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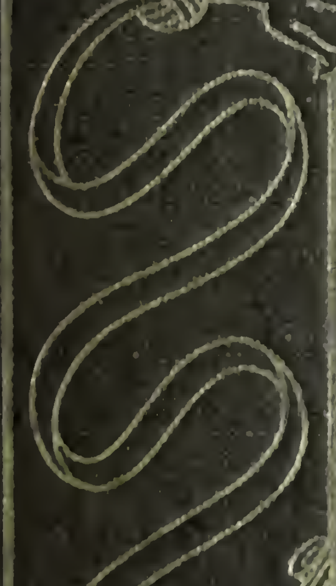

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## for Connoisseurs

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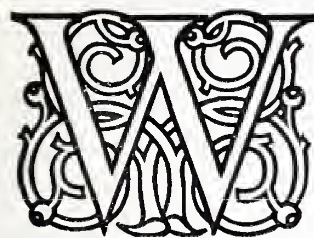
Emery Walker Ph. Sc.

*Portrait of Philip IV. of Spain, by Velazquez*
*In the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U.S.A.*

# EDITORIAL ARTICLES

## THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE GOVERNMENT



WE have come to a critical period. Family pride no longer prevents the most distinguished personages in England from selling the pictures on their walls to the highest bidder. Just as the decadent nobles of Italy more than a century ago sold their ancestral treasures to the stronger, wealthier aristocracy of northern Europe, so that aristocracy in its turn is coming to a standstill, and is selling its possessions to the great princes of modern finance. The transfer is only the inevitable result of the forces or evolution, and we need waste no time in amenting it, although the change places our art treasures within the reach of the scientific enterprise of Germany and the resources of America.

For years it has been the fashion to smile at the American collector, on the assumption that he could be satisfied with any forgery that an unscrupulous dealer cared to plant upon him. Those who made fortunes by such transactions in London and Paris are beginning to find their market gone. During the last few years the Americans have set their house in order. Many collectors in the United States now possess expert knowledge, almost all now obtain good expert advice. American public galleries are equally alert. Even in the matter of official salaries they are beginning to outbid us and to secure directors who know the treasures which still remain in our private collections.

We could not hope entirely to stop the exodus of our treasures except by legislation on the Italian model. For this the country is hardly prepared. A really strong and capable Director of the National Gallery, not to mention the Victoria and Albert Museum, would, however, be often able to save us from an irreparable loss (and there are still works of art in our private collections whose loss would be irreparable); but we need the very finest talent we possess to cope with the odds against us. While applauding the enterprise of our American cousins, we may still cherish a natural wish to have the first choice of our art treasures, and that choice can only be exercised by a man of exceptional experience.

We rejoice to learn that a matter of so much importance is receiving the attention it deserves. Mr. Balfour stated in the House of Commons on March 15, in answer to Colonel Stopford-Sackville, that no appointment had yet been made to the directorship of the National Gallery, and that the conditions of the appointment were under consideration. It may be presumed that these conditions include the various points that have been raised since *The Times* first drew public attention to the vacancy, such as the separation of the Tate Gallery from the National Gallery. On that question there seems to be something like unanimity among persons interested in art. It is recognized that each of these institutions should have a responsible and independent director of its own.

It has, indeed, been rumoured in some quarters that what is being considered is the question whether any director at all should be appointed to the National Gallery. It is true that a member of the Royal Academy has suggested that £1,000 of the small sum annually spent on art out of the public purse might usefully be diverted to other purposes by leaving the directorship vacant. But the suggestion has not been taken seriously, and we decline to credit a report which is so grave a reflection on Mr. Balfour and his colleagues, the more so since in the estimates for 1905-6 the purchase grant has been increased from £5,000 to £7,000. It must indeed be evident to anyone acquainted, however slightly, with the existing artistic conditions that never has our great national

collection needed more than now a strong man at its head.

Now it is difficult for a Prime Minister, however fine his taste and intelligence, to give proper attention to the choice of such a man, in view of the claims that affairs of State and Parliament make upon him. He must depend largely on the advice of friends, and must be inclined to leave the matter to a great extent in the hands of others. He is therefore liable, with the best intentions in the world, to pass over the most suitable men because the claims of a friend's friend are pressed upon him, and he has not time to go personally into the matter. Much greater is this danger when, as at present, the directorship of all our three chief public museums is, or soon will be, vacant.

All these things point to the conclusion arrived at by Mr. Spielmann in his article on another page, that the interests of our national art demand a Minister whose sole business it is to look after them.

## ARCHITECTURAL EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

MANY of those who remember that musty and doleful place the old Architectural Museum in Westminster—now, fortunately, put to better uses—must wonder that we have any architects worthy of the name left among us. It would be difficult indeed to conceive any worse method of training the young student than that of hanging on a wall models of half the famous gothic capitals in England, isolated from their shafts and their natural setting, and then expecting the beginner to understand the principles on which our great cathedrals were built from this muddle of isolated and unrelated fragments.

It is curious that the amateurish taste which regarded architecture as ornament applied to a framework put up by a builder should have lasted so long after the experiments of Horace Walpole and Beckford had become a standing joke, and half-a-century after the death of Pugin, who first showed a better way. Nevertheless, the heresy still lingers, both in the mind of the public and in that of some so-called 'architects.'

We have, therefore, every cause to be thankful to the Royal Institute of British Architects for taking up the whole question of architectural education in England. The Board formed at the Institute's invitation would appear to be setting about its work in a businesslike way, with a view both to improving existing methods of teaching and to co-ordinating them throughout the country. The paper read in February by Mr. Reginald Blomfield, A.R.A., before the Institute, and printed in vol. xii, No. 8, of their Journal, is so entirely sound and sensible in its main lines that the success of the new system should be assured. The matter is one for general congratulation. Bad pictures can be hidden in dark corners; bad furniture and bad china can vex only those who live with them. Bad architecture, however, is an unavoidable public insult to every right-minded man as well as a standing disgrace to the nation which produced it. All, therefore, must wish well to the Board of Architectural Education.

# A MINISTRY OF FINE ARTS?

BY M. H. SPIELMANN

FROM time to time it has been asked whether a Ministry of Fine Arts should not be established in this country, and whether the protection of such a department would not foster the arts as effectively as they are fostered under similar patronage abroad. This is a proposition which I think has been more favoured hitherto by artists themselves than by the general public. For my own part I have had my doubts of the efficacy of the step, mainly in view of results we see in other countries, and from the opinions expressed by many a painter and architect. 'You may not rejoice in a grandmotherly nurture of the arts,' they have said, 'but you may thank Heaven that you have no tyrannical ministry, no governmental department to dictate and "patronize" official art, no minister and his deputies to open every exhibition, to attend at every inauguration, to make the same written speeches on every occasion, to stamp the same character of architecture on every town, to foist upon every departmental gallery and municipal museum the great canvases and *machines* which are only painted in the hope of such recognition. In fact, in England art is free, and that is why you have no "school of painting," no disciples, but many masters. With you art develops naturally; it is not forced, it is not encouraged this way or patronized that way, and your art is the expression of the feeling, and represents the character, of the people.'

It is impossible to deny that there is much in the argument. Prosperity of art is not necessarily synonymous with the prosperity of the artists; and official control of art, however laxly it may be exercised, has always been regarded in Great Britain with mistrust.

That mistrust has many a time been deepened into *dis*trust when the action of our legislators has shown us what might be expected from a government department. It is not long since Lord Salisbury, then premier, in the House of Lords, and Sir William Vernon Harcourt, ex-cabinet minister, in the House of Commons, emptied the vials of their sarcasm—upon what?—upon the finest work of architectural art which had for a long while been erected in the metropolis: Mr. Norman Shaw's New Scotland Yard—with the laughing approval of both Houses. The dignified protest published over the names of most of our leading architects may have undone part of the foolish mischief; yet it could not but have left the two legislative bodies in a state of bewilderment as to what constitutes nobility and originality in the greatest of the arts. On the other hand, when we have the good fortune to see the Office of Works controlled by such men as Lord Esher and Lord Windsor, and when we find in the Government one gifted with so fine a taste as we recognize in Lord Balcarres, we must admit that there are hopes for ministers yet. And, moreover, may we not entertain the hope that the civilizing and refining influence of a Ministry of Fine Arts would be an excellent thing primarily for the art-education of the Government?

The moment is not inopportune for the consideration of the question, for by a curious and unprecedented coincidence the headship of our three most important museums is vacant, or about to fall vacant—the National Gallery, the Victoria and Albert Art Museum, and the British Museum. Thus the question as to the coordination of our public art institutions seems ripe for discussion.

Discontent is rife in respect of several of these institutions. Space is lacking in which to enlarge in detail upon these important points, but I may touch lightly upon one or two. Letters have lately appeared in

the public press suggesting the suppression of the Directorship of the National Gallery and the restoration of the simple Keepership, the writers forgetting apparently that the Directorship was established by a Treasury Minute (March 27, 1855), when it was proved that the Keepership administration existing up to that time had wholly broken down (see Report of the Select Committee on the National Gallery, 1853). On the other hand, the new Treasury Minute, put forth when Sir Edward Poynter was appointed, so restricted the authority of the titular principal of the Gallery that the effect was to set up a Director who was not allowed to direct, and whose powers, which should have been inherent in his office, were virtually relegated to the Trustees, a board of gentlemen of whom, it is an open secret, two practically led the others. It was a weak and anomalous arrangement, by which a couple of trustees habitually spoked the wheel and left the nominal Director to take the blame.

The South Kensington Museum suffers from a situation far more unsatisfactory; that is to say, the remedy is not so easy of application. When the House of Commons Inquiry turned the place inside out and suppressed the Science and Art Department, transferring the whole to the Board of Education, few, except a handful of determined men connected with the Department, foresaw that a still greater blight would soon fall, and that the museum would become a mere office of the Secretarial Department, hampered in its development and in its working. The point need not be laboured; but an eloquent sign of the unsatisfactory and irritating condition of things may be read in the retirement of Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke, involving the sacrifice of his pension after a term of a long service of years when he might have taken an honourable and a well-earned rest; and we now find him ready to take service under a new and a foreign master who will leave him the free hand denied to officials at home.

Looking beyond these borders we find causes for discontent in various directions—the National Gallery of Ireland scurvily treated, the National Gallery of Scotland discreditably starved.

Now, these matters and many more might be set right by the enlightened administration of a Ministry of Fine Arts. Such a Department would look after the well-being of each institution without interfering with the internal working of any of them which give satisfaction—such, for example, as the British Museum. All these public and semi-public museums and art galleries, such as the Dulwich Gallery and the Soane Museum, would be co-ordinated, and all similar municipal institutions which desired to join could be merged in the same department. The Royal Academy would be left out of account, just as the Salons are independent in France, for the governmental touch becomes a taint when it interferes with the production, as differentiated from the disposal, of works of art irresponsibly and happily created. Moreover, no advantage can be gained by any attempt to coerce so old an institution which was originally designed on wrong and illogical lines; that is to say, it was begun, and is continued, as at once a teaching and an exhibiting establishment—so that its difficulty of conscience is to exhibit on its walls works executed in a style of art which it believes it cannot, as an 'academy,' honestly and consistently recommend in its schools. It is in a cleft stick. In Paris the École des Beaux-Arts and the Salons are entirely different and independent institutions, and the difficulty from which the Royal Academy suffers can consequently never arise there.

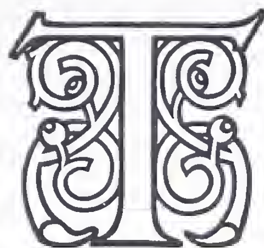
Thus, though a Ministry of Fine Arts can buy, commission, and construct, it could not be satisfactorily allowed to teach, exhibit, or sell, and the lines on which it

would proceed could be well defined from the outset. But there are two other directions in which its influence might be exerted for the public good, nay, not 'might,' but should. It should take over the duties, the mission, of the Architectural Vigilance Committee, and expand them into universal application within the three kingdoms. Its duty would be to see that no artistic offence against taste in our public streets and buildings be perpetrated, and that control should be exercised with the view to beautifying our towns. The thing can easily and effectually be done; it is done in France by the Conseil Général des Beaux-Arts, working under the Ministère des Beaux-Arts, and it can be imitated here. And it is natural that such work should fall to the Government, for no unofficial body can arm itself with the necessary authority. At the present moment Lord Windsor, the First Commissioner of Works, is the chairman of the Architectural Vigilance Committee, so that a connexion which is unofficial and works well might be made official and work better.

And it should take over the important office of arranging the British section in all international exhibitions. As Mr. Isidore Spielmann forcibly declared to the Society of Arts the other day, this country is always at a great disadvantage in comparison with other nations, when invited to participate in these contests. By the time we have accepted the invitation, after the Foreign Office has conferred with the Treasury, with the Board of Trade, and the Home Office, and come to its decision, made its appointments, and established its committees, other countries have not only sent in their adhesion, but have secured the best spaces, and spent several months in advancing the work of their sections. Great Britain is thus permanently handicapped, and even the extraordinary energy invariably displayed by those who undertake the duties for the credit of the country cannot compensate for the disadvantages that naturally attend a belated start. In France and Germany permanent departments exist for the working of international exhibitions; in the former the office has to undertake also local exhibitions at home. The intervals between the ending of one exhibition and the beginning of another are very short, if they occur at all, and the advantage is secured that immediately on an invitation from a foreign country being received and accepted, and notice of it given to the head official, the machinery of the department sets to work automatically, with extraordinary saving of time, trouble, and expense.

Such are some of the functions that come within the province of a Ministry of Fine Arts. I have said nothing of its potentiality as an agency for the encouragement of art and artists; for that is the matter which demands more careful and independent exposition. The point to be established is that such an Office can be planned without undue dislocation of existing administrations, and that there is needed no undue effort of constructive ability to simplify and co-ordinate the numerous derelict art bodies as they exist today. Moreover, as in the care of the Office of Works are so many charges of an artistic nature (of our palaces, gardens, public works and the like), the Office is naturally marked out as the nucleus of a fully established Ministry, if such there is to be.

# THE NEW VELAZQUEZ IN THE BOSTON MUSEUM
## BY FRANCIS LATHROP



HE recent acquisition by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts of the picture entitled 'Portrait of Philip IV of Spain, by Velazquez,'[1] having aroused controversy regarding the authenticity of the work, several artists (myself among the number) were asked to make a critical examination of the painting, and the following paper embodies for the readers of THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE some of the results of my study of the subject :—

The picture is a portrait of Philip at the age of eighteen, and is painted in the early style of Velazquez, with some phases of which we are familiar in his works executed between 1622 and 1630. It retains a fair share of the hardness of the *bodegones*, but has in parts a more advanced execution and indicates a new conception in regard to the management of the materials of his composition ; it shows also the change from the brown flesh tones of the Sevillian pictures to the colour-scheme adopted in the portraits painted after his arrival in Madrid. The canvas resembles in texture that used by Velazquez at this period, and measures 82 by 34¼ inches.

Philip is represented at full length (against a grey background), dressed in black, with light grey golilla and cuffs,[2] wearing a gold chain from which depends the Order of the Golden Fleece, and standing with feet apart by the side of a small table covered with a dull crimson cloth trimmed with gold. His left hand rests on the hilt of his sword, while his right holds a folded paper. On the table is placed a high-crowned hat having a dark brown feather in its band. The figure is slightly under life size, as was usual with the artist, its dimensions being such as would actually appear on the canvas had it been transparent and placed within a few feet of the model.

This well-known device to prevent the disagreeable effect of a figure's seeming to protrude from the frame toward the spectator appears to have been one of the principles of the make-up of a picture that Velazquez held in mind from the beginning. Even the *bodegones*, which have so often been called 'mere studies' and in no sense of the word complete pictures, contain evidence that in his earliest work Velazquez was striving to achieve a pictorial whole, and in the few years that followed his progress in this particular was phenomenally rapid. For example of his care in this respect, in the portrait under discussion, although no portion of it is slighted, and the attempt to make a true record of facts is everywhere apparent, all parts do not appeal with equal force to the eye.

First and foremost, the face attracts and holds our attention, and it does so, we discover, not alone by its intrinsic merit as a piece of painting, but partly by reason of the subordination of other parts deliberately adopted by the painter. The ear, for instance, is kept a little lower in tone than the face, and is not carried so far in the matter of modelling. In the hands, again, a method of expression more summary than in the head has been chosen, so that they do not unduly interest us in rivalry with it. Costume and accessories are held down in tone and in the degree of detail rendered, and everything is balanced and spaced in a way to produce an impressive and harmonious *ensemble*.

Before proceeding I will briefly consider the possibility that has been suggested by several critics of this picture being a copy after Velazquez, made by some pupil or follower. The three principal men concerning whom such a possibility would be entertained are, naturally, Del Mazo, Pareja,

[1] Reproduced, frontispiece, page 2.
[2] That these were not white, 'kept down' in the painting to enhance the value of the flesh tones, may be seen from the fact that the highest light on the golilla and cuffs is far below that on the presumably white paper held in Philip's right hand.

PLATE I. PORTRAIT OF PHILIP IV
BY VELAZQUEZ, IN THE PRADO
GALLERY, MADRID

and Carreño, and it is not difficult to form a definite conception of the artistic personality of each from their extant works. In no one of these personalities does there appear a quality that is deeply characteristic of Velazquez—I mean his grasp of realities, his almost preternaturally sane understanding of his subject. So little do they seem to have seen that this was the foundation of his supremacy that we find in the known copies attributed to them only more or less successful attempts to imitate what may be called the superficial excellences of Velazquez, such as fluency of execution, 'masterly touches,' and the like, but scarcely the faintest echo of the grasp and concentration that are so marked in the picture we are considering.

Indeed, we do not find this quality displayed to an equal degree in all of the subsequent works of the master himself. Take the portrait of Philip (Prado, No. 1,070)[3] painted after this one. It shows a comparatively less conscientious and strenuous effort to obtain a comprehensive statement of the facts of nature. This falling-off was no doubt due to his seeking a method that should give speedier results. When he has developed and amplified his method Velazquez returns to the more complete rendering of what he saw, and does it with an economy of means, an ease, and a dexterity that seem to have little in common with the laborious struggle evinced in this earlier work. Precisely this evidence of a struggle and its happy issue tends to confirm belief in the authenticity of the picture. It shows us the young Velazquez working under the conditions to which he must have been subjected at the date assigned to the painting of this picture.

His first journey to Madrid in 1622 having failed of its object, he returned there in 1623, and after many uncertainties and delays at last the moment arrived when the King was actually posing for his portrait. We can guess the supreme importance that Velazquez attached to making this a success. To do so, however, he had at hand no stock of superficial or facile expedients; the only art he knew was one of serious and solid qualities, based on sheer rendering of nature. This is the art that we see him putting forth to the utmost of his ability on this canvas, and we see it above all in the head. In it are no subterfuges or tricks to get an effect cheaply, no attempts to evade difficulties. The problem is faced fairly and squarely, and is solved. It was a task that taxed to the utmost his powers of concentrated observation and such skill as he possessed with brush and pigments, already no inconsiderable skill for so young a painter. Finally he succeeded in setting down firmly and clearly what he saw—not without some youthful hardness, to be sure, yet with wonderful subtlety and truth. Especially convincing is the modelling around the eyes, as well as the veracity and variety of gradation in the hair. The entire picture is a monument of conscientious and sustained effort. Nowhere is there any sign of relaxation in the determination to make it perfect.

Examine the outline of the cloak and you will see with what minute care it has been corrected and recorrected to obtain to a hair's breadth the swing and action that the painter desired. This matter of outline has been a great preoccupation throughout the work, and its treatment is extremely characteristic of the painter at this period. He had not yet mastered the art of losing a contour and at the same time suggesting it, as he has done eight or nine years later in his portrait of Baltasar Carlos with the Dwarf, which hangs in the same museum, where it is instructive to compare the painting, say of the ears, with that in the portrait of Philip. In this last there is hard definition against the background, in spite of the artist's trying

[3] Plate I, page 9.

not to make the ear too important. There may be observed, however, a premonition of his later treatment of outline in one finger of Philip's left hand, a demonstration of the fact that Velazquez was not only using resources of painting that he already possessed, but was striving then and there to devise further means for realizing more satisfactorily the aspect of nature.

And in this connexion it will be of interest to note some of the immediate results of the experimentation revealed in these hands. The one holding the paper appears to have been painted while the artist was still under the influence of the sort of work that he had been doing on the head; so that while wishing to make it less important he could not help putting into it some of the same realization of detail. Dissatisfied with the result, the hand as first done having doubtless competed too much with the head, Velazquez seems to have tried to take out some of the excess of detail, and in so doing left it in the slightly confused state in which we now see it. But when he came to the other hand he broke away from all complications and made a much simpler and more abstract statement of form, and one that if less truthful is also less liable to call attention away from the head. In making the simplification he probably noticed that this hand was more quickly painted than the other, and the advantages of a method that gave greater facility of production would soon become clear to him; for during the next few years, working as he did then without pupils or assistants, he must have been overwhelmed with the numerous royal portraits that were demanded of him, and have perceived the impossibility of keeping pace with these demands unless he could hit upon some way of working more rapidly.

That he did adopt such a method is shown by the full-length portrait of Philip in Madrid[4] (of which I have already spoken) painted two or three years later than the picture in the Boston Museum. The increase in freedom of execution is very striking, and the face and hands notably show us a system in full swing. The painter does not now seem to be so completely absorbed as heretofore in the immediate aspect of the nature before him. Some preconceived notion is clearly influencing him. The hands decidedly give this impression, and we have to acknowledge that it almost looks as if he were on the point of evolving a typical hand, to be ever after repeated in the manner of Van Dyck. Happily such a fear is groundless, as subsequent events prove. For in spite of the growing assurance displayed on this canvas, Velazquez does not become complacent, nor does he contentedly degenerate into mannerism. On the contrary, he experiments further, he expands his system, developing its resources until he is able to express by it as much as he has done by the earlier and more painstaking method which we see so well exemplified in the head of the Boston picture.

To pursue the subject of the full development of the art of Velazquez would carry me beyond the limits of this paper, in which my purpose is to show its place in that development and to vindicate the good name of a picture that has been unaccountably looked upon askance. And I think that I have said enough to show that its handling is exactly such as we might look for in the work of Velazquez at this date, 1623. The great gap between his Sevillian pictures and the Prado portrait, No. 1070 (usually assigned to the year 1623), has often been remarked. It has seemed altogether abnormal that he should all at once jump from the *bodegone* style and, over-night as it were, appear before us in the guise of a self-confident man of the

[4] This applies also to the head in the bust portrait (Prado, No. 1071) reproduced on Plate II, which is the study made from life in painting No. 1070.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

I. HEAD FROM FULL-LENGTH PORTRAIT OF PHILIP IV., IN THE BOSTON MUSEUM

II. PORTRAIT OF PHILIP IV., BY VELAZQUEZ, IN THE PRADO GALLERY, MADRID

III. HEAD FROM THE FULL-LENGTH PORTRAIT OF DON CARLOS, BY VELAZQUEZ, IN THE PRADO GALLERY, MADRID

IV. HEAD FROM THE FULL-LENGTH PORTRAIT OF DON FERNANDO, BY VELAZQUEZ, IN THE PRADO GALLERY, MADRID

PLATE [illegible]

world with a fluent system of painting at command. Now if we push forward the date of the Prado portrait to 1625 or 1626, as we are justified in doing by the apparent age of Philip in it, the change of style is much more easily accounted for. The painter's life at court for a space of two or three years, the prestige of royal favour shown him, incessant work and rapid production, would all tend to the result that we find in this canvas.

On the other hand, if 1623 be taken as the year in which the Boston picture was painted, we have the gap between the two phases of his early manner partly bridged over, not wholly so, it must be said, for probably this picture was immediately preceded by a number of transitional works (now for the most part lost sight of), done under some strong influence[5] that must have come into the artistic life of Velazquez about this time. Another reason for making 1623 the date of the Boston picture is that the subject seems to be about eighteen years old, the age of Philip in that year.

I must notice here the assertion that has been made to the effect that this is not a portrait of Philip, but of one of his younger brothers, either Carlos or Fernando. It is true that at first sight the face appears to differ (noticeably in the chin) from that shown in what has been hitherto considered the earliest portrait of Philip by Velazquez, namely Nos. 1070 and 1071 in the Prado Museum. But it also differs quite as much from the portraits of Carlos[6] (No. 1073) and Fernando[6] (No. 1075) in the same museum. In the case of Philip the discrepancy can be sufficiently accounted for by the different way in which the light falls in the Prado and Boston pictures, and the altered aim of the painter. Whereas in the cases of the other supposed subjects the divergences are not susceptible of such explanation.

A comparison in detail confirming this assertion can easily be made with the aid of photographs, and I need not particularize further than to mention one or two points which seem decisive. In the face of Carlos it will be observed that the eyebrows rise toward the temples (or descend toward the nose) and are strongly defined. In the face of Philip (Prado, No. 1,070) this direction does not exist, and the eyebrows resemble those in the Boston picture in this respect as well as in being inconspicuous. These last two portraits also coincide in the construction of the ear, the lower part of which closely joins the cheek, and has almost no lobe, but in the portrait of Fernando (Prado, No. 1,075) the ear detaches itself sharply from the head and has a well-developed lobe.

It does not, I think, require further discussion to dispose of a suggestion due to the strong family likeness that existed between the three brothers, and to prove that the Boston picture cannot be the portrait of either Carlos or Fernando, but must be that of Philip.

The age of the subject then, together with the character of the work, would place the execution in the year 1623, and it may well be the portrait mentioned by Pacheco[7] as having been done on August 30 of that year, unless we choose to believe that this is a replica by Velazquez himself of his original picture now lost. We might surmise that such an original once existed on the same canvas and under the Prado portrait (No. 1,070), for this has been painted

[5] Such an Influence would have to be assumed to explain the sudden change from the dark *bodegone* effects (reminiscent of the Tenebrosi) to the searching for luminosity that becomes so distinct a feature in his early Madrid portraits, and indeed Palomino says plainly enough that his admiration for the works of Tristan (the pupil of El Greco) caused a great change in Velazquez's early method of painting—a statement, however, that has been questioned by recent writers. One of the transition works alluded to above may be found, I think, in the head of Gongora (Prado, No. 1085).

[6] Plate II, page 13.

[7] Francisco Pacheco—'Arte de la Pintura,' lib. i, cap. viii. It has frequently been taken for granted that this was an equestrian portrait, but, as pointed out by Beruete, Pacheco does not explicitly say so, and in fact I should conclude from the passage cited that he was distinctly referring to a picture that preceded the equestrian portrait.

over a figure that followed the main lines of the Boston portrait, as can be partly seen in the photograph, but better in the picture itself, where we vaguely discern the outlines of the spreading cloak and a shadowy pair of legs standing apart, as they do in the early picture.

This can hardly be called conclusive proof of the supposition, and as against it we have the apparent impossibility that even the master himself could have given to a replica such vital qualities as we find in the work under discussion. Still, such was the power of his genius that I am not prepared to say that Velazquez could not have repeated himself with all the vigour of a first impression. The corrections in the outline of the cloak already noted in the Boston picture as well as the experiments tried in the hands would seem to count against the theory of its being a replica, and it has besides all the aspect of a painting directly from nature. Its state of preservation is unexpectedly satisfactory, in spite of some retouchings, chiefly in the background and foreground, and of re-lining, which usually detracts from the freshness of the surface.

Take it all in all, we have every reason for congratulation in its having survived with so little damage, for it is a picture that must always be precious to painters and to students of Velazquez, both for its admirable qualities as a work of art and as marking a most important stage in his development and career.

Note.—There exists in the palace of the dukes of Villahermosa in Madrid a portrait of Philip IV, called by Justi a school copy, in reference to the Prado portrait No. 1,070, but which is identical in general design with the picture in the Boston Museum, though (if an inference can be drawn from an unsatisfactory photograph) inferior in construction.

Having had only a brief glimpse of the picture itself by insufficient light, I cannot express an opinion as to whether it is or is not a replica from the hand of Velazquez himself.

CHINESE BRONZE VESSEL, WITH COVER IN FORM OF A MONSTER'S HEAD, IN THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

# ARCHAIC CHINESE BRONZES

## BY C. J. HOLMES

SINCE the treasures of Pekin have twice been looted by the civilized peoples of the west, many Chinese works of art of one kind or another have passed into the possession of European and American collectors. Among these works of art Chinese paintings perhaps hold the first rank, and those who have made any study of them are already realizing that, from an aesthetic point of view, the Chinese painters were far in advance of the artists of Europe. This was proved by the admirable article by Mr. Laurence Binyon, which appeared in THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE for January 1904. It would hardly be extravagant to prophesy that the next movement of European art (which for the moment seems to have exhausted the possibilities of realism) may take the form of a return to the principles enunciated by the Chinese more than a thousand years ago. The still older craft of bronze-working has fewer students, but in a more limited way it is hardly less important than Chinese painting.

Till quite recently the literature on the subject was exceedingly scanty ; the chief authorities being the Chinese catalogues (two of which can be studied at the British Museum[1]), some fragmentary notes in A. Favier's 'Peking,' and the picturesque and interesting survey of Chinese art in general, by M. Paléologue, in the series published by the Maison Quantin. Since these notes were originally compiled for delivery in the form of a lecture, the first volume of Dr. Bushell's handbook on Chinese art at the Victoria and Albert Museum has appeared, and has at once become the standard work on the subject.

[1] *Po-koo-too* (B.M. 15299. b. 1). Figures of a great number of antiquities. Composed in A.D. 1200. The plates in this are somewhat roughly engraved.

*Setsing-koo-keen* (B.M. 15299 d. 1), 42 vols. Peking, 1749-50. Folio. Memoirs of antiquities in the Western purity (palace). Composed for the Emperor Kien-lung. The illustrations in this work are exquisitely cut.

If then the present article does no more than help some readers of THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE to appreciate the scholarly treatise of Dr. Bushell, it will have served its purpose.

In tracing the chronological sequence of Chinese works of art one great difficulty has to be overcome. The reverence of the Chinese for the past, of which their ancestor worship is the most prominent sign, extends to all the arts to such a degree that Chinese artists, generation after generation, seem to consider that the perfect consummation of their craft consists in the repetition of ancient designs. With Chinese porcelain this is so much the case that a date mark can never be accepted by itself as a proof of the age of a piece. It is no more than an indication of the period whose style the maker was copying.

Thus in the case of Chinese bronzes the shape of the ancient ritual vessels has been followed almost to the present day. It is only by a study of their development and by a close examination of the workmanship, the decoration, and the patina that we can decide what the approximate age of any bronze really is. The national regard for antiquity has been especially strong in the case of Chinese bronzes. The Chinese themselves have recognized that working in bronze is the oldest of their national arts, and the few archaic specimens that were preserved or discovered or excavated in the country have been regarded with the greatest veneration. This feeling explains the fact that ancient bronzes formed one of the most important sections of the Imperial Museum at Pekin.

It is to the looting of that museum that the collections at South Kensington, of the late M. Cernuschi at Paris, and of several American orientalists owe their chief treasures. Pekin, however, was looted without much system, and many fine bronzes have thus drifted into private

collections. Though for the time being they have only the value of curiosities, their importance to the future student of the art of China deserves to be recognized more fully than has been the case hitherto.

The few known remains of Chinese monumental sculpture dating before the Christian era, and the Buddhist images in Chinese temples dating from the first few centuries after the Christian era, do not in any way prepare us for the sustained excellence of Chinese bronzes of the same date. The archaic reliefs are childish, the temple statues are florid, conventional, and fantastic. One or two portrait statues of considerable excellence exist in private collections, but until our knowledge of China is far more complete than it is at present we must presume that the nation has never possessed any noble school of monumental sculpture. Chinese bronzes thus represent the plastic art of the country in its most perfect form.

Within the limits of the present article it is impossible to follow the development of the craft beyond the Christian era. If the bronzes of the Han and succeeding dynasties are to be dealt with, they must be dealt with in a subsequent article. The introduction of Buddhism into China shortly after the Christian era effected so drastic a change in all the arts that the Christian era becomes the natural point of division.

The Chinese bronzes produced after the Christian era and the decorative bronzes of Japan (which sometimes are hardly to be distinguished from them) have often grace and ingenuity, and almost always display wonderfully skilful workmanship. These qualities alone, however, would not entitle Chinese bronzes to the serious consideration of artists and collectors. The more ancient specimens possess in addition that majestic simplicity of form which makes the sculpture of Egypt and Assyria with all its defects undeniably and inimitably monumental. Assyria, by the way, in the opinion of many sinologists, was the original source of Chinese culture. There are certainly many points of connexion,[2] although we have no positive proof of any racial identity. Assyria, however, is not the only country with which the earlier phases of Chinese art suggest resemblances. In the archaic pottery of Peru and Mexico we constantly meet with a similar treatment of form and similar decorative motives. Thus it needs no very great stretch of the imagination to picture the spread of the ancient Chaldaean civilization through China to the sea coast, and from that coast across the ocean to the western shores of America.

I have suggested that the character of these ancient specimens of Chinese art is monumental. Monumental art fascinates us by the sense of power which it conveys; yet the power which inspires the metalwork of the pre-historic Chinese is not its only fascination.

European ideals of art, however much they may be varied in different ages and different countries, have one thing at least in common. Though they may not always 'make for righteousness,' they seldom appear in conflict with it. The devils of Notre Dame, of Hieronymus Bosch, or of 'Hell' Brueghel are devilish only that sinners may be frightened and that righteousness may seem more fair. Power, in fact, with a European artist is rendered attractive by combining it with grace and virtue.

The ancient Chinese artists do just the reverse. They use their strength to glorify the terrible, the malignant, and the merciless. We know practically nothing of the people for whom the earliest bronzes were made, yet when we have once studied them we shall understand the Chinese character better. We shall see that, under her ancient civilization, under all her traditions of duty, reverence, and honesty, and under her philosophical good breeding, there lives a

[2] The recent discoveries in Eastern Chaldea seem to confirm this connexion.

NO. 1

NO. 2

ARCHAIC CHINESE BRONZES,
PLATE II

NO. 3

NO. 4

cruelty which, if it once be aroused, can transform the cultured disciple of Confucius into a ferocious savage. Painting and porcelain began to flourish after China had been disciplined by the gentle doctrine of Buddha. It is only in the far older art of working in bronze that this sterner side of Chinese national character can be seen.

Apart from their archaeological interest and from their beauty of form, Chinese bronzes have a quality of substance which no other bronzes exhibit. The beautiful green patina which we see on Greek and Roman statues, and the more elaborate coloured patinas discovered by the ingenuity of the Japanese, are dull compared with the brilliant and jewel-like incrustation with which fine specimens of Chinese bronze are adorned. The formation of this patina is said to be due to the action of the soil upon the proportions of tin, zinc, and lead included in the alloy. It is sometimes forged with mixtures of wax, but the forgery being soft can easily be detected.

Though Chinese annals refer the art of bronze-working to some two thousand years before the Christian era, very few of the pieces which survive appear to be older than the Chou dynasty (B.C. 1122-255). A certain number of specimens, however, survive which can almost certainly be referred to the older dynasty of Shang (B.C. 1766–1122), and with these we must begin our chronological series.

1. *Sacrificial bowl and cover.*—Inscribed, 'Sacrificial bowl and cover made for the tomb of Cheng Shu of Lu. May it for 10,000 years be ever preserved and used.'[3]

Though the South Kensington label merely describes this as 'much restored,' perhaps anterior to the third century B.C., I venture to regard it as one of the very oldest pieces of Chinese bronze in Europe, dating perhaps from the middle of the Shang dynasty, about 1500 B.C. The restorations themselves indicate great antiquity and value; but the heavy, solid form, simple decoration, and rude execution, point still more definitely to a very early date. The barbaric treatment of the monstrous heads on the handles can hardly be merely archaistic, since their handling shows the clumsy brutality of primitive work.

2. *Temple vessel.*—Russet patina.[4] A very ancient example of the altar vessel still used in Chinese temples. It probably dates from considerably before 1000 B.C., since it is evidently much older than two similar vessels at South Kensington dated 750 B.C. Though the original is only about 15 inches high, its proportions give it an air of almost menacing greatness, like that of some colossal building, an air which is accentuated by the savage effect of the projections on its surface. Similar pieces seem to have been manufactured right up to the earlier part of the nineteenth century, and the form is thus comparatively common both in bronze and in enamel.

3, 4. *Sacrificial cup with cover decorated with figures of monsters.*—Green patina.[5] The archaic workmanship and patina of this specimen indicate a very early date apart from the evidence of the decoration. Its interest lies in the fact that it affords a primitive representation of the two chief symbolical monsters of China—the Taotieh (ogre, glutton), the symbol of the powers of the earth, and the Dragon, the symbol of the powers of the air. Worship of the elements formed a large part of the early Chinese religion. The vessel was probably used for the wine libation, and its form suggests that it may have been the precursor of the dragon-handled cups which, according to Dr. Bushell, in the later ritual superseded the helmet-shaped tripod libation vessels.

The Taotieh or demon of the earth looks up from the back of the vessel. A larger and more perfect version of his unpleasing features will be found on the vessel repro-

[3] Plate II, page 21

[4] Plate II, page 21.

[5] Plate III, page 24

duced in fig. 7. His lineaments in a conventional form can be traced on the body of the cup, combined with the so-called 'Greek key pattern,' a symbol of the clouds among which the dragon lives. The same decorative motive, emblem at once of earth and heaven, will be found not only in still more ancient pieces such as fig. 2, but in bronze and porcelain of comparatively modern date. Indeed a series of examples might be formed showing the Taotieh in every stage, from the realism of fig. 7 to the merest conventional pattern on a piece of eighteenth-century porcelain.

To trace the development of the Dragon is more difficult, and it is with some hesitation that I suggest that he began his career as a bull-headed snake. The monstrous handles in fig. 1 would then be only an earlier form of the horned beast with grinning teeth and glaring golden eyes that surmounts this less ancient vessel.

A further development then follows. Between the horns projects a smaller head, like that of an archaic Greek bull, attached to a rudely fashioned serpent body with a curling tail which runs along the top of the piece. Here in fact we seem to have the Dragon in embryo, and a connecting link is supplied by the Chinese catalogue of the Imperial Collection, where an ancient bronze is figured round which is coiled a serpent with a monstrous bull's head. Add a pair of feelers and four claws and we have the full-blown dragon.

The satyr-like face which decorates the handle of the piece may also be traced in later work, getting more and more conventional, and in the process losing his alert and half-human animalism.

5. *Sacrificial tripod.*—Fine green patina.[6] Described on the Museum label as anterior to the first century B.C. It is certainly much older, and Dr. Bushell's attribution to the Shang dynasty, *i.e.* before 1100 B.C., seems more probable. The tripod base is decorated with an archaic and conventionalized form of the Taotieh monster. The vessel was used for cooking sacrificial offerings of grain.

6. *Sacrificial wine vase.*—Russet patina.[7] An archaic example of one of the most graceful and flower-like forms which Chinese bronze can assume. It will be recognized as the original model not only of some of the most perfect pieces of Chinese porcelain, but also of many of the charming bronzes of Japan. Pieces of this form figure largely in the catalogues of the Imperial Collection already mentioned. For the study of Chinese bronzes, these catalogues are invaluable, the more so because they compel us to recognize that the specimens we possess are far from doing justice to the power and beauty displayed by the ancient Chinese craftsmen. The specimen figured may date from the earlier part of the Chou dynasty, that is to say from about 1000 B.C.

7. *Sacrificial wine vessel.*—Russet and green patina.[8] This magnificent specimen of bronze-work illustrates the art at its culminating point towards the latter half of the Chou dynasty, about 600 B.C. In it archaic grandeur of form is allied with the utmost finish of execution. The realistic head of the Taotieh on the front is the most striking motive of the decoration, but the spirit and delicacy of the maker are exhibited more clearly in the exquisitely modelled serpents' heads on the handles.

Yet even their poisonous serenity is less terribly impressive than the effect of a similar but more archaic vessel in the Cernuschi Collection. Here the whole surface is uniformly decorated with round bosses, but on the body of the vase there are the prints of two huge hands worked deep into the metal, as if some mighty being had grasped it in a grip so terrible that the bronze had become like clay under his touch.

[6] Plate IV, page 27.

[7] Plate IV, page 27.

[8] Plate V, page 30.

NO. 5

NO. 6

ARCHAIC CHINESE BRONZES
PLATE IV

NO 7

NO. 8

The earliest of the interesting vessels in the form of real animals should perhaps be referred to this period. The wine vase in the shape of a rhinoceros, or hippopotamus, at South Kensington will serve as an example of the way in which the forms of bulls, rams, and deer were utilized by the Chinese bronze workers. The elephant does not seem to have been used as a decorative motive till the early part of the Han dynasty (about 200 B.C.), when animal and bird forms become comparatively common. These lead up to the employment of the human figure in the first century A.D., when the Buddhist influence first appears in Chinese work. This introduction of realistic forms, however, does not mark an advance in the art, but rather a decline. The Chinese national genius is greatest when it deals with the elemental monsters of its imagination. Nevertheless, at first the decline is hardly noticeable, and the earliest specimens of inlaid work that we possess, which would seem to be nearly contemporary with the finest period of pure bronze-work, show but little failure of spirit.

8. *Vessel in the form of a duck.*—Inlaid with gold and silver, emerald and vermilion patina.[9] This, the earliest specimen of inlaid metal-work at South Kensington, possibly dates from about 600 B.C. The colour-effect produced by the combination of gold, silver, and bronze, with a fine patina of vermilion and emerald green is magnificent. The workmanship, though ruder than that of any other specimens I have seen, is more elaborate than would be possible had the art been in its infancy, and we must presume that inlaying began several centuries before the date of this piece. Dr. Bushell states that these vessels were used for wine; but one tradition represents them as being placed on the table at imperial feasts, and filled with water for the use of guests who feared to disgrace the Emperor's presence by getting drunk. This, or a similar vessel, was in the collection of the Emperor Kien-lung.

9. *Flask with cover in the form of a monster's head.*—Inlaid with gold and silver, emerald green patina.[10] This splendid specimen of metal work must be rather later in date than the previous example. The inlay and the surface are far more delicately finished, and the date of 500 B.C. seems reasonable for it. The monster's head upon the cover is so grandly conceived in the manner of the finest archaic work, that it is incredible that the piece should be so late as the Han dynasty, although the beauty and finish of its execution recall the delicate pieces of inlay produced during that epoch. This vessel also would appear to have been in the collection of the Emperor Kien-lung.

With it we may fitly conclude the present series of notes. The later bronzes of China are perhaps more evenly skilful than the work of the Shang and Chou dynasties, while contact with Buddhist India and Mussulman Persia introduce many graceful and interesting forms into the somewhat stiff and limited designs of earlier ages. Nevertheless those designs, whether they are inspired by the barbaric force of the Shang dynasty or by the exquisite malevolence of the Chou dynasty, have a grandeur which makes all subsequent plastic art in China, and almost all plastic art in Japan, by comparison seem feminine or contorted. We may, however, understand this remarkable form of art more completely, when some of the fine oriental collections in America are better known.

NOTE.—All the pieces illustrated are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, with the exception of the piece numbered 3 and 4, which is in the writer's collection.

[9] Plate V, page 30.

[10] Plate I, page 18

# CHARLES II SILVER AT WELBECK

## BY J. STARKIE GARDNER

## PART I

UNDER Charles I a vast quantity of the royal plate had become alienated or pledged, even before the necessitous times of the Civil War. Indeed, from 1625, when the king's expensive favourite, the duke of Buckingham, and the earl of Holland were commissioned to convey a large quantity of gold and silver plate to Holland for sale or pledge, until 1641, when Parliament accused the queen of having conveyed another large consignment of royal plate to the same destination, the process of depletion of the Treasury continued. In those days the king dined in public in royal state, as seen in the picture by Van Barren at Hampton Court, and the great traditional decoration of the banqueting hall was the buffet of several stages loaded with plate. The voids created perhaps had to be filled, and from failing revenues. A disposition to produce plate disproportionate as to its display to the weight of silver employed indeed now becomes evident for the first time in the history of the silversmith's craft in England. Flat, hollow ware, such as dishes and saucers, of extremely thin metal, crudely designed and executed, make their first appearance as the troubled times of about 1634 are approached. Several of these are illustrated in the large work on 'Old Silver Work,' recently published by Messrs. Batsford.

The idea of embossing relatively extremely thin silver into dishes, etc., seems to have reached us from Holland at a time when the king's court was much frequented by artists and others from that country ; for those produced are not in English contemporary taste. Sir Samuel Montagu possesses a large oval dish, two feet in length, which, though made here, is in Dutch taste, with its embossings of tulips and roses. Under the Commonwealth the innate English taste for plain and massive useful silver reasserted itself, but with the restoration of the monarchy comparatively thin embossed silver again became the mode. The well-known caudle cups and covers on mounted salvers, boldly embossed with tulips and acanthus decoration, appear as early as 1658. It was not, however, till towards the end of the reign that any ostentatious use of silver set in. This was, no doubt, in the first place due to the example set by Spain, gorged with precious metals from the New World, where the indispensable *brasero* was commonly made in silver, as well as bedsteads, baths, and almost every article of furniture. Madame de Motteville affords glimpses of the tables of silver and the silver balustrade to the bed of the Spanish queen of Louis XIII ; and Sully mentions that the father-in-law of Fouquet, who was Controller-General of Castille, possessed furniture, such as was elsewhere of wood, made of solid silver.

With such examples Louis XIV was not likely to let the court silversmiths languish for want of patronage, and they were kept actively employed. Work on the most grandiose scale was produced for him in the *ateliers* of the Louvre, and at the establishment subsequently known as the Gobelins. So massive was it that, whenever the king's coffers failed, it was immediately melted and minted. Much as Charles II might have desired to vie with this magnificence, either good sense or necessity prevailed, and our 'silver age' continued to make a display, without locking up such masses of the precious metal as to lead to its entire consignment to the melting pot. The silver toilet tables, so splendid in effect, are of wood coated with plaques of embossed silver, and the tall *guéridons* which flanked them and the frames of the mirrors are similarly constructed. The silver sconces

No. 1. DUTCH COVERED JARS.

No. 2. ENGLISH COVERED JAR AND BEAKERS.

SILVER OF THE CHARLES II. PERIOD IN THE COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF [illegible]

No. 3. DUTCH FLASK-SHAPED VASES.

No. 4. DUTCH FLASK-SHAPED VASE AND ENGLISH COVERED JARS.

SILVER OF THE CHARLES II. PERIOD IN THE COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF PORTLAND, K.G. PLATE II.

are also embossed, and the imposing pot-pourri jars and garnitures are of sheet silver, none too stout, but rich in effect. These are still to be seen in some of the houses of the great. The most notable sets belong to Lord Sackville, Earl Cowper, the the earl of Home, and the duke of Rutland. The little-known series belonging to the duke of Portland yields to none of these, either in number or quality, and as no suite has yet been illustrated in its entirety, no apology is needed for presenting it to our readers.

The Welbeck suite comprises two sets, one of them English and the other Dutch. The Dutch suite includes the three covered jars illustrated,[1] the centre one being 16½ inches high and weighing 87 oz., while the smaller pair, in a somewhat mutilated condition, weigh but 85 oz. together. With these are the two pairs of flask-shaped vases shown in illustrations 3 and 4.[2] All were produced at the Hague, and bear the seventeenth-century corporate mark—a bird on a shield under a coronet; the seventeen-century state control mark—a rampant lion on a shield under a coronet; and the date-letter E on a shield under a coronet, not hitherto determined. The large jar and the two covered flasks have in addition an anchor for maker's mark; and the gourd-shaped flasks bear for maker's mark A L conjoined between pellets beneath a hunter's horn on a shaped shield under a coronet. The covered bottles are 14 inches high, and weigh 53 oz.; the uncovered are nearly 16 inches high, and weigh 88 oz.

The English suite is the handsomer and more massive with finer embossing. Thus, though the large jar[3] is only 1¼ inches higher than the Dutch it weighs 103 oz. against 87 oz. The fine pair of covered beakers, 14 inches high, which accompany it,[3] weigh 77 oz., and the set is completed by the two covered jars, 8 inches high, weighing 48 oz., seen in No. 4,[2] finely embossed with tulips and anemones. Both the large jars are minutely described and figured to a large scale in 'Old English Silver,' recently published by Batsford.

[1] No. 1, Plate I, page 33. [2] Plate II, page 36. [3] No. 2, Plate I, page 33

These pot-pourri jars and garnitures are oriental in their shapes, following fairly closely the well-known outlines of Chinese and Japanese pottery, which had begun to find its way into Holland and England in the reign of Elizabeth. The 'Chinese' surface decoration which was then being applied extensively to silver ware in England, was evidently not considered suitable to such purely decorative pieces, which had to hold their own amidst the heavy brocades, tapestry, pictures, and gilded furniture of the palatial abodes of the last quarter of the seventeenth century. A bold surface decoration in high relief was required, and this must have been taken at the outset to some extent from the French, though with a Dutch rendering. Acanthus leaves, festoons of fruit, arrangements of tulips, roses, and anemones, laurel wreaths and pendants, all in matted work, relieved with burnishing, with sometimes gadroons, cameos, or amorini, were the stock designs, applied in a broad effective manner and not courting too close an inspection.

The suites seem, unlike the garnitures of Chinese porcelain which inspired them, to have been got together at different times, and the pieces not all from one maker. Few of them are marked or dated, plate for the King's use being exempt from duty, and His Majesty having good naturedly 'franked' that for his entourage also. Of the Welbeck suite only the covered beakers are marked,—C L reversed in monogram under a sun, date 1676. Of the suite at Belvoir, comprising six covered jars, a pair of beakers 16¼ inches high, and a pair of flask-shaped vases, only the latter are marked with T I and two scallops, probably for Thomas Issod, 1681. The suites at Knole and Panshanger are without marks. No

piece bears any crest or armorial bearings, and records of their purchase have not so far been met with in any published household accounts.

They were, however, extremely popular, and the jars are frequently represented in the well-known pictures of still-life by Peter Roestraten, a son-in-law and pupil of the great Frans Hals. He was born in 1627, and died in London at the age of 71. There are examples of his paintings, including such jars, at Hampton Court and Chatsworth. A gilt jar of slightly different shape is represented in the portrait of Mary Davis by Sir Peter Lely in the National Gallery. It was the display made by these and the silver tables, *guéridons*, sconces, andirons, and mirrors that excited the ire of Evelyn, who wrote as to his visit to the duchess of Portsmouth's room in Whitehall Palace: 'That which engaged my curiosity was the rich and splendid furniture of this woman's apartments, now twice or thrice pulled down and rebuilt to satisfy her prodigal and expensive pleasures, whilst Her Majesty does not exceed some gentlemen's ladies in furniture and accommodation. Here I saw the new fabric of French tapestry, . . . . japan cabinets, screens, pendule clocks, great vases of white plate, tables, stands, chimney furniture, sconces, branches, braseras, etc., all of massive silver, and out of number, besides some of His Majesty's best paintings.' And again, in 1675, 'such many pieces of plate, whole tables, and stands of incredible value.' In 1673 Evelyn visited Goring House, and was struck with the 'silver jars and vases, cabinets, and other so rich furniture' of the countess of Arlington's dressing room. This must about coincide with their first introduction into England, as Evelyn adds that he had seldom seen such.

Silver braziers, like the warming pans, were indispensable articles in the sleeping or dressing apartments of the great. None have escaped destruction; but if we may judge from the iron braziers still preserved at Hampton Court, they were large flattened basins with wide rim and domed and perforated covers, standing upon tripods. Their use penetrated from Spain to the Low Countries and France. Louis XIV possessed eight in 1689, most of them chased in large gadroons and decorated with masks, festoons, and foliage, and they stood on ball, dragon, or griffin feet; five are distinguished as *braziers d'argent d'Espagne*. In the same year their production and sale was forbidden in France, as were many other large pieces of plate, because they absorbed so much of the silver needed for currency. Used at the same time were stands for burning incense or pastilles. The earl of Chesterfield possesses an exquisite specimen of French design of the period of Louis XIII, about 1630, 9¼ inches high.

The duke of Portland is also the fortunate owner of a silver incense burner, dating probably from about 1670.[4] It has the Hague marks, the crowned bird and rampant lion, the anchor maker's mark, and crowned D for date mark of an alphabet which has unfortunately not yet been deciphered. It weighs over 60 oz., and consists of a bulbous bowl supported on three grotesque horned dragons with claw-and-ball feet, and low cover, upon which a second smaller bowl is seated, with a high pepper-castor cover and vase-shape knob. Practically the whole surface is fashioned of a design of chased anemones, tulips and foliage, matted and burnished, with the interstices pierced. It has a singularly Turkish or Indian appearance. A specimen, almost the counterpart of this though of different proportion, is owned by the duke of Rutland, and was made in London in 1677, by I. H. It is illustrated in 'Old Silver Work.' In the Roestraten picture at Chatsworth another almost identical example is represented.

[4] Plate III, page 39, No. 5.

(*To be concluded next month.*)

No. 5

SILVER OF THE CHARLES II
PERIOD IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE DUKE OF PORTLAND, K.G.
PLATE III, INCENSE BURNER

# MINOR ENGLISH FURNITURE MAKERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

## BY R. S. CLOUSTON

## ARTICLE VI—ROBERT AND RICHARD GILLOW[1]

UR knowledge of the circumstances of most of the famous eighteenth-century furniture makers is exceedingly limited, being in many cases confined to the books they published; but much more information has been preserved regarding the firm of Gillows, both as men and workmen, though they never advertised themselves, like so many of their contemporaries, by producing a book. One reason for this is that the business has been carried on continuously for over two hundred years, and though for a considerable time no one of the name has taken an active interest in it, both books and papers have been carefully preserved. The 'cost books' of the firm, in which, latterly at least, it was usual for the clerk who kept them to insert rough sketches of the pieces mentioned, form a perfect mine of information, unobtainable elsewhere, regarding the introduction and growth of certain styles. These are rendered all the more useful from the fact that they were not show drawings got up to attract attention, but records of actual furniture made in the Lancaster workshops.

Robert Gillow, the founder of the firm, seems to have been entirely a self-made man. Somewhere about the close of the seventeenth century he left Great Singleton, and went to Lancaster, in which city he started business as a joiner. Even after he had attained to affluent circumstances he did not disdain working with his own hands at garden palings and jobs of a similar character, for all was fish that came to Robert Gillow's net. That the joiner's shop should have grown into a high-class furniture-making business is only what might be expected to happen in the case of a man of his force of character; but it is curious to find him setting up as somewhat of a general trader. His choice of Lancaster as the place for carrying on his business probably led to this. Its shipping came next to that of Bristol, and it struck Robert Gillow that money was to be made by exporting English-made furniture, which he did on a very large scale. As he seems to have accepted payment in kind, he made a double profit by selling the imported goods himself, and one of his chief trading places being the West Indies, he became a licensed dealer in rum. He was a furniture maker, an undertaker, a jobbing carpenter, and a spirit merchant. In fact, he put his hand to anything and everything that came in his way without stopping to consider whether it was either high class or artistic.

Somewhere about 1740 Robert Gillow began shipping furniture to London, which, considering that this was about Thomas Chippendale's best period, must have appeared to some of his friends almost as unwise as the proverbial sending of coals to Newcastle. Robert Gillow, however, knew what he was about. Neither he nor his son Richard, whom he took into partnership in 1757, ever posed as a great designer; in fact, from this point of view, they greatly undervalued their creations; but they prided themselves, and with justice, on the finish and excellence of their workmanship. These tentative shipments must have met with a ready sale in the metropolis, for as early at least as 1744 Gillow started a London branch, which he describes in his ledger as 'The Adventure to London,' a phrase which suggests rather

[1] For Articles I to V, see Vol IV, page 227, Vol V, page 173, Vol. VI, pages 47, 210, 402 (March, May, October, December, 1904, February, 1905).

some barbarous and newly-discovered country than the first city of the world.

For some time the London branch of the business appears in the directory as 'Gillow & Barton, near the Custom House, Thames Street'; but in 1765 they took a lease of the land on which their present business premises are situated. This is another curious instance of Robert Gillow's propensity for never doing anything like other people. Instead of setting up in St. Martin's Lane, the Tottenham Court Road, or some other centre of the industry, he built his new premises in what were then the very outskirts of London, where but few people passed, except when they went to see a hanging at 'Tiburn.' But what for the ordinary man would have been merely courting disaster, only brought to Gillow his accustomed success, and 'The Adventure to London' soon became a principal part of his business.

The firm continually changed its designation. Barton seems either to have died or dropped out, and when the move was made to Oxford Street it was as Gillow & Taylor. Taylor died shortly afterwards, and the firm became Gillows—Robert, Richard & Thomas; in 1790 Robert Gillow & Co., and in 1811 (on the death of Richard) G. & R. Gillow & Co. The London partners were probably taken into the firm rather as salesmen than practical cabinet makers, for all the furniture continued to be made in Lancaster. The only available means of carriage between Lancaster and London for large consignments of goods was by sea, which probably accounts for the choice of the Thames Street shop in the first instance; and a possible explanation of how the Gillows were enabled to compete with other cabinet makers in London is that they themselves, being foreign merchants as well as cabinet makers, imported the mahogany of which most of their furniture was made.

Richard Gillow, who was made a full partner at the age of twenty-three, was a man of just as strong character as his father. Though Robert made a business out of nothing, and even in his old age retained the enthusiasm and business dash of youth, it was Richard who raised it to the front rank. The old joiner had probably felt the want of education, and being a Catholic sent his son to the famous college of Douay. That Richard Gillow thus had the education of a gentleman may partly account for the fact that the firm had on its books not only the names of the greater part of the nobility, but of royalty itself; and may also, apart from the thoroughness of the work they turned out, explain how so much of Adam's furniture design was entrusted to them.

Richard Gillow was somewhat of a character, and cared nothing for prince or peer. Several stories are told of him illustrating the independence of his attitude when dealing with the most exalted personages, and one of these, though it has already been told elsewhere, gives a side of his character so thoroughly that I make no excuse for repeating it. He was one day showing a table, priced eighty guineas, to a nobleman: 'It's a devil of a price,' said his lordship. 'It's a devil of a table,' replied the independent salesman, and the deal was concluded there and then.

It is not known whether Richard Gillow had any special architectural training, but it is probable that he had; for from the time of his joining the firm they had a considerable business as architects. The Lancaster Custom House was designed by him, and is a very meritorious piece of work in the Adam style; and that he also had technical knowledge of this subject is evidenced by the fact that he not only made out all the required specifications, but himself superintended its erection.

