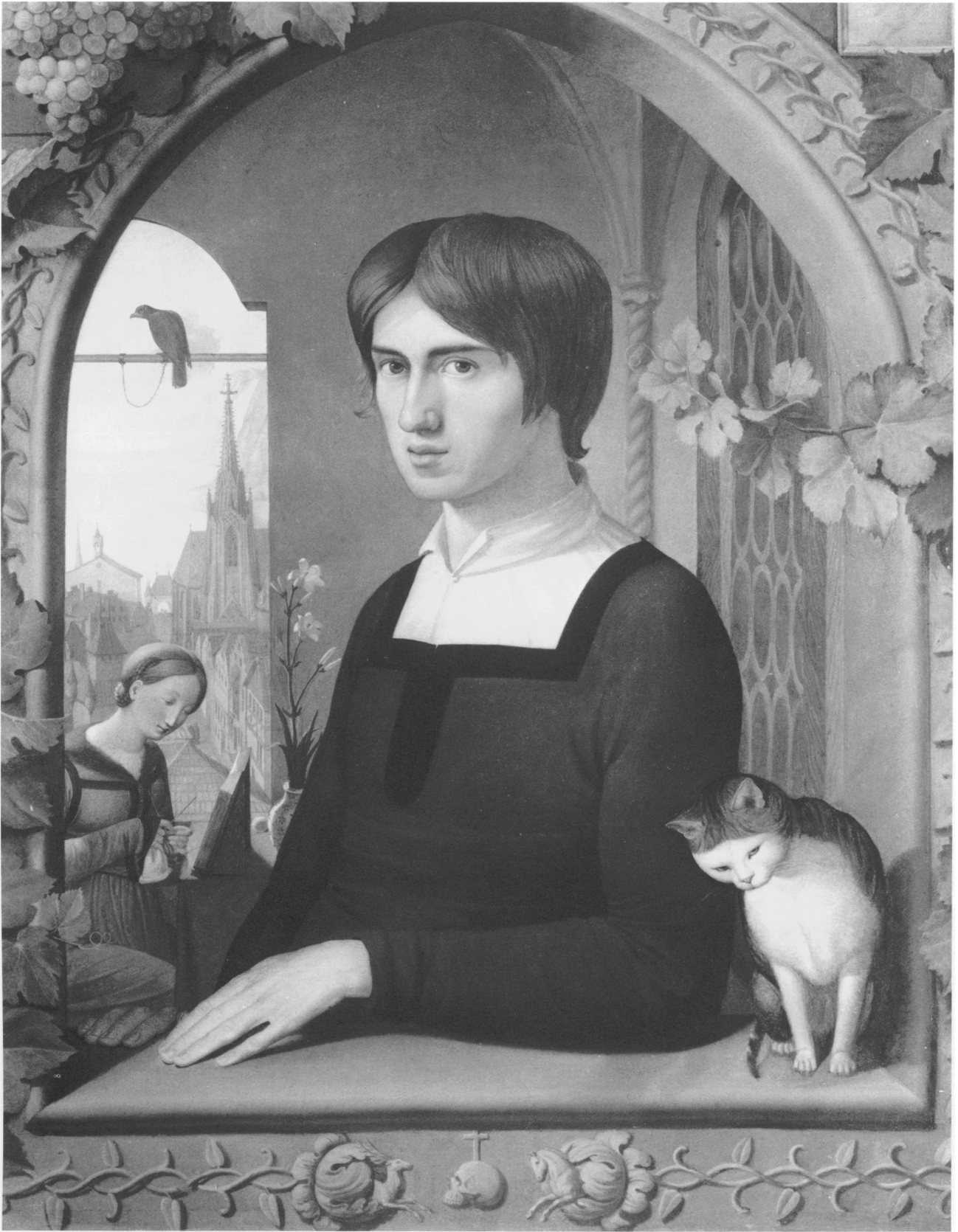


Figure 1. Johann Friedrich Overbeck (1789–1869), *The Painter Franz Pforr*, 1810. Oil on canvas, 62 × 47 cm. Berlin, Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz (photo: Jörg P. Anders)