He was also somewhat of an inventive genius. The first billiard table emanated

from him, and in 1800 he invented and patented the telescopic dining table, one of the most useful of furniture inventions, and certainly, of all such patents, the most universally used. It is probable, from the artistic capacity shown in his architecture, that Richard either made or superintended the designs of the firm, and it is by no means unlikely that it is to his inventive faculty we owe the 'shield-back' chair, usually associated with the name of Hepplewhite. The first rough sketch for a chair of this kind which occurs in the Gillows' books is dated 1782, and if not the first must at least have been among the earlier specimens of the shape. In 1788 there is a sketch in the cost book of a chair which has a back composed of interlacing hearts, a shape that is usually credited to Hepplewhite, but does not appear in the 'Guide.' The design would seem to be more correctly assigned to the Gillows, for it is so graceful and striking that, had such a pattern been made by Hepplewhite, it is impossible to understand its exclusion from his book, since it is equal to most of the best of his plates, and very distinctly better than the greater proportion of them.

The chair sketched in the cost book has a shaped front and arms of the same pattern as are seen in the chair made for Mr. de Trafford[2] in the following year; but the single chair illustrated[3] sufficiently explains the general idea of the design. In both of these chairs there are marked differences from what, so far as the evidence goes, was the use and wont of the time, not only in the very distinctive treatment of the backs, but in that of the arms. Sheraton gives no arm of the kind; and though Hepplewhite, in one of his cabrioles, makes use of the patera on the terminal, it is not only without other carving, but is distinctly different in shape. It was, however, continually used by the Gillows, and may therefore be considered as originating with them.

If the differences between these sketches and the published designs of the time were found only in a few isolated instances, it would be manifestly unfair to base on them a claim to special originality of conception; for the omission of any particular form from a book such as the 'Guide' does not necessarily prove that it was not manufactured in the Hepplewhite workshops. It would, in fact, be still more surprising if the cost books of any firm of the time, had they been preserved, did not show similar differences; but the extent to which these occur in the Gillows' books, and the marked nature of the differentiation, are so striking as to make it impossible to deny an artistic and original personality.

The connexion of the firm with the Adams is evidenced by pieces such as the commode illustrated,[4] but at least a dozen years before the death of Robert Adam they had acquired a distinctive style of their own. The sketchy but undeniable examples to be found in their books are far too numerous for illustration or even for descriptive mention, and at least some of them may be safely credited to the firm. We have, for instance, the first ladder-back chair,[5] which probably assumed the shape we know it best by about the middle of the eighties, but which, though an important part of the design of the period, is unnoticed elsewhere. Then there are several sideboard tables of quite a new shape, in which grace of design has been happily blended with attention to use as pieces of dining-room furniture. They are semicircular, and, as the line of the front follows that of the back, a servant standing in the concave space in front could reach, almost without moving, any dish placed upon it.[6]

It is remarkable, too, that in several instances where the Gillows differ from the other workers of the eighties we find the

[2] No. 2, Plate I, page 45. [3] No. 3, Plate I, page 45.

[4] No. 4, Plate I, page 45.

[5] No. 5, Plate II, page 48. [6] No. 7, Plate II, page 48.

designs reproduced with only a few minor alterations by Sheraton several years later.

Such an instance of Sheraton's unacknowledged indebtedness to Gillows is the 'broken fronted' pier table facing page 371 of the 'Drawing Book,' which is practically identical with the Gillows' work of five years before.[7] This design can, practically with certainty, be claimed for them. At the time of its manufacture Sheraton had not even come to London, and there is nothing resembling its lines either in the 'Guide' or in the original sketches by Robert Adam preserved at the Soane Museum.

The white decorated chair illustrated[8] also differs both from Hepplewhite and Sheraton, the latter of whom consistently avoided the pure shield shape for the top rail, while the two outer banisters differ from both designers by reversing the outer curve of the shield.

To a prospectus or a trade advertisement one very naturally applies the old rule of taking half the assumed amount and dividing it by three. To accept any business firm at their own estimate of themselves would, as a rule, show a considerable lack of judgement; yet if I do not take the firm of Gillows as it existed at the end of the eighteenth century at the valuation of the same firm to-day, it is because, from my point of view, that valuation is too low. In a small historical account of the firm recently published by them, to which I am indebted for the biographical part of this article, no claim is made to a place in English furniture design. They say, and with reason, that their furniture of the date we are considering was of the best from the point of view of construction, but they do not go further. As regards the work executed by them through the greater part of the nineteenth century this is absolutely true, just as it was of that of most other firms. 'That's the worst about them,' said Whistler, speaking *suo more*, regarding the pigments supplied by the artists' colourmen of the present day, 'they *won't* fade'; and my chief objection to the furniture of the nineteenth century is that the most of it can only be destroyed by the use of a sledge hammer. During this most terrible period in the history of our design the Gillows became a much too accurate reflex of surrounding influences, and their finished workmanship, where every joint and tenon was made only too well, is a thing to be deplored; but, during the lifetime of Richard Gillow, or at least that part of it when he was presumably at his best, it would seem, as far as the evidence goes, that they were not followers of any particular man or school, but actually pioneers.

In the books of the firm several of the designs appear under names by which they would not now be recognized. A 'fiddle-back chair' is the description given to what we now know as 'ladder-back,' and the name would seem to have originated from a fancied resemblance between the open spaces in the lateral bars and the sound holes of a violin. The 'shield back,' too, began life as the 'camel back,' presumably from its central hump, while the chairs with a rounded stay rail and straight uprights are described as 'pan-back.'

With much that is new there is also in these books much that is old; in fact, as far as my knowledge goes, they give almost the only historical data of the resuscitation, so common in the furniture of the concluding years of the eighteenth century, of antiquated forms. Corner chairs we find revived in the eighties, the only difference between them and their predecessors of fifty years before being that all the legs are square. This shape is by no means uncommon, and must have been produced in very considerable quantities.

It was not, however, solely by the designs of the middle Chippendale period that the Gillows and other workers of their

[7] No. 8, Plate II, page 48. [8] No. 6, Plate II, page 48.

1. EARLY CARD TABLE

2. CHAIR MADE IN 1789 FOR MR. DE TRAFFORD

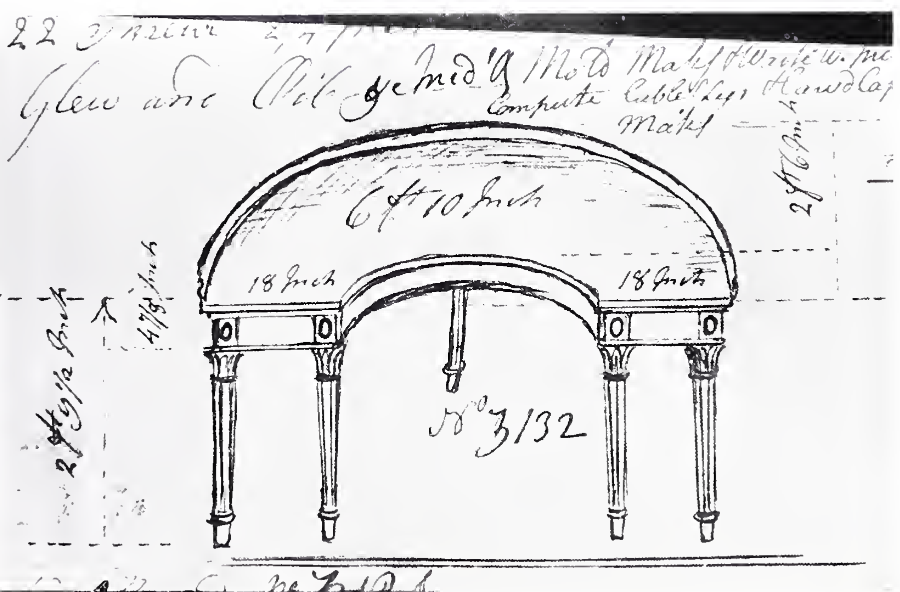
3. CHAIR WITH BACK OF INTERLACING HEARTS

4. COMMODE IN ADAM STYLE

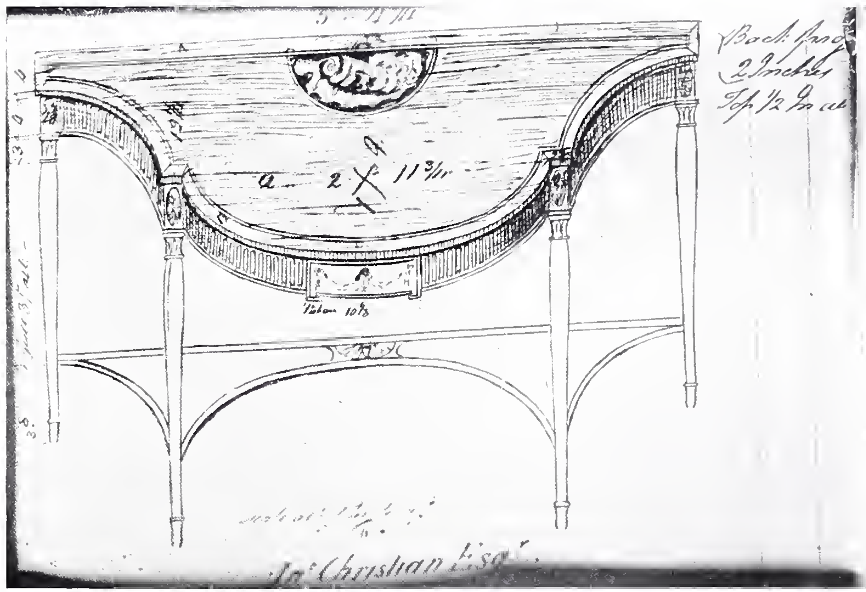
FURNITURE BY ROBERT AND RICHARD GILLOW, PLATE I

5 LADDER-BACK CHAIR

6. SHIELD-BACK DECORATED CHAIR



7. DRAWING OF SIDEBOARD FROM 'COST BOOK'



8. DRAWING OF PIER TABLE FROM 'COST BOOK'

FURNITURE BY ROBERT AND RICHARD GILLOW, PLATE II

time were affected, though with regard to this it is difficult to say if the later pieces which suggest Ince's and sometimes Manwaring's work of the sixties might not rather be called survivals. One of the most interesting of such designs given in the Gillows' cost books is of a table with a fretwork gallery, which, except that the legs bend outwards in the manner known as 'turned-out toes,' is scarcely distinguishable from Ince.

The Gillows seem to have avoided the Chinese influence, though having a strong leaning to the 'Gothic,' which would tend to show that their productions were not entirely dependent on the popular taste of the moment. There is indeed the evidence of a strong personality, usually leaning to artistic restraint, throughout their work. This is all the more remarkable when we remember that much of Robert Adam's later and more gorgeous work was executed by them, and we should expect to find his influence paramount.

Though the Gillows did not, to quote a phrase from a well-known writer on other matters, 'arrogate to themselves a personality,' they showed their pride in the work they produced by stamping most of it with the name of the firm. If all other makers had been careful to do the same, the furniture of the eighteenth century would not only have been rendered more interesting, as including more of the personal element, but its study would have been vastly easier than it now is.

The Gillows were one of the few firms of furniture makers who took a foremost place both in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and it is unfortunate, though easily understood, that their name should have come to be chiefly connected in the minds of most people with early and middle Victorian designs.[9] If Richard Gillow had thought it worth his while to publish a book of designs about the same time as Hepplewhite produced the 'Guide,' there might well be two opinions as to whose name we should now use in describing the style.

[9] It need hardly be said that, at the present day, the firm is no longer in the Victorian era of household decoration.

# A PICTURE OF ST. JEROME ATTRIBUTED TO TITIAN

## BY C. J. HOLMES

SOME months ago a picture of St. Christopher attributed to Solario from the collection of Mr. W. J. Davies of Hereford was reproduced in THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE.[1] One or two other pictures in the same collection also deserve detailed study, and among them a painting of St. Jerome in a landscape attributed to Titian. This painting, which measures 2 feet 2½ inches by 3 feet 3½ inches, came from the collection of a country clergyman, and its previous history is unknown.

A glance shows that the picture has suffered considerably from over-cleaning and restoration. The whole of the sky has been worked over until the original design and colour can be traced but dimly. This cleaning was so drastic that it has falsified or even obliterated the original tree forms where they strike across the sky, and the damage has been repaired by clumsy and awkward repainting. The treatment of the foreground and middle distance was rather less cruel, but the lighter portions have been rubbed away until little more than the underpaint is visible. The figure of the saint also has obviously been retouched. The quality of the picture in consequence must not be judged from its general effect, especially since the reproduction is much heavier in tone than the original painting.

The design of the piece must first be considered. This is obviously identical with the large woodcut of the subject[2] which Morelli ('Italian Painters,' II, p. 94), when discussing Campagnola's work, mentions as either actually executed by Titian himself or, at all events, engraved from a design by him, calling it 'a splendid composition which would not be unworthy of Rubens.'

[1] Vol. V, page 573 (September 1904).

[2] Generally recognized as belonging to the series executed by Nicolo Boldrini after Titian.

The painting can hardly be a copy from the print. It is only necessary to compare the uninjured portions of the foliage on the right for this to be clear. There is a resemblance in the arrangement of the masses, but the painting is far more free, more natural, and more intricate. The obvious conclusion is that the picture is prior to the print, and the original of which the print is a simplified version. This view is rather confirmed by other changes in detail necessitated by the current technique of engraving, such as the omission of complicated passages of foliage all over the picture. The exact date of the print is unknown, but it cannot be much later than the middle of the sixteenth century. Unless then we are to assume that both print and picture are copies of some lost original (a convenient solution, but one which should not be adopted unless no other is possible), we must admit that the picture was painted in Titian's lifetime.

We may now consider what evidence there is for connecting the work with Titian himself. The execution of the upper portion of the trees on the left, the texture of the ground, and the saint's figure cannot be used as arguments againt Titian's authorship, since they are plainly retouched. On the other hand, the sleeping lion in the foreground is exceedingly like Titian's work in the Brera St. Jerome, and the sparkle and decision with which the stream is painted both in its fall and eddying course are characteristic of Titian. It deserves to be compared with the stream in the background of the St. John in the Venice Academy.

The dark rocks on the right with part of the fringe of foliage above them have escaped the restorer's hand. These boughs and slender trees are swept in with an easy vigorous certainty (which would be impossible for a copyist) and with a knowledge of growth and fibrous structure unknown

ST. JEROME IN THE DESERT: ATTRIBUTED TO TITIAN;
IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. W. J. DAVIES.

to Venetian painting except in the work of Titian. The modelling of the rocks below (*e.g.*, the stone in front of the cross) shows a similar feeling for structure, and it is difficult to connect this portion of the picture with any mere imitator. It should be added that the photograph gives too hard and mechanical a version of the painting of the retouched foliage on the left, which far more nearly resembles Titian's work in the Noli Me Tangere than the reproduction suggests. The motive of the running deer will be remembered as occurring in the Titian drawing once in the possession of Professor Legros and now in that of Mr. Warren of Lewes.

As Mr. Claude Phillips pointed out in his 'Later Work of Titian' (pp. 13 and 14), a picture of St. Jerome was painted in 1531, which cannot be identified with that in the Louvre or that in the Brera, since these are both much later in style. Dr. Gronau ('Titian,' p. 166) is of the same opinion.[3] The design of our picture is clearly much earlier than these. The brownish semi-transparent painting, the 'conceit' of the two lions and the lioness recall a period when Titian had not forgotten Giorgione. At the same time the delightful freshness of the stream and the massive tree trunks on the left suggest an art that is mature. The date of 1531 might thus be possible if we supposed that Titian in this case was completing a composition begun much earlier.

Now this St. Jerome of 1531 was commissioned, together with a St. Mary Magdalene, by Federigo Gonzaga for Vittoria Colonna. Gonzaga writes to her that he is putting pressure on Titian, 'ricercandolo con grande instantia a volerne fare una bella lagrimosa piu che si so puo, e farmela haver presto.' Gonzaga we see was specially anxious about the Magdalene, and it is possible that Titian, being hurried, worked up a St. Jerome designed much earlier, and put his whole strength into the other subject. It is the Magdalene to which the letters refer and with which Gonzaga is delighted. We have thus no reason for supposing that the St. Jerome was one of Titian's most striking and important works.

More experienced students of Titian must decide whether Mr. Davies's painting may not be identified with this vanished St. Jerome of 1531. The execution ought, I think, to be judged by the unrestored portion on the right-hand side of the picture. There the free and easy treatment of the foliage at the top, the sense of structure, weight and texture in the rocks, the delightful sharpness and truth of the foaming eddies and ripples in the brook, with certain touches of extreme delicacy, the slender cross, the creases between the leaves of the book (invisible in the plate), and the rosary by the side of the kneeling saint have the true Titianesque note, contradicting the heaviness introduced by the restorer into the more conspicuous portions of the work.

To sum up: these masterly passages have a freedom and an instinct for natural structure which was Titian's unique gift, and was not possessed either by his companions or by the skilful admirers and copyists who followed him. It is to draw attention to these qualities, and to prevent too hasty judgement being passed on the general appearance of the reproduction, that almost unfair stress has been laid upon the restorations. These do not in reality interfere very much with the effect of the original, yet to them doubtless it has hitherto owed its obscurity. Otherwise it is incredible that so interesting a composition, identical with one of the famous woodcuts associated with Titian's name, should have been overlooked so long.

[3] Other versions of the subject, not from Titian's hand, are mentioned by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'Titian,' vol. i, p. 352.

# OPUS ANGLICANUM

## BY MAY MORRIS

### III—THE PIENZA COPE[1]

HERE is a startling contrast between the cope of the Popes and the Pienza cope, the one reserved and fastidiously simple, the other full of movement, and full of detail of incident and of ornament. This cope, said to have been given to the cathedral of Pienza by Pius II (1498), is a complete and very splendid piece of early fourteenth-century English work of the 'tabernacle' type, and one of the few pieces that remain intact.[2] There is not in it the strong individual note that is found in the Ascoli Cope, but the drawing is crisp and inventive. The composition of the groups is much the same as in contemporary manuscripts. The cope has its broad orphrey, its narrow encircling border, and its curious triangular pendant, the remains of the hood. The design of the body of the cope consists of three concentric rows of niches or tabernacles fantastically drawn, but reflecting the characteristics of contemporary architecture, *i.e.* the earliest days of the fourteenth century. The lowest row is devoted to the history of two saints, Katharine of Alexandria and Margaret of Antioch. I give a list of the subjects, beginning on the left at the bottom :—

1. St. Margaret, with a distaff, tending sheep, to whom comes a king, smitten with her love.[3]

2. She is brought before him.[3]

3. She is in prison, and issues from the dragon who had devoured her.[3]

4. She is tempted of the devil and overcomes him, and 'a dove descended from heaven and set a golden crown upon her head.'[3]

5. She is tortured in the presence of the king (or provost), beaten with rods and torn with iron combs. (On this subject there is a patch showing a beautiful scrap of fourteenth-century figured stuff.)[4]

6. St. Margaret appears twice. She is boiled in a great vessel of water (with a singularly irritating and sanctimonious upward look), and from this trial she issues unhurt. In the Golden Legend, it is here that the dove descends and crowns her. The executioner pours water over her in a ladle. Her final beheading is also shown here, and an angel hovers, receiving her spirit in a fair cloth.[4]

7. St. Katharine of Alexandria, a stately figure crowned and attended by her court, comes before the Emperor Maxentius, to protest against the sacrifice to false idols and the killing of Christians in the streets.[4]

8. She argues with the rhetoricians and grammarians sent by the emperor to confound her.[4]

9. The learned men, who are converted, suffer martyrdom, being burnt in the midst of the city. Their torturers are a black man and a Scythian, the latter with the feathered cap which appears in the Ascoli cope. Their spirits fly upwards as a flock of doves.[4]

10. Katharine being cast into prison, the empress comes by night to visit her, accompanied by Porphyry, 'the prince of knightes.' Within the prison an angel is solacing the saint with music.[5]

11. Katharine is brought before the emperor, a truculent person, finely dressed in a jewelled mantle. He is 'wode for anger,' and threatens her with a sword.[5]

12. Katharine being set among the wheels, they are broken asunder by two angels from heaven, slaying 2,000 paynims, who may here be seen in fragments.[5]

13. This presents the beheading of the

[1] For Articles I and II see Vol. VI, pp. 278 and 440 (January and March, 1905).

[2] See plate I, page 55.

[3] Plate II, page 58.

[4] Plate I, page 55.

[5] Plate III, page 61.

PLATE I. THE PIENZA COPE

PLATE II. PORTION OF THE
PIENZA COPE

saint, her body being carried to Mount Sinai by two angels.[6]

An interesting feature about this cope is the row of twelve Apostles in the spandrils above this lowest series. They are all named and bear scrolls inscribed with the Creed, thus laying stress on the tradition that each of the Twelve contributed his word thereto. It begins with Peter, the sixth figure, reads onwards, and thence starts on the left with Bartholomew.[7] These figures are drawn in crouching attitudes, curiously realistic and intense in expression.

It will be noted that the 'roofs' of the spandrils and the 'floors' of the next panels are formed of wreaths of fanciful variety. The 'ties' of the net (being the bases of the columns) are beasts, demons, and entwined dragons. The next row presents the life of Our Lady :—

1. The angels appear to the Apostles after the Resurrection. Peter only bears his attribute.[8]

2. The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple by Joachim and Anna. The cross on the breast of the priest and on the altar is very much insisted on. Mr. Micklethwaite's notes on this subject should be referred to.[9]

3. The Marriage of Joseph and Mary.—Joseph leaning on a staff holds the ring in his finger; and the High Priest, fully vested as a bishop, takes his hand. A tonsured chaplain carries the crozier.[8]

4. The Annunciation.[8]

5. The Nativity.[10]

6. The Angel appearing to the Shepherds on a flowery, wooded hill. He bears a scroll inscribed with 'Gloria in excelsis Deo.' One shepherd in the distance blows a horn, and his dog bays in sympathy. The mediaeval artist always strikes a charmingly intimate note in this subject, insisting on the homeliness of the labourers to whom the message of wonder comes. The foremost shepherd here is warmly dressed for winter night watching, with nice *chausses* or boot-stockings, kept up by a cord triply run in and out.[11]

7. The Adoration of the Three Kings.—The babe bends towards the crown that the kneeling old man offers. The second king points to the star.[11]

8. The Presentation in the Temple.—The High Priest has his hands, which are outstretched to receive the babe, veiled in an offertory cloth.[11]

9. The Burial of the Virgin, with Peter at the head.—The Jew who had laid hands upon the bier is stuck fast, and is about to be released by Peter.[11]

In the spandrils above are David and Solomon in the middle, and prophets either side ; at one end is a realistic peacock in the half-spandril, at the other end a pheasant. This is a reminiscence of a Jesse Tree scheme, in which the Prophets often accompany the Ancestors of the Virgin.

The subjects in the highest series are:—

1. Angel announcing the approaching death of Our Lady. Gabriel stands facing her, bearing 'a bough of palm, sente from the plante of paradise.'[12]

2. The Death of Our Lady.[12]

3. The Coronation.—Uninteresting.[13]

4. The Assumption.—Our Lord, standing in the blue, bears the soul of the Blessed Virgin to heaven. Seraphim support the body in a cloth, and in front two beautiful little angels kneel, one playing a vielle, the other a harp.[13]

5. The same subject continued.—A compact crowd of the Apostles, dramatically conceived. St. Peter and St. John and the other Apostles look down into the bier and find it empty. At the back the Virgin's girdle comes down from heaven into the outstretched hands of Thomas, and above

[6] Plate III, page 61.
[7] See a paper on this cope by J. T. Micklethwaite in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, London, April 5, 1883; also another paper by him on May 12, 1887.
[8] Plate II, page 58.
[9] Plate II, page 58. See Micklethwaite, *op. cit.*
[10] Plate I, page 55.

[11] Plate III. [12] Plate II [13] Plate I.

are the feet of Our Lady disappearing in the clouds.[14]

The top of the cope is occupied by censing angels, and the pointed hood contains two delightful seraphs holding crowns and standing on globes.

The orphrey is a magnificent piece of pattern-work, dexterously simple and richly effective. It presents one or two points of special interest. It has been worked with heraldic animals in the complete quatrefoils (also, I think, in the half-quatrefoils): griffin, lion, stag, unicorn, etc.; over these have been worked various birds, which, as Mr. Micklethwaite observes, can hardly be surpassed for truth to nature. On each side of the centre are placed the phoenix and the pelican in her nest. Then there is a cock crowing on one side, and on the other stands a peacock. Then comes a procession of familiar birds, in the complete squares mostly of the moorland and sea. There is a falcon and another bird of the hawk family, above a nest of young ones; a heron, a partridge, a pheasant, and the like; while in the half-squares are boughs with song-birds in the midst: thrushes, finches, a magpie, and a pair of swallows. The narrow border is treated in the same way, the superimposed creatures being alternately birds and bright little quadrupeds, like pet-dogs, with their tails up and barking fussily. The eastern character of the ornament in the interlacent of the quatrefoils should be noted. The ground of this superb vestment is wrought in gold in a diapered pattern, differing in every panel.

I can call to mind some nine or ten of these 'tabernacle' copes, and there are doubtless others. The invention in all of them is of the same type, the admirable invention, namely, of an organic pattern covering the half-circle in a romantic shadowing of the architecture of the time.

The fact that there exist nine or ten or even more examples of a strongly-marked design, not only showing the same dexterity in filling the half-circle, but the same fantasy of detail, the same twisted leaf-columns, the same supporting beasts—all this points to a special area, if not to a special place, of origin. And the fact that there were so many of these copes, all produced within a comparatively short time—the work on them being of such a laborious nature as necessarily to employ a great many hands—points to some industrial and commercial centre. This, as Mr. W. R. Lethaby has observed to me, will have been London itself, the fountain-head of all activities. Some London workshop, it is extremely likely, had the monopoly of these specialized embroideries, which were ordered and sent out all over the continent.[15]

Another thing that favours this assumption is the comparative sameness in choice and treatment of subject in the 'tabernacle' copes. Beautiful as these embroideries are, we do not get in them the variety or freedom nor the imaginative touch that illuminates the finest of the copes based on the circle pattern. Many of the artists who designed these latter wander over a wider field and show a richer, more active invention. Thus the Daroca and the Anagni copes and the cope of St. Louis Évêque are full of subjects handled with freshness and originality. In the cope of St. Louis there is a certain largeness and seriousness about the design that has a decided French stamp on it. Note especially a beautiful angel at the Tomb, who sits with solemn brooding wings shadowing the whole of the little picture; also some delightful pictures from the Girlhood of Our Lady. Everything, therefore, seems to suggest that the architectural copes that show so marked a similarity in all essentials may

[14] Plate III, page 61

[15] He suggests that the cope under consideration may be the very one for which Queen Isabella in 1317 paid 100 marks (= at least £1,000) to 'Rose the wife of John de Bureford, citizen and merchant of London, for an embroidered cope for the choir, lately purchased from her to make a present to the Lord High Pontiff from the Queen.' Issue of the Exchequer, 10 Ed. II. See *Archæological Journal*, Vol. I, p. 322.

PLATE III. PORTION OF THE VIENNA COPE

have been produced in some big centre, while the more notable and individual of those of the circle-pattern may have been the work of some of the great monastic workshops, in France, I venture to think, as well as in England. No record,[16] however, throws any light upon the subject so far, which is the more disappointing, as Paris, whose trades were organized by the end of the thirteenth century, has plentiful records and details of all her crafts, and among them of the workshops of *brodeurs* and *broderesses*, *feseresses d'aufroix*, etc. Their rules are duly registered, and they come before the Provost of Paris with their claims and complaints; they quarrel and make friends, and are sent back to their workshops comforted and refreshed, till the next bout. Some of the names set down might be taken from the pages of a romance: among the hanks of silk and sticks of gold (woe to the *maîtresse-broderesse* if her gold be counterfeit, for she shall be whipped) wander Peronelle des Jardins, Ermengarde the Lombard, with delicate fingers and eyes intent; there are men, too, Lorenz the Englishman, Thevenot the Little, and Simon the Embroiderer, who lives with Madame Blanche. A companionable little fraternity they are, all living under the wing of the Provost, in their green-girt city, gay with its closes and gardens.

The mystery which surrounds those who produced the English masterpieces is the more tantalizing for these wide-open pages from the lives of their French *confrères*. Were any of these copes of a recognized set design produced by the Paris workers? I venture, though with hesitation and deference to other opinions, to think it doubtful, at least unproven. As far as my knowledge goes, there are no specimens of the tabernacle type, nor of the circle type, that one can confidently assert, by documentary evidence, to be of French origin. The evidence that the pieces themselves present, as in the case of the Ascoli cope, is conflicting; again, there is the cope of St. Louis Évêque, referred to above, which must have been designed by a French hand, wherever it was worked. Yet there exist certain copes of variously evolved circle and tabernacle types which are most certainly German. Then what are the French craftsmen and women doing? They are busy enough, of course, busy in mid-fourteenth century, over orphreyed chasubles of astonishing verve and finish, busy over frontals, mitres, etc., aumonières of a strangely minute and individual art, over a crowd of delightful things; but I confess that at present I should be at a loss, if asked to put my finger on a French cope[17] of these types 'signed all over,' as most of the English ones are, though I am longing to be able to do so. M. de Farcy has some interesting notes on English characteristics, and his work should be consulted. I myself have perhaps a little overstepped my limits in raising the question in these pages.

The arrangement of the subjects in this embroidery bears a due relation to the hang of the vestment when in use. The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin (nearly always), the Crucifixion, the Annunciation, or the Nativity will generally occupy the middle of the cope. In the Daroca cope, which illustrates the Creation, the first subject is the Eternal Father resting from his labours, with an unconventionally designed crowd of adoring angels; below is the Crucifixion. The subjects are necessarily from the same source as those in contemporary manuscripts. The same grouping in the subjects themselves recurs again and again. The Three Kings adoring, one pointing to the Star, the Kings

[16] In England the Broderers were not incorporated by charter until 1561.

[17] The St. Louis cope at St. Maximin (Var) I have not seen, and know only by a poor 'key' drawing, and also by some recent drawings kindly shown me by the artist Mrs McClure. These latter make me keenly anxious to see the cope itself, which is a noble piece of the circle type

asleep in their bed with their crowns on; the Angel appearing to the Shepherds, one of whom pipes, and his sheep skip on a flowery hill, while the little dog sings with sentiment; the mild joke becomes stale by repetition. Then we have constantly the same Death of the Blessed Virgin, the Apostles assembled round the bed; and her Burial, where Peter releases the impious Jew's hand, which had stuck to the bier: surely the artist could draw them all with his eyes shut! But sometimes, and especially as aforesaid in the 'circle' pattern, we come upon greater freedom and a more individual invention, and we hail the variety with relief.

In a former paper I said a few words about the treatment of flesh in the *Opus Anglicanum;* the treatment of drapery and of gold (the latter material always requiring special handling) will now require our attention. Both in silk and gold draperies, but more especially in the use of gold, it would seem as though the further back one searches the more highly finished and the more intelligent the work is found to be. Certain precious scraps of early gold-work, with which we are not concerned here, show this in their accurately delicate, almost fairy-like texture; and, to come to the subject immediately before us, in comparing the silk draperies of the Ascoli cope with those in needlework only a hundred years later, a quite startling change is noted in the quality of the technique, so mechanical has the stitch become.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 1 is a note of some detail from the Syon cope, a piece which, as I have said before, is full of a bold and charming convention, and therefore a clearly marked type of its time and school. The system of working silk drapery was this: The principal lines being designed broadly and simply, the folds were worked from a 'core,' as it were, of the darkest colour, shading gradually to the light general tone of the drapery. And not so very gradually either, for, having gone over every inch of this piece, I find few figures which show more than three shades—the dark core, a middle, and a light shade. A little mixing is sometimes done; thus, the core may be purple, the lines following round this a full middle blue, and finally the filling done with palest blue or toned white. A practical worker will at once see the little technical difficulties that occur in this bold convention: the triangular bits that have to be filled in, the lines in opposition that have to be coaxed and softened, or left frankly opposed. For all that, as in the strange treatment of flesh, the freedom of it is very pleasant and amusing, and gives a certain vivacity to the texture, which is rarely met with in the smooth and highly finished work of the modern schools. In this latter work the stitches usually present a sort of simulation of tapestry—I mean in so far as that they do not follow the lines of the drapery, but are arranged as though the textile were built up on vertical warp-threads. Tapestry by its nature demands this restraint; embroidery revolts against it, and the admirable artistic common-sense of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries rejected such a simulation of a different art in their embroideries. At the same time it must be noted that the grave simplicity of the Italian treatment of drapery is really nearer the perfection of interpretation in this art. As far as I have had opportunity of close observation of these far-scattered pieces I am inclined to think that the *finest* of the English work and the finest French (though here one treads on uncertain ground) more

nearly approach this breadth and simplicity; the convention is less strongly marked, the individuality more insistent. Notably is this the case in the Ascoli cope.

The gold-work also presents interesting peculiarities. Here again I am forced to the somewhat ungracious contrasting of the earlier treatment with the later, going, it may be, no further on than the fifteenth century. In some of the most delicious and flowery pieces of fifteenth-century work we find, when we come to *personnages*, that the serious knowledge and accomplishment is gone, though the naïve figures have their own charm of childlike clumsiness. Here it is enough for the worker to pass the golden threads backwards and forwards across the figure, as the weaver throws the shuttle, laying them down with minute points of pale colour, or with strongly marked drapery lines. This is always a good straightforward method when simply employed, but susceptible of much abuse, as the still later times show. In the early *Opus Anglicanum*, in the Syon cope, for instance (which I take to show the simplest rendering of gold-work at the time), the gold is laid in zig-zags or chevrons, the stitches themselves not showing, but pulled through to the back, which is strengthened by cords sewn with the work.[18] This method, not confined to England, was a happy invention; it has really been the means of preserving for us much magnificent work that would else have vanished, as the little silk points on 'surface-couched' gold are susceptible to the least rubbing, while the gold drawn through is so even on its face that it will probably last as long as the materials themselves will hold together. So much for the plainer laying of gold; upon this surface the lines of drapery would be traced in fine black or brown stitches. A golden figure thus treated, so flat and grey and exquisitely simple, has a strangely diaphanous look, which is heightened, no doubt, by the slender lines of dark.

But this simplicity had to be elaborated sometimes, and in golden backgrounds we get wonderful subtle cloud effects, rich scroll and flower work, all sorts of dainty fancies, wrought with the most sensitive fingers, while in the draperies a curious and original disposition of lines relieves the simplicity presented by a breadth of chevroned gold. Fig. 2 is taken from the Steeple Aston cope, which is a study of gold-work. Here the chevroned surface is interrupted by broad drapery lines, which are represented by the gold being stitched in a different direction. In this example the gold is laid vertically, but the stitches which hold it down are so placed as to give an impression of slanting lines; a much pleasanter effect is thus produced than if the verticality were allowed to be insistent. These broad indications of folds supplement the few principal lines of fine black silk, and the combination forms an interpretation of drapery design cleverly adapted to the limitations of gold. The texture of this early gold-work is indeed most beautiful, and though of often miraculous minuteness, the sense of breadth and dignity is never wanting. These artists had conquered their material, entirely rejecting the metallic glitter which puts all colour out of scale.

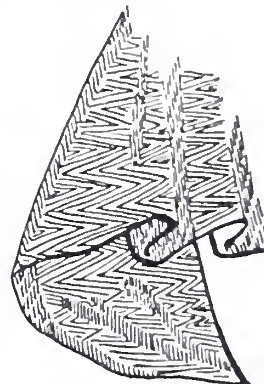


FIG. 2.

[18] On this subject see De Farcy: *La Broderie*, etc.; also a photograph hanging on the case of the Syon cope at the Victoria and Albert Museum, which shows the reverse of the work.

# ANDREA DAL CASTAGNO
## BY HERBERT P. HORNE
## PART I—HIS EARLY LIFE

F the vast contribution which Milanesi made to the historical criticism of Vasari, nothing, perhaps, came as a greater discovery, or carried with it a keener sense of historical justice, than his exposure of the legend of the murder of Domenico Veneziano by Andrea dal Castagno. We now know that Vasari retold the story in all good faith, as he had found it recorded in the lost 'Libro di Antonio Billi,' or in some kindred source; and that within fifty years of Andrea's death, a tissue of falsehood touching his moral character had been gradually evolved, which for nearly four centuries served, in the view of nearly every writer upon Florentine art, to distort his character as a painter. In the commentary in which Milanesi exposed this legend, he also adduced for the first time, a series of notices relating to the origin and early life of Andrea. This commentary first appeared in 1862, and was afterwards twice reprinted; the second time in the edition of Vasari, with which Milanesi's name is chiefly associated.[1]

In the course of this essay, Milanesi states that 'Andrea dal Castagno, so-called either because he had come into the world in that obscure village of the Mugello' (meaning San Martino a Castagno), 'or because he had lived there as a child, was the son of one Bartolommeo di Simone, a peasant and the owner of a small property in the *popolo* of Sant' Andrea a Linari, in the *contado* of Florence. Andrea was born about the year 1390, as he himself states in his return to the Officials of the Taxes in 1430. In that document he says, among other things, that he was in great poverty; that he had passed more than four months of the year in sickness, between the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova and that of the Pinzocheri; that he possessed a small house and two parcels of land in the *popolo* of Sant' Andrea a Linari; and lastly, that he had neither house, nor bed, nor household goods whatsoever, in Florence, so that when he was ill he was obliged to go into the hospital.'

I long felt a certain difficulty in reconciling this statement with what we know of the painter from other sources. If Andrea dal Castagno was so called from having been born, or from having passed his youth, in the village of that name in the Mugello, how did he, the son of a peasant, come to possess property situated on the other side of Tuscany? Or, again, if he were really born c. 1390, there is extant not the slightest notice of the first forty-four years of his life; nor does any painting exist to which we might point with any show of probability, as a work executed by him during that period. The earliest work by him, of which the date is to be ascertained, was the lost frescoes of the Albizzi conspirators, executed in 1434.

With the help of the indications given by Milanesi in the footnotes to his commentary, I have been able to trace the original document on which he had founded these assertions. The document in question is a *denunzia* returned by one Andrea di Bartolommeo to the officials of the Catasto, and is contained in the *Filza* of the year 1430, for the Gonfalone Scala, in the Quarter of Santo Spirito in Florence. It states, much as Milanesi says, that this Andrea possessed a small house and two small pieces of vineyard, along the roadside, in the *popolo* of Sant' Andrea a Linari, in Val d'Elsa; and also a piece of vineyard, with a piece of wooded land, and a

[1] In the 'Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani' for 1862, Gennajo-Marzo, p. 1; in the volume entitled, 'Sulla Storia dell' Arte Toscana, Scritti varj,' Siena, 1873, p. 291; and in the edition of Vasari, published at Florence in 1878, by G. C. Sansoni, vol. ii, p. 683.

small house, in the *popolo* of San Paolo a Ema, on the slopes of Monte Scalari, near the source of that stream. The land at Sant' Andrea a Linari was apparently cultivated by himself when in health, but that at San Paolo a Ema was farmed by one Santi del Greggio, and yielded one year with another, seven barrels of wine and half an *orcio* of oil. This Andrea is further stated to have been in great poverty, and to have been recently sick for more than four months in hospital. His taxes were unpaid, he had debts to the amount of seven gold florins odd, and possessed neither house nor goods in Florence. Lastly, he is said to have been 'forty years of age, or more.'[2]

This *Denunzia*, which from the wording of its contents, is evidently not in the handwriting of the person who makes the return, is written on the first page of a folio sheet ; the last page of which bears the endorsement :—

> 'Andrea di Bartolommeo, called Barbanza [taxed in the sum of] 3 soldi.
>
> 'Deposited by Bernardo di Ser Salvestro, on the 29th day of January [1430–1].'

This endorsement had apparently been overlooked by Milanesi. On turning to the official copy of this same *Denunzia*, contained in the *Campione* for 1430, Gonfalone Scala, we find it entered in the name of 'Andrea dj Bartolomeo d*ect*o burbanza.'[3] The name alone might well make us pause, and ask ourselves whether this Andrea could really have been Andrea the painter ? Nor is this all : the scribe adds to the copy the significant comment of his own 'pare chesia scimonito'—'he appears to be a half-witted fellow.' Surely this comment in itself is a sufficient proof that this person here referred to cannot have been the painter ?[4] There have been various opinions as to the character of Andrea ; but nobody has as yet suspected that he was an idiot.

In an earlier *Denunzia* of the year 1427, returned in the same Gonfalone, the name is again given as 'Andrea dj bartolomeo detto burbanza.' And neither in this *Denunzia*, nor in the two copies of that of 1430, is there the slightest indication to show that this Andrea was the same person as 'Andrea di Bartolommeo di Simone, painter, of the *popolo* of Santa Maria del Fiore,' (as Andrea dal Castagno is described in the register of his matriculation, in the Arte di Medici e Speziali,) beyond the fact that his own name was Andrea, and his father's, Bartolommeo. But such a concatenation of names was by no means an uncommon one at Florence, in the fifteenth century. In the books of the *Catasto* for the Quarter of San Giovanni alone, (the quarter in which an inhabitant of the *popolo* of Santa Maria del Fiore would, in the ordinary course of things, be inscribed,) I have come by chance upon the names of 'Andrea di Bartolomeo dimanno,' 'Andrea di Bartolo vapettinando,' and 'Andrea di Bartolo detto Tregenda' ; all of whom were contemporaries of Andrea dal Castagno.[5]

It is clear, that this Andrea di Bartolommeo, called 'Burbanza,' apparently from his clownish ostentation of manner, was a half-witted peasant, who hailed from the Val d'Elsa, and a wholly different person from Andrea, the painter, who, according to all tradition, was born at Il Castagno, in the Mugello. In short, the account which Milanesi gave of the early life of the master was founded upon a misconception, and must be dismissed, once and for all, to that limbo to which the legend of his murder of Domenico Veneziano has already been consigned. Such a conclusion leads us to reconsider the date of Andrea's birth, and such notices of his early life as have come down to us. Of the date of his birth, I have hitherto been unable to discover any

[2] Doc. I. [3] Doc II. [4] Doc. III.

[5] Firenze : R. Archivio di Stato ; Arch. delle Decime, Quartiere San Giovanni, Gonfalone Chiave, 1442, N° verde 620, fol. 91 and fol. 39 ; Quartiere id. Gonfalone Leon d'Oro, 1427, N° verde 78, fol. 206.

evidence. Vasari, our only authority on this point, says that Andrea died at the age of 71; but then, by an extravagant error, he makes him paint the effigies of the Pazzi conspirators, on the face of the Bargello, in 1478. Vasari, therefore, believed Andrea to have been born subsequently to 1407.[6]

As to the place of his origin, we know that during his lifetime the painter was known as Andrea dal Castagno. His assistant, Alesso Baldovinetti, in an entry in his 'Ricordi, Libro A,' of the year 1454, calls him 'Andrea di Bartolo, da Castagno, dipintore'; and his patron, Giovanni Ruccellai, who employed him upon the decoration of his palace in the Via della Vigna Nuova, at Florence, calls him, in his 'Zibaldone,' begun in 1459 and continued down to the time of his death in 1477, 'Andreino dal Castagno, detto degli impichati.'[7]

Here, then, we have two of Andrea's contemporaries indirectly alluding to the place of his origin. Before we turn to Vasari, let us glance at the commentators upon Florentine art, who preceded him. Notices of the early life of Andrea have come down to us both in two partial copies, or versions, of the lost 'Libro di Antonio Billi,' and among the collections of the 'Anonimo Gaddiano.' In the Codice Petrei the story runs thus: 'Andreino da Castagno, brought up from his boyhood in Florence, was taken from keeping the flocks by a Florentine master, who found him as he was drawing a sheep on a stone, and brought him to Florence.' Now this story, as Herr Frey has pointed out, is plainly a reminiscence of the earlier legend, that Cimabue, passing one day through the Mugello on his way to Bologna, found Giotto as a boy 'drawing a sheep on a stone.' If Andrea was really born in the Mugello, it is easy to understand how this legend became attached to him. According to the version of the story contained in the Codice Strozziano, Andrea was found not by a Florentine painter, but 'by a citizen.' 'The Anonimo Gaddiano,' in retelling the story, does not particularize the person.[8]

Vasari, however, in the first edition of the 'Lives,' gives a different and very circumstantial account of how Andrea became a painter, which possesses on the face of it, a far greater show of probability than these earlier notices. Andrea, he relates, 'by reason of his having been born not far from Scarperia in the Mugello, in the *contado* of Florence, at a little farm commonly called Il Castagno, took it for his surname, when he came to live in the city, which happened on this wise. Having been left in his early childhood without a father, he was taken by an uncle of his, who kept him many years to watch the herds, seeing him ready and active and so formidable, that he was able to keep from harm not only his cattle, but the pastures and every other thing which attached to his interest. Following then this calling, it happened one day that, in order to avoid the rain, he took shelter by chance in a place, where one of those country painters who work at a small price, was painting the tabernacle of a peasant, a matter, naturally, of no great moment. Andrea, who had never before seen the like, taken by a sudden wonder, began to observe and consider most attentively the nature of the work; and immediately, the greatest longing possessed him, and so passionate and eager a love of that art, that without losing more time, he began to scratch and draw on the walls and stones in charcoal, or with the point of his knife, animals and figures, in such a manner that he aroused great astonishment in those that saw them. The report of this new study of Andrea's began to get abroad among the peasants; and as chance

[6] Vasari, ed. 1568, vol. i, p. 399.

[7] G. Pierotti, 'Ricordi di Alesso Baldovinetti,' Lucca, 1868, p. 10. G. Marcotti, 'Un Merchante Fiorentino e la sua Famiglia nel secolo xv,' Firenze, 1881, pp. 67–68

[8] C. Frey, 'Il Libro di Antonio Billi,' Berlin, 1892, pp. 21–22. C. Frey, 'Il Codice Magliabechiano, cl. xvii. 17,' Berlin, 1892, p. 97.

would have it, having come to the ears of a Florentine gentleman, called Bernardetto de' Medici, whose estates lay there, he formed the desire to know the boy; and at length having seen him, and heard him talk with great readiness, he asked him if he would like to follow the craft of a painter. And Andrea having answered him, that nothing more acceptable could possibly happen to him, nor could anything ever please him as much as that, he carried him with him to Florence, and placed him to work with one of those masters, which were then held to be among the best.'[9]

Let us now endeavour to test, in so far as we may, the truth of this story of Vasari's; for unless we are able to credit it, we must confess our entire ignorance of all the circumstances of Andrea's early life. Bernardetto de' Medici, who here figures as the early patron of Andrea, belonged to an elder branch of the family than the more illustrious one of Cosimo, Pater Patriae; both he and Cosimo being descended in the fourth degree from Averardo di Averardo di Chiarissimo.[10]

Bernadetto was born in 1395, according to the 'Denunzia al Catasto,' which he and his brothers returned in 1430.[11] He took an active part all his life in public affairs, and his name constantly occurs in the pages of Florentine history, after his relative, the great Cosimo, returned from exile. In 1436 Bernadetto was elected to the office of prior; and in 1438 he was sent into Lombardy as the 'commissario' attached to Francesco Sforza, who commanded the Venetians, the allies of the Florentines, in the war against the Duke of Milan. In 1447 he was elected to the supreme office of 'Gonfaloniere di Giustitia,' an honour which he again enjoyed in 1455; and the occasions on which he acted, either as 'commissario' of the Florentine forces or as the ambassador of the republic are too numerous to be mentioned. By his will, dated 1465, he founded the chapel of San Bernardo, afterwards commonly called of Sant' Anna, in San Lorenzo. He appears to have died shortly after this.[12]

According to the 'Denunzia' of Bernardetto, and his brothers, Giovenco and Antonio, returned in the year 1430, with the exception of one small property in Florence the whole of their joint estates lay in the valley of the Mugello. They are returned under eight heads, and include: 'vna chaxa di signiore,' or villa, with its farmhouse and vineyard, together with two 'poderi' or farms in the parish of San Piero a Sieve; a house in the neighbouring town of Scarperia; and four other properties, variously situated within the commune of Scarperia. The villa of Bernardetto is still a conspicuous object on the rising ground above the little town of San Piero a Sieve.[13]

[9] Vasari, ed. 1550, vol. I, p. 409.

[10] P. Litta; 'Famiglie Celebri Italiane,' Milano, 1819 n., Fam. Medici, Tav. XVIII.

[11] According to Litta, l.c., Bernadetto was born in 1393.

[12] P. Litta, l.c.; S. Ammirato: 'Istorie Fiorentine,' Firenze 1638–1641, Vol. III. p. 20, etc.

[13] Firenze: R. Archivio di Stato: Arch. delle Decime; Quartiere, San Giovanni; Gonfalone, Leon d'Oro; Campione 1430, No. verde 407, fol. 297 tergo.

(*To be continued.*)

[The documents referred to will be printed as an appendix to a future number.]

## ON A FLORENTINE PICTURE OF THE NATIVITY

BY the kind permission of its owner, Mr. Stogden, of Harrow, we publish on Plate I a reproduction of a large altarpiece of the Florentine school. It is in many ways a peculiar and puzzling picture, about which those connoisseurs who have seen it have for the most part come to no definite conclusion. Subject, composition, and treatment are all unfamiliar in this picture. The Virgin with the infant John the Baptist, surrounded by St. Louis and two other saints, kneel in adoration before the Infant Saviour, while on either side appear the figures of the donor and his wife. Just behind the donor is a figure that we may suppose to be his son. The background is unusually large and full of incident; the ruined stable at Bethlehem fills the centre; to the left is seen a free rendering of the Arno valley with St. Christopher; to the right the execution of St. Sebastian; and at the end of a long, straight alley the walls and towers of Florence. The town is represented as seen from the north-east, and the relative positions of the chief buildings, the Palazzo Vecchio, the Duomo, the Campanile, the Baptistery, and the tower of Sta. Maria Novella, are truly rendered. It is certainly rare at this period to find so literal and exact a representation of the city.

Nothing is known of the history of the picture which would lead to the identification either of the artist, of the donor, or of the church for which it was intended. We are therefore left to the internal evidences of style, and these are by no means easy to read. The main influence is clearly that of Baldovinetti. The grouping of the figures and the treatment of the foreground with schematic flowers painted upon a dark green ground remind one of his Madonna enthroned in the Uffizi, while the ruined stable with the elaborately displayed ivy refers doubtless to his fresco in the courtyard of the Annunziata. Vasari specially commends the realistic drawing of the ivy in this composition. Baldovinettian, too, is the Arno valley, with its dark tufts of foliage, its clear-cut cypress forms; even the peculiar foliation of the tree may be traced to the fresco by Baldovinetti already referred to. Like Baldovinetti, again, are the rounded outlines and compact poses of the hands, and the blunt severity of drawing in the portraits of the donor's family.

On the other hand, the draperies already show an involution, a complication in the design of the folds, which belongs to a later art than Baldovinetti's; the Virgin's headdress in particular points to the school of Verrocchio, and from Verrocchio our artist may have learned to mark the tendons on the back of the hand, as he has done so conspicuously in the St. Anthony.

A certain non-Florentine influence also makes itself apparent in the group of the execution of St. Sebastian, where we are reminded of Signorelli. But on the whole we find our artist to have been one of Baldovinetti's pupils, who afterwards migrated into Verrocchio's circle. Such a career is not unknown: the as yet nameless painter of the Madonna and Child with two angels in the National Gallery, formerly ascribed to Verrocchio, and now wisely labelled Florentine school, affords an instance; and our artist shows, with far less accomplishment, a certain likeness to him. That artist comes so near to Botticini that Mr. Berenson has actually ascribed to Botticini another painting by him—the little Tobias of the National Gallery.

The artist of our Nativity is certainly near to Botticini, and it is not impossible that this might be an early work of his. It has, indeed, a close similarity with a Madonna adoring the Infant Christ in the gallery at Modena, which may, perhaps, be by Botticini. On the other hand, we do not find elsewhere in Botticini such strong evidence of Baldovinetti's influence.

I think, indeed, that it is more likely that our artist may some day be identified as the author of another picture of the Verrocchian school, the much-disputed Madonna and Child—No. 104A of the Berlin Gallery—there ascribed to Verrocchio himself. This attribution was vigorously contested by Morelli, who pointed out the vulgarity of the drawing and the tastelessness of the design, especially shown in the spiral convolution of the headdress.

Precisely similar faults are to be found in Mr. Stogden's picture, where the peculiar tendency to involve the folds in meaningless spiral twists is very noticeable. Even the drawing of the rocks with parallel perpendicular grooves finds its counterpart in the Berlin picture. It must be remembered, however, that there is a considerable difference in date between the two paintings. Mr. Stogden's work shows every sign of being an early effort. It has the conscientious care, the struggle to go to the utmost limits of his power, which befit a young painter working on his first large commission. He shows himself here as a conscientious and well-trained craftsman, who has a clumsy but determined grasp of structural form, but who is singularly without taste or a sense of beauty. Such an artist was doomed to decline in proportion as he relied more and more on his own resources, and it is not unlikely that this naïve and curious work is the best that he has left us. There is nothing here to indicate that we have the first humble utterance of a great master: the utmost one could expect of our artist later on would be work on the level of a Botticini or a Sellajo. For all that, the picture is not without the charm

THE NATIVITY, [illegible] IN THE COLLECTION OF THE REV. W. STOGDON

HEAD OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, BY ANTONIO DA SOLARIO; IN THE [illegible] OF MR. HUMPHRY WARD

NOTES ON WORKS OF ART,
PLATE II. THE IMAGE OF PITY
BY AN UNKNOWN MASTER OF
THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, IN
THE POSSESSION OF M. GRIVAU

of sincere work done at a time when the merest craftsman had the gifts of expressive invention; moreover, its possible relationship with other Florentine paintings of the period seems to justify its being made known to connoisseurs.

ROGER E. FRY.

## THE IMAGE OF PITY BY AN UNKNOWN MASTER OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

HE Image of Pity was one of the subjects most frequently represented during the middle ages by sculptors, painters, miniaturists, and engravers. The earliest and simplest examples that I have met with date from the fourteenth century, and represent our Lord standing in an open tomb with his hands crossed or outstretched showing the wounds, and with the crown of thorns on his head and a cruciform nimbus. Then a little later, in Florentine and Sienese pictures, the tomb is represented at the foot of the cross, and figures of the Virgin Mother and Saint John are introduced seated in the foreground at the corners of the tomb, or standing at each end of it and supporting the Saviour's arms; the spear and the reed with the sponge are occasionally added in the background. In the fifteenth century other symbols of Christ's sufferings are introduced either in the background or in the compartments of a border enclosing the figures.

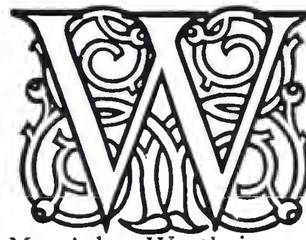
Another series of works generally known as Our Lady of Pity picture the Virgin Mother seated at the foot of the cross mourning over the body of her Son laid on her lap, an arrangement which never seems natural, and often impossible. The unknown author of the beautiful painting[1] here reproduced by the kind permission of its owner, M. Grivau, of Connerré, has treated the subject in a manner of which I know no other example, and which strikes me as exceedingly happy. The figure of Christ is noble, and that of His mother full of tenderness and compassion. They stand out well on the gold background, the brightness of which is ably modified by the symbols of the Passion scattered all around. Against the right arm of the tau or Calvary cross are the spear and reed with the sponge, and on the extreme right of the panel the pillar with the cords, the scourge of three thongs, a bunch of twigs, and at the top the board with the title I.N.R.I.; above it, the bust of Judas with a rope round his neck, to which his purse is attached; higher up are the heads of Peter and the maidservant face to face. In the space between these and the central group are the heads of Annas and Caiaphas, and three hands—one an open right hand striking (St. John xviii. 22); another, probably Judas grasping the purse. I fail to see what the third is meant to represent. On the left side are the heads of Pilate and Herod, a closed right hand, the head of a man mocking, a right hand holding the hair, a foot kicking, and the three nails.

Nothing is known of the history of the picture which is in all probability the work of a master of the school of Tournay.

W. H. JAMES WEALE.

[1] Oak. H.o$^{m}$. 28, B.o$^{m}$. 206. See Plate II, page 74.

## ON A PAINTING BY ANTONIO DA SOLARIO



HEN, in an early number of THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE,[1] I contributed a note on a picture of the Madonna and Child, ascribed to Andrea da Solario, and then in the possession of Mr. Asher Wertheimer, I called attention to the evident genuineness of the signature, which runs 'Antonius da Solario Venetus f.' and, while admitting the extreme likeness of the picture to those painted by the well-known Lombardo-Venetian painter, Andrea da Solario, urged caution in rejecting on purely internal evidence the testimony of a signature which bore every trace of authenticity. I also agreed that, while the signature of a well-known artist might, even if original, be legitimately suspected, the temptation to have it affixed to a work of art falsely, when the name was little or hardly known, did not exist. The only Antonio Solario known to art historians was one who painted at Naples, and whose characteristics in no way answered those of the author of the picture in question. Mr. Berenson, in a reply to my article,[2] declared his unshaken belief that the Madonna and Child was by Andrea Solario. He proceeded to explain the signature by supposing that Andrea Solario left the cartellino blank, and that an owner who bought it wished to record the name of the artist and the fact that it was executed in Venice; but, having only a confused recollection of the painter's Christian name, hit upon Antonio, and had that inscribed on the cartellino. The ingenuity of this theory certainly provokes one's admiration, but I confess it scarcely brought conviction to my mind, willing as I was on internal evidence to ascribe the picture to Andrea in spite of certain slight differences in handling and manner of conception which tended to confirm my doubts.

Now, however, these doubts have increased to a practical certainty that another and hitherto unknown artist, Antonio Solario, existed and painted the Madonna and Child belonging to Mr. Wertheimer. For yet another picture has turned up

[1] Vol. I, p. 353 (May 1903). Picture reproduced on p. 352

[2] BURLINGTON, Vol II, p. 114 (June 1903)

which bears his signature. It is the painting of the Head of John the Baptist belonging to Mr. Humphry Ward, and reproduced by his kind permission on Plate I. It is signed ANTONIUS SOLARIUS VENETUS MDVIII. This time the signature is in Roman capitals such as Andrea used, and not in gothic script as in the Wertheimer picture. The picture was done some time, perhaps ten years, later than the Wertheimer Madonna, and in the interval the two artists, at first so like, are now visibly disparate. It so happens, indeed, that an exact comparison between the two can be made, for in this very year, 1508, Andrea da Solario painted this very subject. His version of it is now in the Louvre. It is decidedly superior to our picture, and has just that energy and precision of touch which are so conspicuously lacking in Antonio's rendering. Mr. Humphry Ward's picture is indeed fine only in its accessories. The pearl inlaid golden chalice which supports the saint's head is painted with considerable skill, but the head itself is weak and indeterminate in modelling, and the attempt at pathos verges on sentimental weakness. It serves to show, however, that our unknown artist followed in the footsteps of his greater namesake, and having learned his art from the Vivarini in Venice, became a member of the Leonardesque Lombard school; of this the treatment of the hair and the attempted *sfumato* of the flesh are sufficient proof. But, though he followed in Andrea's footsteps as far as style was concerned, his lesser talent caused him to lag behind until, in the two pictures of 1508, the superiority of Andrea is so manifest that no one would think of attributing Mr. Humphry Ward's picture to him.

Who this Antonio was that shadowed Andrea Solario throughout his career still remains a question to be solved, perhaps by some lucky find in the archives of Milan. In the meanwhile it is natural to conclude that he was Andrea's brother. It is partly in the hope that it may lead to his further identification that we give publicity to this curious work. ROGER E. FRY.

## PORTRAIT OF A GIRL BY H. FANTIN-LATOUR

THE portrait of Mr. and Mrs. Edwards by Fantin-Latour in the National Gallery was reproduced in THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE last month. In the note upon it reference was made to a portrait in Messrs. Obach's Exhibition. That portrait we are now permitted to reproduce.[3]

In itself it is not perhaps so important as several other portraits by that master, yet it possesses an interest of its own apart from its intrinsic charm. Fantin started life as a realist under the shadow of Courbet in company with painters like Ricard Bonvin and Ribot. His early portrait groups are all realistic. His aims are truth of lighting, truth of 'space composition,' and truth of substance, expressed by a technique founded on the old Dutch masters. After a time Fantin began to exhibit, side by side with these masterpieces of severe fact, the masterpieces of delicate romance by which in this country he is better known.

This study of a girl's head painted in the sixties is a connecting link between these two phases. It shows that even while Fantin was painting the Hommage à Delacroix, and several years before he produced the National Gallery portrait, he was already turning his mind to the suave tender form of art in which he was to prove himself the successor of Prudhon and Correggio.

## OLD ENGLISH DRUG AND UNGUENT POTS FOUND IN EXCAVATIONS IN LONDON[4]

MOST students and collectors of English earthenware have had their attention drawn to a certain class of small enamelled earthenware vessels which are constantly being discovered in various parts of London where excavations are being made for the foundations of new buildings or for drainage purposes. The small vessels were no doubt used for containing drugs and ointments, and as much discussion has been raised concerning their provenance, the time appears to have arrived when some attempt should be made to come to a definite decision on this point.

Mr. Henry Wallis, in his latest work, 'The Albarello,' boldly and unhesitatingly claims for them an Italian origin, only questioning whether they were imported as pottery or filled with cosmetics or drugs. He further goes on to say:—'The Italian writers on maiolica will smile when they hear that these particular *albarelli* were labelled in English museums and collections "Lambeth Delft."'

Let us now proceed to examine the grounds for and against Mr. Wallis's verdict, arguing successively from the evidence of size, form, and decoration. The first curious feature common to all these drug-pots which are Italian in form is their diminutive size; very rarely do they exceed $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. in height. No. 25 of the pieces illustrated is one of the few exceptions; yet even this specimen, although very much larger than any of its class known to the writer, is still a great deal smaller than the ordinary Italian *albarello*, which averages at least from 7 in. to 8 in; occasionally specimens are met with measuring only $5\frac{1}{2}$ in., but vases of the small dimensions of those which are comparatively common in London are never found in Italy. This is a very strong point, for if they had been

[3] Plate III, page 77.

[4] See Plate IV, page 80.

1 2 H. $4\frac{3}{4}$ IN. 3

4 5 6 H. $5\frac{1}{2}$ IN. 7 8

FROM THE GUILDHALL MUSEUM

9 10 11 12 13

14 15 16 17

18 19 20 21

22 23 24 25 H. $4\frac{7}{8}$ IN. 26 27 28

SPECIMENS PRINCIPALLY FROM MR. HILTON PRICE'S COLLECTION LENT TO THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

PLATE IV. OLD ENGLISH DRUG AND UNGUENT POTS EXCAVATED IN LONDON

made in Italy for export it is almost absolutely certain that some would have remained in that country; but we find no trace either of complete vessels, wasters, or fragments.

The next points for consideration are their form and decoration. No student of English delft-ware is ignorant of the fact that the English potters were well acquainted with the products of their foreign rivals; owing, as they did, the knowledge of this particular branch of their handicraft to the teaching of workmen from abroad, it would have been a most extraordinary circumstance if the early English delft did not bear a very strong resemblance to the models from which the potters borrowed their ideas. The well-known Ann Chapman mug in the Victoria and Albert Museum and other examples in the British Museum show how very strongly the Lambeth decorators were influenced by the designs on Italian maiolica. Bearing in mind this habitual use of Italian and other foreign decoration by the London potters, it is quite obvious that the English craftsman would not limit his borrowing propensities to the decoration alone, but would certainly adopt ideas of form from his competitors; for we must recollect that in the early days of English delft the native factories were carrying on a keen competition for the home market with goods imported from the Continent, and the familiar Italian *albarello* had been for centuries the accepted form for a pharmacy jar, a shape which was not originated in Italy, but borrowed by that country from the Hispano-Moresque lustre-ware, whose makers in their turn had adopted it from the East. Another peculiarity of the small London jars is the bevelled edge of the rim, which in the Italian examples is almost invariably flat; they would seem to have been made thus to facilitate tying a parchment cover over the mouth to preserve the contents. The general outline of the form is also somewhat clumsy as compared with the Italian, and the walls very much thicker in proportion to the height. Yet another interesting feature is the formation of the base, usually much more hollowed out underneath in the London pots than in the Italian, which have an almost perfectly flat bottom. An interesting proof of the *albarello* form being known and copied in this country during the Tudor period, long before the introduction of enamelled wares, are the two green-glazed *albarello*-shaped vases in the British Museum, one of which, found in London, is figured in Mr. Wallis's book and admitted by him to be probably of English origin.

We have so far shown that the mere partial coincidence in form is no evidence for the theory of an Italian origin for our little London drug-pots. It remains, therefore, for us to consider the *motifs* of the decoration, upon which, indeed, the whole of Mr. Wallis's case rests, and it must be admitted that these *motifs* have a decidedly Italian character, many of them being probably, in the first instance, copied directly from an Italian *albarello*.

Now let us turn to our illustrations; the first point which strikes us is the fact that the vessels on the two plates consist, roughly, of two shapes, namely, the jars of the familiar Italian *albarello* form, and the remainder of a low and somewhat squat pattern. Now this latter form (cf. Nos. 1, 2, 3) is one quite unknown in Italy; we never see it in earthenware or in any other material, a form so wanting in artistic grace being hardly likely even to suggest itself to an Italian mind. On the other hand, it is quite a common shape in England; decorated and undecorated, it occurs in glazed and unglazed earthenware, in Fulham stoneware and in delft-ware. Now if we compare the *albarello*-shaped vases with the squat-shaped specimens it will be noticed that there is no decoration on the former that is not also shown on the latter, and also that both shapes have the bevelled rims and the bases hollowed out underneath; these coincidences justify us in accepting the probability that the same hands made and painted both shapes.

The next step is to analyse the decoration.

The feature common to all the painted pots is the prevalence of a series of horizontal bands. It is true that these bands are also found on Italian jars; but on these they merely serve to separate the various schemes of ornament and to emphasize the outline of the form of the vessel, whereas on the London pots they form in many cases the principal if not the sole decoration.[2] Another noticeable feature is the frequent use of rows of small discs. These discs, when used on Italian jars, are almost invariably accompanied by some other small ornament, such as a trefoil or a little wavy line, very rarely indeed are they left by themselves. On English vessels, however, they have always been used as a leading *motif*, both on slip-decorated and on painted wares (cf. No. 16).

We may now turn our attention to the vase in our illustrations which has the most marked Italian features, namely No. 25. We see here again the same combination of blue bands and discs which decorates the squat-shaped pots (Nos. 2, 9, 11, 13), and we find the same ornament between the chevrons as on the vessels, Nos. 3 and 5; only one single feature remains which is not depicted on both shapes in our illustrations, namely the curved outline of the chevrons, which is, after all, a very obvious variation from the common straight form (cf. Nos. 2, 5). The little devices between the chevrons are not so Italian

[2] Amongst Mr. Wallis's drawings ('The Albarello,' fig. 93, p. 99) a vessel copied from a painting by Ghirlandajo appears in this respect to resemble the English examples, but a careful examination of a photograph of this picture reveals the fact that other more elaborate decoration, not shown in the drawing, gives quite a different character to the design.

as at first sight they appear to be[3]; for whereas on the English vessels they consist simply of superimposed straight lines, on the *albarelli* they are usually painted in one continuous serpentine line, a device never seen on a London pot.

On No. 24 the little conventional flower, certainly of Italian origin, is again seen as a feature of the little English-shaped vessel (No. 12), and it also forms the principal decoration of a little ointment-pot in the Liverpool Museum, similar in shape to No. 16. Numerous examples of this shape are also to be seen in the Guildhall Museum, inscribed with the names of English apothecaries and English ointments.

A fine specimen of the squat-shaped type, of unimpeachable Lambeth origin, in the writer's collection, is particularly interesting, as it is decorated in blue with a combination of the chevrons, bands, and discs, thus showing that this style of ornament was being used on English vessels in the seventeenth century, a date at least one hundred years later than that to which Mr. Wallis would assign them.

The evidence thus appears to point very clearly against Mr. Wallis's theory of an Italian origin for these pots, and to give every justification for collectors to continue to label them 'English Delft,' although not necessarily Lambeth. The shape has been shown to be familiar to the English potters, and all the *motifs* of the decoration to be commonly used by them. We can therefore adopt the only reasonable conclusion, which is that they were made somewhere near where they are most usually found, namely, in London, and not where no traces of them ever occur, that is to say, in Italy. C. H. Wylde.

[3] In this connexion it may be pointed out that in Mr. Wallis's drawings ('The Albarello,' figs. 60, 61, 62) the devices in question hardly give a correct impression of their nature; they appear there as leaf-shaped designs drawn in outline and hatched in; as will be clearly seen in the photographs (Pl. I, figs. 15, 16, 17), they consist of a series of broad brush strokes placed horizontally to form a pyramid.

### MR. GEORGE SALTING'S CHINESE PORCELAIN FIGURES IN THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

In the description of these fine figures, which are so well illustrated in the last number of the Magazine, I am kindly referred to as having suggested the identification of Fig. 2 in Plate I with Maitreya Buddha, and would like to be allowed to add a note of explanation. He would be posed here, I am inclined to think, as a member of the group of eighteen Arhats ('Lohan'), not as an isolated figure. Although Maitreya is never seen among the sixteen arhats of Japan or Korea, nor in the group of sixteen sthaviras of Tibetan shrines, he is often found represented in the ranks of eighteen Lohan which line the eastern and western walls of a Chinese Buddhist temple (cf. J. Watters's article on the eighteen Lohan in the *R. Asiatic Soc. Jour.*, April 1898). He may either be, as here, enthroned in the Tushita heaven, or figured as Putai Hoshang, the 'Monk with the Hempen Bag.' Putai, transliterated Hotei in Japanese, the well-known smiling obese figure of a monk with a rosary in his hand, is supposed to be the last incarnation on earth of the future Buddha.

In a finely carved ivory hand-rest illustrated in the museum handbook of Chinese art (Vol. I, Fig. 78), Maitreya is also included in the glyptic group of eighteen Lohan, seated aloft upon a throne upheld by three demons. S. W. Bushell.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

### THE VAN EYCKS AND M. BOUCHOT

Gentlemen,

M. Bouchot in his letter in the March number of The Burlington Magazine (Vol. VI, p. 497), instead of retracting or accounting for the mis-statements which he put forth in the *Bulletin de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* of December 24, has indulged in accusations of want of politeness on my part, accompanied by fresh mis-statements. He seems to think that my letters were an answer to his recently published volume on the French 'Primitifs.' He is quite mistaken. I had not even heard of the book until February 18, when I at once ordered it of my bookseller. On the very first page I find the astounding statement that French was in the middle ages the language spoken by the people of Ghent and Bruges. Yet history tells us that on May 25, 1302 the burghers of Bruges rose against their tyrannical foreign rulers, and that every Frenchman who could not pronounce correctly the words *Schilt ende vriendt* was put to death. The communal and parochial accounts and all business documents in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, thousands of which are preserved in the archives, are drawn up in Flemish. But that your readers may judge for themselves and form a fair estimate of the value of M. Bouchot's most positive statements I will now lay before them a few specimens of the innumerable mis-statements in that volume, with the real facts in parallel columns.

| M. Bouchot's Assertions. | The real Facts. |
|---|---|
| 1. Van Eyck is a *modern* translation of de Eyck, the ancient form *everywhere* employed in the fifteenth century.[1] | 1. Philip, duke of Burgundy, in a letter dated 12 March, 1434, writes thus: Notre bien amé varlet de chambre et peintre Jehan *van Eyck*.[2] The form *Van Eyck* occurs in three other French documents of the years 1434, 1439, and 1441, and in a number of Latin documents[3]; it is exclusively used in Flemish documents. |

[1] *Bulletin de l'Art*, vi, 319.

[2] Archives of the Department of the North, Lille.

[3] I have given references to these, and to works in which they are printed, in the *Bulletin*, vii, 29.

2. It will be as well to remind our readers that James Cône[4] was both *architect* and painter, that the people of Milan sent for him from France *to design the plan of their cathedral, to build it*, and finally to decorate it with paintings.[5]

2. The plan of Milan cathedral was made in 1356 and the work commenced on the 18th of March of that year. James Coene did not arrive in Milan until the 7th of August, 1399; it was through French influence that he was invited thither with two assistants and engaged to make drawings of the cathedral; they were, however. very soon dismissed; *erano presto congedati*.[6]

3. When we first meet with Van Eyck he is at Cambrai decorating a Paschal candle. A forger of our own time inscribed with bitumen of Judea on a picture of the consecration of St. Thomas à Becket, 'Johannes de Eyck fecit año M CCCC 21 Octobris'; 1421 written in this manner is in itself a poem, but the inscription really runs thus: 1400, 21 Octobris, and this is better. John de Eyck was then a babe in his cradle, but forgers do not think of everything. Bitumen of Judea only came into use in 1804.[7]

3. In the household accounts of John of Bavaria we find that John van Eyck was engaged in decorating the Palace at the Hague at a weekly wage from October 25, 1422, until September, 1424. In the accounts of the fabric of Cambrai cathedral we find that a certain John de Yeke was employed in 1422, 1423, 1424, and following years, in painting candles and clocks and crosses on the outer wall of the cathedral to prevent the commission of nuisances.[8]

A panel in the possession of the duke of Devonshire bears the perfectly authentic inscription: JOHES DE EYCK FECIT ANO M°CCCC°ZI°. 30° OCTOBRIS. The panel, with the exception of this inscription, has unfortunately been entirely overpainted. It is said to have been given in Van Eyck's lifetime by the duke of Bedford to his nephew, Henry V. It was in the possession of the earl of Arundel; on his death in 1646 it passed to Henry, duke of Norfolk, and later on was purchased by the duke of Devonshire. The inscription was copied and published by Walpole in 1762 and by Raspe in 1781.

4. The last line (of the inscription on the frame of the Ghent altarpiece) is incomprehensible.[9]

4. Any inscription can be made to appear incomprehensible if incorrectly copied as in this case by M. Bouchot, who insinuates that it is a forgery.

5. In the two Flanders the painters formed part of the gild of dealers in old clothes.[10]

5. This is quite untrue. M. Bouchot knows perfectly well that in Flanders the painters and saddlers were members of the same gild, and he asserts that it was to such gilds that the really great masters belonged, and not to those in which they were associated with sculptors and goldsmiths.[11]

[4] I have (p. 413) said enough about the orthography and meaning of the name Coene, and I think my word as a member of the Royal Flemish Academy will be generally accepted.

[5] Les 'Primitifs,' pp. 19, 223.

[6] 'Designare ecclesiam a fundamento usque ad summitatem.' 'Annalis della fabrica del Duomo di Milano, ann. 1399 e 1400.' M. Bouchot's statement (p. 19) that Coene returned to Paris because he liked that town better than Milan is really amusing.

[7] Les 'Primitifs,' pp. 235, 238.

[8] These have been repeatedly printed in works which M. Bouchot professes to have read.

[9] Les 'Primitifs,' p. 229.

[10] Les 'Primitifs,' p. 14.

[11] Les 'Primitifs,' pp. 48, 49, 69.

After these specimens our readers will probably not be astonished to learn that in M. Bouchot's opinion there is not a single picture for which there is the slightest evidence of its having been painted by either of the Van Eycks (pp. 25, 26); that the Richmond, Rothschild, and Hermannstadt pictures, the Louvre Madonna with the 'pretended portrait of chancellor Rolin,' and the Paele altarpiece at Bruges are not by either of them (pp. 240, 241); that the inscription on the last (corroborated by a contemporary entry in the acts of the chapter of St. Donatian) is a forgery (pp. 221–223), as also that on the National Gallery portrait, which does not represent Arnolfini, but some Fleming, probably John van Eyck himself (p. 239); (this last idea, by the way, is not original, but borrowed from Laborde) and finally that the Van Eycks never invented nor improved anything.

We should like to know how M. Bouchot accounts for the fact that paintings by the Van Eycks and their followers were in great demand during the fifteenth century not only in the Netherlands, but also in France, Italy, Sicily, Spain, Portugal, England and Scotland, while there is not the slightest evidence of any such demand for French paintings. The real truth is that the pictures produced in France in the fifteenth century were really executed by or under the influence of Netherlanders, and that it was mainly by Netherlanders such as the Clouets, Cornelius Van der Capelle, Pourbus, and Watteau that the art of painting was kept alive.

M. Bouchot must have a very poor opinion of his countrymen if he thinks that they will swallow these appeals to national vanity. The learned and intelligent will only laugh at assertions generally put forth without the shadow of a proof.

We have felt it our duty to write thus at length to put our readers on their guard. We have been so long accustomed to erudition, sound criticism, and accuracy in works published by officers of the Bibliothèque Nationale that we greatly regret the issue of such a book as this.

W. H. J. WEALE.

## THE PORTRAIT OF ISABELLA BRANT IN THE HERMITAGE

GENTLEMEN,

I have studied Mr. Max Rooses' admirable and learned letter on this picture with the greatest interest, and it would give me the greatest possible pleasure to agree with him. I recognize his authority in the handling of the documents concerning its antecedents, yet even there I am inclined to disagree with the conclusions he has drawn from them, or to dismiss the tradition that Van Dyck painted Isabella Brant because such a picture did not occur in the inventory of Rubens' possessions after death. There might have been several reasons to account for its absence when we

on the constant use of the term 'hawthorn' in the catalogue. It is applied here not only to the familiar blue and white ginger jars which are well represented in the collection—notably by the brilliant 'Blenheim vase' from the Marlborough collection figured in Plate XI—but also, still less appropriately, to the stately K'ang-hsi vases of varied form decorated in colours with floral designs relieved by enamelled grounds of lustrous black, bright apple-green, or softer yellow. The so-called hawthorn is actually the early-blossoming wild plum, the Chinese floral emblem of winter, which is a species of *prunus*, allied to the blackthorn of our hedges, that flowers in the valleys of northern China before the ice melts. Neither, by the same token, should sprays of white magnolia reserved on a background of pulsating blue ever be called 'tiger lilies'; nor, still less, should trellised vines of the pilgrim's gourd, another favourite floral motive, become known to china-maniacs as the 'hop decoration,' the hop not being cultivated anywhere in China.

The Morgan collection is especially strong in the superbly-decorated porcelain of the K'ang-hsi period in all its branches. A large black-ground vase of almost unique interest is displayed in Plate LIV, with the petals of the *prunus* blossoms effectively touched with coral red, while a tiny spray of the same flower is painted within a circle underneath in lieu of 'mark.' There are several examples in which the blue, always a difficult colour to reproduce, is unusually well rendered in its many varied shades, and Plate XIII may be instanced as a realistic representation of a large ovoid jar with cover, of the K'ang-hsi period, painted under the glaze in graded blues. The attractive series of powder-blue grounds is well represented here by garnitures of vases, plain, heightened by pencilling of gold, or interrupted by foliated panels, which are either painted under the glaze with cobalt blue, or decorated over the white glaze with enamel colours. The earliest mark in the catalogue, with the exception of those stigmatized as 'apocryphal,' is that of the reign of *Chia-ching* (1522–1566); the latest mark is that of the reign of *Chia-ch'ing* (1796–1820), represented by a striking set of three vases (Plate XXII), the productions evidently of the imperial manufactory of the period, with finely chiselled casings of pierced open-work, parcel-gilt in panels, separated by diapered bands of soft enamel colours touched with gold encircling the vases.

In the series of blue and white some characteristic early pieces of the reigns of Chia-ching and Wan-li of the Ming dynasty are illustrated in appropriate tints. On the other hand no sympathy is evinced by Mr. Morgan for the pretended *pâte tendre* variety which has lately had such vogue in America, so that only one specimen of this 'illusory "soft paste" of the dealers' is figured in this volume (Plate XVII). A word of attention may be directed by the way to a row of spherical bottles shown in Plate VIII, decorated in brilliant cobalt, which are supposed to be old Chinese copies of delft, and are marked with a mis-shapen *D* underneath, which is plausibly presumed to suggest the locality of the original model. The pieces illustrated in the catalogue all belong to the decorated class of Chinese porcelain, with a solitary exception in the case of the remarkable Wan-li vase with dragon handles of archaic form projecting from its slender neck, which is figured in Plate LXI. This is invested with a monochrome glaze of brilliant iridescent green, brushed over the white glaze as a wash, so as to leave underneath the spreading lip a reserve containing the six-character mark of the period, previously pencilled horizontally in under-glaze blue. An elaborate design of dragons, birds, and flowers incised in the paste under the glaze is described as appearing like gold when seen in sunlight. It is an old piece, and yet a survival of older methods of toning single glazes by modifying their depth, the body being tooled with a graver, or modelled with patterns in sinuous relief, before the application of the glaze.

The illustrations are chromo-lithographs, and are finished examples of a craft which has been highly cultivated in the United States. The colours of the original schemes of decoration are generally harmoniously reproduced and provided with effectively tinted backgrounds; the fine gold is carefully toned after its original quality, although it occasionally isolates itself almost too brilliantly in the midst of the enamel colours in the picture. Chinese porcelain has always attracted artists, such as Jules Jacquemart, the prince of etchers, and Whistler, who has conveyed with the free stroke of his brush the very touch and spirit of the Chinese ceramic craftsman working in blue. It must be confessed that the three-colour process adopted by Cosmo Monkhouse in his 'Chinese Porcelain' and by Mr. Dillon in his more recent scholarly 'Porcelain,' appeals to me individually as giving a touch of actuality hitherto wanting. However, Cosmo Monkhouse has described Mr. Louis Prang's chromo-lithographs of the Walters collection at Baltimore as 'almost perfect,' and one is inclined to apply the same epithet to the charming pictures before us, the smaller scale of which seems to give additional delicacy and refinement.

The title-page bears the imprint of the Grier Cooke press which has issued so many treasures for book lovers in America. Each page of the book is watermarked *R G C*, the plates are printed on paper coated on one side, but corresponding in texture and colour to the paper at the back, and in short the perfect finish of every detail, under the personal supervision of Mr. Cooke, is worthy of praise.

S. W. B.

Dutch Pottery and Porcelain. By W. Pitcairn Knowles. George Newnes. 7s. 6d. net.

In this volume the publishers have done their work better than the author. The work is tastefully bound, very well printed, profusely illustrated with some fifty plates (almost all of them good), and issued at a moderate price. The author, on the other hand, having only a limited space at his disposal, has wasted a great deal of it in discussing general and personal matters which have only a remote connexion with his subject. His historical sketch is thus often wordy and superficial, while he has not even taken the trouble to arrange the plates to correspond with his text, or to make a single reference to any of them. It is needless to refer to other slips and omissions. A popular book need not be profound, but it ought at least to be clearly arranged and clearly written. Mr. Knowles cannot be congratulated on fulfilling even these modest conditions, in spite of the practical knowledge which he possesses.

## DRAWINGS

Selected Drawings by Old Masters in the University Galleries and the Library of Christ Church, Oxford. Part III. Chosen and described by Sidney Colvin, M.A. Oxford and London: Henry Frowde. £3 3s. net.

We have already attempted to do justice to the previous parts of this magnificent and scholarly publication, so that to say that the third issue almost surpasses the former ones in interest may sound extravagant. The Oxford collections of drawings, however, are so full of surprises that it is amazing that no one should have attempted a complete survey of them before Mr. Colvin undertook the task.

The present series starts with a magnificent study of a Woman's Head in black chalk, which Mr. Colvin, after an admirable summary of previous discussions, ascribes to Verrocchio himself. Mr. Colvin's discovery is particularly interesting for the additional light which it casts on one of the most perplexing problems of Renaissance art. Posterity, we think, is sure to agree with the distinction he draws between the work of Verrocchio and that of the pupil who painted the Madonnas in the National Gallery and at Berlin, a distinction which becomes clearer and clearer as the documents increase in number.

This sane and sensible judgement is again exercised over another problem of the greatest interest —the Two Battle Scenes hitherto given to Raphael in the University Galleries. Mr. Colvin has reproduced the replica of the second battle scene in the collection of the Rev. W. H. Wayne, which is the cause of all the difficulty, and decides definitely in its favour against the Oxford version. It is just possible that in this case he has been almost too cautious in his summing-up of the evidence, and while making allowance for the superior swiftness and calligraphic vigour of the Oxford drawing, has overlooked its superiority in suggesting the solidity and weight of the struggling figures. Mr. Wayne's drawing is sensitive in detail, and far more able than its appearance at first suggests, but it does just lack the substance and vitality of the other, while several passages, such as the muscles of the calf of the bearded bending figure, might well be argued against its being the original work.

The Italian masters are represented by fourteen reproductions, all of them good; Leonardo, Filippino, Michelangelo, Campagnola, and Tintoret being among the examples chosen. An interesting water-colour landscape by Dürer, and two characteristic specimens of Altdorfer (including a superb design of a shipwreck) represent Germany. The striking portrait of Rembrandt's father in the University Galleries which follows is better known than the admirable portrait by Rubens, or than the group of Three Musicians by Watteau. Indeed, the most striking feature of the series is the variety of these two Oxford collections, which have hitherto been famous on the strength of the tithe of the treasures which they have had the space to exhibit.

Drawings by Old Masters of the Dutch and Flemish Schools in the Royal Collection at Amsterdam. Part III. Williams and Norgate. £1 14s. net.

In a previous issue we have mentioned the sumptuousness and accuracy of these reproductions, and the third part in this respect is not inferior to its predecessors. The introduction by Mr. Lionel Cust, on the absence of which we commented, was, we find, omitted in error from the previous instalments. It is an admirable plea for the more serious study of drawings by the great masters, and incidentally faces with considerable frankness the disadvantages of modern academic teaching.

Of the ten facsimiles in the present part none represent masters of quite the first rank, though several, such as that by Bega, will come as a surprise to those who know the Dutch artists only by their paintings. The drawing by Backhuysen of the Montalbanstor at Amsterdam suggests that building (before the spire was added), and the old house under it, as the subject of one of Rembrandt's finest drawings. The charming Study of a Young Lady by Jan de Bray is an interesting example of the work of one of a talented family of painters, whose history is obscure. They are best known in England by the large portrait group by Jacob de Bray at Hampton Court.

C. J. H.

## MISCELLANEOUS

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF ART. By Dr. Wilhelm Lübke. Revised by Russell Sturgis. 2 volumes. Smith Elder. 36s. net.

A NEW edition of Dr. Lübke's well-known work. The old woodcuts unfortunately make but a poor show, and if the numerous full-page illustrations which have been added had appeared alone the general effect would have been better. We wish we could speak more highly of the revision. The architectural sections are tolerably good, but in the other portions of the book far more accurate scholarship was needed. It is unfair to expect too much from any work which covers so wide a field, yet had the proofs been read by two or three competent critics the result could have been vastly improved, although the book might not even then have become as trustworthy as it is cheap and comprehensive.

THE COLLECTORS' ANNUAL FOR 1904. Edited by George E. East. Elliot Stock. 7s. 6d. net.

THE idea of this book is good, but it will have to be carried out more thoroughly to be of any real use. The prospectus states that the work 'includes representative examples only.' We turn to the name of Titian and find four pictures mentioned which fetched 165, 130, 40, and 24 guineas respectively! The untrustworthiness of such a guide is manifest. The book may be of some service to those who already possess knowledge. To those who do not, it cannot fail to be misleading until some attempt is made to eliminate copies and forgeries.

THROUGH ISLE AND EMPIRE. By the Vicomte Robert d'Humières. Translated by A. Teixeira de Mattos. Heinemann. 6s.

To see ourselves as others see us, when the others have the kindly philosophic spirit of the Vicomte d'Humières is not unpleasant. The author's good sense, tact, and humour make even his strictures palatable, and the translator has caught his spirit well. The first half of the book dealing with England is of particular interest, and should do much to foster the good understanding between French and English, which seems at last to have taken root in both countries.

WE have received from Messrs. P. and D. Colnaghi a proof of a new mezzotint by Mr. H. Scott Bridgwater after Gainsborough's superb Mrs. Elliot at Welbeck. The use of a black ink as in the older mezzotints would have perhaps emphasized the skilful treatment of the hair and accessories better than the fashionable brown employed, but the translation has caught admirably the languor of the adventuress, and the contrast of dark eyebrows, coquettish patch, and velvet ribbon with the creamy paleness of her complexion.

We also received, too late for notice in our March number, an illustrated catalogue of the sale of *objets d'art*, including some interesting examples of antique and mediaeval sculpture, which took place at the Hotel Drouot on March 13–17.

# FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE

## NOTES FROM GERMANY

IT has happened now and then in former times that great inauguration festivities were celebrated with pomp long before the object to be inaugurated was finished and ready for the occasion; to-day this state of affairs is the common thing. It is a significant mark of our own age that we can never get up enough patience to wait until a building or monument is really completed before we rush into the midst of a showy celebration about it.

The inauguration of the *new* Berlin 'cathedral' took place a couple of weeks ago, but it will be months still before the last artisan packs up his tools and bids the site farewell.

New York and Berlin are the two upstarts among our huge metropoles; both lack the venerable charm of historic associations. The erection of the huge cathedral at Berlin is a bold attempt to make up for the deficiency. It is indeed a bold attempt to supply something within a decade which, in the regular course of things, generations upon generations have been slow to build up. The new cathedral is meant primarily to furnish evidence of the splendour of the new empire, now just a generation old; to erect a place of religious worship was not the leading motive, least of all a place for Protestant worship. So far, nothing is to be held up against it; for why should not new eras call for new ideas and even force old forms of life into new channels! But the building as a work of art has nothing new, nothing of vitality in it. It is a conglomeration of single correct details, forming an incorrect whole. While he was keenly intent upon avoiding faults in detail, the designer forgot to introduce true virtues. Its greatest weakness is connected with the question of its size, for it is not impressively large, but awkwardly overgrown. Like many other modern buildings, for example the Ministry of Finance at Dresden, it appears as a small thing that you look at through an opera glass with one eye. The old museum at its side, only a pigmy compared with the cathedral, gives you a much stronger impression of magnitude if you shut the cathedral out of your field of vision. Instead of basing the proportions of his structure upon those of the surrounding buildings, and increasing upon them, as Christopher Wren did, Raschdorf based them on an absolutely different scale, and has widely missed the mark by aiming far above it. For us at the present day, this effort which has cost us half a million pounds

sterling, is scarcely satisfactory. Perhaps later centuries will not be able to look upon it, as we do, abstractedly, but will consider it as an interesting and valuable document for the spirit of the times.

The Kaiser-Friedrich Museum received the gift of two English portraits, a Gainsborough (presented by Mr. Alfred Beit), and the botanist William Lenley, painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence (presented by Count Seckendorf).

Canon, a painter whose real name was Straschiripka, and who tried to emulate the bold coloration of Rubens in his portraits, was living at Karlsruhe during the years 1860 to 1869. The gallery there recently acquired his portrait of the landscape painter J. W. Schirmer and two allegorical designs, Steam and Telegraphy, cartoons for mural designs which Canon carried out in the Karlsruhe railway station. The same gallery has received a number of further valuable additions, among them Hans Thoma: View from Mount Pilatus in Switzerland, three Italian views by E. Kanoldt, Memento Mori by the late W. Leibl (a gift of the painter Thoma), Schloss Gutenstein by K. Weysser, and a portrait of the quondam gallery director at Karlsruhe, the painter K. F. Lessing, done by his son.

Probably a number of Menzel's works will be placed in German galleries at the expiration of the memorial show which was opened at Berlin upon March 19. One of his best known smaller pictures, the Promenade at Kissingen, had already found its way into the Dresden gallery since the death of Menzel and before the show was opened.

The picture gallery at Munich has come into possession of six interesting pictures of the school of Mantegna. They represent the 'Trionfi' of Petrarch, and were formerly in the collection of Count Colloredo at Mantua. H. W. S.

## NOTES FROM BELGIUM[1]

### Brussels

M. Franz Cumont has just presented the section of antiquities in the Royal Museum of the Cinquantenaire with a series of ten terra-cotta tablets and a seal of the same material covered with cuneiform inscriptions. The tablets came from Tello, and belong to the repository of clay tablets which was discovered in 1894 by Sarzec, and constitute a fund of archives and deeds relating to one of those temples which, in the fact that they were great landed proprietors, resemble the mediaeval abbeys and the modern lamasseries of the east. From this collection, which was exploited by the Arabs in Sarzec's absence, come the tablets that have now been presented to the Museum of the Cinquantenaire. At a first reading they appear to furnish lists of the *personnel* of the harem, animals, grain, wine, fish, and, possibly, vestments. The seal was probably used to seal a rush basket of fish.

[1] Translated by Harold Child.

The museum has also lately acquired a stove in polychromatic Brussels faience. It consists of a column of faience decorated in white and pale yellow. The ornament consists of fluting interrupted by courses of small foliage. To the upper part are attached graceful garlands of flowers and fruit. Above the stove is a vase treated like the column, in the style of the Louis XVI period, and made of rose-coloured terra-cotta. The pipe to carry off the smoke was fitted, in these stoves, into the protector, consisting of a hollow cushion nine centimetres high which was found at the bottom of the column. The column was fitted to a hearth of cast iron or strong sheet iron. The stove in question seems to have originated, like that already in the museum, in the factory of Artoisenet at Brussels.

The municipal museum of the city of Brussels has just acquired a magnificent piece of tapestry of Brussels manufacture, representing Bathsheba at the fountain. It dates from the sixteenth century, and is woven of wool and silk, measuring twelve feet high and a little over twenty feet wide.

### Antwerp

An exhibition is being organized at Antwerp of the works of the painters Leys and Braeckeleer; it will be open from May 15 to June 15, in the rooms where the Vandyck Exhibition was held and the Jordaens Exhibition is to be held this year. These two painters have left some particularly remarkable work. Leys succeeded in a happy revival of the gothic painters, and by seeking his inspiration in the masters of the fifteenth century painted a series of frescoes and easel pictures of grave and sober composition and very marked originality. Braeckeleer, summoning the spirits of the old Flemish interiors and courts, preserved in modern art the vision of the small masters of Holland. The works of both artists are particularly remarkable from the point of view of the history of art in Belgium, and cannot fail to arouse the liveliest interest.

### Lubeck

News comes of the recent discovery in the church at Lubeck of a very curious baptismal font of Roman date. The bowl is cut into a thick square stone, the corners of which have been carved by the artist into human faces. The four faces are surrounded and ornamented with leaves, grapes, and fantastic animals in the most primitive style. The lower part bears traces of a large cylindrical pedestal and four bases of small columns of wide circumference, with feet in the form of a single leaf. The font lacks its supports—that is, the central pillar and the small columns which surrounded it; but since these parts were simple unsculptured cylinders, there will be no

difficulty in restoring them. It is to be hoped that this interesting piece of antiquity will be accorded the position it deserves, either in the church or in a museum.

R. Petrucci.

## NOTES FROM FRANCE[1]

The new room of Egyptian antiquities has been opened at the Louvre, and in it the public may see the famous Mastaba, or tomb, of the fifth dynasty, which was brought from Egypt in 1903 by M. Georges Bénédite, keeper of the Louvre. The tomb, which is built of hard limestone, is covered from top to bottom with admirable sculpture in relief, heightened with colour. The interior of the mortuary chapel is also sculptured in relief. Among the scenes represented we may mention the following: first, the statue of the deceased being lowered by men down an inclined plane into the tomb, while round it are dancers circling in rhythmic evolutions. There is, further, a series of scenes of life in the country; a hippopotamus hunt through the reeds; netting fish in the Nile; a herd of oxen crossing a ford; the birth of a calf which the farmer is carrying to the cowshed. Then there are scenes of harvest, with the corn being made into sheaves, and so carried on the backs of donkeys, which, further on, are being taken to water. Elsewhere we see the mummy carried down the river in boats, which are rowed down stream and come up again under sail. Finally, on the two lateral faces, the artist has represented the funeral banquet, to the accompaniment of singing, instrumental music, and dancing, and the conveyance of the offerings, cattle, antelopes, wild geese, etc. The sculptor would seem to have worked about 3500 B.C., and may have been the same whose hand may be seen in the famous tomb of Ptah-Hotep. These pictures of country life in Egypt and representations of domestic animals are quite remarkable for their naturalness, truth, and artistic merit, and their delicacy is really wonderful. The considerable scientific interest offered by the Mastaba is reinforced by an artistic interest quite as great, and the Louvre is to be congratulated on a reconstruction carried out with equal taste and method. Near the Mastaba, among a number of other fine things, may be seen the stele of King Serpent and the statues of Sepa.

Two other rooms will shortly be opened, one devoted to the discoveries at Susa, and containing the code of Hammonrabi, the other forming a reconstruction of a Christian monastery of the third century, the materials having been supplied by the Archaeological Institution of Cairo. We must mention also the collection of antiquities from Asia Minor, presented by M. Paul Gaudin, which have recently been on exhibition.

The Museum of Versailles has acquired a picture by Van Der Meulen, representing Louis XIV and his Court hunting in the forest of Meudon. There we may see what the village, the terraces, and the castle of Meudon were like before the work of Mansart.

Th. Beauchesne.

[1] Translated by Harold Child.

Note.—*Owing to the pressure on our space the notes on French exhibitions will be found on the page devoted to exhibitions open in April.*

## BOOKS RECEIVED

Auguste Rodin. By Camille Mauclair. Duckworth & Co. 10s. 6d. net.

Chats on Old Furniture. By Arthur Hayden. T. Fisher Unwin. 5s. net.

Florence. Painted by Col. R. C. Goff; described by Mrs. Goff. A. & C. Black. 20s. net.

Studies in Ancient Furniture. By Caroline L. Ransom. The University Press, Chicago. 40 dol. 50 net.

Little Books on Art—Millet. By Netta Peacock. Methuen & Co. 2s. 6d. net.

General Descriptions of Sir John Soane's Museum. By Walter L. Spiers (Curator). Printed by Horace Hart at Oxford.

Selected Drawings from Old Masters in the University Galleries and in the Library at Christ Church, Oxford. Part 3. Chosen and described by Sidney Colvin, M.A. The Clarendon Press, Oxford. £3 3s.

Through Isle and Empire. By Vicomte Robert D'Humières, translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos. William Heinemann. 6s.

The Renaissance of Sculpture in Belgium. By Oliver Georges Destrée. Seeley & Co., Ltd. 3s. 6d. net.

The Collectors' Annual, 1904. Compiled by George E. East. Elliot Stock. 7s. 6d. net.

Albert Dürer. By T. Sturge Moore. Duckworth & Co. 7s. 6d. net.

Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers. Illustrated. Vol. V. S–Z. Algernon Graves, F.S.A. George Bell & Sons. 21s. net.

Drawings by Old Masters of the Dutch and Flemish Schools in the Royal Collection at Amsterdam. Part III. Williams & Norgate. £1 14s. net.

### MAGAZINES RECEIVED

Le Correspondant (Paris). La Rassegna Nazionale (Florence). La Federation Artistique (Brussels). The Kokka (Tokyo). Revue de l'Art Chrétien (Lille). Gazette des Beaux-Arts (Paris). La Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité (Paris). L'Arte (Rome). Onze Kunst (Amsterdam). Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft (Berlin). La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne (Paris). The Independent Review (London). The Fortnightly Review. The Nineteenth Century and After. The Edinburgh Review. The Monthly Review. The National Review. The Gentleman's Magazine.

### CATALOGUES, ETC.

Collection Théoph. de Bock. Tableaux, Anciens et Modernes. Porcelaines, Vieux Delft, Meubles, Sculptures, Livres, Tapis Persans. Frederik Müller & Cie., Amsterdam.

Bijoux, Diamants, Argenterie, Tapisseries, Étoffes, Cuivre Bronzes, Sculptures, Éstamps Livres. Deuxième Partie du Catalogue. Frederik Müller & Cie., Amsterdam.

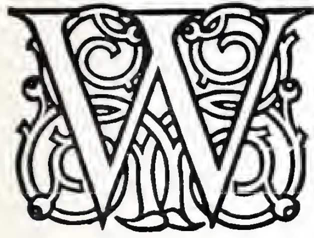
Objets d'Art et de Haute Curiosité de l'Antiquité du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance. Morau & Cie., Paris.

Emery Walker, ph. sc.

*The lady with the bird-cage*
*by Walter Howell Deverell*
*in the collection of Lady Burne-Jones*

# EDITORIAL ARTICLES

## THE REFORM OF MUNICIPAL ARCHITECTURE



E are justly proud of a good deal of our modern architecture. It is a long time since so much thought and talent have been applied throughout the country to the designing of private houses and churches, as any architectural paper, or the designs annually shown at the Royal Academy, will indicate. Public buildings, too, have sprung up all over the country in considerable numbers, but it is impossible to contemplate them with the same satisfaction. Very few indeed of these more elaborate structures, these town halls, public libraries, and art galleries can be counted even respectable specimens of architecture. When such a building is erected we have cause to be grateful if it does not turn out to be a positive eyesore. Architecture, in fact, like the other arts, flourishes in England, so far as it flourishes at all, in virtue of private patronage and in spite of officialdom.

The chief reason why our modern public buildings are so far from what they ought to be is indicated in the memorial which the Royal Institute of British Architects, and the various architectural societies in alliance with it, have recently addressed to the county, town, and district councils of the United Kingdom. It is the general practice of municipal authorities to entrust the design of such buildings to their own permanent officials; and the memorial justly declares that this practice is 'a matter involving grave interests of an artistic, practical, and financial nature.' The permanent official to whom it falls to execute the architectural work required by a municipal authority is most frequently an engigineer or surveyor who has had no proper architectural training.

'Non-expert planning,' says the memorial, 'entails unscientific distribution and consequent expense in construction, often leading to subsequent alterations which involve waste of public money, the amount of which is impossible to be ascertained owing to the complicated nature of official departments.'

On so technical a point one can but take the best expert opinion available. But it needs no technical training in architecture to see that from an artistic point of view the practice of entrusting important architectural work to anyone but a trained architect can only be disastrous. How disastrous it is our public buildings bear permanent witness.

In these circumstances the architectural societies urge upon the municipal authorities that the practice of placing architectural work in the hands of engineers or surveyors should be abandoned; that, if architectural work is carried out by a permanent official, such an official shall be required to have passed the qualifying examination of the Royal Institute of British Architects; and that the work of an official architect should be restricted to structures of secondary importance, and really important buildings entrusted to independent architects.

The wisdom of these recommendations is so obvious that it is only surprising that it should be necessary to make them at all. There has been no lack of expenditure on the hideous buildings which all over the country stand as monuments of well-meaning but mis-guided municipal zeal. It would not have cost a single farthing more to make them works of art; indeed it might have cost a great deal less. This must not be looked upon as a question of professional etiquette or interest. Undoubtedly architects suffer pecuniarily from the employment of those who are not architects to do architectural work; and on that ground they have every right to protest against the practice. But this is not the aspect of the case that concerns the public. What does concern the public is that, in regard to

architectural works, they should have proper value for their money, and they will only have proper value for their money if such works are entrusted to the best available talent. After all, we live in the generation which has produced the new cathedral at Westminster, the Institute of Chartered Accountants in the City, and the new municipal buildings at Cardiff, so we need not despair.

The matter has an immediate interest for Londoners. A million of their money will shortly be spent in housing the London County Council. Will the Council see that the best possible architect is chosen? To entrust the vast plans which they now have in hand to any makeshift official arrangement will be to court disaster; as anyone will know who has seen the plan lately exhibited, and published in the *Daily Chronicle*, with the meaningless dome towering above it. An open competition, judged by some impartial body, such as the Government advisory board, is the obvious method of procedure, and we appeal to the ratepayers to insist on its adoption.

## THE BOSTON MUSEUM

THE annual report of the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston suggests some remarkable and not very encouraging comparisons. Here we have a museum maintained without any state or municipal subsidy relying wholly upon private subscriptions for its support, which within a comparatively short period has become a collection of the first importance. The portrait of Philip IV which was discussed and reproduced in the April number of THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE is only one of the notable additions recently made to its department of paintings. Its department of Classical Antiquities has been well known in Europe during the last few years for its energy and enterprise, which in 1904 resulted in more than £35,000 being spent upon purchases. Its collection of oriental paintings is the largest in the world, and in wealth of masterpieces is second only to the Imperial Japanese collections of Nara and Kioto. Its Egyptian Department appears also to be making enormous progress, thanks to the help of the Egypt Exploration Fund, and to the energy of that most fortunate of Egyptologists Mr. Theodore M. Davis.

We may well feel a pang of envy on reading the account of this section when we think of the miserable show that the sculpture of predynastic and protodynastic Egypt makes in the British Museum, although from a national point of view this weakness is redeemed by such collections as those at Eton, and more especially that in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. Nevertheless the astonishing advance made by the Boston Museum in a comparatively short time indicates how much public spirit may do when happily blended with private enterprise, and should be an encouragement to the intelligent section of the public in this country who are combining in so many directions to amend the state of things brought about by official sloth and municipal ignorance.

## PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS

ALMOST everywhere we see a change in the attitude of private individuals towards the State. Instead of clamouring for the redress of grievances which they know can only be got at the expense of tedious wire-pulling, men of intelligence are taking the law into their own hands and doing what the State is always too busy to do. The movement is an entirely healthy one, and its many manifestations in England at least tend to show that the nation is not so wholly inert as pessimists believe.

In the matter of our National Art this tendency has done excellent service of recent years. We have only to remember the inquiry into the defective administration of the Chantrey Trust to understand the power of public spirited effort. Even if that inquiry should have no practical result at the moment, and the recommendations of the Committee should be disregarded, the inquiry would at least have pointed a way to a permanent remedy.

The same spirit applied to local enterprise has given to Aberdeen its new Gallery of Sculpture. Mr. James Murray, in securing the co-operation of his fellow citizens in his scheme, acted more magnanimously and far more wisely than if he had been the only giver of the gallery and its contents.

The Report of the National Art Collections Fund upon the work done during the first year of its existence is another encouraging sign. The fine picture by Watteau handed over to the National Gallery of Ireland, and the exquisite Greek bronze relief added to the British Museum, will be familiar to all readers of The Burlington Magazine, but these important acquisitions were but a portion of the good things preserved for the nation by the fund. The extent of its operations in the future must depend upon the financial support it receives from the public, but its first year's record is so good that the subscribers may well be proud of it. The National Art Collections Fund, in fact, may be said to represent the educated opinion of the country so far as our galleries and museums are concerned, and considering the size of the Treasury grants for purchases, and the rate at which valuable works of art are leaving England, we have every reason to be grateful for its existence and for the admirable connoisseurship it has hitherto shown.

The prospectus of another society just formed indicates another attempt to make amends for the absence of official support in the publication of reproductions of original drawings by the great masters. The newly-formed society, aptly named the Vasari Society,[1] proposes to reproduce annually for its subscribers some twenty famous drawings by the great artists of the Renaissance. Since the first year's programme includes a number of works by Pisanello, Leonardo, Holbein and others, and the facsimiles will be made by the Oxford Press, already famous in connexion with Mr. Colvin's splendid publication, we can wish the scheme all the success it appears to deserve.

In laying stress upon these examples of private enterprise it must not be thought that we would propose to substitute private enterprise for official action. Nothing is further from our intention. There can however be no doubt that in many respects official action and official opinion are wofully deficient, and blind to the obvious requirements of the time. We cannot therefore be too thankful that private activity should be doing so much, and thereby stimulating the State to take a more lively interest in art and its administration.

The vacant directorship of the National Gallery might serve as an instance of the gulf that separates the information at the service of the State from that which is possessed by all private persons who follow art affairs with any care. It is a matter of common knowledge that there are perhaps three men who are qualified by scholarship and ripe judgement to do credit to the post; yet there is a general fear that these may all be passed over in favour of someone who is fortunate enough to possess friends at court.

Unfortunately it is difficult for those who are interested in artistic matters to feel confident that an appointment of this kind can be made by an already overburdened Prime Minister, however intelligent, in

[1] The Hon. Secretary is Mr G. F. Hill, 10 Kensington Mansions, Earl's Court, S.W., and the annual subscription is one guinea.

accordance with personal merit and national requirements. What everyone fears in the case alike of the National Gallery and of the Victoria and Albert Museum, is a job, to put the matter quite plainly. The directorship of the Victoria and Albert Museum is a far more difficult post to fill than that of the National Gallery, since there are not, as in the case of the National Gallery, two or three men obviously marked out as the suitable candidates. South Kensington demands a combination of administrative, artistic, and purchasing ability which are very rarely to be found in one individual. It is quite certain that the difficulty cannot be solved in the way in which, according to report, the Board of Education would like to solve it, namely by appointing no Director at all and handing over the control of the Museum to its own clerks. It is on the contrary vitally important that the Victoria and Albert Museum should be rescued from the grasp of the Board of Education.

As we said last month, matters of this kind cannot be dealt with satisfactorily until we have a Ministry of the Fine Arts in this country. We recognize the difficulty of making such a change just now when the hands of the Government are fully occupied. Yet the growth of private enterprise in England is the best possible safeguard against the disadvantages of such a Ministry, while the possibilities of ministerial co-operation with the good work that is already being done are so great, that we are bound to ask that the subject may be properly considered.

## CONSTANTIN MEUNIER

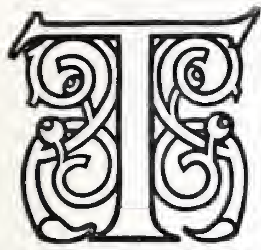
In Meunier the world has lost a more considerable artist than it appears to recognize, if we may judge by the scanty notices of him which have appeared hitherto. At first a sculptor, next, in the sixties, a realistic painter of singular force, then a sculptor once more, and the draughtsman *par excellence* of the Belgian Black Country, Meunier gained at the last a place in the one art second only to Rodin, and in the other a place almost comparable to that of Millet.

No touch of the flamboyant, inherent in the Flemish genius since the days of Rubens, makes Meunier's sculpture seem in the least theatrical. Thus he sets to work almost austerely to immortalize the modern iron-worker—his dignity, his slavery, and his revolt from that slavery.

From that fault Meunier's drawings too are free. In them he is disdainful of all show to the verge of uncouthness. His rendering of human labour has none of that serene Virgilian divinity which makes the peasants of Millet seem godlike even in their suffering. The workmen of Meunier are no gods, but oppressed Titans cast down to darkness and sullen hopeless rebellion.

The attempts of Menzel and others to deal with the artistic aspect of modern labour are only scientific snap-shots, or technical experiments by men who view these things from the outside. Meunier's blast furnaces, cinder-paths, canals, and sulphurous twilight are seen by one who has lived and suffered in their midst, as Millet did among the labourers on the plains of Barbizon. To this sincerity of vision Meunier owes his power and his rank among the modern artists who have sought new worlds to conquer and have found them. Yet though he had mastered his subject he had not the time to exhaust its possibilities. Thus the day may come when a generation of painters of the labours of commerce will look back to Meunier as a generation of painters of field labour now look back to their master Millet.

# THE PRE-RAPHAELITE AND IMPRESSIONIST HERESIES BY BERNHARD SICKERT

HIS winter has provided material of extraordinary interest in four exhibitions of contemporary art, not only for the general public which was enabled to discuss the intrinsic value of the pictures in themselves, but also for those connoisseurs who are interested in the most recent developments of painting, and who have thus had a unique opportunity of studying the influences which have been paramount in producing them.

First we had the Watts Exhibition at Burlington House, then the Whistler Memorial Exhibition at the New Gallery, the Durand-Ruel Exhibition at the Grafton, and finally the Victorian Exhibition at Whitechapel. The first two have been already dealt with in this magazine, but the Whitechapel Exhibition affords in the most interesting section, that of the Pre-Raphaelites, which is extremely representative, an instructive contrast to that at the Grafton. Mr. Aitken and those who were responsible for the hanging, assisted by the veteran painter Mr. Arthur Hughes, are to be congratulated on an exhibition which is the most complete of its kind that has ever been held, since it includes not only the most representative examples of the actual brotherhood, but also of those who were the immediate successors—like Arthur Hughes, R. B. Martineau, W. S. Burton, Frederick Sandys, besides the affiliated schools, branching off on the one hand in the eclectic school headed by Edward Burne-Jones, and on the other in the Academic painters, John Brett, Val Prinsep, etc., and finally the Liverpool school, headed by W. L. Windus, who indeed is so pre-eminent that he deserves a place apart.

It would be impossible in a magazine article to examine critically all these schools and their affiliations, but it may be interesting to attempt a larger view, and especially to contrast the most significant movement in England, what we roughly call the Pre-Raphaelite, with the most significant movement in France, generally known as Impressionist, exemplified in the Grafton Gallery.

This would appear on the face of it rather fantastic, yet the aims and intentions of both schools may be almost stated in the same terms, namely, to represent nature as she is, unhampered by prejudice and tradition, with the help of modern science.

We need not be misled by the term Pre-Raphaelite, which did not at the inception of the movement, at the period of its greatest worth and vigour, involve the study or the influence of the actual painters before Raphael, of whom indeed the English painters knew almost nothing, but rather of the spirit that was conceived as predominant in these precursors—the earnest study of nature, intensity of feeling, contempt of formulæ.

The immediate divergence of the two schools arose from the fundamental difference of temperament between the painters of the period, a difference much less marked at present between their descendants.

The English painter considered beauty to be attainable by a conglomeration of things intrinsically beautiful. A poet's idea is beautiful, a woman is beautiful, mediaeval costume is beautiful, sunshine and spring and roses are beautiful. Put all these beautiful ingredients together and the result must be beautiful. It is similar to the English notion of gastronomic perfection, of which the most typical instance is a Christmas pudding, a mince pie, or a trifle.

To the French painter on the other hand only two things are beautiful, nay, only two things exist—*Time* and *Place*.

The young impressionist, having abolished formulæ when he started on his quest, discovered that the moment was of paramount importance, and that during this moment the interdependence of the various elements was so intimate and profound that if he were to lose it by attempts to rely on memory or classification of similar phenomena the whole *raison d'être* of his picture would be destroyed.

The attempt he made seemed to most persons foredoomed to failure, and even now is spoken of as an experiment, but the exhibition at the Grafton seems to show that he did occasionally succeed in snatching veritable shreds of the flying nymph's iridescent veil.

That nine times out of ten the drapery so brutally wrenched off turned into a dead rag in the painter's hands was inevitable, but such a picture as Monet's The Walk on the Cliffs is a triumphant vindication of the whole school in its superb achievement.

On the other hand, the two ambitions of the Pre-Raphaelite school, to represent nature exactly as she is and at the same time illustrate some story of human passion, were incompatible. The painters whom they superseded had always realized that, in illustrative or imaginative work, some generalization is necessary if the component parts are to retain any sort of harmonious relation. Hence the basis of all previous work was traditional, and innovations of colour and tone were very tentatively introduced. The Pre-Raphaelite would have none of this; grass was green, and the sky was blue, and a young girl's lips were red, and so down it all went, uncompromising, assertive, childlike in its naïve charm, childish in its incompetence. Indeed it is difficult to see where was the gain to the Pre-Raphaelites in the assertion of isolated phenomena which by their lack of synthesis obscured the main issue.

The innovations introduced in light and colour chiefly by Holman Hunt and Madox Brown, whilst they show amazing application in the *classification* of phenomena, are merely interesting and valuable to us now as pioneer work, but the intensity of feeling is a thing eternal, because it was carried to perfection, and it is on this ground that their justification is chiefly to be found. In comparison with Millais's Carpenter's Shop, Rossetti's Found, Madox Brown's The Last of England, Holman Hunt's Claudio and Isabella, W. Windus's Too Late, how cold and rhetorical as regards expression and gesture appear even the greatest masterpieces of Raphael, Correggio, Rubens, and the painters against whom the movement was mainly in revolt. Millais's instinct for natural gesture was almost uncanny, and contains the very breath of life and passion, and even amongst their exemplars Giotto alone has this look of unexpected yet inevitable gesture, since Mantegna, Botticelli, and the rest were much influenced by the Greek renascence. Without belittling this very valuable gift, it must be admitted that from a merely aesthetic point of view the achievements seldom resulted in a beautiful whole.

To paint with whatsoever care and love a beautiful subject does not necessarily produce a beautiful object, which can only be effected by a beautiful interpretation; and it is a strange irony or Nemesis that this eternal truth, conceived with unerring taste by the boor and drunkard George Morland, and by the downright and unaffected Hogarth, to speak only of our own painters, should have been ignored by the exquisite Rossetti, the learned Madox Brown, the accomplished Millais.