Figure 2. Attributed to Hans Suess von Kulmbach (ca. 1480–1521/22), *Head of a Young Man*, ca. 1510. Tempera and oil on wood, 17.8 × 14 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.21



Figure 3. *Girl Making a Garland* (reverse of Figure 2)

scribes this portrait to his *Lukasbruder* Joseph Sutter:

He is standing in ancient German garb at an open Gothic window, framed with stone-carved ornaments and surrounded by grapevines. One looks into a window, where on the opposite side in the background is sitting a young woman (thought to be his wife) busy with knitting and reading in a devotional book. In front of her on the table are lilies in a vessel and in the window sits a falcon on his perch; in the back one looks down on a Gothic town and beyond that out on the sea. The whole is meant to represent him in the situation he would be happiest in. . . .⁶

This interpretation refers to a letter written by Pffor to his Lukasbund friends, in which he explained that he wished to spend his life as a *Schlacht-enmaler*, in a room hung with paintings of bygone ages and with a lovely wife sitting at a table nearby occupied with some domestic work.⁷

Every detail in Overbeck's painting has been carefully weighed for its symbolic meaning, down to the red-wine color of Pffor's medieval-style *altdeutsche* tunic. This particular hue was used to indicate the *Heiligkeit*, "saintliness," of the wearer according to a color symbolism developed by Pffor and Overbeck when they were still in Vienna.⁸ The view through the open window shows a medieval German town—its dominating church very much resembling St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna with its slim spire and lozenge roof-tile pattern—but the distant seashore is clearly Italian. The towering cliffs are likely those of the Sorrento peninsula, near Naples. In this combination of German and Italian motifs is expressed the Nazarenes' hope of blending the best in German and Italian art.

Although there is no documentary proof that Overbeck ever saw the Museum's panel, either in Vienna or in Naples, the details of the touchingly demure women quietly occupied with some handiwork and the cats on the windowsills suggest strongly that Overbeck had it in mind when he painted his friend's portrait. The sentiment expressed by the scroll inscription—ICH.PINT.MIT.VERGIS.MEIN.NIT ("I bind with forget-me-nots")—would have made this charming little picture the perfect inspirational source for his planned *Freundschaftsbild*. Admittedly, the tabby-and-white cat that so affectionately rubs against Pffor's sleeve is different from the white cat in the Museum's panel, but it is identical to the cat that appears in several of Pffor's works, most prominently in his *Sulamith und Maria*, his gift in response to Overbeck's *Freundschaftsbild*.⁹



Figure 4. Franz Pfors (1788–1812), *Sulamith und Maria*, 1811. Oil on wood, 34.5 × 32 cm. Schloss Obbach bei Schweinfurt, Sammlung Georg Schäfer (photo: Sammlung Georg Schäfer)

These two women were meant to represent imaginary idealized brides, Sulamith (the fair Shulamite of Solomon's Song of Songs) for Overbeck, and Maria (the Virgin Mary as symbol of purity) for Pfforr.¹⁰ Maria is seated in a little room styled after that in Dürer's print of *St. Jerome in His Study* (1514). She is braiding her long blond hair, while reading a book that lies on the windowsill. She is dressed in red, with a narrow white apron; the tabby-and-white cat at her feet is rubbing against her skirt, almost a mirror image of the cat in Overbeck's painting. Although Overbeck does not mention it at all in the detailed interpretive description he gives to *Lukasbruder Sutter*, this cat in all probability was Pfforr's actual beloved pet to which Overbeck gave a place of honor in his *Freundschaftsbild* as a counterpoint to the imaginary wife of Pfforr's unfulfilled dream.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For important help and advice for this study I would like to thank my friends and colleagues Katharine Baetjer and Ann Willard of the Metropolitan Museum, and George Szabo, formerly of the Museum. For valuable information about Overbeck's painting I am indebted to Dr. Peter-Klaus Schuster, Nationalgalerie, Berlin, and for information about Pfforr's diptych to Professor Dr. Jens Christian Jensen, Sammlung Georg Schäfer, Schloss Obbach bei Schweinfurt, Germany.