The Pre-Raphaelites were indifferent to this essential truth, and although the impressionists in their earlier work had not quite forgotten the exquisite technique of the great classics and of their immediate

LA LOGE, BY AUGUSTE RENOIR, REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF M. DURAND-RUEL.

precursors, Corot and Daubigny and Millet, as witness the adorable quality of Boudin, which excuses a rather ordinary vision, and the severer beauty of the *pâte* of Manet, yet towards the end in the later work of Monet, Pissarro, Sisley, and Renoir there is no remnant of a beautiful style left. Pissarro especially affected a quality like pulled bread, which is excruciating.

Degas on the other hand stands quite apart like Whistler. His vision is founded on nature, but his technique on the great classics. The little canvas Carriage at the Races is by a Gerard Terborch who happened to live in 1873, and the pastels are models of style.

The impressionist too often violated his material, it is true, but the Pre-Raphaelite approached it with such timidity and reverence that a divorce might well be instituted *frigiditatis causa* as Master Cutbeard hath it.

I think the world has not yet realized what a loss it sustained by the early death of Walter Howell Deverell. His picture of The Lady with the Bird-cage, reproduced here,[1] stands alone among the Pre-Raphaelites as showing, not only an appreciation of a beautiful subject, but a faculty for interpreting it into a beautiful object.

The canvas of W. Windus in his picture Too Late, which stands opposite, a marvel of achievement, is as consumptive as the lady; the colours are as raw and hectic. Compare with this the beautiful full quality, the mellow tone, the sober and tasteful handling of Deverell's work. It is surely significant too that the picture has no subject, it is merely a lady feeding her bird! Shade of Ruskin! Only a subject, that is, in which Terborch might have delighted, and before which Reynolds might have gone on his knees.

But by attending only to the visible beauty of the thing actually before him Deverell showed himself not only a worthy descendant of the great painters, but added that something new which is always attainable by a sincere and single-minded vision. The lighting especially is admirably modern, the conflicting cold and warm lights, as in the transparent sleeve for instance, are stated with a realism and at the same time with a taste which is unique in this gallery, and which has not been surpassed, though it has been equalled, by painters of the present day. The common ground on which the various schools meet is the point where they are greatest, and if we compare this picture with Renoir's La Loge,[2] we can only find in the choice of subject and type, a choice which looms larger now than with the perspective of time, any really fundamental difference of selection. The Frenchman's work has less severity and nobility; it shows already the weakness of structure which grew upon him, but the simple sincere painter's vision is the same, and seems to show that in genre at least the difference between the two schools was not necessarily so profound as it appeared subsequently.

We have been taught to admire the finish of the Pre-Raphaelites, and no doubt it is admirable, but it is seldom great like the finish of Terborch or van der Heyden.

It is a matter of no great difficulty to draw a chain every link of which can be counted, this being merely a matter of time and patience. But nature is never obliging, and what she presents to us, taking a chain to be the system of the construction of each object, is not one chain or twenty, but twenty thousand, some large, some small, some apparently irregular, crossing and recrossing each other, and returning on themselves, thereby *interfering* (in the scientific sense), making an inextricable web. Add to this the freaks of light, colour, and atmosphere which suppress, alter, or

[1] Frontispiece, page 92.

[2] Reproduced, page 99

emphasize every link, and the task of unravelling the whole is obviously impracticable.

Confronted with such an aspect as this, the impressionist realizes at once that if he began to ask himself whether such and such links are rendered invisible through the interference of other links of another chain, and if so of which, or whether they are rendered invisible by the suppressive action of light or shade or colour or atmosphere or all of them, he would soon throw his brushes down in despair. His only chance is to ignore the catenary principle altogether and pick up the links as they emerge. In so doing he is bound to miss some of the links or indeed to lose the connexion altogether, and it is only by the goodwill of the spectator that the constructive sense is not entirely lost.

Or to use another illustration we may say that any aspect in nature is constructed in the form of a limited number of pegs or steps with gaps between, which the artist, like an athlete or alpinist, has to cross with what security he can. The gaps are not, of course, vacuums; they are indeed the most interesting parts, but they act like a *repoussoir* as it were, and are only in that sense constructively useful.

When the artist-athlete comes to a very wide gap he must leap it, and it is hardly probable that he will alight on the next step or eminence with the same precision as in a short step. But it must be done at once and boldly. If he stands shivering on his last eminence, or vainly trying to get a precarious foothold on smaller subsidiary steps, he may reach the next point, but with no more precision in the event, and with considerable scarification, perspiration, and loss of time in the process. The Pre-Raphaelite, by multiplying his steps and diminishing his gaps to an unconscionable extent, gave the untrained observer a sense of great security and confidence; but the method is quite unnatural. He could thereby render the complication, not the mystery of nature, whilst the impressionist could and did render this mystery. But goodwill, as I said, is necessary on behalf of the spectator. If he sulks and won't play because the game is a new and complicated one, the two must part company, but the spectator is the loser thereby.

Nature's three ministers—light, colour, and atmosphere—indifferent to our preoccupations, will each point an arbitrary finger at her own selection, and the impressionist, having no moral axes to grind, will follow their indications unswervingly. Often, it is true, he will succeed in dehumanizing himself without thereby becoming god-like, but he is in the company of the gods, of Shakespeare, Balzac, Tourgenieff, Bach, Beethoven, with those that offer no apology for the exercise of their art, and whose message seems not to mean any one thing, because, like life itself, it means everything. This detachment, which was so characteristic of the Dutch masters and of the French painters, would seem, to judge from the Victorian Exhibition, to be utterly repugnant to the English temperament, but there were signs of it in English painting of the previous century, and the French influence has certainly caused a tendency to recur to it in recent years.

The romance of the Pre-Raphaelites degenerated in the hands of the Academicians, as it was bound to do, into mere Wardour Street studio painting, but the intense humanity of the Pre-Raphaelite outlook while it lasted makes the interlude the most interesting movement of modern times.

No. 7. 1710.

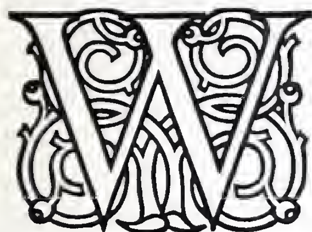
No. 6. LONDON, 1682.

PLATE IV. ENGLISH SILVER WINE-COOLERS OF THE CHARLES II. PERIOD IN THE COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF PORTLAND, K.G.

# CHARLES II SILVER AT WELBECK

## BY J. STARKIE GARDNER

## PART II (*Conclusion*)



E have seen that articles intended purely for decoration were made of thin sheet silver, effectively but probably rapidly embossed. When articles for use were in question it was otherwise. Perhaps the most massive pieces of plate that have come down to us are the enormous wine-coolers of which a superb specimen (Plate IV, No. 6), weighing 1,160 oz., is preserved at Welbeck. The body is fluted and rests upon lions' feet, and is provided at either end with ring handles depending from lions' masks. The length of this wine-cooler is 3 feet 6 inches, and the width 2 feet 8 inches, and it stands 13 inches in height. It was made in London in 1682, the maker using a crowned S for mark; and the arms of Robert Harley, first earl of Oxford and Mortimer, are engraved upon it. Only such families as have been exempt from the common ups and downs of fortune that all but the few have been liable to have retained plate which must when produced have been regarded as more or less reserves of specie. An even larger wine-cooler was made the previous year for the Manners family, and is now at Belvoir. Their crest (a peacock in its pride upon a cap of maintenance) forms appropriate handles. It resembles the Welbeck specimen, but stands higher, and is enriched inside and out with borders of acanthus, its weight being 2,000 oz., and the maker R. L., probably Ralph Leeke. Lord Chesterfield has a third example, even larger and higher, but weighing much less (1,084 oz.), made by I. C. Earl Spencer owns a fourth, 1,920 oz. in weight, and 3 feet 8 inches in length, made by Peter Harrache in 1701.

Large wine-coolers of metal, by Italian artists of the later Renaissance, are frequently represented as standing on the floors during feasts, filled with vessels for wine. One very nearly identical with the Welbeck specimen is shown in the foreground of Van Barren's picture of Charles I Dining in Public State, now at Hampton Court. It is shown as gilt, and the lion's head and ring handle is in front instead of at the ends; two old rectangular wine-flasks stand in it. Wine-coolers were used in the same manner in Holland and Germany.

A second cistern of smaller dimensions and later date (1710) is also illustrated.[1] It is of somewhat more artistic form, shaped like an oval tazza, richly gadrooned, and on a low foot. The handles are graceful and excellently modelled as terminal female recurved figures. The weight is 365 oz. Gabriel Sleath, well known in his day, produced it and engraved it with the arms of Edward Harley, afterwards second earl of Oxford.

These capacious wine-coolers which stood upon the floor were supplemented later by others equally massive, for the buffet, urn-like vessels, provided internally with removable ice chambers, through which the wine percolated to be drawn off by a tap. These, known as wine-fountains, were made as companion pieces to the wine-coolers, which they did not supersede. One of the same date and by the same maker as the cooler last described is fortunately preserved at Welbeck.[2] It weighs 450 oz., and is upwards of 2 feet 6 inches high. The cover is tall, of many members, gadrooned, and surmounted by a pine cone. The body is widest under the lip, where there are four salient lion masks, two of which hold ring-handles; the spaces between being filled with finely-chased strapwork, interrupted by medallions

[1] Plate IV, No. 7. [2] Plate V, p. 107, No. 9.

enclosing shaped escutcheons bearing the arms of William Baron Ogle, duke of Newcastle. Under this is a cylindrical region, divided by four applied acanthus console brackets supporting the lions' heads above, the remainder being decorated with fine arabesqued foliated work in low relief. The lower part is cup-shaped and fluted, and rests upon a low and massive foot enriched with a salient laurel band and an acanthus border. The tap is formed of a grotesque head, and is actuated by a miniature dolphin. The earl of Chesterfield's wine-cooler has also its companion fountain, 4 feet 4 inches in height, and weighing 2,462 oz., spirally fluted, and surmounted by a tower and the earl's crest. Earl Spencer's wine-cooler has also the companion fountain, spirally fluted, and made in 1701 by Peter Harrache. Two other remarkable specimens are illustrated in 'Old Silver Work'; one made by Joseph Ward in 1702, belonging to the duke of Newcastle, and the other to the duke of Rutland, made by David Willaume in 1728, the decoration possibly suggested by the Manners crest.

Perfectly unique is the splendid pair of large wine-fountains, 2 ft. 10 in. in height and weighing 435 oz. each, of Charles II date.[3] The bodies are oval with spirally-fluted necks, egg-and-tongue mouldings, and an applied border of richly-chased acanthus leaves on the shoulder, separated by a plain region from the arching-strap and acanthus pattern below. The relatively small feet have gadroon, acanthus, and egg-and-tongue decorations. In front is an applied escutcheon engraved with the arms of Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, quartering Brampton. The taps are ingeniously designed, the head and arms of a nude child holding a dolphin, which forms the spout. The gadrooned covers are surmounted with bold stags'-heads, the crest of the Cavendishes, and they are also provided with immense scrolled handles, permitting them to be carried either like pails, or from the sides, like pitchers. These are chased with acanthus leaves, and the lateral scrolls end in dragons' heads.

Of similar outline, but without the large scrolled handles, the taps, and the stags'-heads, are the vases, 17½ inches high, with double covers, made in 1666 by a maker using a cross for mark on a shield.[4] The arms engraved upon the escutcheons are those of the earl of Portland. They are fluted and gadrooned with festoons of flowers in high relief, and have salient handles, consisting of the heads and necks of lions boldly modelled. They weigh 265 oz. and are perfectly unique.

Our illustrations of the Welbeck plate of the second half of the seventeenth century conclude with a massive pair of richly worked and fluted flagons, weighing 344 oz. (No. 11), made by William Denny in 1700. They are engraved with the arms of Edward, second earl of Oxford. They measure no less than 20 inches in height.

Tapering cylindrical flagons first appear in the time of Elizabeth, borrowed no doubt from the German canettes, vessels of pottery in form of a truncated cone with bowed handle, which in Elizabethan times were richly decorated. A few English examples in silver of this period have survived, many of them highly decorated with fine embossing and borders. They were lighter and more elegant, but fell somewhat suddenly into disuse. Soon after they were revived, but in a perfectly plain and more massive type that remained in vogue from about 1640 until the end of the century. The duke of Portland possesses a pair of these also, a foot in height, made by W. S. in 1677. Towards the close of the century they are found embellished with applied coats of arms and acanthus and gadrooned borders, in the same way that the tankards, which must often have been

[3] Plate V, p. 107, No. 8.

[4] Plate VI, p. 110, No. 10.

No. 8. PAIR OF WINE FOUNTAINS.

No. 9. WINE FOUNTAIN.

SILVER OF THE CHARLES II. PERIOD IN THE COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF PORTLAND, K.G. PLATE V.

No. 11. FLAGONS, 1700.

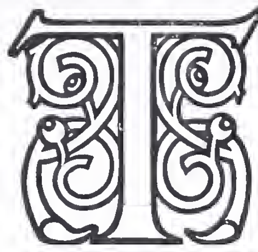
No. 10. VASES, 1666.

PLATE VI. ENGLISH SILVER OF THE CHARLES II. PERIOD IN THE COLLECTION OF THE DUKE OF PORTLAND, K.G.

used with them, were treated. The superb pair at Welbeck is richly fluted and gadrooned, and must also be perfectly unique, and probably the finest in existence.

In addition to the plate illustrated, the vast stores at Welbeck comprise a superb pair of Pilgrim bottles of 1692 illustrated in 'Old Silver Plate,' 18½ inches high; a large silver bell of 1685; a pair of baluster candlesticks, 1686; toilet services; boxes; a table; fire-dogs; salvers, one of 1667; beakers; tankards; porringers, etc.—forming an absolutely unrivalled collection of this particular period.

The silversmiths under Charles II flourished for a time. They were useful at first in supplying the King with money, and as he became more wealthy his dealings with them increased, and his commissions for their wares were lavish. He became on familiar terms with several, and created them knights and even baronets, and they founded several of the still-existing noble families. However, already in 1663 the 'Russia Resident,' Sir John Hibden, thought the King dealt over much with goldsmiths, 'suffering himself to have his purse kept and commanded by them.' Defoe, in the 'Compleat Tradesman,' pictures one in the height of his prosperity, living near the Monument, who had £200,000 clear, a prodigious sum in those days. He was clothed with embroideries and cloth-of-gold waistcoat, rode in a coach and six, with three or four footmen waiting for him at the Exchange Gate; his lady, in her gilt coach which cost £400, dressed in the richest habit imaginable, '*tout brillant* as the French call it, covered with diamonds and jewels without price.' But 'put not your trust in princes,' for in less than twenty years the man of the cloth-of-gold waistcoat paid one penny in the pound. Closing the Exchequer brought these magnificent goldsmiths, knights, aldermen, lord mayors, from immense wealth to the lowest misery and poverty. Among the ruined known to Defoe were Sir Robert Vyner, Alderman Backwell, Sir Thomas Vyner, Sir John Sweetapple, Sir Matthew Kirwood, Sir Thomas Cook, Sir Basil Firebrass, Sir Justus Beck, and Alderman Forth and his two brothers, so rich that one of them undertook to farm the revenues of Ireland; of whom when they failed the King facetiously said three-fourths of the city were broke. Defoe remarks that there were hundreds of others equal to those in wealth, though not honoured with the 'Sir' and gold chain.



THE New York Water-Color Club is holding its first Exhibition in London and the event coincides with shows of the most eminent living English water-colourists and of deceased masters of the art at Messrs. Agnew's and at Whitechapel.

For seriousness and nobility nothing in Messrs. Agnew's Exhibition could be compared with the examples of Girtin, and of one or two men like Varley and De Wint, who now and then caught something of the majesty of Girtin's style—a style which is in its essence only a development of the magnificent pen-and-bistre work of Rembrandt. Turner occupied another solitary pinnacle with his dreamy blending of splendour and delicacy. All the rest of the work seemed trivial in comparison with Girtin, clumsy and prosaic in comparison with Turner.

How would our modern water-colourists emerge from a similar ordeal? Let us consider first the drawings by Mr. Sargent at the Carfax Gallery. It is evident at a glance that brilliancy and accomplishment can go no further. A century ago men spoke of the 'swordplay' of Girtin's brush, and the phrase might be applied to Mr. Sargent with equal truth. Yet in Mr. Sargent's case one cannot help feeling that the sword is flashed and flourished as if the swordsman were bent more on astonishing the spectator than on driving his point home. To match him with Girtin is to match a Porthos with a D'Artagnan.

The show of the New York Water-Color Club suffers from the same defect. The level of technical skill displayed is singularly high, and examples of talent and keen observation may be seen on all sides; yet the total effect of the collection is disappointing. Everything is cleverly seen and noted, but very little seems to be strongly felt. One or two of the less striking drawings, such as Mr. J. H. Moser's In the Adirondacks (57), for this reason remain in the memory when far more brilliant things are forgotten. Mr. Arthur I. Keller's The Sisters (58), for example, is a brilliant piece of accomplishment, but the accomplishment is out of all proportion to the dignity of the interests on which it is lavished, which are those of an illustration in a popular magazine.

The fault, however, does not seem to lie with lack of subject matter so often as with some inherent defect in the medium as employed by modern artists. The blot of wet colour on white paper is undoubtedly sparkling, luminous, and admirably adapted to rendering things where freshness and brightness are essential, as in effects of mid-day sunlight, or in flower painting.[1] To limit the water-colour painter to such subjects, however, would be to cut him off from all the effects by which the landscape painters of the world have achieved greatness. Such a restriction is absurd, yet it is constantly being imposed upon modern water-colourists by mistaken veneration for the quality of their medium.

Now the blot of wet colour on white paper, with all its luminous freshness, is undeniably poor and crude in quality. It cannot, for instance, stand a moment's comparison with the quality of hue which even a second-rate Japanese colour print possesses. The fault would appear to lie to some extent with the paper employed rather than with the pigments, since Mr. Conder working on silk with modern colours invariably gets quality of a delightful kind.

The old practitioners certainly managed to avoid this rawness and poverty to some extent by the use of quiet and simple colours. Nothing, for instance, could be simpler than the tones in which Girtin conceived the majestic composition reproduced. Much, however, should, I believe, be attributed to the use of a slightly

[1] As in Mr. Francis E. James's water-colours lately shown at the Dutch Gallery.

ON THE WHARFE, NEAR FARNLEY; WATER-COLOUR BY T. GIRTIN, REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF MESSRS. THOS. AGNEW & SONS.

absorbent paper, not always dead white in hue, which modified and softened each wash of colour laid upon it. Yet the example of the Japanese seems to show that water-colour, even when applied to an absorbent paper with a brush, has not the richness or quality of the same colour applied by means of a wood block, or when used upon silk. The method of Girtin thus modifies the natural difficulty of water-colour painting, but does not wholly remove it.

Turner, after mastering Girtin's manner, set himself to remedy its defects, by a free use of rubbing out, of stippling and of body colour. With this last, as in the Rivers of France series, he achieved fairly consistent success, but in later life he returned once more to transparent work, and by eliminating from his palette all colours but those of sunset, and by astonishing dexterity in their manipulation, he produced specimens of colour which are often unique of their kind. Nevertheless it is undeniable that Turner's success was achieved in spite of his medium rather than by means of it, and necessitated restrictions of subject of handling and of palette to which other artists could not be expected to submit.

The experiment of a less conventional approach to nature with transparent colour was being made meanwhile both by men of strong talent like Cotman and Cox, and by a host of men of less power.[2] It resulted uniformly in failure either partial or complete. How many works of the so-called English School of Water-Colour could be hung by the side of an old Japanese print without looking either weak or garish? Yet this fatal tradition has continued to the present day from the mistaken idea that it represents the natural capacity of the medium.

What then are its capacities? Girtin has proved that transparent water-colour if restricted in hue and used on semi-absorbent paper is a noble and simple art. Turner and the Preraphaelites—the drawings of Rossetti, Madox Brown, and Burne-Jones at Whitechapel will serve as examples—have proved that water-colour if used solidly and masterfully, and if strengthened with body-colour and 'wiping-out,' can rival oil painting in strength and splendour.[3] The artists of China and Japan in the past, and in the present Mr. Conder, have illustrated its exquisite quality when used upon silk. The 'Rip Van Winkle' drawings of Mr. Rackham, in which water-colour is blended with pen-and-ink work, indicate its possibilities in another direction, and the example of Rubens and Rowlandson might be quoted to show that Mr. Rackham's success is no accident. The record of so-called pure water-colour on the other hand is one of almost consistent mediocrity, and it is surely time that its tradition was thoroughly reconsidered.

P. A.

[2] The example of Cotman is specially instructive. In early life he worked like Girtin on semi-absorbent paper with a restricted palette, and his colour is uniformly fine. Later he took to drawing upon hard white paper, and using a full palette, with results far less uniformly harmonious than in his first period. Sometimes of course his great talent enables him to emerge successfully. More often, however, his remarkable power of conception, his mastery of deliberate arrangement, and his wonderful accuracy of touch are unable to save him from hotness and harshness. Towards the end of his life he seems to have recognized the cause of his difficulties as Turner did, and by free use of rubbing-out obtained quality and harmony once more. The fine collection of his drawings recently acquired by the British Museum admirably illustrates these changes.

[3] Mr. D. Y. Cameron's landscape at the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours is another striking example of the superior force and richness of colour which may thus be obtained.

# THE ROUEN PORCELAIN

## BY M. L. SOLON

IT is no longer allowable to begin a casual paper on pottery with the time-honoured remark that 'the origin of the ceramic art is wrapped up in mystery.' Yet I have been tempted to make use of a very similar sentence as affording, in connexion with the history of the invention of artificial porcelain, a befitting introduction to the study of the subject. The deeper our researches penetrate into the cloudy past, the more diffident one feels about the security of the very grounds on which rests our present knowledge. Experience has taught us that any notion universally accredited to day is liable to be bodily upset by the surprises that to-morrow has in store for us. This has been the case with all the previous theories bearing on the origin of European porcelain.

When and where was the white and translucid ware—the most exalted pride of the potter—produced in Europe for the first time? This seems a simple question which ought to have received by this time a definite answer. But if we call to mind the modified views which were successively entertained on this point by our forerunners in the field of historical investigation, we come to the conclusion that the problem is rather difficult to solve, and that the last word has yet to be said about it. That the artificial, or soft, porcelain was made to imitate the priceless vessels of which a few rare specimens were beginning to be imported from the far East, cannot be doubted. So different, however, are the constituent materials of the original examples from those of which the imitations were made that the relation of one ware to the other cannot extend farther than a certain likeness in their outward appearance. We may dismiss, therefore, all idea of oriental parentage, and consider European porcelain in the light of an unquestionably original creation.

For long the curiosity of the passionate collector of old Sèvres china has rested satisfied with the belief that the manufacture of the dainty objects of his predilection had originated at the place from which it derived its name. Only a very few of the most experienced amateurs admitted that a few trials, by no means negligeable, had previously been made at Vincennes. One day it came to be known that the secret of the much admired pastes and glazes had been brought over to Vincennes by two workmen coming from Chantilly, a small factory where the making of soft porcelain had attained, many years before, a high degree of perfection. Also, that the rapid development of the royal porcelain works at Sèvres was partly due to the engagement of several skilful operatives whose practical experience had been gained at Mennecy-Villeroy, another minor establishment the productions of which were scarcely second to those of Chantilly.

Once started on this course the retrospective survey could not stop at that point. Many years elapsed, however, before a paragraph discovered in the 'Relation of a Journey to Paris,' by Dr. Martin Lister, printed in 1698, revealed the fact that at that time the manufacture of a fine porcelain 'as white and translucid as the one that came from the East' was in full operation at Saint-Cloud. An immediate search was instituted by the collectors; it produced a large number of marked specimens the source of which was unmistakable. They are now represented in all the ceramic galleries. One may see that there is little in the nature of the paste, or in the quality of the glaze of the average examples, that is suggestive of a ware still in the experimental stage, while the choicest examples strike us as being very near technical ex-

cellence. This was a sensational discovery; it was decided that the birthplace of European porcelain should not be sought for anywhere else. Accordingly Saint-Cloud was henceforth to be considered as the main trunk from which the other factories had branched off, and full credit was to be given to its founder Chicanneau for a glorious invention. So implicitly was this opinion accepted by all china collectors, that when a Norman archaeologist, a noted authority on all matters of local history, ventured to assert, proofs in hand, that porcelain had been made at Rouen years before it was produced at Saint-Cloud, such an allegation could only be received with a polite smile of incredulity. In vain André Pottier unearthed from the civic archives the original documents which secured to the faïencier Louis Poterat the right of calling himself the inventor of the translucid ware and of enjoying the fruit of his invention; in vain he produced extracts from contemporary books establishing that the manufacture was steadily carried on in the town. It was only when a few specimens of the ware were duly identified, and after excavations made on the site of the old works had brought to light unimpeachable vouchers in the shape of fragments and imperfect pieces, that the existence of Rouen porcelain became an accepted fact.

Louis Poterat was the eldest son of a man to whose abilities and energy the chief city of Normandy owes the establishment of a mighty ceramic industry. Of the few abortive attempts that had been made at an earlier date to introduce faïence painting in the Italian taste, it is needless to speak; they had vanished without leaving any trace. At Nevers, on the contrary, the importation of the art of the Savona majolists, instigated and patronized by the duke of Gonzalve, had developed into a most prosperous trade. The whole kingdom was willingly tributary to the Nevers factories for the supply of a painted faïence, of national origin, which was deemed to be as fine and pleasing as any that had so far been imported from foreign countries. In 1644, Edme Poterat, sieur de Saint-Etienne, a gentleman related to the nobility of Champagne, undertook to create in the busy and wealthy town of Rouen a centre of artistic pottery manufacture which would render the northern provinces of France independent of the products of all other sources. The invention of French porcelain is so closely connected with the immense success of this earlier enterprise that I cannot refrain from briefly relating the favourable conditions under which it was accomplished.

Two partners were associated in the foundation of the faïence factory; namely, the above-mentioned Edme Poterat, on whom devolved the installation and the practical management of the affair, and Nicholas Poirel, sieur de Grandval, who supplied the necessary funds and remained up to 1774 the sole proprietor, not only of the land and buildings, but also of the whole plant. This Poirel de Grandval was, by his position of usher to the Queen's bedchamber, a man of some influence at Court. He obtained a royal privilege of an unusual character, which was to protect the Rouen factory from any direct competition for a period of fifty years. To this advantage must be added the value of the high patronage that his constant attendance at the King's palace allowed him to secure from the courtiers. Finally, if we consider that the demand for painted faïence was increasing from day to day, and that the ware manufactured by Poterat had sufficient merit and novelty to attract and please numerous purchasers, we shall understand that the partners had not to wait long before the concern was on its way to fame and prosperity.

Brought up from early youth to the practice of the trade, Louis Poterat had

soon mastered all that could be learned, from his fellow workers, of the regular manufacture of a fine faïence. The observations he was able to gather in the course of his travels abroad widely enlarged the scope of his technical knowledge, greatly superior to that of the average master-potter of the times. For several years the son served his father in the capacity of assistant manager, at an annual salary of 1,000 livres. In 1673, seeing that there was no hope of his ever being taken into partnership, and anxious to improve his position, he determined to leave the paternal works and to establish close by a factory of his own. A man of superior abilities, as Louis Poterat undoubtedly was, could not have tied himself to a mere observance of the humdrum rules of a settled manufacture. All the moments he could spare from the arduous management of his father's work had been spent in the retirement of the laboratory, proving recondite formulas, combining untried substances in his search for the unknown. Like many of his contemporaries, he was haunted by the frantic ambition of solving the mystery of the translucid ware; more fortunate than any of them, he had succeeded in obtaining, if not the real body of the Chinese porcelain, at least an admirable substitute.

On the production of trial pieces which for whiteness and translucency left nothing to be desired, Louis Poterat was granted letters patent which fixed to thirty years the term of his exclusive rights to the invention. The document, dated 1673, begins as follows:—

'LOUIS, by the grace of God King of France and of Navarre, etc.

'Our beloved Louis Poterat has very humbly remonstrated to us that during his journeys in foreign countries, and through unremitting application, he has discovered the secret of making the true Chinese porcelain and the faïence of Holland. However, as the aforesaid porcelain can only be manufactured in conjunction with the making of the faïence of Holland, because porcelain can only be safely baked when surrounded in the oven by a screen of coarser ware which protects it from the violence of the fire, it is indispensable for him to obtain our permission to manufacture conjointly faïence and porcelain, and be allowed to erect such ovens, mills, and workshops as he may require, in the suburb of Saint-Sever, in the township of Rouen, which he finds particularly convenient for the purpose.'

And it ends by saying:—

'On that account . . . we grant to the applicant the right of establishing the manufacture of all sort of vessels, similar to those of China, or to the painted faïence of Holland, notwithstanding the previous prohibitions entered in our letters granted to Nicolas Poirel, sieur de Grandval, September 16th, 1646, from which we derogate on the present occasion.

'Signed, Louis; and, By order of the King, Colbert.'

That pretence—for it was nothing else—of porcelain having to be fired in the centre of an oven full of faïence had provided the means of evading the effects of a prohibitive decree still in full force. Louis Poterat was well aware that it might be long before his newly-born invention could be carried on at a profit. By no means in affluent circumstances, he had arranged that the remunerative production of ornamental faïence should support him until a most complicated manufacture would have been safely regulated. Far from adhering to his projected imitation of Dutch ware he preferred to impart to the decorative work an essentially French character. It was he—if it is rightly conjectured—who introduced those scolloped and radiated patterns known as Lambrequins, Broderies, etc., which are the glory of the Rouen faïence; the same design is occasionally seen painted on his porcelain as well as on the faïence.

To conquer the obstacles which impeded the establishment of a normal manufacture of white porcelain was not, for a far-seeing master-potter, a mere question of satisfying his professional pride; it meant fortune for the inventor, and salvation for the whole French trade, seriously threatened by the increase of foreign imports. Prospects of

an alarming competition are disclosed in the custom-house returns for the later part of the seventeenth century. From that source we hear that in the very town of Rouen four ships arrived from Surrah, in 1683, with a cargo of 133,000 pieces of Japanese porcelain, which were to be landed and sold by auction in the course of a few days.

But neither the urgency of getting fully prepared to meet the coming danger, nor the constant but fruitless practice of a process the shortcomings of which could not be overcome, appear ever to have brought Poterat nearer to the point where an admirable technical achievement could be turned into a marketable commodity. Casual references to his translucid ware, found inserted in the printed works of the period, warrant the belief that he never abandoned the hope of mastering the practical difficulties which had so far stood in the way of a financial success. As late as 1691, the *Almanach des Adresses de Paris*, by de Pradelles, contained the announcement that: 'Sieur de Saint-Etienne, a master-faïencier of Rouen, has found the secret of making the true Chinese porcelain.' The absence of further particulars would induce us to infer that after eighteen years the Poterat porcelain, so tersely recommended, had not yet found a firm footing on the market.

The inventor gave vent to his discontent in the considerations he presented in support of an application made in 1694 for the extension of his privilege. Since the death of his father, in 1687, the original faïence factory had been successfully managed by the widow and the two younger sons. They held the old letters-patent granted in 1644, in the name of P. de Grandval, for the making of faïence. As the term of fifty years was coming to an end, they solicited a renewal of their protecting clauses. The form of the application was so cunningly drawn out that had the demand been fully complied with, the privilege would have carried with it the exclusive right of manufacturing porcelain as well as faïence. Louis Poterat could not allow a confusion so prejudicial to his own interests to escape without protest. Speaking on his own behalf, he represented that he was the only discoverer of the true porcelain, and that his brothers, notwithstanding their pretensions, were absolutely unacquainted with the processes. He also explained that up to that time he had not attempted to develop to a large extent the production of 'fine porcelain.' Every part of the work had, so far, been done with his own hands; he did not care to call to his assistance inquisitive workmen who might have robbed him of his precious secrets. So limited had, consequently, been the output that it never proved remunerative. Now, he went on to say, that illness and incipient paralysis had rendered him unfit for manual labour, he was quite willing to instruct and train to the handicraft a number of workmen, on condition that he would have the exclusive right of making porcelain in the whole kingdom, during twenty years, after which time his processes would be disclosed and would become public property. He suggested that the manufacture could give employment to the old army pensioners, and thus be profitable to the State. Ultimately, and as soon as the enterprise had been put in good working order, he would retire, and ask for no other reward but a small annuity, to be paid to himself or his widow.

Poterat and his invention were held in high esteem by the minister's advisers, so his own application was favourably considered, so far at least as it concerned the sole right of making porcelain for a further period of twenty years. His mother and brothers were refused the renewal of the faïence privilege, and warned not to interfere with his patent. Sharp litigations between the members of his family embittered the last years of Louis Poterat's life. He

had long been in shattered health, when, in 1696, he died, being only fifty-five years of age. The business passed into the hands of his widow, Madeleine de Laval, who continued with success the manufacture of faïence, but gave up completely the unprofitable making of porcelain. This voluntary abandonment of an important portion of her husband's legacy was to be, years after, taken advantage of by the heirs of Pierre Chicanneau, of Saint-Cloud, when they applied for a privilege by which the exclusive right of manufacturing porcelain should be transferred to them. The claims of Poterat's widow could not, however, be altogether ignored; the Chicanneaus were granted in 1702 a licence for establishing a protected porcelain manufactory in any town of the kingdom they might like to choose, the city of Rouen being excepted.

Here a few words concerning the origin of the Saint-Cloud factory will not be found out of place. Such authenticated examples as we possess of the Rouen porcelain have made us aware that it is not through the nature of the paste and glaze or the style of decoration that it can be distinguished from that made at Saint-Cloud; between the two we see a puzzling similarity. The most natural conclusion that presents itself to our mind is that a direct connexion exists between the two productions. It cannot be the fruit of mere coincidence, nor of a rediscovery of complicated recipes.

If the probable filiation cannot be established by material evidence, recourse must be had to hypothesis. For instance, it is not impossible that Pierre Chicanneau, the founder of the Saint-Cloud factory, should have obtained possession of the impenetrable secrets from Poterat himself. The name of one Chicanneau appearing on the roll of the Rouen faïence painters of that period goes far to show that the family were not strangers to the pottery trade of the town. That the maker of the early Saint-Cloud faïence had received his training from the Norman potters is plainly suggested by the unmistakable imitation of the Rouen patterns; a community of interest may have arisen between two men inhabiting the same town and engaged in the same craft. We must bear in mind that at the time when Chicanneau, full of hope and activity, was starting his carefully-planned establishment, Poterat, ill and disheartened, knew well that the end was fast approaching, and that it was too late for him ever to reap the reward of his labours. A private arrangement may have been entered into through which Poterat agreed, in consideration of a substantial sum of money, to instruct Chicanneau in the mystery of porcelain-making, but without parting from his newly extended privilege, which would thus remain his own property and that of his heirs after him. In this manner Chicanneau may have been placed in the position of producing, without further trouble, a beautiful ware, the secret composition of which might have been either stolen or purchased, but not possibly re-invented. What gives probability to this view of the matter is that, at an epoch when no inventor would have thought of bringing out a new kind of manufacture without taking steps to have it legally protected, Pierre Chicanneau never applied for a royal privilege, knowing doubtless that it would not have been granted.

The quantity of porcelain made and dispersed by L. Poterat between 1673 and 1694 may not have been inconsiderable, even if one accepts his statements that he would never have any assistance, and that he performed every part of the work with his own hands. Many causes unite to bring to untimely destruction the finest productions of the fictile art; in the present case very few authenticated examples have come down to us. They consist chiefly in domestic ware, and are suggestive of current manufacture rather than of the occa-

JAR FORMERLY IN THE COLLECTION OF THE LATE M. GUSTAVE GOUELLAIN

BY KIND PERMISSION OF MONSIEUR A. MILET

sional making of odd pieces exhibiting a pretension to exceptional workmanship.

André Pottier never had the proud satisfaction of seeing his belief in the existence of the Rouen porcelain substantiated by the discovery of tangible evidence ; he died before the first examples of the kind were duly recognized. It was in the old city itself that the pottery collectors, eagerly on the look out, one day came across a few small vessels of translucid ware that promised to throw some light on the matter, for they bore the identical patterns seen on the current Rouen faïence. This alone could not, of course, be accepted as a convincing testimony of local origin ; it was not to be denied that a frequent use of the same style of ornamentation was made on the early productions of Saint-Cloud. However, the tables were turned against the incredulous when fragments of porcelain were dug up from the site of L. Poterat's old works. One of the refuse heaps formed by the accumulation of the broken and half-molten mass of residues which had to be cleared out of the oven, after a disastrous firing, had obviously been struck by the pick of the excavator. Every fragment which had preserved something of its original shape and colour was carefully gathered. Most of these fragments also showed the same faïence patterns noticed on the small vessels in the hands of the collectors. A few of them were truly invaluable. The opaque scarlet red, so characteristic of the Rouen faïence, and unknown to all other faïenciers of the period, was freely introduced in the decoration of salt-cellars, knife-hafts, and other small articles. Nowhere else but at Rouen could we find this peculiar red applied to porcelain painting.

A mark is of rare occurrence, but, however, not always dificient. The monogram A P, roughly traced in underglaze blue and surmounted by the star which figures in the Poterat coat of arms, may safely be attributed to Rouen, although the signification of the first letter has, so far, remained unexplained. Again, conjectures must be called to the rescue and supply the lack of direct evidence.

Looking over the Poterat pedigree, given by André Pottier, we learn that Louis had a younger sister named Anne. Now, knowing as we do the objection the potter had to associate any operative to his making of porcelain, and also that in the old faïence works the female members of the master's family took an active part in the carrying on of the trade, it has occurred to me that the inventor may have entrusted the simple decoration of his precious ware to a clever sister. I fondly imagine that in the letters A P I see the initials of the painter's name : Anne Poterat.

The unique collection of Rouen porcelain which had been formed by the late Gustave Gouellain, a collector of the true stamp, is unfortunately dispersed. I had the advantage of visiting it during the possessor's lifetime. It comprised about a score of telling specimens, all discovered in the city or its immediate surroundings. Shapes and patterns offered sufficient character and variety to assist the identification of any number of controvertible pieces. A short description of this collection has been given by M. de Brébisson. Two jars and two bottles of comparatively large size, decorated in underglaze blue and other colours with designs in the Berain taste, head the list with honour. In blue and white porcelain, none of the factories of later time can be said to have produced anything better than the pieces reproduced on our plate. Small salt-cellars, drinking cans, cups and saucers, inkstands and ointment pots, of a style which might make a superficial examiner attribute them to Saint-Cloud, completed a most instructive collection, the like of which may never be brought together again. The sale catalogue of the Dupont Auberville collection,

Paris, 1886, describes seven examples of the rare ware, also gone now into various hands.

The Sèvres museum is proud of possessing the first authenticated piece. It is a small toilet pot bearing the arms of the Norman family Asselin de Villequier. A mustard pot and a sugar basin decorated with the well-known patterns of the Poterats' faïence are in the ceramic museum at Rouen. In the Limoges museum may be seen a spice-box painted with a 'lambrequin' pattern and two heavy clock weights, also decorated in the Rouen style, and marked A. P. The fragments collected by Monsieur G. Lebreton, which I was at one time allowed to examine, are of great documentary importance.

With the exception of a charming coffee cup painted with Berain ornaments, in the possession of Mr. J. H. FitzHenry, and by him exhibited in the Victoria and Albert Museum, I do not know that any good example of Rouen porcelain exists in England. But I think it likely that a few pieces may have drifted into the private collections, where they rest awaiting recognition. I should therefore recommend all collectors of early French porcelain to submit their unmarked specimens to special scrutiny; it is by no means impossible that, on further examination, one or more of the pieces so far attributed to Saint-Cloud, Lille, Chantilly, or Villeroy may prove to be the work of the inventor of the porcelain of France. It is not yet too late to institute searches in that direction. Happy the fortunate man who will make the discovery, for at that moment his hand will hold, instead of a token of base metal, a priceless coin of gold.

If a trilogy were to be formed of the greatest ceramic rarities that a mighty collector should covet and obtain, if possible, a fine example of Rouen porcelain should be added to one of the Medicean porcelain and another of the Henri II faïence; all three may be considered as equal in interest and rarity.

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# THE LIFE OF A DUTCH ARTIST IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

BY DR. W. MARTIN[1]

## I—INSTRUCTION IN DRAWING

THERE is a type of person who can look at a Dutch picture like Rembrandt's Night Watch, Vermeer's View of Delft, or Hobbema's Avenue at Middelharnis, and surrender himself completely to aesthetic enjoyment without puzzling his head over the conditions under which these and similar gems of Dutch painting of the seventeeth century were produced. For such a one enjoyment suffices, enjoyment varying in proportion to the subject of the picture, and the taste and artistic appreciation of the beholder, from profound reverence to ecstatic admiration, as he wanders through a picture gallery or contemplates single pictures in the peaceful seclusion of a collector's home.

Anyone who has made himself familiar in this way with the works of the great period of Dutch painting, does not need to know the names or lives of the artists, still less does he require a book to instruct him on the subject, and he may very well leave this article unread.

But the case is different with the amateur who, besides enjoyment, feels the need of exploring the forces from whose operation his enjoyment is derived, and ascertaining the circumstances which led to the production of these masterpieces. 'Who painted the picture?' is then the first question that rises to his lips. It is followed by several others; he must learn to estimate the personality of the artist by endeavouring to trace clearly the development of his talent; he must know how far the man's work was original and progressive, how far his art was the reflection of his mind, his environment, his nationality, his period.

The satisfaction of this need, supplementing purely aesthetic enjoyment by pleasure of another kind, lies at the bottom of all methodical art criticism. It has led many students to examine the state of civilization with which the development of Dutch painting in the seventeenth century was closely connected. What was the origin of the hundreds, nay thousands, of pictures which were produced in Holland in the short period from about 1620 to 1700? What motives, what circumstances, occasioned their production? How were the pictures painted, and for what purpose? How did their authors live, and how did they earn their livelihood?

We do not intend to answer all these questions in the following pages. The principal aim of our article is to answer the two last.

For years the notions people formed of the life of the old Dutch masters were derived exclusively from the amusing anecdotes of Houbraken, Weyerman, Van Gool, and other early writers on art. It is only in the last few decades that earnest and systematic study of archives and pictures has laid a firmer foundation for our knowledge of the conditions under which they lived. Thus we find it possible to-day to form some notions on the subject, fairly clear even if incomplete. A few years ago I endeavoured in my monograph on Gerard Dou[2] to put together the scattered material on the subject, and since then Dr. Hans Floerke has done a piece of work that may be called in many respects exhaustive in his excellent 'Studien zur Niederländischen Kunst und Kulturgeschichte.'[3] Hitherto, however, the rich material in the way of pictures, drawings, and prints, often affording the most

[1] Translated by Campbell Dodgson.

[2] Leyden, 1901. A condensed edition was published by G. Bell & Sons, London, 1902.

[3] Munich and Leipzig, Georg Muller, 1905.

striking illustrations, has been very scantily published in this connexion, so that I was glad when the Editors of The Burlington Magazine gave me another opportunity of summarizing the chief points in a series of articles illustrated by select reproductions of a characteristic kind.

On the surface it may seem as if the situation of a painter at that time was not so very different from what it is at the present day. The would-be artist goes to a teacher, goes through a course of training, and then sets up as an independent master, tries to sell his pictures as well as he can, and lives, according to his means, in ease or poverty. So it is to-day, so it was three hundred years ago in Holland. On the whole, that is true ; but if one compares the state of things more exactly, differences of many kinds become evident : the relation of pupil to teacher, the status of the two in the eyes of the law, the right of ownership in pictures, and the power to sell them—all these things differed as much from modern usage as modern colouring and technique differ from those of the seventeenth century.

In order to view these differences more closely, we will try to reconstruct the life of a painter of that time from the sources accessible to us. We will first deal with the question, how a youth of that time received a painter's education, how he set up as a master, and what his studio was like. Then we will see how he sold his pictures, and lastly, in connexion with the trade in works of art, consider their ultimate destination.

The Dutch boy—we can hardly call him a youth—who meant to devote himself to painting practised drawing in the first instance. He was generally sent—often at the age of ten or twelve—to a drawing master or painter, who properly grounded him in the art of drawing. Carel van Mander, the well-known painter and author, and the earliest historian of art in the Netherlands, emphasizes the desirability of such preliminary instruction in verses, of little poetical merit, but interesting for their contents, printed at the beginning of his book on painters, published in 1604. In this poem on 'the foundations of the noble and liberal art of painting,' Van Mander declares that the beginner must first seek 'a good master,' in order that he may learn properly to compose, sketch, shade, and work up neatly, 'first with charcoal, then with chalk or pen.' The pupil has also to learn neatness in 'doezelen' (stump drawing).

With this object the master first made his pupil copy all sorts of prints and drawings. Then came—just as it does at the present time—drawing from the plaster cast, a method which was usual in the Netherlands, even in the sixteenth century. How they drew from the cast we learn, for instance, from the celebrated Dutch poet and statesman Constantyn Huyghens, who learnt drawing from 1629 to 1631 from the painter Hendrick Hondius, and describes his instruction in the following words :

> Hondius corporis humani membra . . . suis dimensionibus singula et maiusculo volumine efformanda dabat.

'Human limbs in plaster were to be drawn the size of life and also on a larger scale.' Samuel van Hoogstraten, again, at a later date, 1678, speaks in his 'Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst' of 'eyes, noses, mouths, ears, and various faces,' as well as engravings, as instruments for the instruction of youth in drawing.

The inventories of the effects left by Dutch painters at their decease also give us the clearest information on this point. Rembrandt, for instance, possessed a great quantity of plaster casts for this purpose. In the inventory of his possessions taken in July 1656 we find a considerable number mentioned, such as naked children, a sleeping child, casts from antique Greek sculptures, and many casts from life, including

one of a negro. Then there was a whole basketful of plaster heads, and finally, in two of the little rooms in which he made his pupils work apart from one another, '17 hands and arms, moulded from life' and 'a great quantity of hands and faces, moulded from life.' Evidently Rembrandt used all these things in teaching. He proves it himself in one of his etchings, here reproduced,[4] which shows a young pupil engaged in drawing by candlelight from a plaster bust.

Our two following illustrations[4] are also instructive in this connexion. The first is from an engraving by Brichet from a picture by Gabriel Metzu in the Poullain cabinet. The picture, whose present whereabouts I do not know, represents a female artist drawing from a cast. No further explanation is required. The second illustration reproduces a well-known print by Wallerant Vaillant, a young pupil in the corner of a studio, in which among other things a plaster figure of a boy and some plaster heads are to be seen.

The paintings of the Dutch school afford several other instances of the use of plaster casts for instruction in drawing. We will not here enumerate all the etchings and pictures of Ostade, Schalcken, Dou, Frans van Mieris, etc., which prove this fact, but will only refer to two very characteristic examples. Both are pictures by the painter-etcher Michiel Sweerts, who lived about 1650. The first belonged a few years ago to a London dealer. It represents a painter's studio in which plaster casts are present in great numbers. Unfortunately we cannot publish the picture here. The second painting by Sweerts is still more interesting. It was bought a few years ago for the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam, and is published here for the first time.[5] A spacious studio is represented, in which several very youthful artists are employed. In the foreground on the left one of them is engaged in drawing from a large anatomical plaster model, which is set up in the middle of the studio. Two youths watch him at his work. Farther back another is painting from the nude living model, whilst a third, more in the middle at the back, is drawing from a plaster cast of the well-known head of the Ludovisi Juno. A whole heap of other casts, mostly from the antique, occupies the right half of the foreground.

This picture shows us most clearly the various stages of instruction: simple drawing from the cast, drawing from anatomical figures in plaster, and drawing from life. Anatomical plaster figures — or 'flayed plaster casts,' as an artist of the period calls them—were indispensable for the study of anatomy, to which the young pupil had to devote himself seriously after the primary instruction in drawing. Anatomical study was no easy matter in those days. It was unlawful till 1555 to dissect corpses in the Netherlands, and then permission was only granted in respect of malefactors of the male sex.[6] How difficult it was to obtain permission to draw from a corpse, we see from the story told by Carel van Mander in 1604 of the painter Aert Mytens, who went himself to cut down a body from the gallows for the purpose of study, and took it home with him in a sack. Even at a later date it was difficult to draw from a dead body. In 1641 the painter Philips Angel complains that there is no opportunity of doing so in the town of Leyden. They had recourse, therefore, to anatomical plaster casts (as in the picture by Sweerts described above) or to illustrations in the handbooks which soon began to appear in Holland in considerable numbers.

Along with this anatomical knowledge students were also grounded in the theory of perspective, especially according to the principles of Dürer's well-known book, which was much used in Dutch translations, as

[4] Plate I, page 129.
[5] Plate II, page 131. I am indebted for the photograph to Jhr. van Riemsdijk, Director of the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam.

[6] The date of the first dissection of a woman is 1720.

we learn by the inventories of painters' effects. The books on perspective by Abraham Bosse and Hendrick Hondius were also popular with students.

At a later date more and more handbooks on perspective and anatomy were written for the Dutch painters, which soon degenerated into a sort of recipe books for painting, in which it is exactly described how this or that theme is to be represented, how colours are to be ground and how used, and so forth. It is worth noticing that the number of these books grows with the increasing decadence of Dutch painting. The best known books, by Goeree, de Pas, Hoogstraten, and Lairesse, did not appear till after 1660.

In the first half of the seventeenth century books were of second-rate importance to the student of painting. The time was still remote in which the effort of painting was to beautify nature by aesthetic rules, a time which thought the worse of Rembrandt for choosing a Dutch washerwoman as model for a Venus, and putting her in a picture straight from nature, without beautifying her in the least.[7] Dutch pupils were not vexed with such academic observations in the first half of the seventeenth century, unless they were in the studio of some academic painter of the school of Goltzius or Bloemaert. The Dutch realists were of quite a different way of thinking. They did not go in for philosophy, still less did they point to Raphael and Michelangelo as the only painters worth imitating; but they were for ever impressing on their pupils a deep love of nature as she is. The precept, 'Look at nature and imitate her,' takes precedence of all others throughout the flourishing period of Dutch painting. The pupil, accordingly, as soon as he acquired a certain sureness of hand, was confronted with nature herself. Whether he was given fruit or still-life to draw, no picture or other source of information tells us.

[7] Poem by Andries Pels, quoted by Houbraken, i. 268

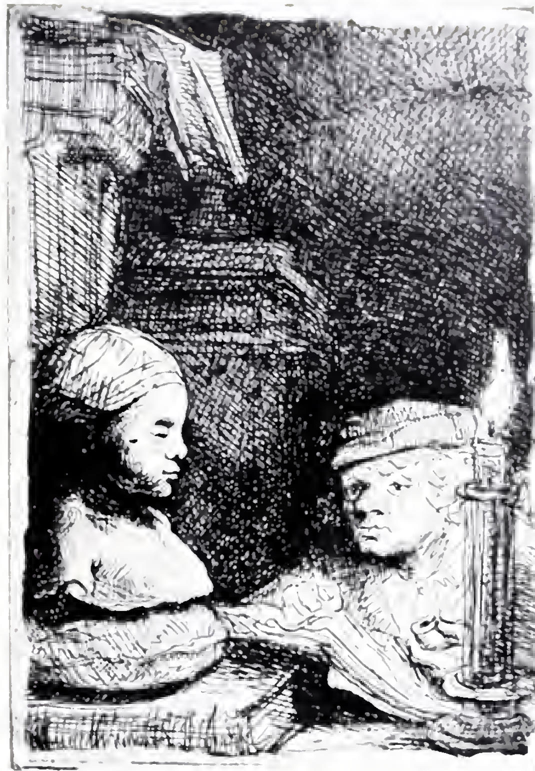
So far, therefore, we know little about drawing from nature. So much, however, is clear, that even then the young artist was confronted as early as possible with the chief representative of nature, the living man. He had first and foremost to draw from the living model.

It is Michiel Sweerts again who has left us a vivid description of a drawing lesson of that date from the living model in a picture at the townhall of Haarlem, reproduced here.[8] In a large room the male model stands on a raised platform round which numerous lads, aged from ten to fifteen, sit in a circle. On the right one is hard at work, on the left another passes a sheet of drawing-paper to a comrade, and another fair-haired boy in the middle stops for a moment. The master, talking to a gentleman, stands at the back of the room, seen from the back pointing to his pupils.

It is a picture full of life and freshness, which has no equal in bringing before our eyes a drawing lesson from the nude model in the seventeenth century. We are struck with the youthfulness of these incipient artists, whose names, unfortunately, are not known, for the old hypothesis which took them for pupils of Frans Hals is untenable. How glad we should be to learn their names! Then the picture would be a still better illustration of those past times in which many a one resolved, even in boyhood, to dedicate his life to art. Most of our greatest painters went to a master for instruction at the age of ten to fifteen, as we can see from the dates of their lives. They often needed five to ten years of energetic work and preparation before they got so far as to be allowed to set up as independent masters and members of a painters' guild, and were permitted to sell their pictures. We shall deal with this further period of the development of a Dutch painter in a subsequent article.

[8] Plate II, page 131.

(*To be continued.*)



PUPIL DRAWING FROM PLASTER BY CANDLELIGHT;
ETCHING BY REMBRANDT

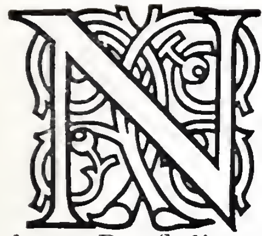
WOMAN DRAWING FROM PLASTER; ENGRAVING BY BRICHET
AFTER GABRIEL METZU

THE PUPIL IN THE STUDIO; ENGRAVING
BY WALLERANT VAILLANT

PUPILS DRAWING AND PAINTING, RIJKSMUSEUM, AMSTERDAM

THE DRAWING SCHOOL, MUNICIPAL MUSEUM, HAARLEM

# THE FATHER OF PERUGIAN PAINTING
## BY EDWARD HUTTON



NOT the least delightful among the early Umbrian painters so scrupulously concerned with religion and the beauty of religious meditation, Benedetto Bonfigli would seem to have been born in Perugia about the year 1420, some seven years before the death of Gentile da Fabriano. A painter of but little importance, we may think—concerned not so much with Art as with the representation of religious truths; and, almost by chance, a kind of historical painter in the Cappella dei Priori, where he has painted so languidly, and yet with a certain sweetness, at least in the early frescoes, the story of the city as it had come down to him: the wonderfully heroic actions of S. Ercolano, his life, his death, and all the wonders of that distant past. But as the master of Perugino, as the only visible founder of that school of Perugia which became so famous, which has been so beloved, Bonfigli appears to us as a painter of more importance than his weak but charming work at first suggests.

Though he seems in his day to have travelled so far as Rome and Siena, it is really only in Perugia that we find his work. Mr. Berenson mentions an early picture in a private collection in London, and he is represented in Berlin and in the Opera del Duomo at Empoli; but beyond these three pictures all his work is still in his native city, in the Pinacoteca for the most part, with here and there a standard or a panel in the churches, which have rendered their treasures to the municipal authorities, one may believe, not without a certain sadness.

The pupil, perhaps, of Boccatis, who was working from about 1436, it is really a glimmer, faint and evanescent, of Florentine genius that we see in his work, the influence of Fra Angelico and Benozzo Gozzoli, and it may be of Fra Lippo Lippi. On those soft Umbrian hills the two former have left not a little of their work, and in Perugia herself there are still some of their paintings, very carefully made on a prepared canvas covered with stucco and laid on wood; not the least interesting of their works, seeing that they are unrestored. And at Spoleto, at the head of that long valley, Fra Lippo Lippi produced the most splendid of all his works, the frescoes in the apse of the Duomo, where we may see even to-day the Annunciation, and the Adoration of the Shepherds, and the Madonna crowned by her Son, very tender and strong with vitality, so characteristic of Fra Lippo, who must surely have influenced the mystical painters of the surrounding cities very strongly. But even so early as 1454, when Bonfigli was at work on the frescoes of the Cappella dei Priori, we hear of Fra Filippo as one whom the Perugians would have liked to engage to paint their chapel, and in 1461 he comes himself to judge of the work done there, and praises it. Consider, too, the Madonna of the Frate, now in the Uffizi, how blonde she is, how delicate and full of grace her fine, modelled features; the small soft chin and wide brow are pure and fair as a bright lily before any hand has touched it. And then look at Bonfigli's Adoration, and it might seem that her younger sister held the Child while the three kings came with their gifts to greet Him. Her hair falls in little golden curls over her temples that are delicate and almost transparent in their fineness; the dainty lace work, that has fallen in so many folds, hardly covers her hair or her slender throat. Her wide brow and the delicate, arched brows that we find in so many fifteenth-century paintings are characteristic of her, certainly the first of her race in Umbria.

Another painter beside Fra Filippo was named in the contract for the Priors'

Chapel of 1454, to wit, Domenico Veneziano, the master of Piero della Francesca. That somewhat vague personality moves behind the work of more than one Umbrian, and we find him perhaps here too, in a certain uncouth vigour and robustness so manifest in Bonfigli's Bambini. But, after all, Bonfigli's masters must, as it seems to me, for ever remain unknown; the documents are silent, and what gossip of the time we possess would appear to be misleading. In the Adoration in the Pinacoteca at Perugia we find at least a new personality in Umbrian art. The drawing is very weak, the whole picture really just a chance or almost accidental combination of colours on the wall, refined upon by an unconscious artist who was anxious about nothing save the story he was telling with a certain peevishness, a certain impatience. Mark how unamiable she is—that strange country virgin. There is almost the shadow of a frown between the pure brows, and those three emaciated child angels—how sorrowful they are, how mechanically they assume the attitude of prayer! And in that far country across the curious hills that divide us—is it from Bethlehem?—a great army seems to be moving, rushing out of the gates of a city with champing of horses and bright armour and spears, and all the splendour of the eve of battle. Never again, as I think, is Bonfigli quite so uninitiated, so naïve in his workmanship; but even here in this picture, which I suppose, perhaps without sufficient reason, to have been among his earliest work, he has not forgotten to crown his angels with those strange wreaths of roses, so artificial, so obviously grown in heaven, that we see in all his work.

The frescoes in the Cappella dei Priori, begun in 1454 and unfinished at his death in 1496, would seem, since he worked at them so languidly, so intermittently, to have been distasteful to him. That fresco which begins the series, in which we see St. Louis of Toulouse standing before the Pope, is, to my mind at least, easily the best. Was it perhaps after seeing this fresco that Fra Lippo Lippi in 1461 recommended that Bonfigli should paint the whole chapel? One might almost think so. And yet in the fresco where St. Louis lies dead, surrounded by monks in a church which is really S. Pietro in Perugia, how lovely is that figure of the kneeling youth who, unconscious of anything but the dead saint, seems to be weeping so passionately!

In 1460 Bonfigli is said to have been in Siena, and later still in Rome, painting in the company of the young Pinturicchio.[1] That visit to Siena, even though it were his first, and remembering his work I cannot think it, seems to have been of some importance to him; a new spirit comes into his work, a desire for beauty not divorced from religion, but as the handmaid of it, as a kind of realization of that song of the beauty of holiness. Something of this we see, perhaps, in the picture of the Annunciation in the Pinacoteca.[2] Madonna, a little tearful, kneels on a stool of beautiful workmanship, her eyes just lifted from the book of prayers which she holds in her hand, gazing at nothing. The Angel, dressed in fantastic fashion, almost ridiculous, speaks his message, while between him and Madonna, writing the words which the angel speaks, St. Luke sits on his ox, between whose legs is a copy of the gospel. From the Eternal in the heavens the Holy Spirit as a Dove descends with a great swiftness, making a passage of light in the soft air. Four child angels, one of a real and natural beauty, with outstretched hands, watch the work of God. Madonna is kneeling just outside the magnificent portico of some palace in a kind of courtyard, over the rich walls of which we see the tops of the cypresses and the mountains. Above is a loggia with carved and splendid pillars. It is perhaps in the frieze of the

[1] Brousolle, 'Pèlerinages Ombriens,' Paris, 1896.
[2] Reproduced, page 135.

[illegible]

BANNER OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF ST. BERNARDINO

PAINTINGS BY BENEDETTO BONFIGLI IN THE PINACOTECA, PERUGIA (FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALINARI)

wall whereon Bonfigli has painted a sumptuous sort of carving that we find our first surprise; and then something of a larger world seems to have come into the picture with the impersonal detached figure of St. Luke, who so calmly, almost with a smile, writes the unforgettable words. How strange is this dream of the Annunciation! And, indeed, long after we have forgotten the mere strangeness of an idea so natural perhaps to mystical Umbria, we remember that soft, delicate Madonna with the peevish lips and the delicate temples. It is said, I know not with how much truth, that in the Adoration Bonfigli has introduced the portraits of his sister as the Madonna, his nephew as the Child, and his brother as the youngest of the three kings. It may be so; but it is another woman, younger and more charming, who is so distracted by the message of the angel amid all the beauty of that Renaissance palace in the Annunciation, and who prays with so much simplicity and sweetness in perhaps the most beautiful picture of all his work—a Madonna and Child, much damaged, and yet retaining something of the memory of Fra Angelico in its simplicity, its spirituality. Who was she that was so unhappy, a little wilfully we may think perhaps, her fortune being so splendid? We shall never know. Fra Filippo had painted in his pictures over and over again the woman he loved. It may be indeed that Bonfigli did so too. How peevish she is, how discontented, how delightfully unhappy. Was she perhaps his wife who quarrelled with him so that their differences have been noted in the public records, or was she just a vision that even to-day, if we are fortunate, we may chance to see in that very city, something so delicate and wonderful and altogether lovely that for ever after that fierce, rude city seems to have been changed for us: living ever after in the memory as some place almost out of the world, so that in thinking of her all the tumult of our life is hushed, and the soul itself silent in order that all our dreams and visions may come to her and be touched by her delicate hands and made perfect? For her voice is as the sound of distant waters, and our thirsty days are ended in a moment when she speaks; her eyes have looked at heaven and remembered the stars, and the sun has lingered in the coils of her hair, and her hands are softer than the bright lilies which will reconcile us with death at the last. I cannot forget the sound of her footsteps or the folds of her dress, and the gesture of her hands is a perpetual benediction. Ah, how I have envied those she is even now making so happy, for where she is one might say God smiled. At home in winter, when the world is hushed by the fall of the snow, and the earth made pure again from heaven, I have seemed to see her coming, delicate and altogether precious, across the spotless fields, her golden hair trailing in the night like a shower of stars, her little feet whiter than the blossoms of the snow. And when my spirit was perhaps stooping under my life, was it not her eyes that looked on me and refreshed me, and tenderly lifted up my soul, and ever since has she not held it softly in her hands? And I know, as I know the sureness of the stars, that she will not let it fall.

Those banners which Bonfigli painted to be carried in procession, one of which, the Gonfalone di S. Bernardino,[3] is now in the Pinacoteca, are almost peculiar to the Umbrian school. Another of these strange painted canticles is in S. Fiorenzo, and yet another in S. Maria Nuova. The one in the Pinacoteca is, however, not the least curious. Above sits the great figure of Christ surrounded by angels, while below are gathered the priests and people of Perugia in front of the Oratorio di S. Bernardino and the church of S. Francesco, intent on some ritual or service. Between our Lord and the people, St. Bernardine himself stands, listening to the words of

[3] Reproduced, page 135.

Christ. It is evidently a portrait of the saint; the lean, emaciated face is stilled in a kind of mystical contemplation. The terrible emotion of the orator from whose lips fell words not of love only, but of burning scorn and terrifying denunciation, is hushed. His whole figure is burning with a kind of ecstasy, he seems like a flame almost, motionless in heaven. It is said that the people gathered together outside the Oratorio di S. Bernardino are busied with the ceremony of the blessing of the candles by Pope Pius II, which happened in 1489. However this may be, surely one of those women who stand so unconcerned in the corner of the picture is the Madonna of the Annunciation? Pale and graceful she stands still a little unhappy, while before her a nun kneels in passionate prayer; yet she is so indifferent that she has almost let her candle fall.

The banner of S. Maria Nuova is less beautiful, and it may be from another hand. Christ between the sun and moon surrounded by saints and martyrs threatens the people of Perugia with an arrow, while death mows them down with a scythe. The saints appear to be interceding. At S. Fiorenzo there is another banner, also commemorating some pestilence; a long inscription in verse upheld by an angel prophesies to them in the manner of Jeremiah. In Corciano there is another, and indeed the list of those ascribed to Bonfigli is long. It is in these banners that Bonfigli really ceases to be an artist, and becomes a mere agent of the Church. Certainly, with the possible exception of the one in the Pinacoteca, they can make no claim to beauty. It is not in them that we shall find the master of Perugino, but in those pictures, a little bitter and yet sweet withal, which have been gathered together from many places into the Pinacoteca. Without the passion and the profound sense of beauty which Niccolo da Foligno possessed, and which make him so interesting a pupil of Benozzo Gozzoli, Bonfigli yet contrived to give his pictures that suggestion—though it is scarcely anything more than a suggestion—of sentiment and charm which in Perugino came at last to be so loved, which seems to us at times so sickly, so insincere. Sometimes his angels are really beautiful, more often they are peevish and unhappy, with a kind of childish grief that looks almost like a simper on their old young faces. As an historical painter, or, rather, as a painter of tradition, he was unsuccessful, evidently feeling himself incapable of telling a story or composing in the larger way of Gozzoli. And yet there is something golden in his work, something of the soft beauty of his birthplace, that Perugino was to turn to such good account. In thinking of him one might almost say that his chief fault was that he learnt so little from Piero della Francesca or the Florentines. The father of Perugian painting, he gives but the faintest clue to the work of Perugino or Pinturicchio, and though he was born in the fifteenth century, it is rather as a kind of 'primitive' we come to regard him, indifferent alike to art and to life, occupied as he was as a craftsman in the service of the Church.

NOTES, PLATE I. THE ANNUNCIATION, BY ROGER DE LA PASTURE, IN THE COLLECTION OF THE LATE

## THE ANNUNCIATION BY ROGER DE LA PASTURE

HE picture here reproduced[1] is the finest of the early Netherlandish paintings formerly in the collection of the earl of Ashburnham at Ashburnham Place, where I first saw it in May 1878. It has since, like so many other of our art treasures, left this country, and is now in the fine collection formed by the late Mr. Rudolph Kann. It belongs to the best period of the master, and bears considerable resemblance to the same subject on the shutter of the triptych formerly in St. Columba's church at Cologne and now in the Munich Gallery. There is, however, a notable difference: the master has here represented the angel as just greeting the Virgin, who turns towards him; but he has not delivered his message, and therefore the Holy Dove is not represented, whereas in the Munich panel the later and more usual incident has been chosen; Mary has replied, 'Be it done unto me according to thy word,' and the Holy Dove is descending towards her.

The pose of the Virgin's head is here slightly different, but her right arm and hand and the drapery of her dress are almost identical in treatment; the bed in the background and the flower vase are also alike, except that the body of the latter, plain in the Munich picture, is here adorned with a spiral molding. The angel here, instead of a white mantle, wears over his apparelled alb a tunic of crimson and gold velvet brocade. In the background is a bench with cushions, and above it a two-light round-arched window looking out on a flower garden with a crenellated wall and a gatehouse, towards the half-open door of which Joseph is walking, staff in hand, while a woman is looking at the plants in the raised flower-beds. The day is drawing to a close, but the twilight is still clear and bright. Mary has, however, already provided herself with a lighted taper which she holds in her left hand resting on her prayer-book. In the upper part of the window, glazed with lozenges, is an escucheon charged with the arms of the Burgundian family of Clugny *azure*, two keys in pale addorsed *or*, repeated in the circular compartments of the carpet beneath the Virgin's feet. I have not been able to discover for what member of the family this work was painted, but it is almost certain that it was either for Ferry, who became chancellor of the order of the Golden Fleece, and was consecrated bishop of Tournay in 1474 and made cardinal in 1480, or his brother William, who was in 1479 translated from the see of Térouanne to that of Poitiers, and most probably for the former, whose love of art is evidenced by his Missal preserved in the library of Siena and his Pontifical now in the possession of the Marquess of Bute. W. H. JAMES WEALE.

[1] Plate I, page 140.

## A TAPESTRY OF MARTIN OF ARAGON AND MARIA DE LUNA

THE exhibition of the Hardwick Hall hunting tapestries, at the Victoria and Albert Museum, during 1903-04, was instrumental in bringing into notice a style of tapestry which, until then, had been the object of little attention even from those specially interested in the art. In the discussion which ensued, interesting divergences of opinion were manifested as to the origin of these hangings, but the verdict as to date was almost unanimous. The second quarter of the fifteenth century was recognized as the period of their fabrication by the most competent critics. In which direction this date can be extended with a view to discovering the chronological limits within which so important a style of tapestry was produced, will, of course, be seen from the examination of other specimens as they come to light, and from this the identification of the *atelier* may also result.

Meanwhile another tapestry which came into the market recently at Paris[2] bears upon it evidence placing its date beyond question. This piece, which is enriched with gold and silver thread, is apparently an altar-frontal (height 82 cent. × 2 m. 30 length); it depicts St. John the Baptist standing upon the bank of a lake or stream, between, on his right, St. Martin of Tours,[3] and St. Hugh of Grenoble,[4] to his left. Above St. John's left shoulder—he is clad in a hooded-mantle, and an under-vest of goat-skin—is represented the Lamb, to which the saint points, with a scroll inscribed 'Ecce agnus dei.' St. Martin wears mitre and cope; St. Hugh, mitred, is in the Carthusian habit. Each bishop is in the act of blessing, and holds in his left hand a crosier, with veil. The background is filled with dense foliage, and a number of birds disport themselves in it and around the figures. A glance at the illustration accompanying this note will reveal the general identity in design and similarity in treatment of many details of this tapestry with those in the Hardwick Hall hangings—the foliage, the patched sky, the flowers, bird life, and water in the foreground.

What render the piece specially important are four shields which hang from tree-trunks in the background. On either side of St. Martin, the shields bear two pallets, and on either side of St. Hugh they bear the same two pallets impaling a crescent versé and a champagne, these chequy.

[2] At the sale of the Guilhou collection; it now belongs to Monsieur Jacques Seligmann, to whom we are indebted for permission to reproduce it. (Plate II, page 143.)

[3] 'SS. Martin' is the inscription beneath the figure

[4] 'S. Hugo,' but the letters are almost obliterated in the reproduction. To the bishop of Grenoble (1080–1132), the first Carthusians owed their settlement at the Grande Chartreuse, mother and governing house of the order

The latter, the arms of the Aragonese Lunas, were thus impaled with two pallets of her husband's arms by Maria de Luna, wife of Martin, king of Aragon. Upon the other two shields the Aragonese pallets of King Martin are again depicted.[5] Martin married his first wife, Maria de Luna, in 1372, and succeeded to the crown in 1397; after his consort's demise in 1407, Martin remarried in 1409, and died, the last king of his line, in 1410. The date of the tapestry is therefore before 1409, or (as Martin's arms are depicted without the brisure of a younger son) between 1397–1407.

It would be interesting, were it possible, to trace the frontal in an inventory of the period. Although it is known that tapestries (*paños de raz*) adorned the walls of the Aljaferia, or royal palace at Saragossa, at Martin's coronation in 1398,[6] the limited series of published Spanish inventories offers none in which this particular tapestry might be supposed to figure, and King Martin's great inventory remains a manuscript in the Archives of Aragon, at Barcelona. On the other hand, the significance of the combination of the monarch's and his consort's insignia with representations of his name-patron, St. Martin, and of St. Hugh of Grenoble, a beatified Carthusian, should not be lost sight of. The Carthusians owed their introduction into Spain, in 1163, to the Aragonese Alfonso II, and King Martin, a descendant of the latter, was not less favourable to the order than any of his predecessors. Than one Carthusian establishment, the *Val de Cristo*, near Segorbe, in the kingdom of Valencia, no religious community stood in closer personal relation to that monarch. Founded in 1386 by him and by his father, Pedro IV, Martin added to it a church, dedicated to St. Martin, and consecrated in 1401.[7] The adjacent lordship of Segorbe had accrued to Martin on his marriage with Maria, the daughter of a count of Luna, and lord of Segorbe, in 1372. The charterhouse of *Val de Cristo* was, therefore, closely connected with both Aragonese sovereigns whose arms figure on the tapestry, before and after their accession. The earlier of the apparent dates, 1397–1407, would of course be anticipated by a few years if the central figure of the Baptist depicts the patron of Martin's elder brother King John I (1387–97), during whose reign the frontal may have been designed, as it appears to have been, for the Carthusian monastery.

A. V. de P.

The technique shown in this altar-frontal is different from that of existing tapestries of the early French school. In these, clouds are represented by conventional forms of ribbon shape; here the clouds, more in accordance with nature, are disposed in layers. The foliage is rendered in mass, with little or no outline; the water is rippled, suggesting the motion of the water-fowl—a treatment that exists to some extent in the otter-pool of the Hardwick hunting tapestries.

The small dimensions of the altar-frontal of King Martin would permit of its being woven in the house of the client who ordered it. A parallel is found in the case of the 'Coronations' of the Cathedral of Sens, woven in all probability for Tristan de Salazar, by Allardin de Souyn, who lived in the Paris residence of that prelate.[8] The texture of both tapestries is very fine, as may be judged from the amount of detail in the figures in relation to their size. There are two existing tapestries which were woven about the same time as the one under review, viz. the 'Life of St. Piat and St. Eleuthère,' woven in Arras in 1402, now in the cathedral of Tournai, and a hanging with portraits of the duke of Orleans (assassinated 1405) and his wife Valentia Visconti, which was exhibited at Madrid in 1892-3 by the count of Valencia de Don Juan. These do not afford comparison with the altar-frontal of King Martin, which, wrought with gold and silver thread, is probably the sole representative of that class of hangings of the early fifteenth century; similar pieces are nearly a hundred years later in date.

W. G. T.

## AN UNKNOWN PORTRAIT OF LORENZO DE' MEDICI[9]

This drawing (Louvre, Collection Vallardi No. 2,330) has suffered greatly from rubbing, which has caused the power of its original accent to disappear. If its attribution thus becomes pliable to the fancy of theory, it yet is probably not of Florentine technique; the medallion-like conception of the head, the wavy intricate treatment of the hair, and even the collection in which it is embedded, lend colour to the belief that it belongs to the school of Pisanello. This seems at first difficult to reconcile with the identity of such a portrait. But Lorenzo de' Medici had at eighteen been sent to the courts of Italy to gain the beginnings of an experience in statecraft which was to prepare him for the later practice of authority. The date of the drawing—if, as seems likely, he posed for it while on this tour, in some city of the north—would thus be fixed in 1466, which accords with the probable age of the sitter.

One leaves the ever-dubious ground of hypothesis in examining the identity of the likeness. The individual characteristics of the face prove this—especially the deep-set eye, the flattened nose,

[5] Or four pallets gules should be depicted here, but the designer has accepted as Martin's arms the dimidiated or halved coat figuring in the queen's achievement. The shield-shapes chosen are habitually used in N. Spanish armorial seals of the period.

[6] G. de Blancas 'Coronaciones de los reyes de Aragon,' 1641.

[7] J. L. Villanueva 'Viaje literario à las iglesias de España,' iv. 1806. Sequestrated in 1835, the Val de Cristo is now a ruin.

[8] Guiffrey, 'Histoire de la Tapisserie,' p. 136.

[9] Reproduced, Plate II, page 143.

PORTRAIT OF LORENZO DE' MEDICI; DRAWING IN THE LOUVRE

ALTAR-FRONTAL OF FRENCH TAPESTRY MADE FOR MARTIN OF ARAGON AND MARIA DE LUNA, C. 1397–1407. FORMERLY IN THE GUILHOU COLLECTION

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NOTES, PLATE III. ENGLISH PORCELAIN AND GLASS RECENTLY PRESENTED TO THE BRITISH MUSEUM BY MR.

and the peculiar nostril, in later years to grow more accentuated, and reminding one that Lorenzo was deficient in the sense of smell—an advantage, he averred, since in Italy then, as now, fragrant odours were the exception. The redeeming feature in the expression is the look of *morbidezza*—so often characteristic of quattrocento art and counter-balancing the hardness of its naturalism—in the eyes of the youth who had not yet been steeled by dangers of conspiracy and the struggle for power which later in life was to make him callous to friend and enemy.

If Benozzo Gozzoli's fresco of the boy-king on horseback in the Riccardi chapel is truly Lorenzo, then only fifteen, the name exists without the resemblance. Hence the Louvre drawing is probably his first portrait, and three years earlier than the medal ascribed to Tanagli, which may well have been struck in honour of the Magnificent's marriage to Lucrezia Donati. To this it bears a considerable resemblance, though in the medal the jaw has set firmer and the features of the face have hardened. Lorenzo figures in four other medals, two of which are by Bertoldo di Giovanni: the one commemorating the Pazzi conspiracy in 1478, and the other, though considerably smaller, reproduces with a different inscription the identical head. Another, and the best of the series, is the well-known one by Niccolò Fiorentino, a fine example of which is in the Dutuit collection. Lastly, there is a small but vigorous single-sided high-relief medallion in the Dreyfus collection, where it is unique. This dates from a later period in his life; his features have grown extremely accentuated with age. It is probably his last portrait.

The series of portraits of Lorenzo is by no means so extended as might be desired. If we possess Ghirlandajo's fresco at Santa Trinità in Florence, much doubt must exist as to the identification of the Magnificent in the Adoration of Botticelli. The glamour of Lorenzo's name has very naturally attracted attributions of portraiture where the wish has fathered the thought. There seems to be no good reason why the bust ascribed to Verrocchio in the Quincey Shaw collection should be that of Lorenzo, or the charming Rafaellino del Garbo belonging to Lady Layard in Venice. It is, moreover, a curious fact that the best-known portrait of Lorenzo is by Giorgio Vasari, and falls of course in a later century.

LEWIS EINSTEIN.

## RECENT ACQUISITIONS AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM [10]

THE British Museum has been particularly fortunate of late in receiving quite a number of important additions to the collections of English porcelain and glass; a rare occurrence in these days, when the market price of really fine examples of these wares is beyond the ordinary purchasing power of the national museum, while the gifts and bequests of private collectors, naturally enough, arrive only at considerable intervals. It is to the liberality and public spirit of Mr. Charles Borradaile that the chief of the present acquisitions is due, and the pieces he has presented to the British Museum are precisely of that kind which Sir A. W. Franks, the originator of the collection, would have made every effort to secure for the nation. They are all, in fact, documentary specimens of high historical interest to the student of English porcelain. The first (No. 1) is a 'goat and bee' milk-jug of familiar type, but on glancing underneath the incised mark and inscription will at once arrest attention. There is one other published example of a similar piece, which was formerly in the Russell collection, the inscription differing only in lettering and arrangement from the above; and these two are the earliest marked and dated specimens of the porcelain made at our most noted factory.

By these two pieces the ownership of the triangle-mark and the 'goat and bee' mould is decided once for all in favour of Chelsea, as against the claims of its rival Bow. Moreover, the nature of the earliest Chelsea ware may be read with certainty in these milk-jugs; and the present example is composed of a soft glassy porcelain of creamy tone, with lustrous 'satiny' glaze, highly translucent, and so thin that in places the walls seem to consist of glaze alone. Can there be any doubt where the secret of this beautiful ware was learnt? The French alone could have taught it; and if, as we have good reason to suppose, the Chelsea factory was quite recently established in 1745, we can only conclude that such complete mastery of technique as the present piece implies, was due to the guiding hand of some skilled workman from one of the already mature factories of St. Cloud, Mennecy, or Chantilly. The remarkable shape of this little jug is derived, like so many of the early porcelain models, from contemporary silver-work. On either side of this historic specimen is a Bristol porcelain cup (Nos. 2 and 3), an absolutely unique pair. In 1775 they formed part of the small exhibition of china laid before the House of Commons by Champion, when he applied for the renewal of his patent for the

[10] See Plate III, page 146

manufacture of true porcelain. This patent, taken out by Cookworthy at Plymouth in 1768, and bought by Champion at Bristol five years later, protected the use of the china-clay and china-stone of Cornwall; but, unfortunately for Champion, the renewal was stubbornly opposed by the Staffordshire potters, and was only granted with such limitations that the manufacture of true porcelain had to be abandoned in 1781, never to be revived in this country. Technically, these two interesting cups and the goat-and-bee jug are as far apart as the Poles; the latter is soft-paste, as soft as the *pâte tendre* of France, while the former are hard-paste, as refractory as the true porcelain of China. Under one of them Champion has put the Meissen mark, the crossed swords in blue, in token of his admiration of the Saxon porcelain; but the decoration, which is entirely gilt, rather recalls the early Vincennes style. No. 4 is also a specimen of hard-paste, finely enamelled with Chinese vases, monsters, and brocaded designs in pure *famille-verte* taste. An inscription in red pigment under the base no doubt once told its history, but unfortunately, being unfired, it has worn away, and nothing can now be read but the date, *November ye 27th*, 1770. We know, however, that in the early part of that year Cookworthy's factory was moved from Plymouth to Bristol, where it continued till 1773 under the title 'W. Cookworthy and Co.'; and there can be no doubt that this jug was made at the transplanted Plymouth works, the Chinese decoration being in accord with the Plymouth traditions. Mr. Borradaile's gift includes a Bristol coffee-cup, marked with a cross between the initials J. H. (probably for Joseph Hickey) and the date 1774, and enamelled with floral festoons in typical Bristol style.

No. 5 is a fine example of Bristol glass, one of a pair of jars which completes Mr. Borradaile's liberal donation. It is made of opaque white 'milk glass,' not unlike *pâte tendre* porcelain, enamelled in bright colours by Michael Edkins, who, after painting Bristol delft at Frank's factory, worked for the glass trade, and was employed by no less than five Bristol firms between the years 1762 and 1787. The present pieces formerly belonged to his grandson, William Edkins, from whom they passed into the Francis Fry collection and afterwards into Mr. Borradaile's hands. No. 6 brings us back to Chelsea: it is a theatrical figure in the hybrid costume, partly Georgian and partly Elizabethan, affected on the stage in the middle of the eighteenth century. It forms part of a bequest made to the museum by the late Mr. Lionel van Oven, including a pair of Chelsea sporting figures, Derby-Chelsea statuettes of Venus and Justice, and a Derby figure of Andromache weeping over Hector's urn. Finally the museum has received a small bowl painted with country scenes in red and sepia, and inscribed 'Lane End, 1785'; it is of rough porcelain, with badly crazed glaze, and is evidently an experimental piece made by W. and J. Turner, sons and successors of the celebrated John Turner of Lane End (now Longton), Staffordshire. This important witness to an otherwise unrecorded endeavour was given by Mr. F. Bennett Goldney, through the National Art Collections Fund. R. L. H.

## A MINIATURE BY HEINRICH FRIEDRICH FÜGER, IN THE WALLACE COLLECTION

THE charming miniature here for the first time reproduced,[11] and provisionally described as Two Sisters, has long been ascribed to Cosway, and on the evidence afforded by some writing pasted to the back of the oval frame, but in no sense an integral part of the miniature itself, has been called The Duchess of Devonshire and her sister Lady Duncannon. It was evident to me from the first that, although this exquisitely-finished little piece had certain definite points of resemblance to the work of the renowned English master whose name it bore, it showed differences of conception and technique which made it impossible to seriously sustain the attribution to him. Failing for the moment any more satisfactory solution, I provisionally catalogued it under the old name, with the word of caution 'ascribed to Cosway.' The family likeness between the work of the man who limned the Two Sisters and that of Cosway is undeniable and obvious. On the other hand, the drawing, less bold and elegant than Cosway's best work, is much more finished, more highly worked up in every particular, the elegant *toilettes de ville* of the two ladies being detailed with a skill and fidelity to which the English master of miniature never pretended—which, indeed, like Reynolds and Gainsborough, he as much as possible avoided. Another point, which in itself would be sufficient to shut out the authorship of Cosway, is the delicate landscape background, with its very light, even tonality, the chief component elements of which are salmon pink and pale green. I am not aware that Cosway, or any of his British contemporaries of the first rank, ever relieved their portraits against such backgrounds. The contemporary French and allied schools did, on the other hand, very frequently thus enliven their counterfeit presentments in miniature, and the Swede Pierre-Adolphe Hall—a master of this art, who became acclimatized in France, and stood practically at the head of the French school of limners of this class—made flowery bowers and park-like backgrounds an especial feature both of his portraits proper and of his fanciful studies of youth and beauty *en déshabillé galant*. The recent publication in the Jahrbuch der Königlich - Preussischen Kunstsammlungen (Sech und zwanzigster Bund, i. Heft) of a very interesting and practically exhaustive monograph by Herr Ferdinand Laban on the Viennese

[11] Plate IV, page 149.

NOTES, PLATE IV.
PORTRAIT STUDY IN MINIATURE OF TWO SISTERS, BY HEINRICH FRIEDRICH FÜGER; IN THE WALLACE COLLECTION.

miniature-painter Heinrich Friedrich Füger, sometimes called 'The Cosway of Vienna,' has furnished the key to the enigma—enabling me to identify the miniature now under discussion as beyond reasonable doubt as by this local celebrity—an artist not much known, as yet, over here beyond the inner circle of collectors, yet certainly one of the most accomplished miniature-painters of his time, which was practically that of Cosway. Propert has said of him that 'for delicacy of colour and general refinement his miniatures will compare favourably with our Cosway, or the charming French (!) artist Hall.' This judgement is in the main not unfounded. And yet at the Wallace Collection, where this Füger hangs in the same case with at least two Cosways of the first rank, and an unrivalled collection of Hall's finest works, it is seen that, while Füger is distinguished by an exquisite delicacy of touch and a rare power of finely individualizing his sitters, he has not the suave, if rather conventional, elegance of Cosway, or the sprightliness, the movement, the vivacity of execution which give life and fascination to the most charming creations of Hall. It is perhaps not quite fair to judge the Austrian master by this charming little piece, now for the first time identified in the Wallace Collection, since its laborious finish and a certain anxiousness betrayed in the general working out would seem to point to an early date in the artist's career as that of its execution. Füger is at his very best in the celebrated miniature on a large scale, The Countesses Elisabeth, Christiane, and Marie-Caroline Thun, now in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum of Berlin, and the Portrait of a Lady, both of them beautifully reproduced in colours in the Jahrbuch with Herr Laban's article. It is necessary, moreover, before making up one's mind about the piquant and highly-individualized art of the Viennese court limner, to study the long succession of portrait-miniatures reproduced by Herr Laban from originals in the Imperial Academy of Arts of Vienna, the Imperial Museum there, the collections of the House of Austria, the Figdor Collection, and others in the same regions. In these is revealed an artist whose portraits, though they may not, save in rare and exceptional instances, exercise that peculiar fascination, not exempt from meretriciousness, which distinguishes his most famous contemporaries in England and France, do unquestionably constitute records of individual character, of personality, of far more value than any of theirs. And really in the two masterpieces of the limner's art facsimiled in colours in the Jahrbuch he is second to none, whether in distinction and elegance, or in truth and vitality. Füger's miniatures are exceedingly rare in England, and at the present moment I am not able to point to any with which I have a personal acquaintance. Lady Currie (Mrs. Singleton) contributed, I find, to the great exhibition of miniatures held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1889 a portrait of Françoise Magdalene de Clermont D'Amboise ascribed to Füger; but of this I have no distinct recollection. We have still to ascertain who are the two young ladies in the bloom of youth and the freshness of immaculate spring finery who have hitherto usurped the names of the fair Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, and her sister. Here I hope for some guidance from Herr Laban. He mentions as among the first miniatures with which Füger won celebrity the portraits of the two daughters of the engraver, J. F. Bause. Against the identification of these likenesses with the miniature in the Wallace Collection is the fact, or rather the supposition, that they were single pictures, not a portrait-group. I may add in conclusion that the Two Sisters of the Wallace Collection is painted on ivory, as are the great majority of Füger's best authenticated works of the same type.

Claude Phillips.

## A MUSEUM OF ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

Signor Boni, the able director of the excavations in the Roman Forum, has formed an admirable scheme for gathering together in a central museum contiguous to the Forum topographical records of the Roman remains to be found in various parts of the world. This scheme is embodied in a small pamphlet which he has sent to the chairman of the English Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, in common with other archaeological societies in Europe. Signor Boni appeals for information in the shape of photographs accompanied by topographical and other descriptions to be kept and classified for reference and study in the museum, which would thus become a comprehensive record of Roman antiquity.

Signor Boni points out that, owing to the richness of its historical and artistic memorials, Italy has been, more than any other country, a prey to the spoiler; and, though some monuments of supreme importance still remain in the form of buildings that cannot be broken into fragments and made over to the foreigner, some of the finest examples of archaic art are now to be found in foreign collections. He appeals to the officials of museums and archaeological societies, and to all students of classical antiquity, for photographs of important monuments and architectural structures, such as tombs, bridges, aqueducts, walls, gates, temples, amphitheatres, etc. But he does not wish the photographs to be limited to 'reproductions of buildings, as there is much to complete in the way of anthropology and ethnography.' Indeed he asks for photographs, not only of anything connected with Roman antiquity, but even of the domestic utensils of contemporary peasant people and costumes; 'little in this way,' he says, 'has been done by Italy, and if the camera does not quickly come to the rescue, every trace will dis-

appear of the costumes which differentiated the races which often date back to the very earliest beginnings of Italy.' He further announces the preparation of a catalogue of monuments intended as a guide in forming this collection.

It is hardly necessary to commend Signor Boni's appeal, which speaks for itself; he has our hearty wishes for the success of his efforts and our complete sympathy in his pointed and sensible observations on the proper, as against the improper, treatment of historic buildings and historic finds in general with which his appeal is prefaced. Signor Boni has recently taken a journey beyond the Alps in order to make notes of anything that bore in any way upon excavations in the Forum, and in the course of this journey he has had occasion to observe that deplorable methods of restoration still persist in other countries than his own. Indeed his conclusion is that the methods of archaeological research in other countries give Italy little cause for envy. We can sorrowfully acknowledge the justice of his criticisms and trust that they will not be without effect.

## SOME PORTRAIT DRAWINGS BY DÜRER IN ENGLISH COLLECTIONS, RECENTLY IDENTIFIED

### I. PORTRAIT OF PAULUS HOFHAIMER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM [12]

An identification proposed by Dr. Dörnhöffer in a footnote to a review of Dr. Röttinger's monograph on Hans Weiditz,[13] is not quite certain,

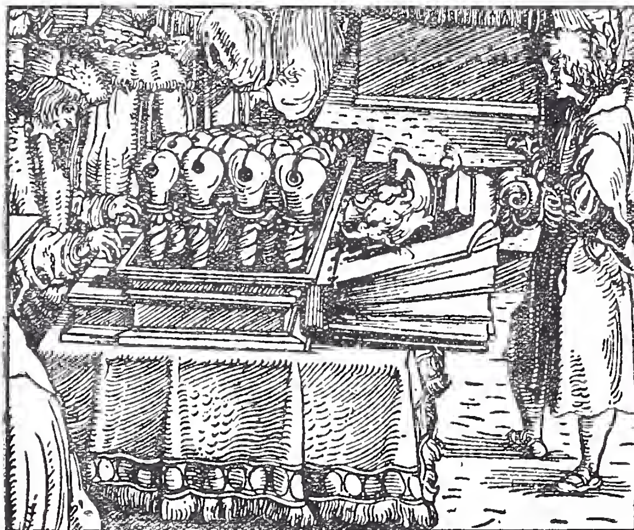


Fig. 1.—Hofhaimer at the Organ. Detail from 'Maximilian at Mass.' Woodcut by Hans Weiditz

but the suggestion is attractive and too interesting to be overlooked. Hofhaimer was born near Salzburg in 1459, and entered the service of the Archduke Sigismund. On the latter's death in 1496, he became court organist to Maximilian, whom he often accompanied on his journeys. He resided otherwise at Innsbruck until, after the

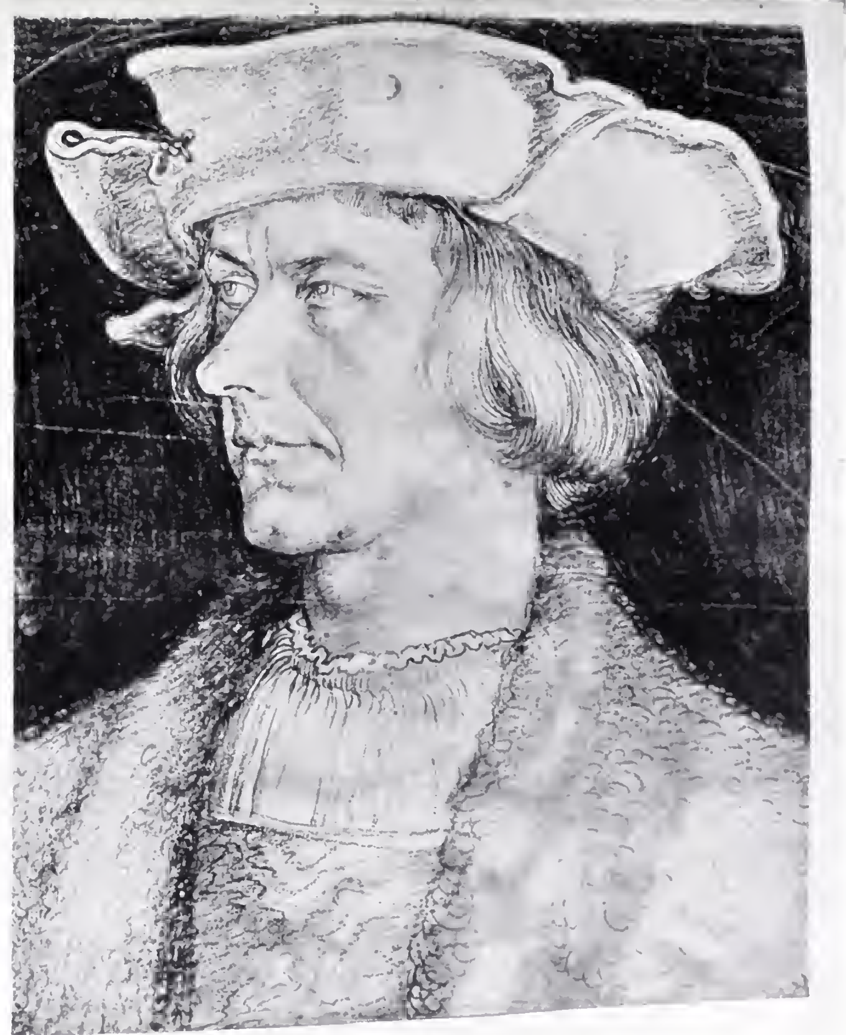
Fig. 2.—Hofhaimer at the Organ. Detail from 'The Triumphal Procession of Maximilian.' Woodcut by Hans Burgkmair

Emperor's death, he removed to Salzburg, where he was organist of the cathedral. In his 'Harmoniae Poeticae,' printed at Nuremberg in 1539, he is spoken of as already dead. One of the many complimentary poems printed in that volume refers to a painting of Hofhaimer, by Cranach, but nothing is said of a portrait by Dürer. He appears in two woodcuts of the time, Maximilian hearing Mass, by Hans Weiditz (formerly attributed to Dürer, B. app. 31, or Burgkmair, P. 99), and No. 22 in the 1796 edition of the Triumphal Procession of Maximilian, a certain work of Burgkmair himself (see Figs. 1 and 2). The Dürer drawing in which Dr. Dörnhöffer recognizes the same features is Lippmann 284, an undated charcoal portrait which Lippmann places among the drawings of the journey to the Netherlands in 1521. Both the woodcut portraits are drawn on a small scale in profile to the right, whereas the drawing by Dürer is on a large scale, approaching life-size, and in three-quarter face to the left. The difference of pose and scale makes the recognition of the portrait difficult, but the shape of the nose and cut of the hair are certainly much alike in all three heads. If the identification is correct, this will probably be another of Dürer's Augsburg portraits of 1518. The new suggestion is far more probable than one previously put forward by Dr. B. Haendcke,[14] that we have in L. 284 a portrait of Oswald Krell in later life.

[12] Reproduced, Plate V, page 153.

[13] *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen*, 1904, p. 58. For the biography of Hofhaimer, *see* Eitner's 'Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten,' v. 169.

[14] *Zeitschr. f. christliche Kunst*, xi. 157.



PAULUS HOFHAIMER

NOTES, PLATE V. PORTRAIT DRAWINGS BY ALBERT DÜRER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM; AND MEDAL WITH PORTRAIT OF ULRICH STARCK (REPRODUCED BY KIND PERMISSION OF *Die Graphischen Künste*)

NOTES, PLATE VI. FRENCH WATCH-STANDS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. CHARLES EDWARD JERNINGHAM

### 2. Portrait of Ulrich Starck in the British Museum[15]

One of the few drawings of 1527, the last year of Dürer's life, is the black chalk bust of a man, in profile to the right, Lippmann 296. Ephrussi settled it that the sitter was an Englishman, and this opinion was adopted by other writers, though it is difficult to see how Dürer could have drawn an Englishman except, perhaps, in the Netherlands or on the occasion of Morley's mission to Nuremberg in 1523. The identity of the sitter has now been established by Dr. A. Hagelstange[16] by aid of a medal at Nuremberg,[15] which must have been made directly from the drawing. Nothing is altered but the costume. The obverse bears the legend, 'Vlricus Starck aetatis sve XLIII,' the reverse has the arms of Starck with the motto, 'In Domino confido' and the date M.D.XXVII. It is suggested that Ludwig Krug may have made the medal after Dürer, but this cannot be proved.

Ulrich Starck was a member of a patrician family of Nuremberg. He was born in 1484, married Katharina Imhof in 1513, and died in 1549. Two other medals of him exist, earlier and later respectively than the portrait of 1527; his likeness is also to be found among the drawings by Hans Schwartz in the Berlin Museum.

### 3. Portrait of Hans Burgkmair at Oxford

The black chalk drawing, Lippmann 396, in the University Galleries, has generally been taken for a portrait of Jakob Fugger. It was done in 1518, the year of the Diet of Augsburg, at which Dürer drew Maximilian's portrait, and it certainly bears some resemblance to Fugger's features. Far greater is the likeness to another Augsburg celebrity, the painter Hans Burgkmair. This was first noticed by Dr. F. Dörnhöffer, director of the print collection of the Hofbibliothek, Vienna, in an essay on the relations between Dürer and Burgkmair.[17] One has only to glance at the reproduction of the drawing set beside two authentic portraits of Burgkmair by himself, the drawing of 1517 at Hamburg, and the painting of 1529 at Vienna, to see that the identification is absolutely certain. It has been adopted by Mr. Sturge Moore in his recent book on Dürer, p. 91.

Campbell Dodgson.

## CARVED WOOD WATCH-STANDS FROM THE COLLECTION OF MR. CHARLES EDWARD JERNINGHAM

The series of carved wood watch-stands illustrated on Plate VI are a few examples taken from a most interesting collection formed by Mr. Charles Edward Jerningham, who, with an apparently inexhaustible power of originality, appears always to be able to discover new sources of interest worthy of the best attention of all lovers of the relics of the past.

The fact that watch-stands in carved wood have hitherto escaped the notice of the art collector is not so difficult to understand when their extreme rarity is borne in mind. They are fairly common in many other materials; earthenware, porcelain, and various metals have all been brought into the service of those who wished to have a suitable receptacle for placing their watch when not actually carrying it on their person; but to find a well-carved wood watch-stand is infinitely more difficult than anyone would imagine who had not engaged in the quest.

At the present day, when watches and clocks have become so cheap as to be easily procurable by the most humble member of the community, few people realize how precious the possession of a reliable timepiece was considered in the days of our ancestors. In those days the fortunate owner when at home would probably be expected to make his watch take the place of a clock by setting it in a stand in a conspicuous position in the room, so that all the household might have the benefit of being able to know the time of day. This fact entirely accounts for the elaborate designs of the watch-stands of the eighteenth century as compared with the simple character of those of the present time, when they are merely intended as convenient receptacles for holding the watch on the dressing-table at night. The artistic taste of the period demanded that the watch-stand should not only fulfil the duty of safely holding the watch in a prominent position, but should also in itself be a decorative adjunct to the room; this was the more necessary as the stand would be very often empty while the owner of the watch was carrying it with him. With apologies for this short introduction we will now turn to the consideration of the examples shown in the illustrations.

Two of the most important in the collection are Figs. 4 and 7, which are covered with gilding and represent respectively Hercules with the Nemaean Lion, and Mercury in his character as the god of merchandise and patron of merchants. The subjects of these two stands date them to the period when society was ruled by the craze for introducing the gods of the Grecian mythology on every possible occasion; these stands cannot have been made much later than about 1730. Another very characteristic example is Fig. 2, decorated in the style of Louis XV, with delicately carved festoons of flowers painted in natural colours, the other portions being enriched with gilding on a dark green ground. Fig. 3 is remarkable as a specimen of fine carving; it is all in one piece excepting the foot, a large portion of the decoration being cut to within one-eighth of an inch in thickness; the whole design is intended as a representation of the sun, the ruler of the

[15] Reproduced, Plate V, p. 153

[16] 'Mitteil. d. Ges. f. vervielf. Kunst,' 1905, p. 25.

[17] 'Über Burgkmair und Dürer. Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Franz Wickhoff gewidmet,' Wien, 1903, p. 111

hours; the little cupid below with the basket of flowers is very finely modelled. In Fig. 1 is shown a skilful adaptation of the dolphin *motif* which was for so long a period a favourite on the old brass lantern clocks. Figs. 5 and 6 are sufficiently described by the illustration, their chief characteristic being the figure of Time seated at the base.

The limited space at our disposal forbids us to discuss this subject at any greater length, but this note will have served its purpose if it succeeds in awakening an interest in a forgotten phase of the work of a class of craftsmen of former days when articles which are now looked upon as common necessities were regarded as luxuries and had to be eked out so as to serve the needs of as many people as possible. C. H. WYLDE.

## PRIVATE COLLECTIONS IN AUSTRIA

THE great revolution played havoc with the quondam fine private art collections in France. Germany, in former times, was always too poor to boast of any important ones. Latterly, those for which England was famous have been diminishing. Before long, it seems, Austria will be the first country as regards fine old collections of works of art. Vienna already to-day stands almost without a rival, containing as it does within its walls such galleries as the Liechtenstein, the Czernin, the Harrach, and the Schönborn Buchheim collections.

There are many others, perhaps only slightly less important than these, scattered over different castles in the united empire—all of them scarcely known, as, for example, the collections of the Rohan family, which were brought from France, whence members of that famous house migrated more than a century ago. The modern art collections in Austria cannot compete with the old, and one of the most important is upon the point of ceasing to exist, if the reports spread about it should prove true.

Mr. A. von Lanna at Prague has devoted large sums of money and many years to stacking his fine residence full of beautiful things. He began to collect more than forty years ago, when things were cheap and when the connoisseurs were few and far between. He was gifted with a refined natural taste, and practical acquaintance with art objects trained his eye in a few years to such an extent that he could infallibly distinguish the genuine and valuable from the inferior and sham. Mr. von Lanna collected fine prints, drawings by old masters, books of the fifteenth-sixteenth century, medals, porcelain and faïence, and glass. A catalogue of the prints in two volumes appeared in 1895. The porcelain, faïence, and glass collections are at present shown as a loan exhibition at the Prague Museum of Applied Arts. It is rumoured that the Austrian (Bohemian) Government are making overtures to purchase them in behalf of the State for the sum of a million and a half florins.

Speaking of private collections—a portion of the Forbes collection was put up at auction at Cologne the other day, including all the pictures by German artists, one or two French paintings, and six large drawings and pastels by Segantini. Most extraordinary reports have been for a long time circulated about Mr. Forbes's collection, which perhaps owe their existence to the circumstance that it was never on view. It is to be hoped, at any rate, that the standard of the other portions is decidedly above that of the German collection, which was very indifferent. Among the 102 pictures put up for sale only thirteen fetched more than £150 apiece, and very many sold for less than £50. The principal Lenbach was a tame replica of the Leipsic Emperor William I, and I conjecture that must have been bought in at £1,525, because it seems improbable that anyone in Germany should have given that sum for a picture of which Lenbach professedly painted no less than five replicas.

We all know that the world is a merry-go-round, what is at the top or in front to-day will be at the bottom or in the background to-morrow. But it is always amusing to find new instances proving the old adage, and especially to see artists and art critics, both of whom are always so ready to condemn whatever immediately preceded them, furnishing such proofs. At Bremen a new statue of Emperor Frederick by Tuaillon has been unveiled. It represents the emperor, still alive in the memories of most of the present generation, semi-nude, more or less like a Roman conqueror. Shoals of the most pushing and popular among modern critics jumped at the idea as a revelation, as something bright and grand and new, breaking away from cramping traditions. These traditions are not yet of 50 years' standing. I believe there is a 'Roman' statue of Napoleon III somewhere, and certainly this 'novel' thing, representing a modern king or general as a hero of antiquity, more or less nude, was the usual thing long after Napoleon I's time. A generation or so ago *it* was decried as 'cramping tradition.'

H. W. S.

## THE DIRECTORSHIP OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

IN Mr. M. H. Spielmann's article in the last number of THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, it was stated that the Directorship of the British Museum was about to fall vacant, and this was also implied in the first editorial article. It is with particular pleasure that we are able to announce that both Mr. Spielmann and ourselves were mistaken in this regard. The Director of the British Museum is appointed under Sign Manual, and is not subject to the retirement regulations of the Civil Service. We rejoice to learn that Sir Edward Maunde Thompson has no intention of retiring from the position which he so ably fills.

# LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

## THE HISTORY OF ART ACCORDING TO MR. WEALE

GENTLEMEN,

The last letter published by THE BURLINGTON concerning my book on the 'Primitives' has produced a mirthful impression on all competent readers. It would have been unworthy of a reply had it not appeared in the pages of a serious paper whose readers are not obliged to be acquainted with 'the Van Eyck question.' Mr. Weale has gone so far in his fancies and rectifications that one is inclined to think that some *mauvais plaisant* has forged his signature. However, I appeal to your judgement, and quote, number by number, the remarks imagined by the *prête-nom* of the eminent member of the Academy of Belgium. It would be very amusing did it not affect Mr. Weale's artistic reputation, as you will perceive.

The author of the reply has written down his rectifications in one column, opposite the 'nonsense' emitted by me. This manner of proceeding is sufficient to prove that Mr. Weale has had nothing to do with the case. The said author pretends to criticize my book on the 'Primitifs Français,' and has chosen, he says, some 'misstatements' amongst the numerous false opinions it contains.

That being the case, why does he give under No. 1 an answer to an article in the *Bulletin de l'Art?* The author of the rectifications mentions an example of a translation of *De* Eyck by *Van* Eyck. There exist a hundred other examples Mr. Weale must be acquainted with. But Mr. Weale is well aware that the Van Eycks always signed De Eyck,[1] and that the popular and modern version is a confusion between the *de* article and the *de* preposition. As a proof whereof we may mention that a transcriber has retained the *de* article in referring to the daughter of Van Eyck, whom he names Van der Eecke.[2] Mr. Weale would have abstained from writing the rectification of THE BURLINGTON in presence of the name so spelt.

2. We here approach the greater buffoonery. The question is to show that Jacques Cône is only a supernumerary, and in order to do so the author of the rectification informs us of some very singular facts. He states that the plan of the church of Milan dates from *1356*, and that the construction began on the 18th of March of that year. Now read this:—

> La storia di sua edificazione sta registrata nelle antiche cronache e nei libri della fabbrica. . . assegnando esse l'epoca del suo annalzamente nell' anno *1386*, mentre releviamo che, nel giorno *15* marzo di detto anno, Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti circondato da brillante e numeroso sua corte, da molti architetti, parti nazionali, parte *stranieri*. . . vi si pose la prima pietra fondamentale.[3]

As you perceive, Mr. Weale's name has been really misused. This is the more evident when he is fathered with the idea—most strange!—that the Fabric of Milan sent for J. Cône and his companion Mignot to *sketch* or *draw* the church *already built*. It was precisely because the Italian architects were unable to execute the work—very little advanced in 1399—that the two artists were sent for, at the recommendation of Jean Aucher.[4] *Designare ecclesiam* signifies to determine the *plan*, and not to *sketch*, as the author of the rectifications insinuates. A proof moreover that Mignot was a 'building architect' exists in the fact that he quarrelled with the members of the Fabric about a *chapiteau*, which he placed too low, in 1401. Can you conceive these two men conveyed to Milan at a great expense, and accompanied by an assistant, only to *execute a drawing*, which they took two years to accomplish!

Mr. Weale would be amply justified in suing the individual who dares to thus misuse his signature, and to attribute to him such false dates.

3. The first part of the note refutes M. Houdoy, and not me. The contradictor insinuates that *Jean de Yeke* is not *Jean van Eyke;* what does Mr. Weale think of this assertion? The second part of the 'rectificative' note is even more burlesque than note 2. The 'Saint Thomas à Beckett'—Mr. Weale has repeated it often and again—*has been entirely repainted*, restored and perverted. The frame bears the date *MCCCC 21 octobris*, according to the catalogue of the Bruges Exhibition, No. 8. This date is intact, says Mr. Weale's *prête-nom;* the canvas alone has been retouched! But as in reality the date is *1400, 21 October*, the figures *30* have been inserted between *21* and *octobris*, in order to justify the authorship of Jean van Eyck. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, in the Springer edition, contest that date. M. Paul Durrieu demonstrates it to be an 'infamous falsification.'[5] The warmest partisans of Flemish art consent to it. Unfortunately Mr. Weale considers it an irrefutable argument[6] in favour of Jean van Eyck, that which induces his *prête-nom* to compose his rectification, which becomes in this case a most ludicrous piece of nonsense. In this instance he, like Ham, uncovers his father's nakedness.

4. The author insinuates that if I do not understand the last verse of the 'Lamb,' it is because I have wrongly transcribed it. This is not the case. My version is that of the Catalogue of Berlin. It would perhaps have been preferable to give us the true sense; but he carefully refrains from so doing. It is a rebus Mr. Weale's *prête-nom* is incompetent to solve.

[1] A picture at Vienna bears the name of *J. van Eyck*, but it does not appear to be the work of that artist, in spite of Mr. Weale's dissertation in THE BURLINGTON of May 1904.

[2] De Laborde, No. 1407.

[3] 'La Metropolitana di Milano,' an official work published in 1824 by G. Bocca, Milano, in fol page 1.

[4] 'Annali di Fabbrica,' I. 199.

[5] Paul Durrieu, *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1902, and *Les Débuts des Van Eyck*, page 9.

[6] 'This picture,' writes Mr. Weale, 'constitutes actually the most ancient work executed by the brush of the youngest of the two brothers.' *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Bruges*, Preface — And yet he admits that it has been 'entirely repainted'!

5. Carl van Mander, in his 'Livre des Peintres' (édit. de l'Art, 1882, page 393), says that in certain cities of the Netherlands the tinkers, pewtermongers, frippers, etc., formed part of the corporation of painters. Here again the *prête-nom* plays a scurvy trick upon Mr. Weale, whom he appears to accuse of not having read Van Mander.

It is impossible to carry to a higher pitch a very sorry jest, as you will admit.

In presence of the harm done to Mr. Weale, I care very little for the insinuations made against myself. The author of the 'note' wished to kill two birds with one stone, and to crush me while slaying Mr. Weale. For my part, I escape as best I can. I can scarcely say so much for my companion in adversity. HENRI BOUCHOT.

⁂ We submitted a proof of M. Bouchot's letter to Mr. Weale, in order that he might close the controversy, and he writes as follows:—

'M. Bouchot's methods are ludicrous. Does he imagine that the readers of THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE are so ignorant as not to know that John Van Eyck's paintings are signed by him in Latin, and that *de* is a preposition = *van?* I know only one inscription in which *de* does not occur, but this exception only proves the absurdity of M. Bouchot's contention. John calls his brother "Hubertus e Eyck." Duke Philip of Burgundy and the canons of Bruges, who knew John intimately, call him in French and Latin documents "van Eyck." M. Bouchot thinks he knows better than they.

'As to the second point I repeat that Coene was only employed to make a drawing of the cathedral as it then stood, which drawing he was ordered to begin on the morrow of his arrival in August 1399. John de Grassis was also employed to make a model of wood showing the work of each master-mason, a number of whom had been employed. Mignot, who seems to have been a cantankerous conceited individual, criticized everybody else's work, relying apparently on the Duke's protection. To put an end to the scandal he was ordered to hand in his observations in writing. These were refuted, and he was sent about his business.

'3. The assertion that the 30 is an interpolation is audacious.

'4. M. Bouchot says his version ("Les Primitifs," p. 229) is that of the Berlin catalogue. But it is not. The catalogue (1878, p 103) has *versu*, Mr. Bouchot *versus*. On the subject of this inscription, *see* THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, Vol. IV, pp. 26, 27 (January 1904).

'5. Haarlem is not in Flanders; and Van Mander, writing in 1600, is not a reliable authority as to artists of the fifteenth century.'

## DRUG AND UNGUENT POTS FOUND IN LONDON

GENTLEMEN,

I read with much pleasure Mr. C. H. Wylde's article, in the April number of THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, on the origin of the small delft-ware drug and unguent pots found in excavations in London; and although the considerations adduced amply disprove, in my opinion, Mr. Wallis's contention that these rough and insignificant pieces are of Italian workmanship, further evidence, especially if it is of a circumstantial nature, can hardly fail to be of interest.

Mr. Pit, the learned curator of the Netherlands Museum, Amsterdam, recently informed me that a number of pots precisely similar to those in question have been found in excavations in the town of Delft. This discovery clearly indicates a Dutch origin for part at least of the debated wares, though it does not necessarily invalidate Mr. Wylde's conclusion that those found in London were made for the English druggists at local factories, since the manufacture of English delft was learned direct from Holland, and, indeed, actually started by Dutch potters. It will at any rate be granted that in spite of the debased Italian motives which appear in the decoration of some of these pots, it is superfluous to look further than Holland for their birthplace. R. L. HOBSON.

## A MINISTRY OF FINE ARTS?

GENTLEMEN,

The idea of a Minister of Fine Arts, as set forth in your journal by Mr. Spielmann, is most charming. A control by Government which would correct all that may be complained of with regard to our public picture galleries and museums, which would remove field advertisements, so offensive to all right-minded travellers, making them ashamed that foreigners should see our sordidness, which would prevent the general disfigurement of our cities and towns, as well as save our valuable ancient buildings and monuments both from neglect and from 'restoration'; that all these important matters should be set right is indeed a fascinating idea.

But could one man be so gifted as to be capable of forming a right judgement in all these things? I think not. If a minister were appointed he would certainly require an office with clerks. When the Government changed he would be replaced by another Minister of Fine Arts, who would find that his office knew more of the details of his subject than he did, and, in the end, we should find what we most care about would be under the control of a Government office.

THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE finds it desirable to have a strong committee representing the many branches of art with which it deals. The clerks of the Government office would take the place of this committee, but is there any chance that they would be as strong a committee as the committee of your magazine? We know that they would not, and I think that we should be wise to take warning by the result of the control of such matters by Government in other countries.

THACKERAY TURNER.

## THE BOSTON VELAZQUEZ

GENTLEMEN,

It may be of interest to your readers to know that the Boston 'Velazquez,' described in the April number of THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, was a few years ago taken to the Prado and placed next to the Velazquez portraits, and by all the best critics acknowledged to be a copy.

ALBAN HEAD.

Madrid, 11 April 1905.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## PAINTING

Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers. Vol. V, S—*Z*. G. Bell & Sons. £1 1s. net.

It is easy to find fault with any work conceived on so large a scale as this new edition of Bryan's Dictionary. The issue of the fifth and final volume makes it possible to view the series as a whole, and in so doing it is impossible not to recognize that the new 'Bryan' is not only more bulky and more handsome, but also much more complete and trustworthy than any of the older versions. From the point of view of scholarship, objection must be taken to a portion of the illustrations as perpetrating pictures that only deserve oblivion. At the same time the fault perhaps lies almost as much with the taste of the British public as with the editor and publishers. In England it is still impossible for good work to obtain acceptance except as a pill sweetened with a goodly proportion of the jam of sentiment, and the inclusion of letterpress and pictures connected with certain popular pets was probably a necessary concession, since the book will have to depend largely upon English people for its success.

Side by side with these bids for popularity we find a great deal of tolerable criticism, and some really first-rate essays, among which that of Dr. Kristeller on Squarcione and the concise notices of Mr. Weale are prominent. We could wish Mr. Weale's virtues had been emulated by the writers of the notices of modern artists who are often absurdly verbose. The notices of R. Kent Thomas and Vereschagin might be instanced.