NOTES

1. MMA and the Art Gallery of Ontario, *German Masters of the Nineteenth Century: Paintings and Drawings from the Federal Republic of Germany*, exh. cat. (New York/Ontario, 1981) cat. no. 66.

2. Aside from the spurious attribution to Dürer, this panel was sometimes also attributed to Wolfgang Traut (d. ca. 1520); Moritz Thausing, *Dürer* (Leipzig, 1884) I, p. 366 n. 1, mentions it with the remark that it has nothing in common with Dürer; Max J.

Friedländer, "Die Ausstellung altdeutscher Kunst im Burlington Fine Arts Club zu London," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 29 (1906) p. 587, regards both sides of the panel as the work of Hans von Kulmbach; Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Early German Art* (London, 1906) no. 39a, lent by Dominic Colnaghi as by Wolfgang Traut; Christian Rauch, *Die Trauts* (Strasbourg, 1907) pp. 78ff., pl. 24; Friedrich Winkler, "Ein Bildnistäfelchen des Hans von Kulmbach," *Pantheon* 6 (1930) pp. 452–454, ill.; Franz Joseph Stadler, *Hans von Kulmbach* (Vienna, 1936) pp. 54, 129, no. 118, pl. 58; Charles L. Kuhn, *A Catalogue of German Paintings of the Middle Ages and Renaissance in American Collections* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936) p. 56, no. 214, as Traut; H. B. Wehle and Margareta Salinger, *A Catalogue of Early Flemish, Dutch and German Paintings* (New York, 1947) pp. 190 ff., ill., Hans von Kulmbach; F. Winkler, *Hans von Kulmbach* (Kulmbach, 1959) p. 56, pls. 32, 33; John P. O'Neill, *Metropolitan Cats* (New York, 1981) pp. 46, 47, ill., as Hans Suess von Kulmbach; MMA, *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg, 1300–1550*, exh. cat. (New York/Munich, 1986) cat. no. 162, pp. 343, 344, ill., as Hans Suess von Kulmbach.

3. D. Romanelli, *Napoli antica e moderna* (1815) III, p. 92, describes the picture, in the collection of the lawyer D. Francesco Santangelo at Palazzo Colombrano, as "una V. [a Virgin], che intessa una ghirlanda di Alberto Duro, che vi segno l'anno 1518 [sic] e la sua cifra."

4. Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Early German Art*, no. 39a.

5. F. H. Lehr, *Die Blütezeit romantischer Bildkunst: Franz Pfforr, der Meister des Lukasbundes* (Marburg an der Lahn, 1924).

6. Peter Krieger, "Johann Friedrich Overbeck: Porträt des Malers Franz Pfforr," pp. 98, 99, in the Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, *Galerie der Romantik*, exh. cat. (Berlin, 1986). The translation of the letter is my own.

7. Franz Pfforr's father, Johann Georg Pfforr (1745–98), a painter of animal scenes (especially horses), was known as the "German Wouwerman," a fact that presumably played a role in forming Pfforr's ideal of becoming a *Schlachtenmaler* (painter of battles).

8. Nationalgalerie, *Galerie der Romantik*, p. 99.

9. Professor Jensen, Consultant to the Sammlung Georg Schäfer, kindly sent me a color print of the diptych, in order to verify the cat's coloring.

10. Although it is understood that Sulamith was supposed to be Overbeck's spiritual bride, and Maria was to be Pfforr's (as is iconographically confirmed by the cat at her feet), it is interesting to note that Sulamith's face and hairdo are practically identical to those of Pfforr's madonnalike "wife" in the *Freundschaftsbild*.

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