In looking over the volume we have not noticed many serious errors and omissions. A reference should certainly have been given to Levina Terling—for though she is dealt with in the first volume under her maiden name, it is by her married name that she is generally spoken of. The date of A. G. Stannard's birth is surely incorrect by nearly forty years. Joseph Slater, the well-known portrait draughtsman of the earlier part of the nineteenth century, is omitted, an omission the more regrettable because there was an earlier artist of exactly the same name, and also because Slater's portraits are uncommonly skilful as well as numerous. The omission of the well-known landscape painter James Webb is even more serious from the point of view of the criticism of English painting. It is precisely to such a work as 'Bryan' that students should be able to turn to find particulars of clever artists like Webb and Paul, whose work under more famous names is so frequently seen in good society. The most notable slip in the illustrations is the attribution of the well-known picture by Bartolommeo Veneto, at Glasgow, to Domenico Veneziano. The notice of Bartolommeo Veneto, by the way, is singularly inadequate and incorrect.

The letter from the author of one of the most important new articles which appeared in *The Athenæum* for April 15th last, suggests that the contributors cannot in all cases be held responsible for the opinions professedly signed by them; a very serious defect in a work with pretensions to accurate scholarship.

It is nevertheless only fair to recognize that the articles dealing with the more popular painters maintain a very respectable average of excellence, and the purchasers of the new 'Bryan' will at least have a considerably better book than the former edition.

Lorenzo Lotto. By Bernhard Berenson. Revised Edition. George Bell & Sons. 7s. 6d. net.

Mr. Berenson's monograph on Lorenzo Lotto has already taken its place among the classics of art criticism. At first sight it might be natural to wonder, or even to regret, that the author's great critical powers should have for so long been diverted to the study of one who with all his gifts of talent and temperament was not an artist of the first rank. Nevertheless this natural surprise or regret would in reality be unreasonable. The wide field of Italian criticism had already been surveyed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, and the whole of their survey has been revised by the researches of Morelli, so that now we have a tolerably accurate bird's-eye plan of the entire surface. The task of the successors of these pioneers of criticism is to complete the details, and this can only be done district by district. The critic of to-day has to make up his mind whether he will devote himself to the perfecting of some tract of rich and conspicuous genius already cultivated and reduced to approximate order by his predecessors, or whether he will go out into the wilderness and explore some rougher, less attractive upland, and attempt to trace to their sources the streams from which the main rivers of artistic progress have their origin.

Mr. Berenson took the latter course when he chose Lotto for his subject, and the result of his researches has fully justified the choice. Lotto was one of the fortunate painters who lived when the art of the Renaissance was reaching its highest development. Being sensitive and adaptable by nature he was impressed by the example of many more independent spirits into whose sphere of influence he happened to be carried, and the study of his work from first to last is thus constantly throwing light upon the other artists with whom he came in contact.

The external influences which impressed the art of Lotto's middle life had been sketched out before Mr. Berenson devoted himself to the subject, and for this portion of Lotto's career he could do little more than amplify and verify and correct existing criticism. With regard to the early portion of Lotto's career the position was different. Here the whole existing tradition had to be reconsidered,

with a result that amounted practically to an entire re-writing of the history of Venetian painting at the end of the fifteenth century, and the reconstruction of the forgotten personality of Alvise Vivarini as the head of a school second in importance only to that of Bellini himself.

Of the mass of arguments adduced in support of Mr. Berenson's view of Alvise and his followers, some part (not a large one) may seem a little far-fetched; not everyone may agree as to the authorship of all the works of art attributed to him (the drawings, perhaps, are less obviously characteristic than are the paintings), but the sum total of the result achieved is so great that the book must always be one of the cardinal authorities upon the growth of Venetian art. It may be added that this new edition, besides containing a good deal of additional matter, including some interesting notes on portraits recently identified as Alvise's work, is admirably illustrated and produced.

ALBERT DURER. By T. Sturge Moore. Duckworth. 7s. 6d. net.

THE previous volumes of Messrs. Duckworth's series have all followed more or less the recognized lines of modern artistic biographies. Mr. Moore's book is an exception. As he explains in his preface, it is intended to be an appreciation of Dürer in relation to general ideas, an unorthodox programme which is carried out with unusual freshness and completeness. Those who are acquainted with Mr. Moore's previous work in prose and poetry will expect originality, enthusiasm, and an almost overpowering wealth of imagery, and in these respects they will not be disappointed. Perhaps the most notable feature of the writer's attitude is his aloofness from current interests, a feature which, in combination with much shrewdness of insight, gave a peculiar charm to his study of Altdorfer. Viewing the world with eyes at once keen and simple, Mr. Moore sees with a certain cleanly frankness, which enables him to approach the character of Dürer with a sympathy that has not been extended to it hitherto.

It would be hard to overpraise Mr. Moore's treatment of Dürer's attitude to morality and to the religion of his time, but even this portion of the book yields in interest to that in which he deals with a subject in which biographers are far more rarely successful, the analysis of Dürer's attitude towards his art. His lucid exposition of Dürer's theory of a canon of proportion has already appeared in THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE. It will give some idea of the logical and sensible spirit in which Mr. Moore deals with the master's theories, and with his desire to help others by recording the results of his own experience. On the practical side Mr. Moore is no less well equipped, and although he makes little attempt at an exhaustive study of all the drawings, paintings, and engravings given to Dürer (the paintings, indeed, he deals with almost too briefly), he marks their characteristics with so much intuition and technical experience that no student of art can fail to be informed and stimulated by the book, however considerable his personal attainments or however well provided with Dürer literature he may be.

One or two impatient criticisms of other critics seem more out of place in a book whose general tone is so lofty than do one or two trifling misprints, and in our copy at least the frontispiece is missing. The only other fault that could be found with the work is a certain lack of order and proportion in the arrangement of thoughts that in themselves are logical enough. Mr. Moore, in fact, has a tendency to be overwhelmed by the quantity of his own ideas, but this surplusage is so unusual in these days that it makes this book even more remarkable than it would be had its growth been trained and pruned by some precisian.

THE LIFE AND ART OF SANDRO BOTTICELLI. By Julia Cartwright (Mrs. Ady). Duckworth. 21s. net.

LIKE the Nemesis in a Greek tragedy, the monumental life of Botticelli, upon which Mr. Herbert Horne has been engaged for so many years, would seem to have hung like a heavy cloud over other critics of Italian painting. It is difficult to explain in any other way why the one who is perhaps the most generally popular of all Florentine artists of the Renaissance should have been the subject of so few biographies of any kind in England. Mrs. Ady's book makes no claim to finality, but those who know and can appreciate the products of her many-sided activity will not be disappointed in her latest work. This life of Botticelli is not perhaps very original or profound, but it sums up the results of the best modern research in a pleasant and readable form, and contains plenty of illustrations. Some of these, by the way, are repeated in a manner that suggests an alteration in the original plan of the book. The repetition is rather annoying because one or two of Botticelli's most important works, such as the Sistine frescoes, are quite inadequately shown.

One merit of the biography is the excellent picture which it draws of Botticelli's Florence—the Florence of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and of Savonarola. Its chief defect is a certain diffuseness, or rather lack of incisiveness, in the treatment of the pictures themselves. If Botticelli's imitators were to be discussed and illustrated, the points on which they fall short of the master himself, *e.g.*, in the treatment of the hand, should have been explained. Botticelli's colour, too, surely deserved more definite praise. The glowing scarlet and gold and azure of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Accademia, and the unique perfection of The Calumny of Apelles surely might have been ac-

corded a fitting tribute. We regret these defects because the volume is otherwise accurate and appreciative as well as pleasantly written.

How to Identify Portrait Miniatures. By Dr. Williamson. London: G. Bell & Sons. 6s. net.

This is an epitome of the pretentious work in two large volumes by the same author, and contains a certain amount of varied information not always trustworthy. Its usefulness for the purpose indicated by the title would be greater were it not for the poverty of the illlustrations.

Analysis of Drawing, Painting, and Composition. By H. L. Moore, 31, Margravine Gardens, W. 12s. 6d. post free.

There is much to commend in Mr. Moore's effort at removing some of the difficulties which surround the teaching of drawing. The bulk of the advice given is sensible and practical, and is explained and illustrated by some four hundred illustrations by the author, who is also the publisher of the book. Nevertheless, the book has one or two serious faults. As writing it is amateurish, and thus is not easy reading: a grave defect in a work intended for beginners. More serious still is the lack of insistence on quality of workmanship. The author's drawings are generally excellent and to the point, but they will not give the student any idea of the refinements of execution found in all first-rate work. No harm can be done by insisting on those refinements from the first, and the reproduction of half-a-dozen drawings by the great masters properly annotated would teach a student more than double the number of rough diagrams and many pages of letterpress. The printer's reader ought to have corrected 'the Greeko-Romans' and 'Annanias,' even if 'Ilissis' seemed sufficiently Hellenic to pass muster.

Millet. By Netta Peacock. Methuen. 2s. 6d. net.

A careful little book principally illustrated by small reproductions of the Millet drawings in the Boston Museum.

## SCULPTURE

Auguste Rodin. By Camille Mauclair. Translated by Clementina Black. Duckworth. 12s. 6d. net.

This volume will be welcome to many English readers who want to know more about Rodin and to possess more pictures of his work than they can find in the one little book (apart from some good magazine articles) which has been written about him in England. This excellent study by Mr. Rudolf Dircks is unfortunately omitted by M. Mauclair from his list of books and articles relating to Rodin. Otherwise M. Mauclair's work is fairly complete, and is a pleasant supplement to the articles of M. Roger Marx and the volumes of M. Maillard and Mlle. Cladel.

M. Rodin has numerous friends among literary men, and in consequence those who write about him have a tendency to read more 'literary' purpose (even while denying its existence) into his work than he himself would claim. The titles, for instance, which they attach to many of his sculptures, which need christening no more than do pieces of music, are apt to mislead both Rodin's public and Rodin's biographers. M. Mauclair, for instance, illustrates a figure on page 74 and calls it Primitive Man; on page 106 it appears again as A Shade, while M. Rodin's photographer (spelt, by the way, Buloz) calls it Adam. The last title is possible; the last but one reasonable, since the figure closely resembles one of the three shades that crown The Gate of Hell; the first is a source of confusion, if not a positive mistake. No title at all is given to the subject on the left of the plate of page 106, although it is a work of some interest, being the nude study from which Rodin constructed the figure of Jacques de Wissant in the Burghers of Calaïs.

By far the most valuable and interesting portion of the book is that in which M. Rodin explains his own theories.

His criticism of the custom of setting beginners to study the antique instead of making it the last part of their course, should be read by every teacher in a school of art. His account of the development of his own practice is an admirable exposition of the progress of sculpture, and of the principles upon which power of expression may be best attained. The case is put with uncommon clearness and conciseness. It would be difficult, for instance, to describe a great artist more pithily than M. Rodin has done in the phrase, 'men of genius are just those who, by their trade skill, carry the essential to perfection.' It is impossible to discuss these opinions at length in a short review; but M. Rodin's criticism should be invaluable to any art student who has the wit to make use of it.

The Renaissance of Sculpture in Belgium. By Oliver Georges Destrée. Seeley. 3s. 6d. net.

A re-issue of the *Portfolio* Monograph originally published in 1895. The recent death of Meunier, the greatest of modern Belgian artists, added to the general revival of the study of sculpture, gives particular interest to this sensible, well-illustrated essay on a school of art which has both vigour and national character to recommend it.

# *Bibliography*

## PORCELAIN

A History and Description of French Porcelain. By E. S. Auscher. Translated and edited by William Burton, F.C.S. Containing twenty-four plates in colour, together with reproductions of marks and numerous illustrations. London: Cassell & Co., 1905. 8vo, pp. xiv., 196. £1 10s. net.

Although Messrs. Cassell & Co. never have promised that the handsome volumes they have brought out at intervals—each forming a detached chapter of the history of the ceramic art—would be followed by other volumes prepared on the same plan, it is to be hoped that the success with which the venture has so far been rewarded will induce the publication of such additional monographs as are, doubtless, included in the wide scheme framed by the editor, Mr. William Burton. When brought to completion, the series will constitute a ceramic cyclopedia of an importance never approached before. To-day we have to welcome the appearance of a fresh instalment, which brings us a step nearer the accomplishment of that desirable end. Monsieur E. S. Auscher's history of French porcelain is by no means inferior to its forerunners, and its incontestable merit augurs well for what, we may expect, will shortly follow. It was wise on this occasion to entrust a French specialist with the task of compiling a historical and descriptive book, brought up to the present state of advanced knowledge, and free from the erroneous notions which have too long been allowed to pass unchallenged. No one was better qualified for the task than M. Auscher, a well-known writer on ceramics, acquainted with the contents of the public and private collections of France, and for ten years director of the manufacturing department of the national manufactory of Sèvres.

The captivating tale unfolded in the pages dealing with the historical part of the subject commands, in more ways than one, the attention of the English collector of ceramics. To go over a trustworthy record of the glories and vicissitudes of the chief centres of manufacture, to master the main features through which their productions may be recognized, is a labour which, undertaken at first as a duty, will soon prove a source of pleasure.

The account starts with the discovery made at Rouen by the *faïencier*, Louis Poterat, in 1673, of an artificial porcelain, sufficiently white and translucid to be considered as a satisfactory substitute for the mysterious ware that came from the Far East. The reader will then be made to follow the course of the process, which passed successively, and without undergoing any material alterations, from Rouen to Saint-Cloud, Lille, Chantilly, Mennecy-Villeroy, and ultimately reached Vincennes and Sèvres, where it was to develop its highest degree of perfection. While examining the typical examples of the productions of these various places, a clear-sighted observer will find much in the quality of the paste, as well as in the taste of the decoration, which reminds him of the early china of Bow and Chelsea. From this recognition there is but one step to the surmise that a still unacknowledged relationship must have existed between the old factories of France and those established later on in England. More than one inquisitive spirit may feel incited, in consequence, to make an attempt at picking up the thread which unites our national porcelain works to their foreign ancestors.

When the narrative enters the portion devoted to the royal factories of Vincennes and Sèvres—necessarily the most important of the book—the interest felt by the true china-lover will increase. He will find himself almost at home with the subject, for if he has not yet heard all that he wants to know about the old *porcelaine tendre*, he is, at any rate, already familiar with the finest examples of the ware. Alas for poor France! by far the largest and finest portion of her Sèvres china fled from the country during the storm of social perturbations, never to return to it again. It is now chiefly in England, at Windsor Castle and at Hertford House, in the collections of Lord Spencer, Lord Harewood, Baron A. de Rothschild, and many other distinguished amateurs, that the matchless *porcelaine de France* may be admired in all its splendour.

One would willingly linger over the period when soft china had acquired right of abode in all refined households, brightening with multi-coloured marvels the exquisite appointments of the refined drawing-room. What was accomplished at Sèvres in the reign of Louis XV, partly under the inspiring influence of the Marquise de Pompadour, has certainly never been surpassed. The discovery of the Kaolin of Saint-Yrieix, near Limoges, in 1769, and the substitution of a natural for an artificial porcelain, which was the consequence of it, opens a new phase in the history of French porcelain. With the introduction of an undeniable technical improvement came the artistic decline. Many were the practical advantages of the hard paste; its manufacture had at once been safely regulated, while the making of *pâte tendre* was still hampered by risks and accidents which could never be mastered. It mattered little to the china-maker if by adopting the new processes the white porcelain was to lose its creamy whiteness, and if the colours applied to it would no longer show the same vivacity of tint and brilliancy of surface; this was more than compensated in his estimation by the greater facility it would bring in the conduct of manufacture. In consequence of the sudden transformation of an unstable and often ruinous trade into a steady and remunerative one, the number of porcelain manufactories increased with amazing rapidity. In Paris alone, close on thirty

of them were at work towards the end of the eighteenth century. They were all making hard paste; the body was obtained ready mixed from Limoges, and made use of in each place without any appreciable modification. As to the style of decoration, it seldom departed from close imitations of the most successful patterns created at the manufactory of Sèvres. On that account the productions of a late period present a similarity of character, both from the technical and artistic points of view, which would render an attribution to their respective maker a matter of great difficulty were it not that, in accordance with State regulations, each piece had to bear the distinctive mark of the manufacturer. A great number of these Parisian marks are included in the general list; needless to say that they will prove of great assistance to the collector.

The chapter dealing with modern forgeries, rank counterfeits, or genuine pieces skilfully doctored up, is an original feature in this work; it will be read with interest and profit. It brings to our mind the recollection of the fact that in the provision of the curiosity market with an ample supply of spurious Sèvres porcelain the English forger never remained behind his Continental brethren. This does not, however, appear to be known in France, for M. Auscher has neglected to mention it.

A copious set of plates, representing well-selected specimens, and produced in the best style of typographic colour-printing, adds much to the attractiveness and value of the volume.

M. L. S.

Europäisches Porzellan des XVIII Jahrhunderts. Katalog der vom 15. Februar bis 30. April 1904 im Lichthofe des Kgl. Kunstgewerbe-Museums zu Berlin ausgestellten Porzellans. Von Adolf Brüning, in Verbindung mit W. Behncke, M. Creutz, und G. Swarzenski. Berlin, G. Reimer, 1904. Roy. 8vo., with 15 col. pl. and 25 pl. in black and white. M. 30.

A retrospective exhibition of European porcelain was held at the Industrial Art Museum of Berlin in the spring of 1904. Much taste and discrimination had been displayed by the organizers in selecting out of the chief public and private collections of the country such typical specimens as would best represent the various styles and periods of manufacture. No catalogue of the exhibition had, however, been provided. To make up for a regrettable deficiency and in order that a lasting record might remain of an assemblage of fine and rare examples of the ceramic art, never again to be brought together, a few members of the committee, with Mr. Brüning at their head, decided to prepare, and ultimately to publish, the handsome volume now under our notice.

Naturally German porcelain largely predominates, in the descriptive list, over that of other origin. On this account the book commends itself to the attention of the English collector to whom foreign languages are not unfamiliar. We have still much to learn in England about the minor porcelain works of Germany. Numerous as they are, they all stand partially eclipsed, as it were, by the all-absorbing glory of the royal manufactory of Meissen, from which they were more or less directly derived. A brief history of each centre of manufacture is prefixed to the catalogue. From the examination of the well-chosen specimens reproduced on the plates, will be gained a broad idea of the distinctive characteristics of the productions; further work of identification being greatly facilitated by the accompanying set of marks. In short, it may be said that the book forms a valuable introduction to the study of a most interesting subject. M. L. S.

## FURNITURE

Studies in Ancient Furniture: Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans. By Caroline L. Ransom, Fellow in the University of Chicago. Chicago: the University Press, 1905. 4to, pp. 128, 30 plates, 53 cuts. $4.50.

This work, by a young American lady who has studied classical archaeology both at home and in Europe, deals with a subject which hitherto has received little attention from writers on Greek and Roman antiquities. As the authoress points out in her preface, all previous literature is confined to a few articles in works of an encyclopaedic character, and research among existing monuments is rendered difficult by the vague and fragmentary character of the evidence. The industry and care with which she has collected all the available representations of ancient beds and couches, and the judgement shown in weighing the results obtained, deserve great commendation; and an interesting practical outcome of her studies is the attempted restoration of a couch from Greek vase-paintings as shown in Plate II. This restoration was worked out by a firm of upholsterers at Chicago, and bears out the accuracy with which the Greek vase-painters reproduced small details, though the limitations of their technical methods often render it difficult to distinguish what they really intended to show.

Miss Ransom points out that the Greeks and Romans made no distinction between beds and couches for social uses, the latter being universal in dining-rooms and banqueting-rooms on account of the practice of reclining at meals. But that chairs and high stools of more or less modern shapes were also commonly in use is abundantly clear from the vase-paintings and statues of seated figures; with these, however, the book is not concerned. Among the many existing examples

of couches or parts of couches illustrated in this work few are more interesting than the bronze *bisellia* of Pompeii, of which several specimens, more or less complete, may be seen in the British, Naples, and other museums. Curiously enough they have in almost all cases been wrongly restored, and instead of forming, as they really did, couches of some five or six feet in length with raised ends for head or arm rests, they usually appear in the form of four-legged stools, the ornamented rests being placed underneath the seats! These rests are frequently decorated with some device in relief, most commonly a horse's or mule's head decked with ivy-wreath and inlaid collar; others have a swan's head and neck or a bust of Cupid. The mules' heads were considered specially appropriate to banqueting couches, owing to the connexion of that animal with Bacchus.

Space forbids us to enter into further details of the very interesting objects here collected, discussed, and illustrated. The subject-matter is throughout excellent and scholarly, and we have only detected a few very trifling errors; our only regret is that the book is so frequently marred by the uncouthness of its style, not to mention some excruciating Americanisms. H. B. W.

A History of English Furniture. By Percy Macquoid, R.I., with plates in colour after Shirley Slocombe, and numerous illustrations selected and arranged by the author. Vol. I. The Age of Oak. 11 × 15 inches. pp. viii, 244. Fifteen plates in colour. London: Lawrence and Bullen. £2 2s. net.

This first volume of Mr. Macquoid's work, which comprises Nos. I to V of the monthly parts in which it is being issued, treats of the first of the four periods into which the subject has been divided, which is conveniently and with sufficient accuracy described as 'The Age of Oak,' since during the period dealt with oak was the material chiefly, though not exclusively, used for furniture in England. The volume brings us down to the Restoration, and covers the styles roughly classified as gothic, Elizabethan, and Jacobean. Of the earlier gothic furniture little or nothing, as Mr. Macquoid remarks, now survives, and the surviving pieces are chests and coffers. Mr. Macquoid includes in his illustrations an interesting chest of the early part of the fourteenth century belonging to Mr. Morgan Williams, and the fifteenth century is represented by several beautiful pieces. The remarkable chest known as 'Sudbury's Hutch,' given at the end of the fifteenth century by a vicar named Sudbury to Louth church, where it is happily still preserved, is specially interesting as showing a certain Renaissance influence at an early date for England. Contemporary pieces, such as Mr. C. E. Kempe's magnificent cupboard or the beautiful chests belonging to Messrs. Gill and Reigate, and Mr. A. L. Radford, are purely gothic. Nothing perhaps is more attractive at this period than the severely simple linenfold pattern, of which some fine specimens are illustrated, notably a cupboard door in which the pattern is slightly elaborated.

When we reach the sixteenth century the wealth of fine pieces is so great that it is hardly possible to select any for special mention. But we cannot pass over Sir George Donaldson's exquisite marquetry writing-cabinet, a piece made probably about the middle of the sixteenth century, and purely of English workmanship, though inspired by foreign (probably, as Mr. Macquoid suggests, Spanish) influence. This remarkable piece is of English oak, inlaid with English walnut, rosewood, and other coloured and stained woods. Its history is an example of the vandalism of our immediate ancestors; it was discovered in the basement of a house in the country, where it served the children of the family as a rabbit-hutch! Fortunately it was little injured, and is practically in its original state. Mr. Slocombe's coloured drawings of this and other inlaid pieces are more successful than the coloured plates of plain oak pieces. The complete volume now before us only confirms the opinion stated in our review of the first monthly part, that the reproductions in monochrome from photographs are, on the whole, far more satisfactory and much nearer to the originals than the reproductions in colour from Mr. Slocombe's drawings, which fail to reproduce the oak surface, though they are in many respects creditable.

In the seventeenth century furniture became much more common with the growth of comfort and luxury, and Mr. Macquoid's illustrations give us an exhaustively representative selection. It is pleasant to find that so large a number of fine pieces survive in this country not only in great houses such as Hardwick and Knole, but also in less conspicuous places. Among the most curious pieces of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are the chests with representations in inlay of Nonesuch Palace, Cheam, that wonderful house which Barbara Palmer destroyed and sold piecemeal.

We have already in our previous review of the first monthly part of this work expressed certain criticisms. The book is not fully adequate from the archaeological and historical points of view, and the definitive history of furniture remains to be written. But from the artistic point of view the book can be unreservedly praised. The illustrations alone (more than two hundred pieces are figured in this volume) make it indispensable to the collector of furniture, and for the trouble and time that he must have spent on discovering and selecting the pieces to be illustrated Mr. Macquoid deserves the gratitude of everyone interested in the subject. Only a connoisseur

as keen and well-informed as he is could have pictured the furniture of the past as it is here pictured for us, or have described it with so true an artistic appreciation.

We should like to plead for a more exhaustive index and a complete list of illustrations. Perhaps they will be forthcoming at the end of the publication.

English Furniture Designers of the Eighteenth Century. By Constance Simon. London: A. H. Bullen. 1905. 25s. net.

Too many of the books pretending to expert art knowledge which have been called into existence by the re-awakened interest shown by the public in such matters remind one forcibly of the refreshment-room sandwich. The bread is often stale, and what it encloses is of the thinnest and flimsiest consistency, being neither satisfying nor savoury. In Miss Simon's book we occasionally—very occasionally—come across such reminiscences; but though the book has faults, the faults are its own, and are not copied parrot-like from other utterances.

From one point of view the book does not deserve its title. The bulk of it is composed of illustrations from a few collections with letterpress explanatory rather of the pieces chosen than of the changing styles and fashions. It is not what has been selected, but what has been ignored, that renders this latest attempt at the history of eighteenth-century furniture unrepresentative. There is a want of sequence and continuity, even in the style, which makes it read too much like a mass of disjointed notes without a central aim. That the authoress has a good eye for fine pieces is abundantly evident from the illustrations, but the reason for bringing these examples together is not so obvious.

Some time ago a writer on this subject suggested that many important dates, such as that of Thomas Chippendale's death, might be found by dint of careful search among parish and other records. Few people have both the time and inclination for such a task, but Miss Simon has heroically—I had almost written manfully—stepped into the breach. If it is easy to point to a lack of scientific treatment in the work as a whole, it is impossible to commend too highly the painstaking research which has been given to the personal history of some of the old furniture makers. Registers and dry-as-dust documents in almost countless numbers must have been examined to furnish the facts arrived at. Sometimes these are stated rather baldly, while at others there is a leaning to the picturesque which leads to trouble. The story of a quarrel between Chippendale and the rest of the trade, though originally the merest guess, has been largely copied by other writers. Miss Simon now furnishes us with another—quite as imaginary—between Hepplewhite and Sheraton. Hepplewhite, she tells us, spoke disparagingly of Sheraton, who retaliated by saying that Hepplewhite's work had already caught the decline, and perhaps in a little time would suddenly die in the disorder. This was not retaliation, but unprovoked assault, for Hepplewhite was stating an undeniable fact regarding the books previously published, which could scarcely refer to the Drawing Book nor even to Sheraton's work, as he, to take Miss Simon's own date, did not come to London till some years later. Though thus attempting to strangle an impossible legend in its infancy, it is only fair to add that this must not be taken as a sample of Miss Simon's facts, which are usually most carefully accurate, while in the matter of dates it will in future be impossible to write exhaustively of the period without indebtedness to her labours. R. S. C.

Chats on Old Furniture. By Arthur Hayden. Fisher Unwin. 5s. net.

A really good popular book—pleasantly written, well illustrated, and remarkably cheap. It is also as trustworthy as can reasonably be expected of any small book that covers so much ground, for although we have noticed one or two slips in Mr. Hayden's chapter on the Stuart period, and think that the contemporaries of Chippendale might have been dealt with a little more definitely, even at the expense of another two pages of letterpress, the author on the whole is so sensible and so appreciative of the artistic side of his subject that such trifling blemishes hardly deserve to be mentioned.

## MISCELLANEOUS

English Embroidery. By A. F. Kendrick. London: George Newnes, Ltd. 7s. 6d. net.

For a long time we have been much in need of a work dealing with the subject of embroidery with taste and discretion and with the authority of an expert; Mr. Kendrick's volume on English embroidery, therefore, has been looked for with pleasurable anticipation since its announcement. In giving what necessarily must be a rather curtailed account of an art that spreads over so many periods, Mr. Kendrick has, by a certain reserve of treatment, and judgement in selection, succeeded in presenting his subject to us in an interesting and attractive form. Four chapters treat respectively of the Norman and Early English Periods, the Great Period (1270-1330), and the Decline and Revival (about 1330-1530), and three chapters give an account of the art in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, a clear and reasonable arrangement for a volume containing not much more than a hundred pages. Without making a definite list of existing pieces of English embroidery, Mr. Kendrick gives useful comments and notes on the principal examples of this work and tells us where they are to be found at the present day. The

limitation of the subject to English art really increases the usefulness of the volume: it makes a harmonious *ensemble* (which, in homely language, means a readable book), and it makes it possible for the student, in looking through the numerous illustrations, to follow the development of certain characteristics, the divergence of others, and, generally speaking, to trace for himself, in the material thus compactly presented to him, that indefinite *English* quality which is so far from easy to describe in its essence. In the interesting but all too short chapter on the 'Great Period,' there are one or two points on which one might differ from the author; but matters of opinion are not matters of vital interest to the public, and I pass them over, except the following point, which, though not important, is rather interesting. In speaking of the characteristic treatment of the flesh in *Opus Anglicanum*, the author brings forward once more the theory of the centre of the cheek being pressed by a 'heated instrument of a rounded form.' I am rather sceptical as to this, as it seems to me that the mere stitching round and round on a very small scale, and the subsequent removal of the strain on the material necessary during working, would induce this symmetrical 'cockling' of the surface in the middle of the cheek. One writer after another makes this assertion about the heated knob, and none of them quoting their ultimate authority, I am roused to make the above suggestion. I am afraid that all are not quite agreed that the Syon cope stands 'easily first' among English embroideries. Beautiful as it is, the Bologna cope strikes a more individual note among the 'architectural' copes, and among the 'circle' copes that at Steeple Aston, when uncut and shining with its romantic wreathing of gold and its splendid angel-borders; and the Cope of the Passion at St. Bertrand de Comminges is more interesting in its *ensemble*, with its crisp details like those of a manuscript, and its rose and pearl colours—a reflection of moonlight in fairyland. The competition for first place is an amiable one, however, for all these fine embroideries have their due importance. In his chapter on the 'Decline and Revival,' Mr. Kendrick points out the speedy degeneration of the art in the fourteenth century—the gothic tradition emphatic in outward expression, but the spirit gone. 'The careful embroidering of faces. . . is seen no longer, and the work generally loses its precision and fineness.' The next two chapters deal delightfully with the most delightful art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and we close the volume with a pleasant feeling that some of these pieces, with their light-fingered grace and absence of set design—nearer to us than the noble work of the Great Period—are possible achievements or mortal fingers, that we too might scatter columbines and roses and ribbons over gowns and cushions without being guilty of the affectation of plagiarism, and with some chance of success. The choice of illustrations shows a fastidious taste: they form a very interesting and informing series, though some of them, especially those of the earlier period, have suffered from the small scale prescribed by the size of the volume. A good detail, on the same scale as the very clearly defined one of the 'Jesse' cope (Plate XVIII), would have usefully supplemented the rather inadequate plate of the Steeple Aston piece (Plate XIX). The coloured plate of Mrs. Buxton's delightful Elizabethan tunic that fronts the volume is full of charm, but the other coloured plates are not altogether satisfactory. The title-page has a pseudo, old-world look that is rather depressing to the simple mind; but, after all, one does not stop to look at this, hurrying on to the book itself, whose matter, entirely delightful, is presented in an entirely worthy and sympathetic form. M. M.

LAST LETTERS OF AUBREY BEARDSLEY. With an introductory note by the Rev. John Gray. Longmans, Green & Co. 1904. 5s. net.

'As a contribution to the body of scientific documents,' says Father Gray of this book in his introduction, 'it is of the first order, for it is the diary of a keen intelligence concentrated upon its utterances, without *arrière pensée*.' Here is No. XIX. of the 'scientific documents' *literatim et verbatim*:—

'10 and 11, St. James's Place, S.W.
'Tuesday.

'My dear * * *

'I shall be most pleased to come to lunch to-day.

'Yours
'AUBREY BEARDSLEY.'

Nobody but an autograph collector would preserve such a note; not even an autograph collector would print it. And this is a specimen picked out at random; the book is mainly composed of this sort of thing, and contains hardly a letter that ought to have been published or is of the smallest public interest. It is difficult to avoid the unpleasant suspicion that the recipient of the letters preserved them with a deliberate eye to 'copy.'

No light is thrown on Beardsley's art—the only thing connected with him with which the public is concerned—except by a chance reference here and there (such as a request for photographs of the Brighton Pavilion) which reveals the genuine 'decadent.' There is no trace of a 'keen intelligence concentrated' on anything, and an unpleasant note runs through the numerous pietistic remarks. Not a note of insincerity; quite the reverse. It is just because many of the letters are self-revelatory that, in justice to Beardsley, they ought never to have been published. What right have we to pry into the intimacies of a dying man, a man dying by inches under circum-

stances which must have impaired his mental powers? We have Beardsley's work—the work of a great artist—and the pleasant knowledge that an unhappy life ended happily. That is enough. This book is an outrage alike on Beardsley and on the public; it calls for a protest from all who still respect the canons of a decent reticence.

R. E. D.

Some Old French and English Ballads. Edited by Robert Steele. Eragny Press, Hammersmith. 35s. net.

We have noticed from time to time the charming products of Mr. Pissarro's press, which now stands alone in consistently combining original wood engraving and colour printing with faultless typography. The present volume has a double claim on the attention, since in it the artist's characteristic talent is employed upon some twenty of the finest ballads of France and England. These old songs recall pleasant memories. The English ballads are almost all established favourites, but several delightful things will be found in the French section that are much less familiar. The music has been taken from the oldest known copies, and a comparison with more modern settings indicates that in several cases the change has entailed a considerable loss of spirit and character. The little book, in fact, is as interesting as it is outwardly attractive.

Florence: Some Tuscan Cities Painted by Colonel R. C. Goff. Described by Clarissa Goff. Black. 20s. net.

This volume of Messrs. Black's handsome series of coloured picture books is a little unlucky in the time of its issue. Only a month or two ago there appeared Mr. Hallam Murray's volume, including the same district and illustrated in the same way. A comparison is inevitable, and Colonel Goff must feel that the odds are against him. Mr. Murray's book was not only first in the field, but was also a thoroughly efficient piece of literary work. Mrs. Goff's modest preface almost disarms criticism, but even when judged by a lenient standard the letterpress of the book is inadequate, the more so because it deals with a centre of art-production on which so much has been written well. Colonel Goff's drawings show that he can handle the brush as skilfully as the etching needle. Perhaps because the process of reproduction has heightened his colouring, perhaps because he himself was less in love with truth than with effectiveness, it is only in one or two of the quieter sketches that he conveys the real feeling of the Arno valley. Nor can the Carrara mountains or a distant cypress be rendered even by the cleverest of blots; they must be drawn. Colonel Goff's work is gay, fresh, and spirited, and will doubtless appeal to the tourist, but the true lover of Italy will prefer the more sincere if less brilliant renderings of Mr. Hallam Murray.

Illuminated Manuscripts. By J. W. Bradley. Methuen & Co. 2s. 6d. net.

There is an astonishing variety about these little books on art. Most of them are mere compilations, but here and there one comes across a book which would be no discredit to a far more elaborate setting. Mr. Bradley's book on Illuminated Manuscripts belongs to this class. It is at once methodical, scholarly (at times to the verge of pedantry), and as complete as any book of the size could be made. It may thus be recommended thoroughly.

A General Description of Sir John Soane's Museum. By Walter L. Spiers. Oxford University Press. 6d.

A useful little handbook to the contents of Sir John Soane's House. The Hogarths, the Turner, and the Watteau have long been known to students of painting, but this publication ought to be of use in introducing architects and designers to the other resources of the museum, which are of no small importance from their bearing upon modern fashions in decoration.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

A History and Description of French Porcelain. By E. S. Auscher. Translated and edited by William Burton, F.C.S. Cassell & Co., Ltd. 30s. net.

Lorenzo Lotto. By Bernhard Berenson. (Revised Edition.) George Bell & Sons. 7s. 6d. net.

A History of English Furniture—The Age of Oak. By Percy Macquoid, R.I. Laurence & Bullen. £2 2s. net.

Newnes' Library of the Applied Arts—English Embroidery. By A. F. Kendrick. George Newnes, Ltd. 7s. 6d. net.

Miniatures. By Dudley Heath. Methuen & Co. 25s. net.

Little Books on Art—Illuminated Manuscripts. By John W. Bradley. Methuen & Co. 2s. 6d. net.

Giotto. By Basil de Selincourt. Duckworth & Co. 7s. 6d. net.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Twenty-Ninth Annual Report for the Year 1904. The University Press, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.

Critical Studies and Fragments. By the late S. Arthur Strong, M.A. Duckworth & Co. 16s. net.

Norway. Painted by Nico Jungman. A. & C. Black. 20s. net.

Nuremberg. Painted by Arthur S. Bell. A. & C. Black. 7s. 6d. net.

Catalogue of English Porcelain. By R. L. Hobson, B.A. Printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum.

La Storia di Venezia nella Vita Privata. Parte Prima. Editore: Istituto Italiano d' Arti Grafiche, Bergamo.

Rome. Painted by Alberto Pisa. Text by M. A. R. Tuker and Hope Malleson. A. & C. Black. 20s. net.

Apollon-Gaulgruppen. By N. K. Skovgaard. Williams and Norgate. 7s. 6d. net.

### MAGAZINES, Etc., RECEIVED

Die Graphischen Künste, Part 4, 1904, and Parts 1 and 2, 1905 (Vienna). La Rassegna Nazionale (Florence). Rivista d'Arte, No. 1, January 1905 (Florence). Le Correspondant (Paris). Sztuka (Wydawca). Revue de l'Art Chrétien (Lille). Onze Kunst (Amsterdam). Gazette des Beaux-Arts (Paris). La Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité (Paris). The Kokka, No. 177 (Tokyo). Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, April (Boston). Harmsworth Encyclopædia, Part 1 (The Amalgamated Press, Ltd., and Thos. Nelson & Sons 7d. fortnightly). The Nineteenth Century and After. The Fortnightly Review. The Contemporary Review The National Review. The Gentleman's Magazine. The Monthly Review The Independent Review. The Quarterly Review. The Edinburgh Review. The Rapid Review Review of Reviews.

# RECENT ART PUBLICATIONS[1]

## ART HISTORY

Capart (J.). Primitive Art in Egypt. Translated by A. S. Griffith. (10 × 7) London (Grevel), 16s. net. 208 illustrations.

Chatelain (U. V.). Le Surintendant Nicolas Foucquet, protecteur des lettres, des arts et des sciences. (9 × 6) Paris (Perrin), 7 fr. 50.

Chytil (K.) Die Kunst in Prag zur Zeit Rudolf II. (11 × 7) Prag (Kunstgewerbliches Museum). 80 pp., 32 illustrations.

## ANTIQUITIES

Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos, conducted by the British School at Athens. (11 × 7) London (Macmillan, for the Society for the promotion of Hellenic Studies). Illustrated.

Koepp (F.). Die Römer in Deutschland. (10 × 7) Leipzig (Velhagen & Klasing). 4 m.
An excellent survey of Roman remains and art in Germany. With 136 illustrations and maps.

Cooper (T. P.). York: the story of its walls, bars, and castles. (9 × 6) London (Stock), 10s. 6d. net. Illustrated.

Home (B. J.). Old Houses in Edinburgh, Part I. (16 × 11) Edinburgh (Hay), 1s. net. 3 plates.

Russell (Lady). Swallowfield and its owners. (10 × 7) London (Longmans). Illustrations.

Coindre (G.). Le vieux Salins: promenades et causeries. (9 × 6) Besançon (Jacquin). Illustrated.

Colasanti (A.). Gubbio. (11 × 8) Bergamo (Istituto d'Arti grafiche), 3l. 50. 'Monografie illustrate.' 114 illustrations.

Corradini (E.). Prato e suoi dintorni. (11 × 8) Bergamo (Istituto d'Arti grafiche), 3l.50. Illustrated.

Archaeological Survey of India. (13 × 10) London (Quaritch). The inaugural issue of a new annual, containing beside reports upon conservation, etc., papers upon Mandalay Palace, Buddhist Jewellery, Charsada, Tinnevelly. 290 pp., illustrated.

## BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS AND MONOGRAPHS

Romdahl (A. L.). Pieter Brueghel der Ältere und sein Kunstschaffen. (Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Kaiserhauses, xxv, pt. 3.) Vienna (Tempsky).
A separate publication, 87 pp. and 68 excellent reproductions.

Burckhardt (R.). Cima da Conegliano: ein Venezianischer Maler des Übergangs vom Quattrocento zum Cinquecento. (10 × 7) Leipzig (Hiersemann). Illustrated.

Moore (T. S.). Albert Dürer. (8 × 5) London (Duckworth), 7s. 6d. net. 53 illustrations.

Paine (A. B.). Th. Nast, his period and his pictures. (9 × 7) London (Macmillan), 21s. Illustrated.

Mackowsky (W.). G. M. Nosseni und die Renaissance in Sachsen. (11 × 8) Berlin (Wasmuth's 'Beiträge zur Bauwissenschaft') 5 m. Illustrated.

Valentiner (W. R.). Rembrandt und seine Umgebung. (12 × 8) Strassburg (Heitz). 7 plates.

Schubring (P.). Luca della Robbia und seine Familie. (11 × 7) Leipzig (Velhagen & Klasing), 4 m. 'Künstler-Monographien.' 172 illustrations.

Mauclair (C.). Auguste Rodin, the man, his ideas, his works. (11 × 8) London (Duckworth). 10s. 6d. net.

Suida (W.). Die Jugendwerke des B. Suardi genannt Bramantino. (Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Kaiserhauses, xxv, pt. 1.) Vienna (Tempsky).
A separate publication of 72 pp., 52 illustrations.

Daun (B.). P. Vischer und A. Krafft. (10 × 7) Leipzig (Velhagen & Klasing), 4 m. 102 illus. 'Künstler-Monographien.'

Hasse (C.). Roger van der Weyden und Roger van Brügge, mit ihren Schulen. (12 × 8) Strassburg (Heitz). 15 plates.

## ARCHITECTURE

Spiers (R. P.). Architecture east and west, a collection of essays written at various times during the last sixteen years. (10 × 6) London (Batsford), 12s. 6d. net. Illustrated.

Ashby (T., jun.). Sixteenth-century drawings of Roman buildings attributed to Andreas Coner. (Forming 'Papers of the British School at Rome,' II). London (Macmillan), 30s. net. 170 plates.

Brandes (J. L. A.). Beschrijving van de ruïne bij de desa Toempang genaamd Tjandi Djago in de residentie Pasoeroean. (14 × 11). 's-Gravenhage (Nijhoff).
The first vol. published by the Dutch Archaeological Survey of Java and Madura; with phototypes, plans, etc.

Guédy (H.). Le Palais du Louvre, extérieur et intérieur architecture, sculpture, decoration, ensembles et détails. (18 × 13) Dourdan (Thézard). Part I, 21 phototypes.

Green (A.). The Eighteenth-Century Architecture of Bath. (11 × 9) Bath (Gregory). Illustrated with measured drawings, photographs, and sketches.

## PAINTING

Kern (G. J.) Die Grundzüge der linear-perspektivischen Darstellung in der Kunst der Gebrüder Van Eyck und ihrer Schule. Vol. I. (11 × 8) Leipzig (Seemann). 44 pp., and diagrams.

Justi (L.). Dürer's Dresdener Altar. (10 × 6) Leipzig (Seemann), 1 m. 50. 'Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte.' 7 illustrations.

Meder (J.). Zwei Kartonzeichnungen von Giulio Romano. (Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Kaiserhauses, vol. xxv, pt. 2.) 5 pp., 4 illustrations. Vienna (Tempsky).

Baud-Bovey (D.). Peintres Genévois (1766-1849), I: Liotard Huber, Saint-Ours, De la Rive; II: Töpffer, Massot, Agasse. (13 × 10) Genève (*Le Journal de Genève*). Phototypes.

The Old Water-Colour Society, 1804-1904. Edited by C. Holme. (12 × 8) London (*Studio* Offices), 5s. net. 40 colour plates.

A selection from the pictures by Boudin, Cézanne, Degas, Manet, Monet, Morisot, Pissarro, Renoir, Sisley, exhibited by Messrs. Durand-Ruel and Sons, of Paris, at the Grafton Galleries. (11 × 9) Paris (16 rue Lafitte). 42 plates.

Catalogue des dessins, aquarelles, gouaches des écoles française et anglaise du XVIII$^{e}$ siècle, miniatures, etc., composant la Collection de M. A. Beurdeley. Vente à Paris, Galerie G. Petit, 13, 14, 15 mars 1905. (13 × 10) Paris (P. Chevallier). Illustrated.

## SCULPTURE

Bernoulli (J. J.). Die erhaltenen Darstellungen Alexanders des Grossen. (10 × 7) München (Bruckmann). Supplementary to the 'Greek Iconography.' 49 illustrations.

Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epoche. II. Die Italienischen Bronzen. (12 × 9) Berlin (Reimer). 81 phototype plates.

Keyser (C. E.). Norman tympana and lintels, with figure or symbolical sculpture, still or till recently existing in the churches of Great Britain. (12 × 9) London (Stock), 21s. net. 155 illustrations.

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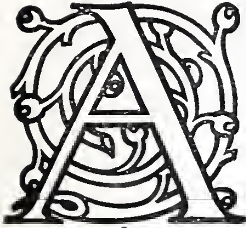
[1] Sizes (height × width) in inches.

Emery Walker Ph. Sc.

*The soldier and the laughing girl*
*By Jan ver Meer of Delft*
*In the collection of Mrs. Joseph.*

# EDITORIAL ARTICLE

## THE EXTINCTION OF THE MIDDLE-CLASS COLLECTOR



AN anonymous writer in a recent number of *The Academy* calls attention to a state of affairs which deserves serious consideration from a national, as well as from an artistic, standpoint. The case is best stated in the writer's own words :—

> In former days there were patrons, often of obscure origin, self-made men, and sometimes not even men of great wealth, who bought without any idea of speculation, simply on their own judgement. Such were the first patrons of Turner—Joseph Gillott, Dr. Munro, Elkanah Bicknell. Even as late as the pre-Raphaelites there were to be found many patrons entirely independent of dealers and markets, who had the courage of and the reward for backing their own opinions. But a gradual change has been observable of late years. The middle classes appear to have concluded that original pictures are entirely beyond the means of persons with a moderate income; they would no more think of buying a picture than they would a pleasure yacht or a motor-car, and content themselves with photogravures. The wealthy, on the other hand, appear to consider picture-buying merely in the light of an investment, and all they want is a safe thing like Preference stock. Since it has been proved over and over again of recent years that even the official stamp of the Royal Academy is not a sufficient guarantee of the security of the investment, and they have no other standard to go by, they have finally restricted their purchases to the established reputations—what we roughly call the Old Masters, including, of course, our own Reynolds, Morland, etc.

It is to be feared that the facts stated are only too true, but we are not sure that the whole of the blame for this decay of British taste and spirit and independence of judgement can be charged to the British public. Indeed, if the evil be traced to its source, it will be found, we think, that artists themselves are chiefly responsible.

We need not go back to the days of Dr. Munro. It will be enough for our purpose if we consider who were the great English art patrons of the fifties and sixties. They were the men who were then making fortunes in commerce, either in London or in Lancashire. They spent their money freely, asking for the best obtainable work, and trying to get it either from a big dealer or from the one big art exhibition known to them. The Royal Academicians of the time naturally could not discourage these laudable endeavours. Acting with the wonderful *esprit de corps* which has always distinguished their body, they passed each purchaser on from friend to friend, with the stimulus of an occasional invitation to an academy banquet, until his desire for art was satisfied and his pockets duly lightened. Patron succeeded patron, and there seemed no end to the golden harvest.

The fashionable painters could hardly keep pace with the commissions that poured in. Some had started with genuine and serious ideals, most of them with a fair standard of workmanship. Ideals and workmanship soon had to be thrown away in the hurry to get rich. Those who were really talented became mediocrities, the mediocrities became absurdities, but still the tide of patronage flowed. Fortunes were made by which painters could house themselves in palaces more splendid than those of their patrons, while the pictures they produced grew more and more tawdry and superficial.

Then came years of depression, notably in the cotton trade, accompanied by the death of old patrons and the succession of sons who wanted cruder and cheaper pleasures than academy banquets. The paintings accumulated with so much pomp and publicity began to come into the market. For years the dealers concerned struggled bravely with the torrent, buying what the public would buy no longer, and working municipal and colonial galleries for all they were worth. These last strongholds of ignorance, however, were not rich enough to absorb all that was required of

them, while the painters who had made fortunes declined to back in the sale-rooms the pictures they had recommended to their patrons. Many, indeed, were already unable to do so, as their resources were strained by an extravagant standard of living, and by the absence of new commissions. At last the cellars of Bond Street were so full that the dealers could no longer afford to continue their support. Prices immediately fell and continued to fall, until the collapse became so sensational as to be past all concealment, with the result that a large section of the purchasing public was absolutely frightened away. If titles and prestige were no guarantee against the purchase of a picture being a disastrous loss, it was clearly absurd to buy any pictures at all.

This decline in the value of the academic painters of the seventies has now long been understood by the most intelligent section of the public. The enlightenment of the great remainder must take time. Nevertheless, there are signs that the larger provincial towns are beginning to take their art collections more seriously. Glasgow has been conspicuously fortunate in legacies, Birmingham in the energy of its art administration. Manchester has recently taken a commendable step in search of a better standard, and that step will give the cue to other galleries in the north which have hitherto almost uniformly wasted their substance on worthless pictures.

It is no use blaming the Royal Academy of to-day for mistakes made thirty years ago. At the same time the sooner that the Academy and the younger societies review the whole position calmly the better for our national art. For this reason it is of supreme importance that artists should be able to meet on a common ground, and resolve upon some joint action to put things on a sane and healthy footing instead of wasting time in abusing each other.

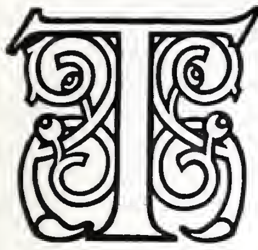
If a trial could be made of a united exhibition under the roof of the Royal Academy, as suggested by Mr. MacColl in the *National Review* for last month, an immense amount of good might result. The Royal Academy could once more play its part as host to the best artistic talent of the nation, instead of being deserted by it; while the juxtaposition of the rival artistic societies, each hanging its own section, would go far to remove the misunderstandings and quarrels which damage both academicians and outsiders in the eyes of the intelligent public.

More important still would be the consequent reduction in the mass of work now exhibited. In England the good artist is fast being crowded out by a host of incompetents and amateurs. The veriest ignoramus can hold his one-man show in a Bond Street Gallery if he likes to pay for it, and can join some society of nonentities which holds one or two annual exhibitions, even when he does not by some lucky chance evade an overworked hanging committee.

Amid the deluge of advertisements and puffing paragraphs written by critics who, without a label, could not distinguish between a daub and a masterpiece, it is no wonder that the collector is shouted into inaction, especially if he reads in an adjacent column that the idols of a previous generation have once more sold for a mere song at Christie's. A hundred years hence no doubt the wheat will be separated from the tares, but unless our artists accelerate the process by taking united action they are not likely to rid themselves quickly of their present difficulties or gain for themselves and the nation the recognition which their best talent deserves.

# TEMPERA PAINTING

## BY ROGER E. FRY


THE exhibition of works by the Tempera Society which will open towards the middle of the month at the Carfax Gallery in Bury Street is an interesting evidence of the attempt to revive old and almost forgotten methods of technique. As far as the theory of tempera painting went the researches of Sir Charles Eastlake and Mrs. Merrifield had already done much, but the diffusion of a practical knowledge of the art dates from Mrs. Herringham's publication of a translation of Cennino Cennini's Trattato with valuable explanatory notes. How complete the ignorance of a former generation was on the subject of early technique may be understood from the fact that until Ruskin found Mrs. Herringham copying in tempera at the National Gallery and questioned her as to what she was about, he was under the impression that Botticelli and all the Italian primitives painted in oils. There were of course plenty of people who knew the difference between the appearance of a painting in oil and one in tempera, and probably in Italy the tradition has never quite died out; but it had become almost entirely a matter for the antiquarian and the forger. But now the attempt is being made to revive the process as a practical one for artists, and a few words on the distinctive qualities and limitations of the medium may be of interest.

For details we must refer our readers to Mrs. Herringham's book, but the essential point of the method may be briefly stated. It consists in mixing the dry powdered colours with yolk of egg, slightly thinned with acetic acid or water, instead of mixing the colours with oil or varnish as in the case of oil painting. The colours thus mixed are usually laid on a priming of gesso, though other grounds may be used.

The great difficulty of the method arises from the rapid, almost instantaneous drying of the colour. This prevents anything like fusion of one colour into another *dans la pâte*, as is the practice with modern oil painters.

It follows therefore that transitions of tone or colour must be made by hatched strokes, or else by continually laying one thin coat over another until the transition is produced. The method is suited therefore to a well-ascertained design with clearly-marked contours rather than to vague and 'soft' effects. It is in fact a method in which the decorative element of design, together with naturalism of detailed forms, must predominate rather than the naturalism of the general effect.

On the other hand, tempera is incapable of producing the hard and cutting edges that occur in oil painting, and this because of a very remarkable property, namely, the comparative transparency of even opaque colours when mixed with yolk of egg. Perhaps the greatest and most singular beauty of tempera arises from this fact. And the greatest masters of tempera used white almost as a glaze. Thus, in some cases, one may find a robe painted in the following manner. The whole has been laid in in an even flat brilliant red, the shadows will be laid over this with a darker mixture of the same colour, but still with opaque colour, while the lights may be made by merely hatching white over the middle tint. This will not produce the cold, unpleasant bloom that it would in oils, but a peculiar mellow opalescence with the red local colour still predominating and telling through the white glaze. In short, the peculiarity of tempera is its extraordinary transparency. On the other hand, owing to the quickness of the drying the glazing of really transparent colours, though perfectly possible, and often practised, is not so successful as in an oil or varnish medium.

These peculiarities fit tempera for the expression of certain aspects of nature rather than others. The real beauty of oil painting, now for some time neglected, consists in its power of rendering effects of deep translucent colour. There are in fact comparatively few effects of nature which lend themselves to quite literal rendering in oil paint in such a way as to bring out its characteristic and superlative beauties. For these are at their highest when the picture is painted in a comparatively low key of saturated transparent colour. The effects of nature which admit of being rendered at all truthfully in such deep transparent colours are first of all effects of low sunlight with the eye directed towards the sun. We then get intense transparent warm lights in the sky itself with deep warm silhouetted forms against it. Such effects, for example, as may be seen in works by Claude, Both, and Cuyp. Beside these effects of transmitted light which do generally conform to the distinguishing beauties of oil paint we may have effects of reflected light and colour where the sun, being near to setting, tones all the local colours to an intense warm glow. Such effects, though treated with some licence, are to be found among the Venetian painters. While yet again effects which approach to that of artificial light are also admirably adapted to a rendering in oil—such, for instance, as Rembrandt and many of the eighteenth-century English painters employed.

But the majority of effects of open-air nature are, if we look at them quite frankly, unfitted for rendering in oil with any due regard for its characteristic beauties. Such effects, for instance, as the powdered-greyness of noon sunlight or the tenderer greys of evenly-spread clouds, the crumbled greys of ancient masonry, or the lichenous greys of old tree-trunks and weathered beams; all these, which make up so large a part of what appeals to us in nature, lend themselves particularly to a rendering in tempera.

It is perfectly true that all these effects are constantly rendered by modern painters with great truth in oils, but only at the cost of the material beauty of their picture surfaces. Oil paint in a high key tends always to become chalky; whereas tempera, while it vies with oils in the richness of its deep tones, is indisputably supreme in the higher keys. Everyone must be familiar with the peculiar beauty of the skies in early Italian art, the exquisite pearly luminosity they display near the horizon, a beauty of which Ruskin once complained that the secret was lost. The secret lay simply in the use of tempera; for while such an effect in oil would almost inevitably be chalky and cold, it may easily be rendered in tempera with perfect mellowness and purity.

Indeed, one may sum up the whole question of tempera as a medium by saying that whereas it is more difficult than in oil painting to produce any effect at all, it is yet far more difficult, almost impossible indeed, to produce with tempera those thoroughly ugly and uninviting surfaces which it requires profound science to avoid in the clayey mixtures of oil paint. It is not to be hoped that any change of medium, any technical recipes, could purify the mass of modern painting of its incurable vulgarity of sentiment, its bad *ethos*, but nothing would be likely to have a more restraining and sobering influence on our art than the substitution of tempera for oils as the ordinary medium of artistic expression.

## CONSTANTIN MEUNIER

## I—PERSONAL REMINISCENCES, BY PROF. R. PETRUCCI[1]

THE work of Constantin Meunier corresponded so particularly to certain aspects of his time, and evoked so grandly that obscure world of toil, the dull murmur of which surges in the ears of modern society like a threat, that even in his lifetime studies of it were numerous, and criticism fastened upon it with the conviction that the innermost recesses of that mind were easy to penetrate. There may be some truth in that point of view so far as concerns the imposing, the broad and obvious side of his art. It is so simple and so clear that he who runs may read. It has nothing of the cryptic symbolism, the morbid preciosity by means of which modern schools have sometimes attained an artificial originality. It is mighty, too, in its statement of its message ; it has the beauty which there is no mistaking, because of the profound emotion it arouses. But I believe that there are still certain new ideas to be expressed concerning Constantin Meunier, ideas that are contained in his work and are to be read in it.

Here, however, I desire to do no more than to contribute to the question what may be drawn from the evidence of Meunier himself. I had the honour to be closely acquainted with him for a period of nearly ten years, during which, when the day's work was over and the light failing in the studio, I was sometimes privileged to hear him summon up, in intimate conversation, the memories of the past. From those conversations I drew an impression of his youth, his history, and his development which no critical study of him has yet offered me ; and it has occurred to me that to record that impression would be the most genuine tribute that those who loved him could pay to his memory in these days when he has newly gone from us.

Constantin Meunier retained till his latest hour a singular youthfulness of spirit and glow of life. He never renounced his desire for self-renewal, for the power to see through things and their perpetual changes, to the mighty force of nature. He was anything but difficult of approach, and those who attained to intimacy with him saw in him not a master shrined in glory, but a comrade who sprang to life whenever there appeared some connexion between the matter of the talk and the conception of art to which he had devoted his whole being.

That conception may be said to have dominated his life. It enabled him to come through periods of great trial without yielding to the exigencies of want. In his wife he had the surest prop for a character and desires such as his. Meunier's was not an unhappy nature, but he was given to mournful reverie : few things could rouse him to animation except those concerned with his art. In his wife he found the gaiety he lacked, and an active energy that could grasp the aim of his labours and give him the moral support necessary to the pursuit of it when, in his hours of depression, low spirits threatened to sterilize him. When he lost two sons, one after the other, his grief left him in a state of stupor in which his thoughts wandered in aimless dreaming. He himself told me how one day his wife put a little earth in his hands, pushed him, almost by physical force, to his work, and so saved him, by awaking his interest anew, out of the despair into which he had allowed himself to drift.

The energy that was ever ready at his side Meunier had in himself as well. Three years ago he suffered from the cardiac exhaustion, the relaxed organic functions, which time inevitably brings. Yet he never ceased to produce. He was

[1] Translated by Harold Child.

still at work on the eve of his death; he was actually getting up to begin work when he was seized, suddenly, with syncope of the heart.

That moment found him in a singular frame of mind. He felt new ideas, ideas of greater power and freedom, springing up in him. Aged artists are too often hidebound in a technique which becomes a manner, devoid of inspiration and the freshness of creative impulse. In Meunier, on the contrary, imagination was as strong as it had ever been. He saw a new future before him. He used often to tell me that he would like to have another life at his disposal, that he felt himself on the point of realizing a conception very different from that which gave us so many masterpieces. This astonishing vitality never yielded to physical fatigue. At seventy-four years of age, while he was at work on the large figures in his Monument to Labour, he was to be seen mounting rickety scaffoldings (which he used to erect on a plan of his own, by piling up empty packing-cases) with an obstinacy and imprudence of which nothing could cure him. One day he had just succeeded, with some difficulty, in covering the great figure of the blacksmith with wet cloths, and was clambering down from the wooden platform on which the heavy statue stood, when I saw this enormous mass, ill-supported by an iron bar, the rivets of which had worked loose, come crashing down beside him. There was a month's work wasted. And yet, half-an-hour later, all he thought of was to get the workmen in so that he could go back to his work as soon as possible. The figure, which was sketched twice, shows no trace of fatigue; it exhales all the grandeur, poignancy, and profundity of feeling which rise from everything he did.

It follows from Meunier's own statements that in the history of his life and thought there was a unity which criticism has missed In his youth he entered the studio of Fraikin, a sculptor who carried on in Belgium the attenuated tradition of the classic schools. His distaste for such art led Meunier to abandon sculpture. In those days he was acquainted with a group of young, ardent, and promising painters, many of whom left their mark behind them. Meunier was attracted by this movement, this youth and effort. He used to say that the period during which he devoted himself exclusively to painting had brought him out of the studio, and led him to the observation of nature. But he felt that he had always been at bottom a sculptor. He said so himself, and would explain thus the suddenness with which, on his return much later to sculpture, he picked up the broad and simple technique which mark his manner.

In those distant days Meunier paid a visit to the Trappist monastery at Westmalle in the plain of Campine. He was then in a period of investigation, and, to use his own words, 'did not know where he was going.' And here it was that he had his first revelation of the world of labour. At the Trappist monastery there were Fathers whose lives were purely contemplative, and Brothers who were occupied in many kinds of industrial and agricultural kinds of work. There were blacksmiths' forges and carpenters' shops; they made boots and shoes and printed great missals. Meunier worked in these various workshops, striving to fix the attitudes of manual effort amid the grave abstraction of the religious life.

It was at the same period, according to his own account, that he received a profound impression of the greatness of modern industry. One of his friends was employed at the glass factory in the Val Saint-Lambert. Meunier spent some time there; and it was there, he used to tell me, that the vision of labour conquered him. He made drawings on the spot of these glass-

INTERIOR OF A COLLIERY

FURNACES: PASTEL

workers and miners whom he saw now for the first time. From the Val Saint-Lambert he brought back studies, water-colours, sketches, and a few pieces of painting, all of which have been since dispersed. He himself never knew what had become of these earliest sketches of work that was to win so much glory. They formed the starting-point of the idea which he developed. He has told me with a smile that many of the pictures and statues so eagerly sought for in later years were founded on motifs and attempts that had taken shape at that time, but had been allowed to pass unregarded. That was the case, notably, with his picture, The Descent into the Mine.

He exhibited his earliest sculptures at Brussels in 1880. It was in Paris some years later that he leaped into success, and set the seal on a fame that continues steadily to increase. The reward of his labours came to him full late. And yet, in spite of the general opinion of criticism in assigning so late a date to the conception by which, it would have us believe, he found his right road, it is clear to a discriminating mind that he had found that road in his earliest youth, and had followed it faithfully in spite of all the uncertainties of his destiny. Later, when the admirable series of drawings which he showed to few, but which I was privileged to see, come to be studied closely, they will prove the confirmation of that unity of conception which directed his life. Then at last we shall be in a position to pay his memory the full homage of an admiration that was destined to be awarded him far too late.

## II—HIS AIM AND PLACE IN THE ART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, BY CHARLES RICKETTS

The art of Puvis de Chavannes, Rodin, and Constantin Meunier renews the great passionate tradition of the first half of the nineteenth century. These men accept greater responsibilities and face greater issues than their most advanced and influential contemporaries: theirs is a larger outlook upon art and life. If we turn to the work done in the seventies by other artists of the first and second rank, who at first sight might seem the most opposed in aim, however delightful we may consider them—to Menzel and Manet for instance, or to Fortuny and Degas—we find the painting of detail and the matching of tones, the observation of tricks of character and movement, the anatomy of clothes, or the novelties of occasional effects. Art had become the expression of the superficialities of things, of the strangeness and glitter of life, seen with something of the mordant wit of good journalism interviewing actuality. The main tendency in the latter third, or even half, of the nineteenth century was a reaction against great art.[2] The aim of painting was to astonish or charm: in its tendency it had become 'genre,' crossed by the landscape art of the man who travels in search of the picturesque. In sculpture the study of a model holding an attribute is largely the subject matter of Falguière, and even Frémiet.

If the two major men, Courbet and Carpeaux, who form the link between the earlier and later art movements of the century, retained a certain dignity in method and handling; if both remain in their gifts superior to their general aims, the more significant and passionate effort of earlier masters, such as Delacroix and Millet, had become a thing of the past. The greater tradition is renewed once more by Puvis

[2] In this article the writer has not included England in his estimate of European tendencies.

de Chavannes in painting, by Rodin in sculpture, and in the work of the last comer, Constantin Meunier. To each we owe a reconstruction of the plastic conventions; they have rendered more synthetic and expressive the language of art, and freed it from mental habits of the note-book and study from nature. In the place of incidental facts, small verities of effect seen in the theatre and the studio, we find once more the expression of the beauty of essential things, human effort, tenderness and meditation, work, pain and desire, and above all, that essential sincerity of workmanship which frees art from the chance charms of the sketch, and the curiosities of the unattached intelligence.

Meunier's sculpture is on a level of effort with the great perpetual tradition which remoulds facts and grasps essentials; his work is concentrated and rhythmic in aspect, sober in detail, and noble in the rendering of relief and surface. If in his sympathy for daily life and action he reminds one of the temper in which those sober craftsmen carved the Labours and the Months on gothic cathedrals, in the expressive control of his motives—man working or at rest, and stamped by the characteristics of his caste and habits of thought—he is classical also.

Like many modern masters Meunier was late in finding his formula, and in freeing himself from contemporary influences. There was the inevitable insufficiency of the early modern training to be supplemented by personal effort and discovery, there was the inevitable battle for existence (for the right to be an artist), and the waiting in patience for opportunity, in a period which has lost the traditional use for art.

Meunier started life as a painter, and to the last he would turn for change to his brushes and chalks. In these two mediums he is always individual and stimulating, if a little occasional and experimental. The value of his pictures and pastels lies in a sort of austerity in the using of dry paints and chalks to render the gaunt silhouettes of a worker, seen as it were in mid-distance, and the aspects of the land of the factory and mine. His experience as a painter in all probability counted in his faculty as a sculptor for remembering movement, and escaping from the conditions imposed upon the common craftsman who works from a posing model, conditions which make the sole standard of popular academic sculpture.

Meunier was over forty when he exhibited his statue Le Marteleur, which remains on the whole his most typical achievement; but from this work onward to the great gaunt ancestral workman in the last Salon there is a continuous possession of his method, and an unswerving continuity of aim. Once or twice, in Le Pardon, the Ecce Homo, the Supplice, he moves into other fields, but these works belong to the same austere art. They are large and square in plane and saliences, like his other statues and statuettes.

The major influence of suggestion on Meunier came from the paintings of Millet; to the peasant painter he owes the discovery of the plastic value of the worker; to him we also owe the re-discovery of that beautiful convention which accents the major forms while sacrificing the more trivial details.

In the evolution of Millet's practice we can trace the influence of the synthetic and 'leonine' drawing of Delacroix, and of Daumier, another imaginative and emphatic draughtsman. These two contemporary influences count in Millet's early works for an intenser element, which tends to disappear in his later drawings, which are less energetic, if always solemn and austere. It is in the energetic figure of Millet's Sower that we find the forerunner of many of Meunier's workmen. Yet if there is a certain kinship of aim between the two men the mood of each remains different.

MINERS: WATERCOLOUR.

PUDDLER RESTING: BRONZE.

PLATE II. WORKS BY CONSTANTIN MEUNIER.

THE SOIL: BRONZE.

LE MARTELEUR: BRONZE.

PLATE III. WORKS BY
CONSTANTIN MEUNIER.

Millet's work is placid and brooding in temper ; he expresses all the gravity of work and the gravity of repose. Meunier interprets energy and concentration of purpose, both in action and in rest ; his human type is not placid, but seared and steeled by effort. The brooding type created by Millet of a humanity bent towards the ground, has given place to one in which the very bones of the brow have become projected by the effort of a constant will, the flesh is sparse, and the clothes have become almost abstract by their adaptation to active work—as if moulded by the sweat of the furnace and the mine.

The bucolic temper of the master of Barbizon broods constantly round a central woman-type ; he paints by preference the woman who moulds the bread ; above all things he remains the painter of maternity ; in this he stands apart, even from the gravest and most ecstatic painters of the Madonna ; this is his province or his conquest in the history of art ; this is his discovery, like the 'aspiration' expressed in the work of Michael Angelo, or the 'disillusion' expressed in the paintings of Rembrandt.

With Meunier, though one of his latest works is the large decorative figure, La Maternité, we find an active and virile habit of thought in which woman hardly figures at all. Glance at his work, it expresses male energies as constantly (almost as exclusively) as Donatello ; the enchanting little Hiercheuse, one of his most popular statuettes, is an excursion into the exquisite and strange in form ; with her mining breeches, her boyish gesture and face, she is almost sexless. The tragic woman in Le Grisou is the 'ancestress,' with sunken eyes and crumpled hands ; she expresses all the compassion of one who has borne and suffered, and who watches, with no word left, the wrecking of a life and the nothingness of hope and youth. The dominant motive of Meunier's work expresses a passionate patience. His success as a sculptor lies in his grasp of motive, plane, and silhouette. Many of his masterpieces, such as Le Marteleur, Le Puddleur, Le Lamineur, Le Mineur au Travail, impress one as typical figures, not as seen incidents; they are new in subject and memorable for their simplicity and intensity. His modelling is large and square in plane, sober in the variations of the surfaces by which detail is indicated or withheld. A certain monotony of facial type should not blind us to the variety in movement, the variety in the structure of the torsoes and the scale of the arms, variations which are stamped upon the human body by work and the habits of life, and not by mere dumb-bell exercise which forms the standard of proportion to the art-student and the academic sculptor. Single in aim, Meunier is never didactic or sentimental ; his workers do not shake their fists at the cosmos. The sincerity and directness of his method is one with its dignity of purpose ; hence that perfect good luck in the result which we art-lovers call Style; hence the unity in works as divergent in mood as the Hiercheuse and L'Homme Blessé, the Heroic head called Anvers, and the Ecce Homo. Meunier has rehabilitated the tragic dignity of work, human patience and will battling at its task ; he is the recorder of man as he watches and strives, silent in his work, persistent, undemonstrative, grave in life, and mute before death.

# MR. J. H. FITZHENRY'S COLLECTION OF EARLY FRENCH *PÂTE-TENDRE*

BY C. H. WYLDE

NE of the most remarkable facts in connexion with the study and collection of specimens of the ceramic art, especially in reference to porcelain, is the systematic neglect in this country of the cultivation of the knowledge of early French soft paste, or, to give it its native name, *pâte-tendre*. This neglect is the more difficult to understand in view of the immense popularity of the study of porcelain in England, and therefore of the fact that it must be common knowledge that the manufacture of porcelain was perfected on the Continent long before its production was even attempted in this country.

This circumstance of the neglect of the study of French porcelain would be the more easy to comprehend if the early productions of the English ceramists had shown marked superiority to those of the Continent, but far from such being the case the results of the first years of Bow and Chelsea are crude specimens of the potter's art when compared with the beautiful little vessels which emanated from the *fabriques* of the Poterats at Rouen, and of Chicanneau at St. Cloud, nearly half a century before Bow and Chelsea had been heard of in connexion with the manufacture of porcelain. We find that already by the end of the seventeenth century the French potters of Rouen and St. Cloud were turning out small vases, chocolate cups, tea sets, etc., of exquisite design, and faultlessly executed both as regards firing and glaze. In proof of this it is only necessary to compare the beautiful little specimens, figs. 13 and 17 on Plate III, with a typical example of early Bow porcelain, such as one of the well-known inkstands inscribed 'Made at New Canton, 1750,' to note the imperfections of the first years of the English experiments as compared with the technical excellence achieved by the French half a century earlier. It may reasonably be objected that it is an unfair comparison to place the earliest attempts in the manufacture of English porcelain alongside specimens emanating from a foreign factory firmly established after years of experimental work, in a settled method of manufacture. For the purposes of comparing the technical skill of the potters of the two countries it would not be a fair test, but it will be granted as permissible to prove the fact that up to the middle of the fifth decade of the eighteenth century the potters of this country were still groping in the obscurity of experimental stages towards the solution of the mystery of porcelain, whilst our nearest neighbours had half a century earlier successfully solved the riddle and produced porcelain of sufficiently fine quality to be described by Dr. Martin Lister in his 'Account of a Journey to Paris in 1698' as 'equal if not surpassing the Chinese in their finest art.'

To Mr. J. H. Fitzhenry is due the honour, not only of having brought together by years of indefatigable industry both in England and the Continent probably the finest collection of French *pâte-tendre* in the United Kingdom, but also of having afforded, by his munificent generosity, the opportunity to connoisseurs and the art-loving public in general of becoming acquainted with some of the most charming specimens of the French ceramists' skill by his loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum of a very representative collection of early French porcelain, in which practically every French factory which had any importance is exemplified, from the Rouen works founded in 1673 down to the hard porcelain factory of the duke of Orleans established at Pont-au-Choux in 1786. Although this collection

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has been exhibited in the ceramic gallery of the museum for several years past, it has up to the present time attracted but little comment in the press. Yet it is only by a thorough knowledge of the history of the development of continental porcelain that our English productions can be properly understood, and the opportunity given by Mr. Fitzhenry's generous loan, which it is in his power to remove at any moment, is one of the extremely rare chances afforded to students and collectors in this country of seeing and comparing the various products of the early French factories.

Though Mr. Fitzhenry's Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum is thoroughly representative, yet it nevertheless forms only a small portion of the splendid series which his unremitting energy has succeeded in bringing together, and it has, therefore, been considered advantageous to illustrate this article from specimens in his private museum at Queen Anne's Gate, as this course affords the reader an opportunity of making the acquaintance of pieces which are less accessible than those on loan to the nation.

Commencing in chronological order we will first notice the two specimens on Plate III already referred to, namely figs. 13, 17. The shapes and decoration are absolutely typical of the St. Cloud factory, to which these pieces can be safely attributed. The blue borders of scallop devices and scrolls show the strong oriental influence which was paramount in the decoration of all early European porcelain, the reason for this characteristic being that the very origin of the manufacture of porcelain in Europe was due to the emulation excited by the importation of immense quantities by the Dutch and Portuguese merchants trading with China and Japan. At the same time the style of the decoration of the porcelain of St. Cloud is undeniably distinctly imbued with a reminiscence of the Rouen *lambrequin*, which maintained for so long a period its position as the chief decorative *motif* both on the porcelain and on the faience wares of that famous factory.

The presence of these *lambrequins* on St. Cloud porcelain almost certainly proves that Chicanneau, the founder, had been at some time connected with the Poterats' works at Rouen, and this hypothesis is farther supported by the fact of the name Chicanneau being found on the list of the painters employed at the Rouen factory.[1] The teapot (fig. 17) is frankly imitated from a Chinese example, and while the modelling of the prunus branches on the body and of the flower loses nothing when compared with its Chinese original, the exquisite texture of the *pâte-tendre* makes it infinitely more beautiful than the cold, dead white surface of the hard oriental porcelain prototype.

Before passing on to the next group it should be noted that the year 1696 is the first official date connected with the manufacture of porcelain at St. Cloud, when letters patent were granted to the widow, Barbe Coudray, of Pierre Chicanneau, and to his children, who had already 'arrived at the point of making porcelain perfectly.' Later on, when a fresh patent was granted in 1712, the name of Henri Trou first appears as officially connected with the factory, although as he had married the widow Barbe Coudray in 1698 he most probably had taken part in the management for some time. The manufacture of porcelain at St. Cloud appears to have been carried on by the Chicanneaus and Trous up to the year 1722, and from thenceforward by the Trous alone till the closing of the works, which, according to M. Auscher, seem to have been destroyed by fire in 1773 and not rebuilt.

As coming next in historical sequence we will now consider the specimens figured at the bottom of Plate III. The examples

[1] See the article on Rouen porcelain by Mr. M. L. Solon, pp. 116–124 *ante*.

are representatives of the celebrated factory at Chantilly, founded probably about the year 1725 by Ciquaire Cirou, to whom letters patent were granted in 1735, and who had the good fortune to attract the patronage of Louis-Henri Prince de Condé, to whom he was under considerable obligation for the expenses of the necessary experiments before a satisfactory porcelain body was successfully produced.

Chantilly porcelain of the early period has a unique characteristic which distinguishes it from all other porcelains which have ever been made in Europe. This peculiarity is the composition of the glaze, which instead of being transparent is opaque, and is in fact made in the same way as the stanniferous glaze of faience; that is to say, the body was covered with a coating composed mainly of oxide of tin on which the decoration was painted before the vessel was submitted to the process of firing. The specimens figured in our illustrations afford excellent examples of the prevalent types of decoration used in this factory, more especially during the early period when the stanniferous glaze was in use. As will be noticed, all these pieces are characterized by a close imitation of Chinese and Japanese *motifs*, of which the most frequent is the style of decoration invented by the celebrated Japanese potter, Kakiyemon of Imari. The style used by this artist had a remarkable vogue throughout Europe, for we find his designs copied on porcelain in almost every factory, not only on the Continent, but also in England. All the pieces illustrated, with the exception of the small figure in front, show more or less of the Kakiyemon style, the most characteristic, however, being the small custard cup (fig. 21).

We cannot pass over this group without drawing attention to the large Chinese figure mounted in ormolu and holding in front of him a beautiful little etui with a revolving lid; this figure is a strikingly fine specimen of Chantilly porcelain, and would in itself confer distinction on any collection. The reader who is interested in the subject should also not fail to take an early opportunity of becoming acquainted with the other fine specimens lent by Mr. Fitzhenry to the Victoria and Albert Museum, amongst which two very cleverly-modelled figures of peasants with market baskets on their backs are particularly worthy of notice.

A class of Chantilly porcelain not shown in our illustrations is represented by a series of plates mostly decorated in blue with small floral sprays and leaves. These plates have been in recent years the innocent instruments for the perpetration of frauds on the too-confiding collector. Owing to their simplicity of decoration their value in the market is not very great, but the ingenious forger has found that by erasing the original decoration and substituting the elaborate designs of Sèvres or Chelsea a very much handsomer profit can be realized. This is, however, a fraud very easily discovered by a discriminating purchaser, owing to the fact that the glaze becomes considerably deteriorated by the refiring and shows numerous black specks; the entire general appearance is also quite different from that of a plate which has only been decorated once.

The Chantilly factory continued operations up to about the year 1789, when the great upheaval caused by the Revolution closed the works.

We will now devote our attention to the consideration of some of Mr. Fitzhenry's specimens of Mennecy porcelain. This factory, which was established by one Barbin about 1735, under the patronage of Louis François de Neuville, Duc de Villeroy, at Mennecy-Villeroy, became one of the most noted of the early porcelain factories in France. Precluded by the protective measures which safeguarded the interests of the royal factory from the use of gilding, the designers nevertheless contrived to produce some very charming examples of the

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EARLY FRENCH PÂTE TENDRE IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. J. H. FITZHENRY. PLATE II.

EARLY FRENCH PÂTE TENDRE IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. J. H. FITZHENRY, PLATE III.

ceramic art; the chief triumph of the factory, however, being the beautiful little biscuit groups and figures, charming specimens of which are figured in our illustrations on Plate II. The chief characteristics of Mennecy porcelain are the ivory colour of the paste and a purply-rose colour ; also the practice of using colour to decorate the rims and edges, which at Vincennes and Sèvres would have been gilded. Amongst the specimens to which we would draw particular attention are the dish (Plate III, fig. 8) and the miniature little pot and cover exquisitely decorated in gold (fig. 7). For some unknown reason such pieces as plates and dishes were only made to a small extent, and therefore such a dish as that illustrated on Plate III is extremely important from the collector's point of view and of great value. The two little tea-pots painted with flowers and the custard cups, all on Plate III, are typical specimens of the Mennecy factory and betray the strong influence of Vincennes and Sèvres, whose models it always seems to have been the desire of the Mennecy potters to successfully imitate. Their labours came to an end about 1773 or 1774, when the works were closed.

The last group in our list, and certainly the most important as regards the history of European porcelain, is that illustrated on Plate I, representing the factories of Vincennes and Sèvres, the homes of the aristocracy *par excellence* of European porcelain.

It is, indeed, hardly probable that the world will ever again witness the production of such perfect gems of the potter's art as were brought forth so abundantly at Sèvres during the eighteenth century. Indeed the whole system of modern life precludes the probability of the combination of such circumstances as are necessary to realize such a result. When we remember that at that time the manufacture of porcelain in France was not regarded as a commercial enterprise carried on solely for profit, but, on the contrary, was looked upon as a luxury and as a field of more or less amicable rivalry between the king and the wealthy nobles of his court, it is not surprising that under such auspices, at a period when art was cultivated for its own sake regardless of cost, an artistic people were able to produce such gems of beauty in porcelain as have never been equalled in the world's history before or since.

In view of the immense amount of literature on the subject of the history of Sèvres as a porcelain factory, it is not necessary within the limits of a magazine article to dwell on facts which are probably familiar to most of our readers and easily ascertained in any text-book. It is proposed, therefore, only to draw attention to a few specimens which have been considered as sufficiently important to justify a few words.

We will only note that the factory at Vincennes was started about 1740 by two brothers Dubois, former workers in the Chantilly *fabrique*, that it became a royal manufactory about 1753, and in 1756 it was removed to Sèvres.

As an example of a very rare type the beautifully-painted picture, which is one of a pair (Plate I, fig. 2), is worthy of attention. The cup and saucer on the same plate (fig. 1), decorated with white panels reserved on a dark blue ground, are particularly interesting, as the original paper label of the 'Sèvres Magasin de Vente' still remains pasted on the back of the saucer, proving that these pieces have never even been washed. It will interest the reader to know that one of these labels was presented by Mr. Fitzhenry to the late Director of the Sèvres Museum, as up to that time they actually did not possess a specimen for the museum library. The cup (fig. 4) is a very early specimen of Rose-Pompadour, bearing the date-letter for 1757, the year when this colour was first invented by Xrowet.

# THE ROTHSCHILD MS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM OF 'LES CAS DES MALHEUREUX NOBLES HOMMES ET FEMMES'

## BY SIR EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON, K.C.B.

IT is, perhaps, not unfair to assume that Boccaccio's Latin work, 'De casibus virorum et feminarum illustrium,' which was written probably a few years earlier than 1364, but was not published till ten years later, not long before the poet's death, would have dropped into the limbo of oblivion had it not been for its translations. In an English dress it lives in Lydgate's 'Fall of Princes,' written between the years 1430 and 1438 for Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. But the English poet did not go back to the original source; he made use of a translation in French prose written at the beginning of the fifteenth century by Laurent de Premierfait. It is this French work with which we have to deal in the present article.

Laurent de Premierfait, a simple clerk, taking his name from his native village of Premierfait, in the diocese of Troyes in the ancient county of Champagne, was one of the best known of the series of translators who found their occupation under the protection of Charles the Fifth of France and his immediate successors, and of princes of the royal house who loved to be distinguished as patrons of learning. Among other works, he translated the 'De Amicitia' and the 'De Senectute' of Cicero for Louis, duc de Bourbon. But it is more particularly with the renderings of the works of Boccaccio that his name is connected. And yet Laurent de Premierfait was not an Italian scholar. In his own words, 'pourceque je suis François par naissance et conversation, je ne scay pleinement langage Florentin.' But his want of knowledge of the Italian poet's native tongue was no obstacle to his undertaking the translation of even the 'Decameron.' This he accomplished by the simple expedient of employing a collaborator, one Antonio of Arezzo, a cordelier, who made a Latin version of the original, from which Premierfait made his translation into French.

The circumstances under which the work was done and which he himself describes are not without interest. He had found a patron in the wealthy goldsmith and banker Bureau de Dampmartin; and it was in Bureau's house in the Rue de la Courroierie in Paris that the two collaborators were maintained during the years 1411 to 1414. We will quote Laurent de Premierfait's own words:—

> 'Je qui depuis longtems suis demourant avec noble homme Bureau de Dampmartin, escuier, conseiller du Roy, et citoien de Paris, requis et demanday audit Bureau secours et provision pour ceste chose faire. Et il, de joieux visage administra audit frere [Antonio of Arezzo] et a moy toutes necessites, tant en vivres que en quelconques autres choses convenables pour despence et salaire de nous deux qui, comme dit est, translatasmes ledict livre de Florentin en Latin et de Latin en François en lostel dudict Bureau de Dampmartin.'

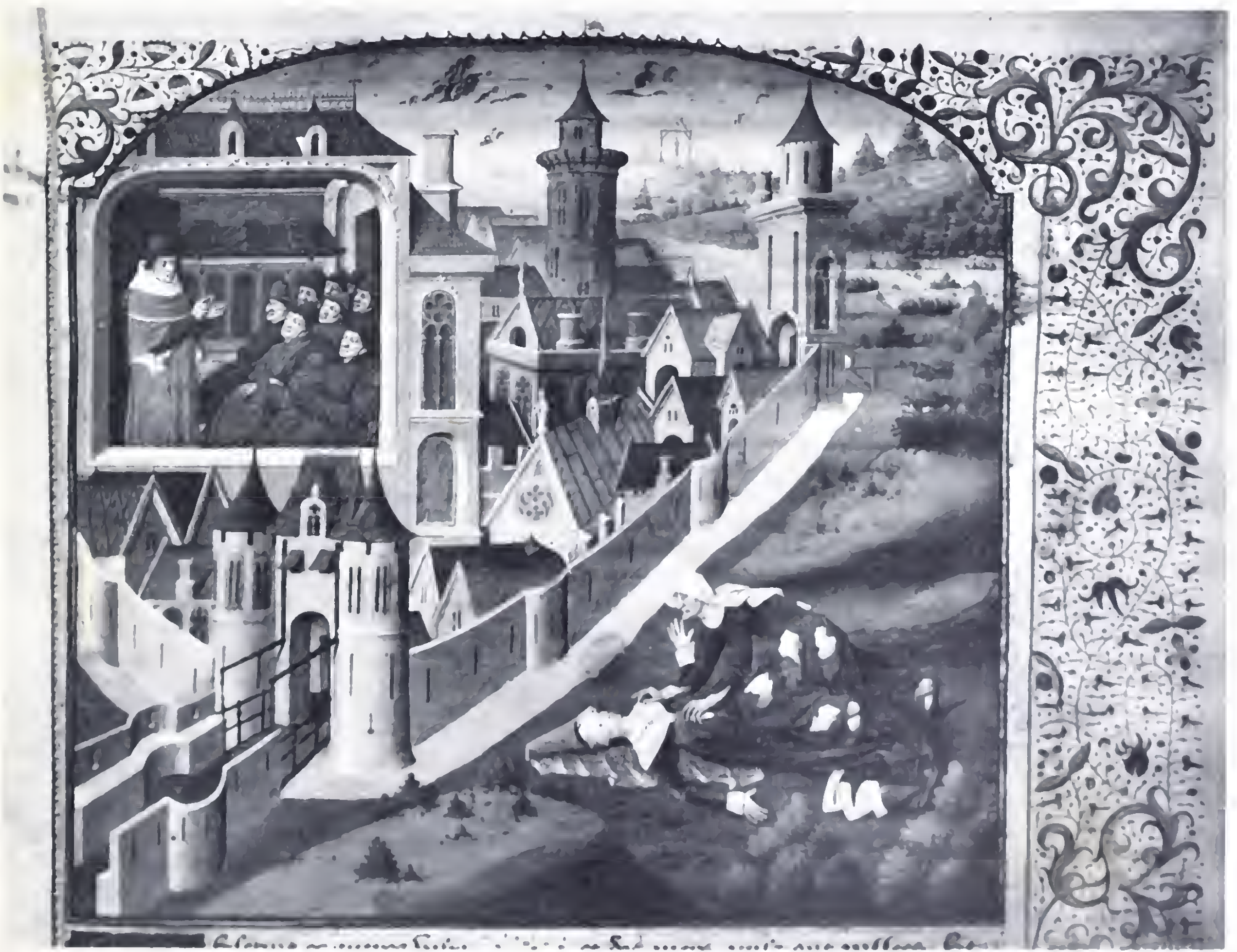
The work was finished in 1413, and was dedicated to Jean, duc de Berry, son of Charles the Fifth.

With the 'De casibus' our translator had not had the same difficulty as with the 'Decameron.' There was no need for collaboration. The original was in Latin, and of that language Laurent de Premierfait was a competent master. In his preface to the 'Decameron' addressed to the duc de Berry he refers to his previous translation and to

> 'Jehan Boccace, acteur aussi du livre des malheureux cas de nobles hommes et femmes, contenant seulement histoires approuvees et choses serieuses; lequel livre de vostre commandement nagueres fut translate par moy, et lequel livre, comme je croy, avez benignement receu et colloque entre vos autres nobles et precieux volumes.'

Thus, then, as well for the 'De casibus' as for the 'Decameron,' the duc de Berry

THE CAREER OF SAUL.



THE CONTEST BETWEEN POVERTY AND FORTUNE

was Laurent de Premierfait's patron. For him our translator undertook

'le dangereux et long travail de la translacion de ung tresexquiz et singulier volume des cas des nobles hommes et femmes escript et compille par Jehan Boccace de Certald, jadiz homme moult excellent et expert en anciennes histoires et toutes autres sciences humaines et divines.'

It is to be noted that Premierfait's work is not a bare rendering of Boccaccio's text. The translators of his time and school did not consider that they were bound to be literal; and our translator fails not to amplify his own text somewhat generously. His work soon became popular; and it seems that he issued a second edition or retranslation in 1409. As the fifteenth century advanced, and particularly in the second half of it, the 'Cas des nobles hommes et femmes' was a not unusual subject for the large folios which were produced in considerable numbers, in common with other works of similar character, both in France and the Low Countries, and were adorned with numerous miniatures of greater or less excellence.

The form in which the illustrations of these illuminated manuscripts are usually presented is as follows: A large miniature stands at the head of each of the nine books into which the work is divided, generally filling half the page, and a series of small miniatures are introduced into the body of the text in illustration of particular stories. The misfortunes and violent ends of the unhappy princes and other illustrious persons who form the subjects of the narrative afforded ample scope for the imagination of the artist; and, particularly in the smaller miniatures, the very direct interpretations of the cruel acts depicted would be very appalling if in most instances they were not so very ludicrous. Indeed, as we turn over the leaves of one of these illustrated volumes we may sup of horrors to the full, but as we close the book we are not very sensible of having had our feelings severely harrowed. There is, in fact, little art, as a rule, in the general run of the smaller miniatures; they are simply illustrations. With the larger miniatures the case is usually different. On these the better artists were employed; and in the better class of manuscripts we not infrequently light on an example of real merit.

The manuscript from which a series of such larger miniatures is here reproduced is the Additional MS. 35,321 in the British Museum. It forms part of the munificent bequest of the late Baron Ferdinand Rothschild, which came to the trustees in 1899. It is a very large folio volume of 321 leaves, measuring 16¼ inches by 11¼ inches, and it contains the text of Premierfait's second translation of the 'De casibus,' which he finished in 1409.

'Cy fine,' runs the colophon, 'le livre de Jehan Boccace des cas des maleureux nobles hommes et femmes, translate de Latin en François par moy Laurens de Premierfait, clerc du diocese de Troies. Et fut compile ceste translacion le xv. jour davril, mil cccc. et neuf; cest assavoir le Lundi apres Pasques.'

The period of the manuscript is the latter part of the fifteenth century, perhaps from 1470 to 1480. It formerly belonged to the 'cabinet de livres de Pontchartrain,' owned by Louis Phélypeaux, comte de Pontchartrain and chancellor of France, who died in 1727. Of the earlier history of the volume nothing is known.

In accordance with the usual setting, each of the nine books of the work is headed with a half-page miniature, and seventy-five smaller miniatures are scattered through the text. For our series the six best of the larger miniatures have been selected. They are the work of French artists, and are executed in the style that was developed in the school of the celebrated painter and miniaturist Jean Foucquet, of Tours, and his sons. The particular character of the series bears resemblance to that of the work which has been attributed to the hand of François Foucquet the son, and which is to be

seen, for example, in the fine manuscript of St. Augustine's 'Cité de Dieu' in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (MS. Franc. 18). This volume was executed for Charles de Gaucourt, in 1473, by a certain 'egregius pictor Franciscus,' who has been identified by Monsieur L. Thuasne ('Revue des Bibliothèques,' 1898) as the painter François Foucquet. This attribution has not been universally accepted as correct, but it is not necessary in this place to pause for a discussion of its merits. It is enough to cite the manuscript of the 'Cité de Dieu' as representing the style of the school of art with which we group our volume. Of the same style, but, on the whole, superior to the miniatures before us, are those in the Valerius Maximus of the Harleian collection in the British Museum (Nos. 4374–5), a manuscript which belonged to the historian Philippe de Comines (*see* G. F. Warner, 'Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum').

The realism which developed in the miniature painting of the fifteenth century had by this time fairly cast off the old traditions of earlier periods. In particular, the landscape, which at the beginning of the century was usually represented by rocks and hills and trees of the most conventional type, had now become a real copy of nature, not always exact, it is true, but at least with a sense of perspective and atmospheric effect, and with a recognition of the horizon, which, strangely, it took so long to discover. But while the landscape was thus largely improved, yet, as though the ordinary artist was incapable of taking in more than one idea at a time, architectural perspective remains at fault; and, again, in the endeavour to be fully realistic, the grace of the figure-drawing of the fourteenth century is altogether lost, and we are presented with clumsy rendering of the limbs, stiff draperies, and features, particularly in the case of men's faces, so laboured, with the view of giving expression, that the refinement, be it of youth or of age, is lost. The relative proportions of human figures to the surrounding objects is still not fully appreciated, and animal drawing is in its infancy. With regard to the last point, if style of drawing may be taken as an indication of the kind of life to which the artist was accustomed, one would be tempted to think that the ordinary draughtsman of the fifteenth century was a stay-at-home who had never seen an animal in his life, but was in the habit of evolving his specimens from his inner consciousness. Nothing is more striking in the miniature painting of this period than the inability of the draughtsman to depict a horse. What a contrast are his clumsy creations to the freely-drawn figures of animal life scratched by primitive man on the rude surfaces of stone or horn or bone!

French miniature painting of this period of the fifteenth century is distinguished by a certain hardness of surface, which contrasts disadvantageously with the depth of colour of the Flemish school; and it is on account of this hard quality that, in order to get the high lights, the French artist has recourse to the meretricious practice of shading with gold, which, while at the period of our miniatures it is not too prominent, afterwards is applied to such a degree as to become an offence. The colours employed in the landscape and in the middle distance are generally subdued and harmonious, and the artist is often very successful in his treatment of atmosphere. But in the case of objects in the foreground and in the prominent figures there is a tendency to too great brilliancy and even crudeness in some of the colours. For example, in the miniatures before us, the artists have introduced in these details, among other colours, vivid blue and a particularly harsh green which overpower the rest.

Of the six miniatures which have been selected for reproduction,[1] the first three may

[1] The reproductions are about half the size of the original miniatures.

BOCCACCIO LECTURING.

BOCCACCIO'S INTERVIEW WITH FORTUNE.

be attributed to one and the same artist, at least in the principal, if not in all, the details. In some he may have been assisted by other painters. The fourth and sixth miniatures are the work of another and less skilful hand; and a third artist seems to have been employed on the fifth miniature. The superiority of the work in the first three is obvious.

The first miniature reproduced[2] stands at the head of the second book of the 'Cas des malheureux nobles hommes et femmes,' and represents the career of Saul, king of Israel. In the foreground, on the left, within the farm-building, Saul, seated at table, is being anointed by Samuel, who is clad in a priest's vestments. We may quote the text :—

'Cestui Saul par ung jour estoit ale querir les asnes de son pere et les asnelles qui sestoient egarees. Et quant ne les trouva aucune part, il voulant outre enquerir ou elles estoient alees, Saul, par lenhortement dun enfant qui estoit avec luy, vint au prophete Samuel qui parloit par la bouche de Dieu. Apres ce que Samuel eut fait apprester a disner pour Saul et eut mis devant luy une espaule de mouton, Samuel par ladmonestrement de Dieu respandy sur la teste de Saul une burette de huile consacree et le oingny et ordonna pour estre roy des Juifz.'

The asses are stabled under a shed, and sheep are folded within the wattled fence. The rent in the wall of the building may be noticed : a very common defect, it seems in cottages and mean buildings of the time, if we are to trust the accuracy of miniatures. The battle scene on the right may be taken as representing the wars of Saul generally ; and the city in the background, introduced for artistic effect, must be regarded as undergoing siege, as indicated by the two mortars in position. The battle of Mount Gilboa is in the background on the left ; and in the middle distance we witness the death of the defeated king.

'Et afin que Saul ne venist vif es mains de ses ennemis, et que il ne fust moque par eulx, il se coucha sur la pointe de son espee et avec son sang il mist hors son esperit ; et combien que la mort de Saul fust mort de maleureux roy, toutesvoies fut elle dung fort et couraigeux homme ; car plus laide ne plus deshonneste chose ne peut advenir a ung roy que destre loye de chaines et estre prisonnier de ses ennemis.'

[2] Plate I, page 199.

It is to be observed that the different scenes are marked off from each other by conventional rocks.

The miniature is, on the whole, not an unpleasing example of its kind ; the grouping is skilful, and the landscape is artistically handled. But the picture is marred by the disproportionate size of the combatants in the background—a fault in drawing which is so obvious to modern eyes, that one would wonder how it could have escaped those of the artist, did we not know how slow was the growth of perspective in mediaeval art.

In our second miniature,[3] which introduces the third book of Boccaccio's work, is represented the contest between Poverty and Fortune. The story Boccaccio tells us he heard in his youth, when attending the lectures of Andalone di Negro, the astronomer, at Naples.

'Jay esprouve que vraye est la sentence dune fable que jadis je oy compter en jeunesse et dont il me souvient. Et pour ce quil me samble que cette fable fait assez proprement a mon presente entencion je la compteray de bon couraige tandis que nous reposons la fin de nostre second livre. Pour lors que je estoie jeune escolier estudiant a Naples soubz ung maistre en astronomie nomme maistre Andalus du Noir, qui lors estoit homme noble en science et honnourable en meurz et nez de la cite de Jennes, et qui en publicques escoles enseignoit les mouvemens du ciel et les cours et influences des estoilles et planectes, etc.'

The lecturer undertakes to prove, 'par une fable courtoise et ancienne,' that heaven and the stars are not to blame for a man's misfortune, but the man himself.

It chanced that Poverty was sitting by the roadside when Fortune passed by and laughed. Whereupon Poverty 'se leva contre Fortune et luy monstra moult rude et aspre chere,' asking the reason for her merriment. Fortune replied that she laughed to see the other's wretched state, 'qui ne es couverte que a moitie dune

[3] Plate I, page 199.

flossoye faicte de tenues palestriaux' — a rough garment of worn-out tatters.

On this naturally follows a long altercation, ending in a personal struggle, in which Poverty is victorious.

'Povrete doncques, qui eut le genoul agu, foula la poitruie de Fortune, et luy mist lun des pies sur la gorge et luy serra forment.'

But the conqueror is not ungenerous. Fortune is allowed to rise, and an agreement is come to that Misfortune is no longer to be at the disposal of Fortune, but is to be chained up.

'Si te commande, Fortune, que en aucun lieu et tel que chascun puisse veoir tu loyes et attaches Malheur a une coulompne, afin que doresenavant Malheur ne puisse entrer en lostel de quelconcque personne, et que Malheur aussi ne se puisse partir de la coulompne ou du pel si non avec celui qui le destachera; mais je vueil que tu puisses envoier le Boneur en lostel de quiconcques tu vouldras.'

The scene of the lecture in the miniature is brought before us by the simple device of taking out the side of the room in which it is in progress; the students, it will be observed, being by no means of youthful appearance. Fortune lies complacently flat on the ground, without sign of any derangement of her dress to show that she has just passed through a severe struggle with her opponent; even her veil falls extended in neat folds from her high-crowned hat. The city is, of course, a French city, built in the style of architecture familiar to the artist, although it professes to be the city of Naples. In the far distance a gallows, with a body hanging on it, no doubt represents a very familiar object of the time.

The fourth book is prefaced by the best executed miniature in the volume, the third of our series.[4] Here Boccaccio appears in his doctor's robes, and with his books about him, addressing a company of persons clad in different styles of costume, who fill the half of the room in which the scene is laid. The prologue of the fourth book first refers to the ill-fortune of Crœsus, Tarquin, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes; and the three Asiatic monarchs are probably represented in the miniature by the three figures wearing turbans. The rest of the company may be taken to stand generally for those who are included in the author's description:

'Jay devant moy ung monceau dystoires contenans les cas dune grant et desvoiee compaignie de maleureux gentilz hommes, mesement Ytaliens, lamour desquelz me rappellent et tant a fait que de la grant compaignie deux jay pris a racompter lystoire de celui de qui jaymoie mieulx racompter et escrire le cas, sans faire mencion des autres maleureux nobles.'

The general effect of the grouping of this scene is aided by the pleasing architectural setting in which the miniature is framed.

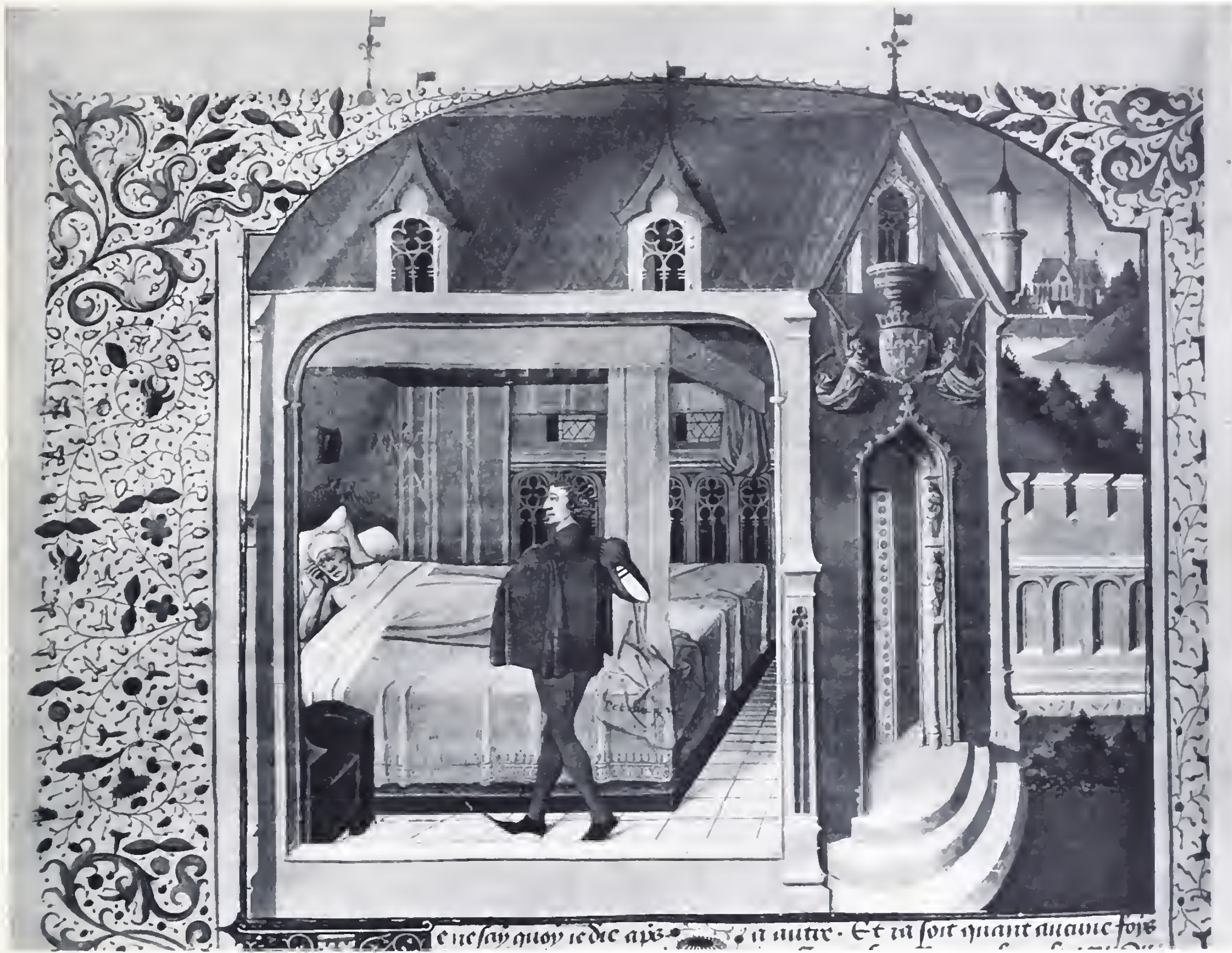
The remaining three miniatures now claim attention. They appear to be by two hands, the fourth and sixth by the one and the fifth by the other; at the same time they are all three so near in style that it is not impossible that all may be the work of one and the same artist, and the differences mere accidents of execution. It will be observed that they contrast with the former three chiefly in regard to the principal figures, which are here less skilfully treated and are more common-place; while in the landscape and architectural details there is less to distinguish them.

The subject of the fourth miniature is Boccaccio's interview with Fortune,[5] which introduces the sixth book. Fortune, 'qui est ung hydeux monstre,' suddenly appears before the author:

'Elle avoit les yeux ardans, et sambloit quilz menachassent ceulx que elle regardoit. Fortune avoit la face cruelle et horrible. Elle avoit ses cheveulx espes, longs, et pendant sur sa bouche. Certes, je croy que Fortune en son corps avoit cent mains et autretant de bras pour donner et pour tollir aux hommes les biens mondains, et pour abatre en bas et pour lever en hault les hommes de ce monde. Fortune avoit robe de maintes et diverses couleurs; car nul homme ne la conquoist. Fortune avoit la voix aspre et si dure quil sembloit que elle eust bouche de fer, pour ce que elle menasse tous les plus grans du monde et si mect les menaces a effect.'

[4] Plate II, page 203.

[5] Plate II, page 203.




BOCCACCIO AND PETRARCH.

THE PREACHING OF MAHOMET AND THE DEATH OF QUEEN BRUNHILD

PLATE III

The artist has not followed the text in his delineation of the goddess ; he disregards her hundred arms and provides her only with the ordinary number, and he follows another tradition in bestowing on her a Janus-like head, darkly veiled in her angry mood. She opens with a long tirade : Boccaccio is labouring in vain if he thinks that he can find a remedy against her laws and can thus instruct his readers ; other and greater writers have tried and have failed. But a discreet and lengthy reply turns away her wrath, a reply of which we need only quote the flattering words which close it :

'Je te prie et supplie, dame Fortune, que mon livre des cas des hommes soit par ta grace bienheureux et aggreable, et que mon nom, qui est obscur et descongneu aux hommes presens, soit esclarcy et congneu aux hommes avenir par le moien de ta resplendisseur.'

The fickle dame of course is mollified and grants the petition, and then proceeds, with a glance at the unkind things that have been said about her in the course of the work, to discourse on the miseries wrought by the civil wars of Rome. Those are represented by the scene of street fighting within the walls of the city, which fills the larger part of the miniature.

The next scene[6] stands at the head of the prologue to the eighth book. Wearied with his labours, the author falls asleep, then, rousing himself, he soliloquizes on the vanity and unprofitableness of human renown, and arrives at the comfortable conclusion that the game is scarcely worth the candle, and that it is folly to wear himself out with literary toil.

'Et de rechief je abaissay ma teste sur le coissin ; et lavoie ja dressee sur mon coubte pour moy lever du lit, et tantost il me sambla que devant moy estoit ung homme que Dieu me avoit envoie de je ne say quel pays. Cestui homme estoit moult attrempe en visaige et en maniere. Il avoit gente face assez pale et joiense. Il portoit sur son chief une couronne de laurier vert, et si estoit vestu dun noble et riche mantel. Il estoit digne de tres grant reverence. Je ouvry et aguisay mes yeulx plus que autrefoys pour regarder cest homme. Si tost que je fuz bien esveille je congneu que celui homme estoit nomme François Petrac, mon tres bon maistre. Les admonnestemens de mon maistre François Petrac me ont tous dis aguillonne a euvre de vertu. Je honnouray François Petrac des le commencement de ma jeunesse.'

A long homily follows from Petrarch on the wickedness of sloth, which of course has the desired effect in stimulating Boccaccio to new endeavours, who accordingly resumes his pen to continue the 'cas des nobles malheureux.'

The artist has made up for the simplicity of the scene by the introduction of architectural detail and ornament, which effectively set off the scantily furnished chamber, in which, indeed, there is little room for anything but the bedstead of large dimensions. The execution is rather better than that of the other two miniatures, and affords some reason for attributing the painting to another hand.

The last miniature of our series[7] introduces the ninth and concluding book of Boccaccio's work. It contains two scenes : the preaching of Mahomet and the death of Queen Brunehild. The subject in the foreground is explained in the following extracts :

'Cestui Machomet engendre de innobles parens fut nez en une cite de Arabie nommee Mecca. Apres la mort de ses parens, il demoura en la garde et tutelle de Abdamanef son oncle. Sitost que Machomet fut parcreux, il commenca a adourer faulses ydoles et suivre vaines superstitions, ainsi come faisoient tous ceulx de sa lignie. . . . . Machomet doncques nourry ung jeune coulon qui toute sa viande prenoit par accoustumance dedens les oreilles de Mahomet, ainsi comme il luy administroit. Et, pour ce que le coulon constraint de fam voloit sur les epaules de Machomet et mectoit son bec dedens ses oreilles, il donna entendre aux gens simples et rudes que le Saint Esperit parloit a luy en samblance dune coulombe, a la maniere ainsi comme il disoit de Jesu Crist le saint prophete, sur qui la coulombe descendy quant Saint Jehan le baptisoit. Et oultre Machomet affermoit que les paroles et les loix que il preschoit aux peuples il les recevoit de la bouche de Saint Esperit, qui en figure de coulombe parloit a luy. Et aussi il deceut les hommes champestres et ignorans qui a luy venoient en grans tourbes. . . . . Mahomet

[6] Plate III, page 207.

[7] Plate III, page 207.

aussi eut ung toreau, qui par longue accoustumance fut par luy enseigniez en tant que il prenoit la viande de sa main et venoit a son appel. Machomet doncques eut fait dicter et escrire la loy par ung clerc nomme Sergius, homme herite et qui ensuivoit les erreurs de lerite Nestoire. Et celle loy ainsi escripte en ung livre, que len dit Alcoran, le traitre Mahomet loya et attacha ce livre entre les cornes du thoreau dont jay parle, puis appella celui thoreau, qui tantost vint a luy et apporta le livre attachie entre les cornes. Parquoy le peuple creut et pensa que celle chose feust parfaicte par la vertu divine.'

After continuing his discourse about Mahomet at some length, our author is interrupted by the appearance of queen Brunehild, who desires to tell her story. After some demur this is allowed, and she proceeds to give her own version of her various questionable deeds, in which she is amusingly corrected by Boccaccio, who exhibits an intimate knowledge of the events and convicts the lady of continual departures from the truth. Finally she gives the details of her death as depicted in the background of the miniature.

'Besoing nest que je me arreste a racompter plus de maulx par moy souffers. Je fuz a moitie desvestue et fuz hapee pour mectre a treslaide mort. Car par ung pie, une main, et par les crins je fuz loie aux queues de trois chevaulx effraiez et legiers, et fuz abandonnee a despecer par les detiremens des chevaulx qui tiroient, lun de ca, lautre de la. Je fuz despecee par membres, et par mon sang je ordoiay tous les lieux par ou je fuz trainnee. Et par ainsi je mis hors mon ame par toutes les parties de mon corps detranchie, et ainsi je mouru entre les tourmens.'

The story is followed by an interesting apology of the author, incidentally referring to the poverty of the French tongue, which deserves to be quoted :

'Je Jehan Boccace, qui de Brunchilde ay ainsi escript le cas, je confesse que je nay pas use de tesmoingnaige assez digne de foy. Car les histoires franchoises, actendu la povresse du langaige qui est en vulgar ou confuz sans art et sans auctorite, ne sont par convenable destre receues entre histoires dignes de foy. Pour tant se len treuve en ce chapitre aucune chose qui ne soit pas assez vraye, je requier que celle soit imputee a limportunite et constraingnant requeste de Brunchilde qui me pria que je escrivisse ainsy.'

The miniature affords instances of the very indifferent animal drawing of the fifteenth century, which has been noticed above. Mahomet's bull is a very sorry beast, and the horses which are so steadily carrying out the execution of the unfortunate queen can scarcely claim a title to the epithets 'effraiez et legiers.' The very decent mode in which Brunehild is being torn in pieces is quite in the picture-book style of illustrative art of the period. The court of Clotaire, who has passed judgement on the queen, disclosed on the right of the painting, presents us with the stock monarch of the time clad in the conventional robes of royalty. We have seen the same kind of figure in our first miniature, slaying itself, as king Saul, on Mount Gilboa.

Yet, with all its shortcomings, bad drawing, faulty perspectives, and incongruous details, we must not lose sight of the redeeming points. For example, the landscape has its merits, and the figure of the doctor or professor which does duty for Mahomet, is not without a certain dignity. It is no less true of the miniatures of the fifteenth century than of those of the earlier centuries, that we must endeavour to look at them with the eyes of contemporaries, if we are to appreciate their real value as works of art, and necessarily it is only by familiarity with them that we can succeed in this endeavour. Each period has its particular faults, but, at the same time, each period has its particular merits. It is by study of our subjects that we acquire the critical faculty which unconsciously learns to condone the faults, while it is quick to recognize the efforts of the artist to attain to a higher plane.

# MINOR ENGLISH FURNITURE MAKERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

## BY R. S. CLOUSTON

## ARTICLE VII—SHEARER[1]

THE consciousness of ignorance which comes from knowledge is proverbial, and a study of the works of the English furniture designers towards the close of the eighteenth century forms no exception to the rule; every modicum of added knowledge increases the difficulty in assigning any piece of actual furniture to one or other of even the best-known names. There are points of difference certainly, but they are by no means so marked or so invariable as would seem to have been generally supposed; and, though it is probably easier to date accurately a piece of furniture made in the nineties than a similar piece constructed in the fifties or sixties, it is much more difficult to feel any certainty in suggesting the name of its designer. One of the least understood of the later furniture makers is Shearer, who, in 1788, published the 'Cabinet Makers' London Book of Prices,' or rather was chiefly responsible for it, as the book is printed by W. Brown and A. O'Neil 'For the London Society of Cabinet Makers.' His designs not only resemble the work of his contemporary, Hepplewhite, but very often have quite as strong an affinity to Sheraton's of some years later, with the result that, though he possessed strong originality, his work is usually ascribed to the better-known men, just as at one time their names were lost in that of Chippendale.

The professed intention of Hepplewhite's 'Guide' is to give designs of the furniture in actual use at the time of its publication; that of the Society of Cabinet Makers was to avoid the disputes apt to arise between master and man when piece-work, and not time, was the basis of payment. Both books therefore dealt with many articles in common use, and there is often but little attempt to differentiate them from the designs of others.

There were several editions of the 'Book of Prices,' one being published as late as 1825, but Shearer's work appears only in the first two editions, issued in 1788 and 1793 respectively. After that the succeeding publications were adapted to the furniture of their own time, and resemble the earlier editions only in name.

The book was largely accepted by the trade, not only in London but also in the provinces, where it was known as 'The London Book,' and many men still alive can remember the later editions being used in the workshops. The greater part of it is taken up by estimates of the working cost of the pieces described, with carefully prepared tables for such things as veneering, moulding, panelling, etc., nearly everything in fact except the higher branches of decoration. There is no mention of the price of wood or materials, with which the workmen had nothing to do, so the lists as they stand show only the cost of the actual workmanship required for each article, but without such items as carving, brass-work, or decorative painting. Nearly all the plates in the book are signed, with the exception of the frontispiece, which is distinctly the worst and certainly did not emanate from Shearer. A woman in classic dress is leaning against a pillar, holding in one hand what appears to be a fasces, and in the other an open book showing a design. A snake is coiled round the pillar, while a winged cupid with square and compasses under his arm is presenting her with a scroll on which is inscribed 'Unanimity with Justice,' to which she appears to be paying

[1] For Articles I to VI, see Vol. IV, page 227; Vol. V, page 173; Vol VI, pages 47, 210, 402; Vol VII, page 41 (March, May, October, December, 1904; February, April, 1905).

as little attention as to the dangerous proximity of the snake. The lady is probably intended to represent an employer of labour, and the cupid the authors of the book. It is a somewhat weird production; but in one way it is as true to its time as the rest of the plates, for the knowledge of classical lore, or the assumption of it, was then so common as to be almost a necessity.

On the title page the authors state that, as their book is intended to be a guide towards the price of executing any piece of work, 'they have no plates of the more common work, that being what almost anyone may settle without the assistance of a drawing.' It may possibly be for this reason that no chairs are given, for, if they had been, the prices would have referred only to their construction without carving or decoration. The omission is to be regretted, for if Shearer's chairs were of the same class of design as the rest of his furniture the loss is very great indeed.

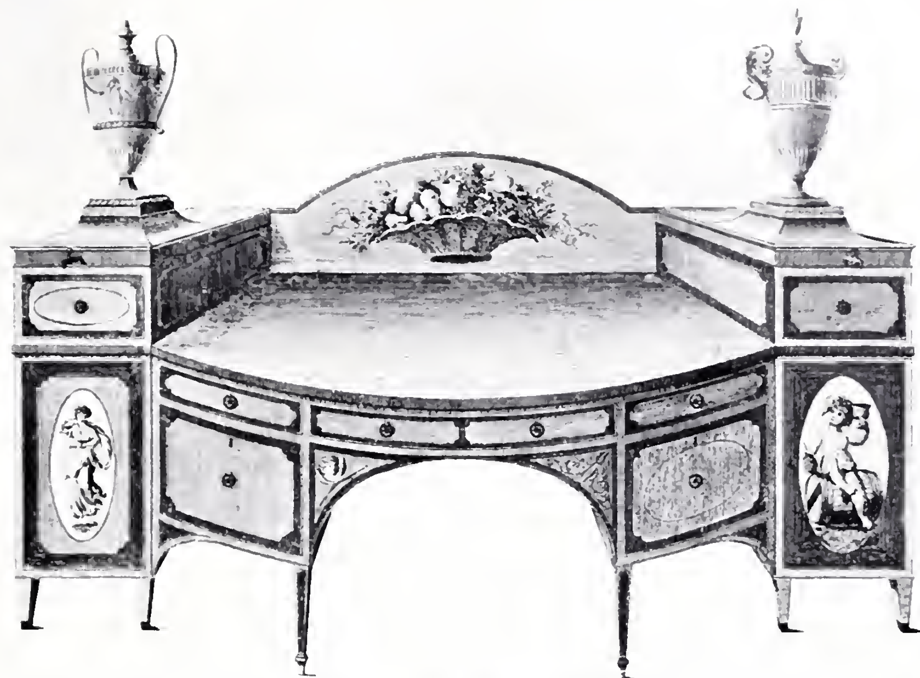
Though the book was intended for the use of the trade, it is evident that the authors also catered for the general public. A few of the designs are not even mentioned in the letterpress, and, with the exception of the tables for inlay, none of the decoration. Great care has evidently been bestowed on the drawings, in most of which there is a marked retention of power coupled with a simplicity of line and such well-considered proportion as can only be matched elsewhere in the more restrained work of Sheraton.

Shearer, however, had his limits, and they are strongly marked. No contemporary designer, not even Sheraton at his best, can be held to have surpassed him in the combination of daintiness and simplicity; but he was far behind both Sheraton and Hepplewhite in the application of the more florid form of ornament. What he possibly may have considered his *chef d'œuvre* is a side-board,[2] the first of its kind (so far as dated designs go) to be really a side-board and not a side-board table with drawers introduced. It may or may not have been the first attempt to combine a side-board table and the pedestals and vases which went with it into one article, but it is certainly first as regards date of publication. Its interest, however, is more historical than artistic. It effectually disposes of the idea that we owe the side-board proper to Sheraton; but it is one of the least convincing of Shearer's designs, neither the decoration nor the construction being altogether pleasing. The pedestals, which do not quite reach the ground, are supported on feet which are not harmonious with the rest of the treatment, and neither of the alternative designs for vases is at all comparable to Hepplewhite's beautiful renderings of the same articles.

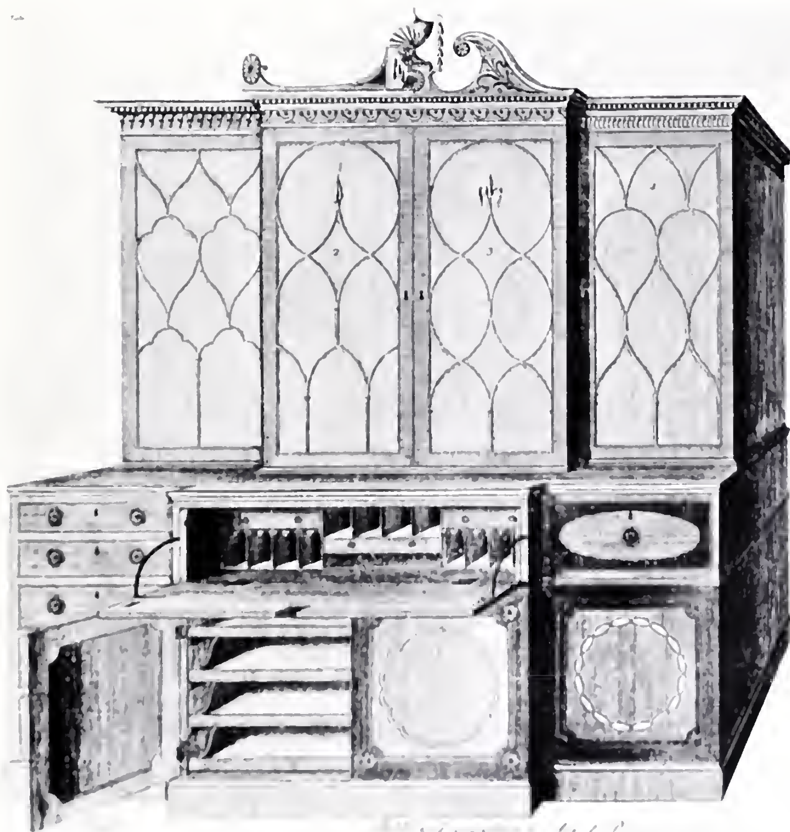
In book-cases Shearer is very strong. His eye for proportion is indisputable, and it is only his occasionally uncertain use of inlay and ornament which would prevent us placing him first in this particular department. Even as these stand they are better than Hepplewhite's, and there can be little doubt of their influence on Sheraton. The specimen reproduced from the book[3] combines both his best and his worst qualities. Neither treatment of the circular form ot inlay can be commended, though as regards the rest there is little to find fault with and much to be admired. The two designs for the pediment give the drawing a lop-sided look, but both are really good; while the four variations for the tracery of the door are all more or less happy. This last was a department of cabinet making to which Shearer paid particular attention, and he would seem to have been responsible for the style of treatment. There is nothing quite like them in the 'Guide,' but it is certain that they more than suggested some of the designs given by Sheraton four years later. That marked No. 2 is almost exactly repro-

[2] No. 1, Plate I, page 213.

[3] No. 2, Plate I, page 213.




1. SIDEBOARD



2. BOOKCASE AND DETAIL

PLATE L. DESIGNS FOR FURNI-
TURE BY SHEARER

duced in No. 1, Plate 29, of the 'Drawing Book,' the only difference of any importance being that the pointed ornament in the centre of the top division was changed for something much heavier. In this instance there can be no doubt as to priority of design, but the same cannot be said for several of these by W. Casement in the second edition. They bear the same date as Sheraton's earliest, and the likeness between them is too marked to be the result of mere coincidence. Sheraton, with all the fuss he made about originality, was by no means above annexing anything which happened to suit his purpose; but in this case the likelihood is all the other way. For one thing, Sheraton mentions the first edition of the 'Book of Prices' in his preface, but not the second (in which Casement's drawings appear), and for another, his additional eight designs, dated September of the following year, have no such definite resemblance; though, on the other hand, it must be admitted that, with one or two exceptions, they are neither up to his own standard or Casement's. In the account of the furniture at the Bradford Exhibition in THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE for August last,[4] there is an illustration of a secretaire and bookcase which may with practical certainty be said to have been executed either by Shearer himself or from the design now illustrated. As the photograph gives a better idea than the engraving of how such a piece of furniture actually appears, it is here reproduced again.[5]

Several of the plates by Shearer resemble similar articles illustrated in the 'Guide,' and in the second edition of the 'Book of Prices' many of the added plates bear the signature 'Hepplewhite,' from which it has been argued that Shearer may have had something to do with the compilation of the 'Guide.' A careful comparison of the drawings does not lead to this conclusion, for even where the likeness is most apparent, and the articles are precisely similar in construction (as happens more than once), Hepplewhite's rendering of such a thing as a leg of a table is heavy and lacking in grace when compared to Shearer's. It is, nevertheless, worthy of remark that Shearer himself supplied nothing new for the second edition of the 'Book of Prices,' and that several of the plates signed 'Hepplewhite' resemble his style much more closely than anything in the 'Guide,' being, indeed, indistinguishable from his work both as regards their excellences and their faults.

We know, through the research of Miss Constance Simon,[6] that George Hepplewhite, who was probably the founder of the firm of that name, died a year previous to the publication of the 'Guide,' and the business was thereafter carried on by his widow Alice under the style of A. Hepplewhite & Co. It is of course possible that in 1792, the date on the earliest of the new plates, Shearer had become a member of the firm, and had therefore sunk his personality; but in the few added plates in the succeeding editions of the 'Guide' there is no resemblance to his style, and it is just as likely that when a second edition of the 'Book of Prices' was contemplated the better-known firm either took it in hand or allowed their named to be used.

One piece of furniture which is given by no one but Shearer is a lady's screen writing table.[7] It is a relic of the pre-tennis-and-hockey days, when complexions were jealously guarded indoors as well as out. These screens were made very light, being only six inches deep, to facilitate their being moved from one part of the room to another. On the lower half were two panelled doors with shelves inside, and the upper part of the front was let down and supported by 'quadrants' to form a writing

[4] Vol. V, pp. 482-503. [5] No. 3, Plate II, page 217.

[6] 'English Furniture Designers of the Eighteenth Century' (A. H. Bullen). [7] No. 4, Plate II, page 217.

table, disclosing when in position a nest of drawers and pigeon-holes. They were raised from the ground on light standards, presumably to allow the feet of the lady who used one to benefit by the fire from which her face had to be eternally shielded.

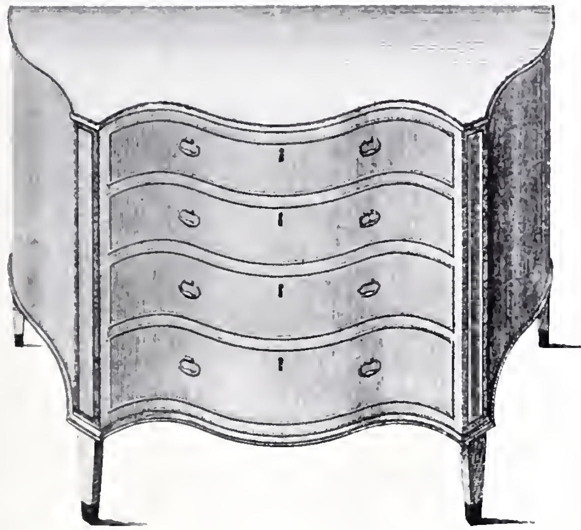
The man who wishes to furnish a house entirely in eighteenth-century furniture will find some difficulty in fitting the wash-stands of the period to modern requirements. There are six of these in the 'Book of Prices,' all of them more suggestive of a doll's-house than of a real bedroom, though apart from their intended use they are nice enough articles of furniture. With writing tables, on the other hand, the choice is almost unlimited, many of them being not only more decorative than our own, but quite as useful. Letter-writing was a very different thing then from what it is now. People did not dash off elliptical sentences on a post-card in a hand-writing intended to baffle the curiosity of the letter carrier ; nor did they, as everyone knows who has gone through the contents of an old house, throw a letter in the fire the moment it was answered. Letter-writing was one of the polite arts, and everyone pretending to education or culture emulated the best models. Even Horace Walpole wrote careful notes of his intended replies on the backs of his friends' letters, and the ordinary correspondent made as careful a skeleton of the subject-matter of a proposed letter as if it were a school essay. Each sheet of paper being its own envelope, the length of a letter and the relative importance of each point had to be as carefully considered as if one were writing an exact column for a newspaper. Every man was not a Horace Walpole, nor every woman a Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu, but most people with a real place in society at least pretended to cultivate the art, with the result that we have received an inheritance of an immense number of beautifully designed and perfectly fitted writing tables or other articles adaptable to the purpose. In this book alone there are no less than sixteen examples, and in addition four separate drawings for alternative fittings.

One of these (the first plate signed 'Hepplewhite') bears less resemblance to Shearer than most of the others, and though of little artistic merit is of interest as being, presumably, the first of the 'Carlton' shape, afterwards improved by Sheraton and other makers. In these a superstructure of drawers ten or twelve inches wide runs round the back and both sides, leaving a space in the middle for a rising writing-desk. The other designs include most of the forms then in use, while on one, though it is difficult to understand why, there is placed a shield-shaped looking-glass.

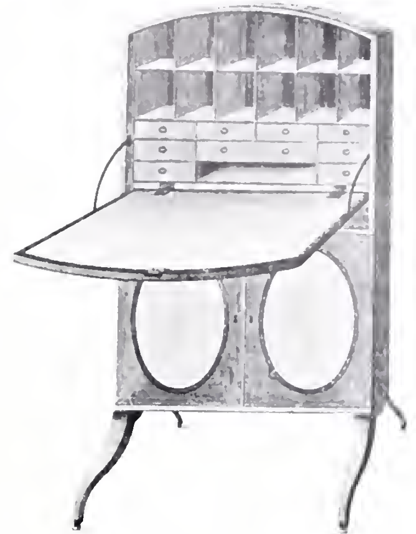
Both Shearer and Hepplewhite, though for different reasons, inserted plates in their books which had no claim to originality. The Rudd's dressing table, given by both, owes its origin to an unknown designer, having been first constructed, as we are told in the 'Guide,' for 'a once popular character' of that name. It is by no means a thing of beauty, being more remarkable for its ingenuity than for its appearance. The slightly different renderings of this article by Shearer and Hepplewhite are typical of their methods. Shearer's is severely plain ; and though Hepplewhite, as in most of his bedroom furniture, makes but little attempt at decoration, the drawing in the 'Guide' is of a much heavier and clumsier article.

Shearer supports it on 'Marlboro' legs, that is legs of a square tapered shape ending in a 'spade' foot ; Hepplewhite more than doubles their thickness, representing legs strong enough, constructively, for the heaviest dining-table of that convivial period, and which seem somewhat out of place for the weight theys upport.

Hepplewhite furniture taken as a whole

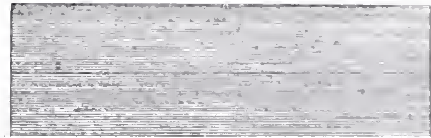


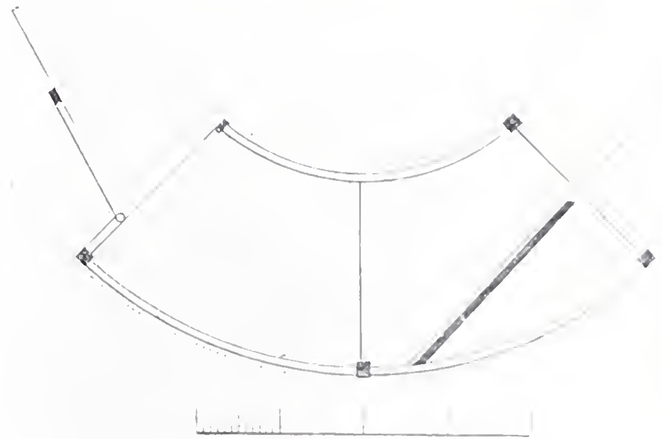

7. CHEST OF DRAWERS



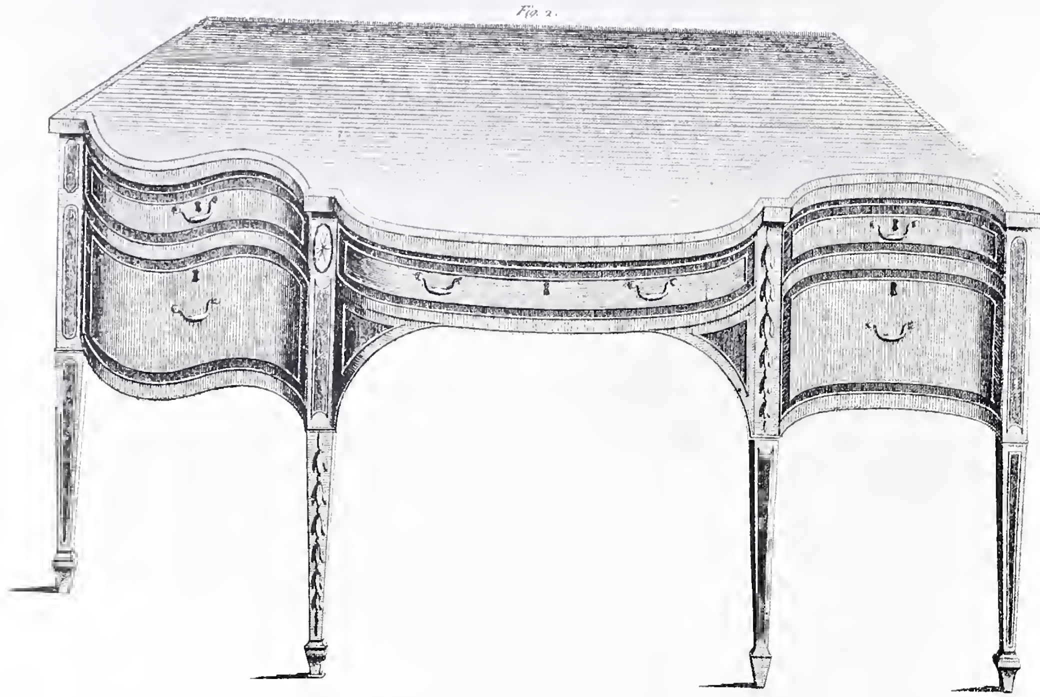
4. SCREEN WRITING-TABLE

3. BOOKCASE AND SECRETAIRE

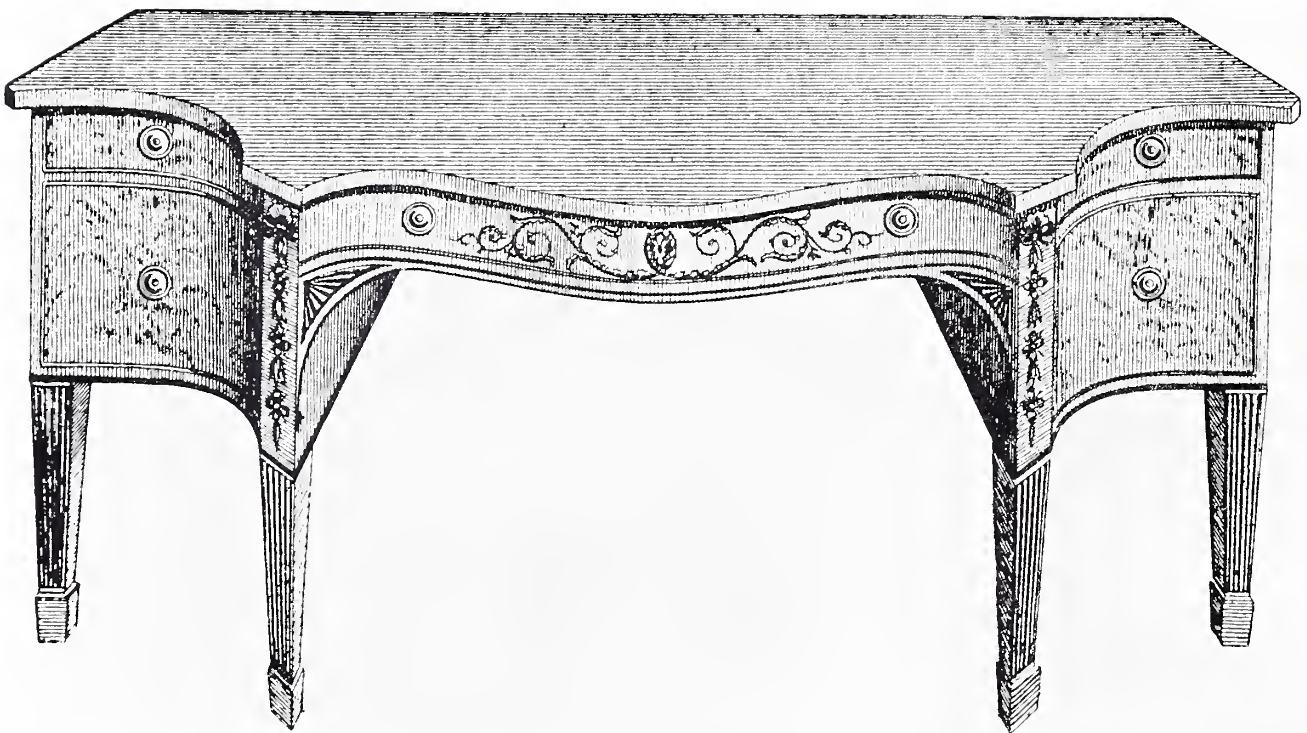




8. HORSESHOE DINING-TABLE




5. SIDEBOARD DESIGNED BY SHEARER




6. SIDEBOARD DESIGNED BY HEPPLEWHITE

is undoubtedly a revolt against the heaviness of the Chippendale period. Sometimes he even leans to fragility, and it has been usual to consider him the prime mover in the evolution to lightness. As regards some of his furniture, particularly that which is intended for the drawing-room, there is a certain amount of justification for the contention; at least, with such facts as are at our disposal, it cannot be absolutely denied. It is, however, possible, if indeed it is not likely, that the leadership of this evolution has been assigned to him simply for lack of other evidence. The 'Book of Prices' is the only publication of the kind contemporary with the first edition of the 'Guide,' and Shearer's avoidance of the drawing-room is as remarkable as his omission of chairs; but wherever it is possible to compare his designs with those of the 'Guide' we invariably find an added lightness and grace. For purposes of comparison I illustrate two sideboards on almost identical lines[8] which explain the difference between the men in this particular better than can be done in words. From these it will be seen that it is Shearer rather than Hepplewhite who must be considered as the chief apostle of lightness; for he took it to the extreme verge of safety. In the Hepplewhite sideboard an appearance of lightness has evidently been aimed at in the two middle legs in a manner only found in his designs. These are not tapering squares as in Shearer's, but irregular parallelograms. Viewed from across a room, and not in the sudden perspective he affected in his drawings, the depth would not be noticeable, and they would appear to the eye as being considerably less massive than they really are, though even then by no means so light as Shearer's. Whether the extreme of fragility should be praised or blamed is a question that is open to argument; but, after all, the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and Shearer's furniture has so far stood the test of time. His reputation nevertheless has gained little by the fact. Actual pieces, either made by him or from his designs, are almost invariably ascribed to either Hepplewhite or Sheraton, while in a recently published book several illustrations, taken straight from the 'Book of Prices,' are attributed to the latter designer.

These side-boards show also another difference between Hepplewhite and Shearer. In Shearer's drawing one end is designed as in the 'Guide,' but the other has an additional curvature very typical of the man who, for the most part, attempted to do by treatment of line what others did by ornamentation. His library table—a very different thing from Hepplewhite's ugly designs for the same purpose—is another example of this. It is a happy combination of the curved forms of the Chippendale era, with the added reserve of the later taste. In his chests of drawers[9] he also makes use of the same treatment with good effect.

A curious and somewhat rare form of dining table is that called by Shearer the 'horse shoe.'[10] This was afterwards adopted by Sheraton, who designated it 'Grecian,' probably from his treatment of the legs and also of the seats with which he surrounded it. It was made to extend to a half circle as shown on the diagram, the guests sitting round the outer circumference and being served from the inner.

Whether Shearer influenced Hepplewhite or Hepplewhite Shearer is a question to which we are not likely to find a definite answer; yet as a considerable portion of Sheraton's style was founded on Shearer's lines, the presumption is that if a man of such very decided personality was affected, Hepplewhite was no less indebted to this great but practically forgotten designer.

(*To be concluded.*)

[8] Plate III, page 220.

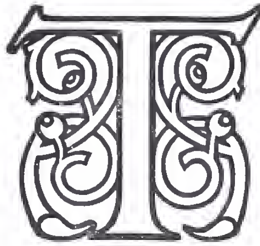
[9] No. 7, Plate II, page 217.

[10] No. 8, Plate II, page 217.

# ANDREA DAL CASTAGNO

## PART I—HIS EARLY LIFE (*Continued*)

### BY HERBERT P. HORNE



THERE is nothing, then, inherently impossible in Vasari's statement, that Bernardetto was the early patron of Andrea: at the least, that writer was strictly correct in saying that the estates of Bernardetto lay in the neighbourhood of Scarperia, from which San Piero a Sieve is distant only some five kilometres. Now Vasari expressly says that Andrea was born

at a *villetta* (one of those little villas, half 'casa da signore,' and half farm-house, lying in its own land, which are characteristic of Tuscany), commonly called *Il Castagno*, not far distant from Scarperia;

whereas Milanesi, following Giuseppe Maria Brocchi in his 'Descrizione del Mugello,'[14] hastily concludes that the painter was born at San Martino a Castagno, a mountain-village lying under the precipitous heights of the Falterona, at the head of the grand and wild valley, which runs up from San Godenzo, under the shadow of the Alpe di San Benedetto. This village, however, lies more than fifty kilometres distant from Scarperia, on the farthest verge of the Mugello; and it is extremely improbable that Bernardetto de' Medici would have heard of the doings of a peasant boy living in an inaccessible region, thus far removed from his villa. I have, moreover, carefully searched all the 'Denunzie al Castasto,' of the parish of San Martin a Castagno, for the year 1435, and I have failed to discover anything relating either to Andrea, or to his family. On the other hand, we possess one very significant piece of evidence regarding Andrea's connexion with Scarperia. Both the extant versions of the lost 'Libro di Billi,'[15] the 'Anonimo Gaddiano,'[16] and Vasari,[17] agree in recording that Andrea painted above the gateway of the Palace of the Vicars of the Republic, at Scarperia, 'a naked Charity,' doubtless a fresco, which has long since perished. All such evidence then, as we possess, tends to confirm Vasari's account of the origins of Andrea. Certainly, Vasari never made any statement, unless he had it upon what seemed to him some sufficient authority. In this instance, his authority was no longer the lost 'Libro di Billi,' from which he appears to have derived the legend of the murder of Domenico Veneziano by Andrea. But Vasari might well have received such an account from Bernardetto's grandson, the Magnificent Ottaviano de' Medici, a great patron of the arts, with whom he was well acquainted, and who is frequently mentioned in the pages of the 'Lives.'

If then, as I think, we are to credit Vasari's story, it follows that Andrea must have been Bernardetto's junior by some years: so that if the latter was born, as he himself states, in 1395, the date of Andrea's birth cannot be placed earlier than the first decade of the fifteenth century. Indeed, if we suppose him to have been born c. 1410, we are no longer met by the difficulty, which was the chief stumbling-block to our acceptance of Milanesi's legend, that for the first forty-four years of the life, not only have we no notice of him, but we have not even a single work by his hand which could be referred to this period of his career; a thing incredible of a master, who was held in the highest esteem by his contemporaries. The earliest paintings by Andrea to which a date can be assigned, were the destroyed frescoes of the

[14] l.c., Firenze, 1748, p. 48.

[15] C. Frey: 'Il Libro di Antonio Billi,' Berlin, 1892, pp. 22–3.

[16] C. Frey: 'Il Codice Magliabechiano, cl. XVII. 17,' Berlin, 1892, p. 99.

[17] Ed. 1550, Vol. I, p. 416.

Albizzi conspirators, executed apparently in 1434: otherwise, all the extant works by his hand of which the date is known, or may be conjectured, are to be referred to a period subsequent to that year. From that time till the date of his death, we possess a whole series of notices and dated, or undated, works.

Again, the supposition that the painter was born c. 1410, removes yet another difficulty which we had in accepting Milanesi's legend. In the earliest of Andrea's extant works the influence of Donatello, and of Donatello in his maturity, is so predominant and remarkable, that we cannot but conclude that Andrea fell under this influence at an early and impressionable period of his career. Had Donatello, as Milanesi would have us believe, been but two years older than Andrea, it is difficult to understand how so forcible and original a personality as the latter, could have remained so completely under that influence, at the age of fifty, as in that case he must have done. Whereas, if we suppose Andrea to have been, not the contemporary of Donatello, but his junior by upwards of twenty years, the influence which the latter exercised over him, becomes not only intelligible, but illuminating.

## PART II—THE EARLY WORKS OF ANDREA

Having discussed the origins of Andrea's life, let us now turn to inquire into the origins of his art. The earliest date at which we hear of his activity as an artist is that of the year 1434, when he appears to have executed the effigies of the Albizzi conspirators, on the front of the Palazzo del Podestà, a building which afterwards served as the Palazzo del Bargello, by which name it is still known. Notices of these frescoes occur in both the extant versions of the 'Libro di Billi,' and among the collections of the 'Anonimo Gaddiano.' In the Codice Petrei, the notice runs thus:

> He painted on the face of the Palace of the Podestà of Florence, out of derision, in the likeness of men hanged, divers citizens who had been banished by the State; and from that time forth he was called Maestro Andreino degli Impiccati.

In the Codice Strozziano, and in that of the Anonimo, the same notice occurs with some slight verbal changes.[1] Vasari in copying and expanding this notice, confuses these frescoes by Andrea, with those which Botticelli painted in 1479, upon the face of the old Bargello, destroyed by Il Cronaca in 1495, to make room for Savonarola's great council chamber in the Palazzo Vecchio, now known as the Sala dei Cinquecento. In the second edition of the 'Lives,' Vasari's notice runs thus:

> In the year 1478, when Giuliano de' Medici was killed, and Lorenzo, his brother, wounded, in Santa Maria del Fiore, by divers members of the Pazzi family and others, their adherents and fellow-conspirators, it was agreed by the Signory that all those who had taken part in that plot, should be painted in the likeness of traitors on the face of the Palace of the Podestà. Whence it was, that that work having been offered to Andrea, as the servant and as one under obligation to the Medici, he right willingly accepted it; and having set himself to the work, executed it in so admirable a manner that it was a marvel. It would be impossible to describe how much art and judgement he showed in the persons portrayed there, for the most part of the size of life, and hanging by the feet in strange attitudes, all various and most beautiful. This work, since it pleased the whole city, and particularly those who understood the matters of painting, was the reason that he was from henceforth no longer called Andrea dal Castagno, but Andrea degli Impiccati.[2]

Now Vasari, although he is in error in stating that the effigies painted upon the face of the Palazzo del Podestà were those of the Pazzi conspirators, has apparently preserved in this passage, an authentic description of Andrea's frescoes: for the Pazzi conspirators, having been taken and killed,

[1] C. Frey: 'Il Libro di Antonio Billi,' Berlin, 1892, pp. 24-25. C. Frey: 'Il Codice Magliabechiano, cl. XVII, 17,' Berlin, 1892, p. 99.

[2] Vasari, ed. 1568, vol. I, p. 399.

were, as the 'Anonimo Gaddiano' relates, painted by Botticelli hanging by the neck, with the one exception of Napoleone Francesi, who alone escaped with his life, and who was represented hanging by one foot;[3] whereas the Albizzi conspirators, who had been banished the State, were, in accordance with a custom which had long prevailed at Florence, painted 'out of derision,' hanging by the feet. The last recorded instance of persons banished the State having been held up to infamy in this manner is that of the captains and rebels whose effigies were given to Andrea del Sarto to paint after the siege of Florence in 1529.[4] Several studies for these figures, hanging by one foot, are still preserved among the drawings in the Uffizi. Vasari, however, must have derived his account of these frescoes from others, for the effigies painted both by Andrea dal Castagno and Sandro Botticelli, had been destroyed after the flight of Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici from Florence, in 1494, many years before Vasari's birth. But the notices which occur in two of the early chroniclers of the destruction of these effigies, obviate any possible confusion as to their place or subject. Giovanni Cambi, in his 'Istorie Fiorentine,' records that on November 14, 1494 (three days before the entry of Charles VIII into Florence), the effigies of the outlaws of the year 1434, painted on the Palazzo del Podestà, and those of the year 1478, painted on the Palazzo del Capitano [or del Bargello], were effaced,[5] and Jacopo Nardi records the same event almost in the same words.[6]

The decree of the Signoria recalling Cosimo de' Medici from exile was passed on October 2, 1434; and on the next day, Rinaldo degli Albizzi was banished, with his son Ormannozzo. On October 6, Cosimo returned in triumph to Florence; and as the chief object in holding the Albizzi and their followers up to infamy in these frescoes, was entirely of a political and partisan nature, there can be little doubt that they were executed with the same rapidity with which, as we know, Botticelli painted those of the Pazzi conspirators in 1478. We may, therefore, conclude with tolerable certainty, that they were painted during the latter part of the year 1434. Thus the first public work executed by Andrea of which any notice has come down to us, must virtually, if not nominally, have been given to him by Cosimo himself, whose interest in the painter probably went back to the time when he was a boy, since Cosimo's ancestral possessions of Cafaggiolo and Trebbio, in the Mugello, adjoined the estates of Bernardetto de' Medici.

The earliest extant paintings by Andrea of which the date may be approximately ascertained, partly from documentary evidence, and partly from the character of the paintings themselves, are the series of frescoes in the suppressed convent of Sant' Appollonia at Florence. We search in vain for any notice of these paintings in the pages of Vasari, of the commentators, or of the older writers of guides and other topographical works; indeed, it is only since the building has passed into the keeping of the Italian Government, that attention has been drawn to these frescoes, and their real authorship has been recognized. The monastery of Sant' Appollonia, Virgin and Martyr, an abbey of Benedictine nuns, in the Via San Gallo, at Florence, was founded by Piero di Ser Mino de' Buonaccolti in 1339. In 1375, Neri Corsini, Bishop of Fiesole, united to the monastery the house of Santa Maria di Fonte Domini, in the diocese of Fiesole; but the nuns of Sant' Appollonia did not reach the height of their prosperity until the following century.[7] On October 12,

[3] C. Frey: 'Il Codice Magliabechiano, cl. XVII, 17,' Berlin, 1892, p. 105.
[4] Vasari, ed. Sansoni, Vol. V, p. 53.
[5] l.c., printed in 'Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani,' Vol. XXI, p. 80.
[6] 'Historie di Fiorenza,' ed. 1582, p. 14, recto.
[7] G. Richa: 'Notizie delle Chiese Fiorentine,' Firenze, 1754, Vol. VIII, pp. 298-304.

THE LAST SUPPER, CRUCIFIXION, ENTOMBMENT AND RESURRECTION; FRESCO BY ANDREA DAL CASTAGNO, IN THE CONVENT OF ST. APOLLONIA AT FLORENCE.

1429, Pope Martin V, seeing that the nuns, through the want of an infirmary, ran the risk of infection in times of the plague, empowered the archbishop of Florence, at the instance of the Abbess Cecilia de' Donati, to grant a faculty for the purchase of a house adjacent to the monastery, and belonging to the friars of Santa Maria a San Gallo, in order to erect such a building on the site.[8] Among the archives of the monastery, now preserved in the Archivio di Stato at Florence, I find a book of accounts in which, as it appears from an entry on the first page, dated 1429, it was intended to set down—

all the charges that shall be incurred on the fabric of that [monastery], and particularly on an Infirmary, Refectory or Hall, Entrance, and Stairs and Dormitory, with their appurtenances thereto, by the Sister Cecilia di Pazzino di Messer Apardo Donati, at present Abbess of the aforesaid Monastery of Sant' Appollonia.

From an entry on the next page, it appears that the nuns of Sant' Appollonia possessed four houses adjoining their monastery on the side towards the Porta San Gallo; and that in the midst of this property, was the house and gardens belonging to the Spedale di San Gallo, for the purchase of which they had procured the faculty from Pope Martin V, in order to obtain a sufficient site for their new buildings. Next follows a copy of the agreement drawn up on October 29, 1429, between the Abbess Cecilia and 'Lorenzo di Giovanni da Ribuoia, maestro di murare,' for the erection of these buildings: and further entries show that the demolition of the five houses preparatory to clearing the site was proceeding during the months of February and March, 1429-30. After this, these accounts have been so incompletely kept, that they afford little or no insight into the progress of the work.[9] It would appear, however, from an indulgence of Eugenius IV, dated November 4, 1434, that the new buildings had then been brought to completion, for among the altars cited in it is that of the 'Pietà del Chiostro.'[10] The grant of this indulgence doubtlessly marks the full resumption of monastic life by the nuns, in their new house.

The buildings of the Abbess Cecilia still remain for the most part in their original state, although, here and there, disfigured by modern accretions. Her 'refectorio ouero sala, androne, chiostro e schale,' those portions precisely of her work which possess for us an especial interest, are easily recognizable from the beautiful and early character of their architecture. They are designed in that first, pure phase of the Florentine Renaissance, in which the underlying gothic purpose and mediaeval sentiment constantly assert themselves beneath the antique order and symmetry of their exterior.

The frescoes by Andrea at Sant' Appollonia consist of a Pietà, in a lunette over the doorway leading to the little forecourt of the refectory; and a Last Supper, with a Resurrection, Crucifixion, and Entombment above, on the end wall of the refectory. The Pietà, which is difficult of access, is now in that part of the old monastery which serves as a military magazine; the other frescoes, which are reproduced in the accompanying plate, are in the portion of the refectory attached to the little *museo*. All these frescoes were first ascribed to Andrea by Signor Cavalcaselle, in the Italian edition of the 'History of Painting in Italy,' Vol. V, p. 99, where they are described at length. At the time when this volume first appeared, in 1892, the three upper frescoes had been recently discovered under the whitewash.

Despite their damaged condition (large patches of the intonaco having fallen away), they are in a much more original state than the Last Supper below them, which bears the traces of repeated restoration. At first

[8] Doc V, No. 512 [9] Doc IV. [10] Doc. V, No 531.

sight, these upper frescoes might appear to be of a somewhat earlier date than the Last Supper; but this apparent difference must largely be due to the frequent retouches which the latter has undergone, and the darkening of its colour in the process of restoration. Certainly, the three frescoes of the Resurrection, the Crucifixion, and the Entombment, are among the very earliest works by Andrea which have come down to us. Other works of the same period are a series of panels, once forming a 'predella,' one of which, a Crucifixion, is now in the National Gallery, No. 1138; and the somewhat earlier frescoes which formed the decoration of a private chapel near Florence, and which still remain there in private hands.

The years immediately succeeding the rebuilding and enlargement of the monastery formed a period of great prosperity for the nuns of Sant' Appollonia, as may be seen from Richa's account of the convent.[11] This fact, no less than the internal evidence of the paintings themselves, goes to prove that Andrea's frescoes were executed for the Abbess Cecilia, and that the earliest of them were painted, as I think, not long after the completion of her buildings, c. 1434. Certainly, all these paintings are earlier in date than the circular window of the Deposition in the cathedral at Florence, for the cartoon of which Andrea was paid 50 lire piccioli, on February 26, 1443-4. This is the earliest documented work by the master which has come down to us.

It needs no very profound acquaintance with Italian art in the fifteenth century, to realize that in these frescoes of Andrea's, we have a phase of Florentine painting which is the very antithesis of the painting of Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo; and that whereas the art of Fra Angelico and Fra Filippo is the logical outcome of the art of such masters as Masolino and Lorenzo Monaco, we must search in vain among the work of the painters who preceded Andrea, for that which can adequately account for the origin and development of his art. There is a moment in the career of Masaccio, when his manner so closely resembles that of his master, Masolino, that critics are still disputing to which of the two painters certain frescoes are to be attributed. But Andrea, in his very earliest works, appears so original a figure, that we are forced to look elsewhere than among the painters of his day, for the influences which went to form his manner. The frescoes at Sant' Appollonia are the work of a master who is entirely preoccupied with the study of naturalistic structure, form, and relief; but always as a mode of pictorial expression. The subject of this expression is invariably some 'passion of the mind,' forcibly rendered, and often with so much vehemence that, to our modern way of thinking, it seems at times to partake of some colour of brutality. Again, in his search after the individual type, Andrea avoids that generalized breadth and ideality of conception, which in Giotto and Masaccio produces a grandeur and beauty of design, which is at times akin to the antique. Now, not only in these traits, but in the actual forms and characters, does the art of Andrea recall that of Donatello. His heads and hands, and, still more, the heavy folds of his draperies, as of a thick woollen cloth, are obviously founded upon a study of the works of that sculptor. It is impossible to look attentively at the figures in the frescoes at Sant' Appollonia without recalling such works of Donatello's as the St. Mark on the exterior of Or San Michele, or the later series of prophets on the campanile of the cathedral, which, for the most part, were executed between 1415 and 1425. Nor is this resemblance to be traced only in the heads and draperies: the figure of Christ upon the Cross at Sant' Appollonia, is so closely studied from the

[11] l.c., Vol. VIII, p. 300, etc.

Crucifix by Donatello in Santa Croce, that Andrea here appears definitely to attempt in painting what the older master had achieved in sculpture.

Again, all the architectural ornaments of the open chamber in which Christ and the Apostles are seated, are designed wholly in that very individual manner which Donatello founded upon antique Roman ornament, and of which the marble tabernacle of Or San Michele, which now contains Verrocchio's bronze, is the most remarkable example.

But great as was Donatello's influence over Andrea, we must look elsewhere for the master from whom he directly acquired the practice and technique of painting. Certainly, such a master could not have been Paolo Uccello: for throughout his life, Andrea remained ignorant of the first principles of perspective; and it is inconceivable that so gifted a creature as he could have worked in Paolo's 'bottega' without acquiring the elementary principle of the vanishing point. In the fresco of the Last Supper, at Sant' Appollonia, the lines of the inlaid frieze on the lateral walls of the open chamber, in which Christ and the Apostle are seated, instead of converging to the point of sight, appear to diverge. Similar errors, showing the same ignorance of the then newly discovered science of perspective, occur in the drawing of the architectural forms of the sepulchral fresco of Niccolò da Tolentino, in the cathedral at Florence, a work executed in 1456, the last year but one of Andrea's life. Uccello, on the other hand, evinces a profound acquaintance with the science of perspective in his very earliest works. The black and white spaces of the particoloured string-course which divides the fresco of the Creation from that of the Fall, in the Chiostro Verde, at Santa Maria Novella, are correctly diminished in accordance with the laws of perspective. Yet these frescoes must have been executed prior to Uccello's journey to Venice in 1425. In what measure Uccello may have indirectly influenced Andrea, in the course of his career, is a wholly different question.

I have yet to allude to certain traits which go to distinguish these earlier paintings, as I take them, from Andrea's later works. These are principally traits of motive and sentiment: of motive such as the dishevelled figure of the Magdalene at the foot of the Cross, or of the violent gestures and movements of the flying angels, in the frescoes of the refectory at Sant' Appollonia, traits which carry us back to certain Giottesque painters, as Bernardo Daddi and others; and of sentiment such as the extreme ruggedness of conception which marks the figures of the Apostles in the Last Supper, a trait equally Giottesque in its origin, which is largely modified in Andrea's later works, such as the figures of the Sybils and Famous Men, now preserved in the Museo di Sant' Appollonia. May these traits be interpreted to signify, that the master from whom Andrea learned his craft as a painter, was one of the late 'Giotteschi'?

It is, perhaps, as a colourist that the originality of Andrea as a painter is most obvious and significant. Wholly unlike Fra Angelico, who still employs the pure and brilliant pigments of the Giottesque masters, though transfused by that skyey tint of his, which seems some actual reflection of his vision of heavenly things, Andrea does not even attempt, with Lorenzo Monaco or Fra Filippo, to reduce such a palette to a colour-scheme, whose harmony is the result of a certain fusion, rather than an exquisite contrast, of its elements. Nor does he, like Massaccio, while following essentially the methods of his master, Masolino, seek to render the pigments of the Giottesque painters, not less decorative in effect, but more expressive of the effect of colour in external nature. On the

contrary, he employs a palette which does not appear to have been derived from the practice of any of his predecessors. The naturalism with which Andrea attempts to render the colour of 'the outward shows of things' is even more original and unprecedented than his rendering of form. A clear leaf-green, deep purples, a bricky red inclining at times to purple, and a heavy, golden yellow, are the predominant local tints of the upper frescoes in the refectory at Sant' Appollonia. Blue is used but sparingly; gold not at all. But the most remarkable trait of their colouring is the device by which the painter seeks to effect a fusion of his pigments, despite the limitations of the medium in which he is working. He employs it in the figure on the left of the group of the three Maries, who stand on the left of the Cross; where he colours the mantle a clear green, shot with a deep purple in the shadows. Again, in the lower fresco of the Last Supper, the green draperies of St. James and the smalt blue draperies of St. Thomas are both shot with purple in the shadows.

But my space is already gone, and I have been able to touch but hurriedly upon a few of the more significant and characteristic traits of these frescoes: still, perhaps, I have been able to show that, obscure as may appear the development of Andrea's manner, and the chronology of his works, they are questions which, despite their difficulty, we may yet in great measure hope to solve.

## APPENDIX

DOC. I.

Firenze: R. Archivio di Stato; Arch. delle Decime; Quartiere, Santo Spirito; Gonfalone, Scala; Filza, 1431; N° verde, 333; fol. 4 recto, Denunzia di Andrea di Bartolommeo detto Burbanza.

Gofalone della iscala
quartiere disanto ispirito

Andrea dibartolomeo sitruoua descri*t*to alcatasto neldetto gofalone insoldi tre — *soldj* 3

Andrea predetto e una pouerissima p*er*sona eistato questo anno infermo trallo ispedale disanta maria nuoua eloispedale depizocheri piu demese quatro e a lefra scritte sustanzie edebiti

In prima una chasetta posta nepopolo di santo andrea alinari luogo detto alinari intorno intorno uia dua pezuoli diuigna poste nel detto popolo frailoro uochaboli ecofini

Anchora upezuolo diuigna choboscho euna meza chasetta poste nepopolo disapagolo aema luogo detto aniforzati frailoro uochaboli ecofini lauorali santi del greg*i*a popolo disanto andrea alinari e auisi ricolto suso ilterzo [? primo] anno barili undici diuino esecondo anno barili quatro diuino. elterzo anno barili cinque upocho dolio isterzato idetti tre anni barili sette emeno - - - - uino barili 7
olio umezo orc*io* - - - - olio mezo orc*io*

Andrea detto anni quaranta o piu — anni 40
adebito tutti icatasti eacatoni sono fiorini sette soldi tredici aoro — *fiorinj* 7 *soldj* 13 aoro
Nona nechasa neletto nemaseritia in firenze ese infermasse licouiene ire alospedale recoma*n*dauisi p*er*la amore didio

fol. 19 tergo,
*quar*° S*anto* Spi*ri*to G° Schala Andrea di bartolomeo deto burbanza - *soldj* 3
R*echo* Bernardo di s*er* saluestro adi 29 Gienaro [1430-1]

DOC. II.

Firenze: R. Archivio di Stato; Arch. delle Decime; Quartiere, Santo Spirito; Gonfalone, Scala; Campione 1430; N° verde 393, fol. 170 tergo,
Denunzia of 'Andrea dj Bartolomeo d*e*c*t*o burbanza.'

DOC. III.

Firenze: R. Archivio di Stato; Arch. delle Decime, Quartiere Santo Spirito; Gonfalone, Scala; Campione 1427, N° verde 64, fol. 210 tergo,

+ M cccc° xxvij

Sustanzie dj
Andrea dj bartolomeo detto burbanza. A d*ipr*estanzone nulla
Vna Chasetta dalauoratore posta nel p*o*polo d*i*santo andrea allinarj luogho detto linarj ap*rim*° via aij° & iij° & iiij° dant° d*i*cione quaratesj.
Pezzi 4 diterra cho[n] j^a chasetta apartene cioe ladetta chasetta posta nel p*o*polo disan pagholo aema cholloro vochaboli & confini chome appare *per* lasua scri*tta* G N° c. 14.
Lauora jdetti beni Nerj dj bartolo edomenicho dipiero d*i*saluj
Rende Lanno
Vino ba*rilj* 10 as*oldj* 22 ilba*rile lire* 11
Lengnie cha*tasta* ⅓ al*ire* j s*oldj* 10 lacat*asta lire* — *soldj* 10
Soma l*ire* 11 s*oldj* 10 sono as*oldj* 80 p*er* f*iorino* — f*iorinj* 2 *soldj* 17 d*anarj* 6
Vale a Rag*ione* dj 7 p*er*c° — f*iorinj* 31 s*oldj* 2
Incharichj
Andrea sop*r*adetto — dannj 37 — f*iorinj* 200
Som*ma* il suo valsente disop*ra* f*iorinj* 31 s*oldj* 2
A Som*ma* pe*r*incharicho dunabocha f*iorinj* 200
Postolj p*er*luficio s*oldj* iij

DOC. IV.

Firenze: R. Archivio di Stato; Conventi soppressi, N° grosso 82, Sant' Appollonia, N° 10; Ricordi, Debitori e Creditori, Spese di Fabbrica, Compre, Fitti, Vendite, &c. dal 1429 al 1515.
fol. 1 recto,
Alnome didio Amen Anno d*omi*nj M cccc xxviiij
Qvi Apresso Jnquesto libro Siscriuera p*e*llo Maestro Antonio dj Saluj damarcalla frate dj Sa*nto* sp*irit*o difrenç*e* d*ei* fratj heremitanj dellordi*ne* dis*anct*o Agostin*o*, Confessore alp*re*sente delle donne Emonistero dj S*anct*a Appollonia

NOTES, PLATE I. PORTRAIT IN MINIATURE OF MADAME DE POMPADOUR, BY FRANÇOIS BOUCHER; IN THE WALLACE COLLECTION.

popolo djs*ancto* lorenzo difirençe Jnuia Sangallo Ariuere*n*tia didio Edella Vergine Maria sua Madre Edis*ancta* appollonia Auocata did*ecto* Monistero // Tucte lespese Sifara*nn*o Jnhedificio diquello Espetialmente i*n* Vna i*n*fermeria refectorio ouero sala Androne chiostro eschale E dormitorio co*n*suoj Aco*n*cj apresso. Per Suora Cecilia di paççino dimess*er* apardo donatj Alpresente badessa disoprad*ecto* monistero dj s*ancta* Appollonia Conuolonta Eco*n*sentime*n*to dituctе laltre Suore donne did*ecto* Monistero Ep*er* ognaltra spesa occorresse p*er* d*ecto* Monistero

ol. 1 tergo,

Ricordo chelsopra d*ecto* Monistero dis*ancta* appollonia Aueua quattro casette allato dalla p*ar*te djsopra u*er*so laporta dis*ancto* gallo fralle qualj uera Vna casa chonorto dello spedale dj S*ancto* gallo & sança quella no*n* poteuano fare elsoprad*ecto* lauorio & hedificio, fudibisongnio laco*m*prassono dal d*ecto* spedale, funne meççano S*er* Michele spedalingho dj S*ancta* maria Nuoua dj firençe p*er* pregio dj fiorinj duge*n*to doro nettj aldecto spedale / Etucte lespese occorressono i*n* corte p*e*lla licentia did*ecta* uendita Eanche gabelle & carte &c. pagasse eldecto mo*n*ister*o*, fudibisongnio chella d*ecta* badessa Suora Cecilia ma*n*dasse i*n* corte diroma Esuplicasse als*ancto* padre desse lice*n*tia al prior*e* Mess*er* bernardo dello spedale di s*ancto* gallo potesse lad*ecta* casa uender*e* ald*ecto* monistero dj s*ancta* appollonia Ep*er*ta*n*to cauo dj corte Vna bolla della quale questo e eltenor*e* Ecopia

[Here follows the text of the Bull, dated, 'v Jd*us* ottubris Pontificatus *nos*trj Anno duodecimo,' *i.e.* 11 October 1429.]

ol. 3 tergo,

Ricordo che adj xxviij dottobr*e* Mcccсxxviiij° Suora Cecilia badessa deld*ecto* Monistero di S*ancta* Appollonia Allogho allorenço dj giouan*n*j da Ribuoia Maestro dj murare ellauorio Et hedificio dispone difare i*n* acrescimento did*ecto* monistero p*er* Vna scripta soscripta dimano delluna parte & dellaltra della quale la copia e Questa.

[Here follows a copy of the agreement.]

fol. 6 recto,

'Spese fatte p*er*fare disfar*e* Cinque case allato ald*ecto* monistero di S*ancta* appollo*n*ia' &c.

[The first entry is for work done on '8 dj febraio 1429 p*er*insino adi 24 dj marzo d*ecto* anno.' After this, few or none of the entries relate to the expenses of the new monastery.]

DOC. V.

Firenze: R. Archivio di Stato; Conventi Soppressi, N° 'grosso 82, Sant' Appollonia, N° 1, 'Spoglio delle Cartapecore esistenti nel Venerab. Monasterio di S. Appollonia.'

N° 512. 12 Ott$^{re}$ 1429.

Martino V. a cagione che le Monache non avendo infermeria venivano a comunicarsi il male nel tempo del mal contagioso . . . . ad istanza della Badessa Cecilia, commette all' Arciv° fior° . . . . di dar facoltà di comprare una casa contigua di proprietà di Frati di S. M$^{a}$ a S. Gallo p*er* farui la d$^{a}$ Infermeria. . . .

N° 534. 4 9bre 1434.

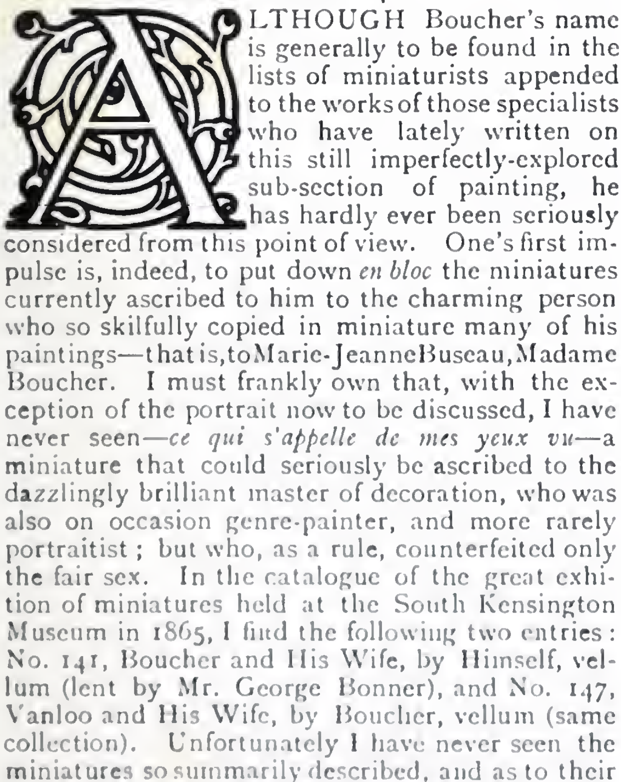
Indulgenza plenaria (simile a quella del 1439) colla sola varietà che il 3° Altare è la Pietà del chiostro di S. Appollonia. data l'anno 3° di Eugenio IV.

N° 557. 27 Ap*r*ile (1439 pare) anno 8°.

Indulgenza plenaria e delle chiese di Roma, concessa ne' respetti 8 giorni delle d$^{e}$ Chiese, alle Monache, novizie, ed alle serventi di S. Appoll$^{a}$ che visitano un' altare, e l'altar del coro, e il crocifisso del Chiostro, dicendo ad ogni altare de sud$^{i}$ un Miserere, un' Ave, un Pater, e l' orazione Deus omnium fidelium pastorum, . . . . . .

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

### A MINIATURE BY FRANÇOIS BOUCHER[1]



ALTHOUGH Boucher's name is generally to be found in the lists of miniaturists appended to the works of those specialists who have lately written on this still imperfectly-explored sub-section of painting, he has hardly ever been seriously considered from this point of view. One's first impulse is, indeed, to put down *en bloc* the miniatures currently ascribed to him to the charming person who so skilfully copied in miniature many of his paintings—that is, to Marie-Jeanne Buseau, Madame Boucher. I must frankly own that, with the exception of the portrait now to be discussed, I have never seen—*ce qui s'appelle de mes yeux vu*—a miniature that could seriously be ascribed to the dazzlingly brilliant master of decoration, who was also on occasion genre-painter, and more rarely portraitist; but who, as a rule, counterfeited only the fair sex. In the catalogue of the great exhibition of miniatures held at the South Kensington Museum in 1865, I find the following two entries: No. 141, Boucher and His Wife, by Himself, vellum (lent by Mr. George Bonner), and No. 147, Vanloo and His Wife, by Boucher, vellum (same collection). Unfortunately I have never seen the miniatures so summarily described, and as to their present whereabouts can say nothing. The catalogue does not say whether they bore the signature of Boucher. The Vanloo of the miniature is no doubt Carle Vanloo, with whom Boucher made the obligatory journey to Italy—he who shared with the Pompadour's favourite painter the obloquy of later times, and is responsible for the now obsolete verb *vanlotiser*, which summed up the art of Boucher's brother-painter more contemptuously than did the still subsisting *marivaudage*, the exquisitely-finished prose of Marivaux. This portrait of Boucher's enthusiastic and discerning patroness, the Marquise de Pompadour, in the Wallace Collection (No. 89, Catalogue of Miniatures), I hold to be beyond doubt the work of the master himself, and, what is more, a portrait of the Marquise differing essentially from any other that his brush has given to the world. But, again, I shall no doubt be asked whether it is not in the highest degree improbable that the foremost if not the greatest painter of France, when at the very zenith of fame—at the moment when he was carrying out with the boldest and most practised of brushes those vast and splendid decorative compositions Le Lever du Soleil and Le Coucher du Soleil now at Hertford House—should quietly settle down to execute a miniature of such relatively small dimensions, of such exquisite refinement and delicacy as is this one. But against improbabilities we must

[1] Reproduced, Plate I, page 232.

strive to set up what amounts to a certainty, based on the design and technique of the little piece. The touch in its vivacity, its assurance, is Boucher's very own; the sharp high-lights on the boldly-broken draperies of satin are his, not less distinctive of his manner and his individuality being the scheme of colour, the brilliant, half-conventional treatment of the landscape, the treatment, too, of the gaudy, unreal flowers. The transparent shadows with their *ambré* tone, are, moreover, in his best manner, and the famous artist sets his *imprimatur* on the whole with the signature in the left-hand corner—'F. Boucher'—this corresponding exactly to the signature of several of the paintings in the Wallace Collection, and being manifestly his own writing with the brush. Surely no mere limner, be he ever so much a master of his craft, has this vivacity, this breadth in littleness, this sense of largeness and space, that makes us almost forget the extreme exiguity of the dimensions. These qualities are just those which the copyist, even working under the eye of the originator, does not get. And moreover, unless I am greatly mistaken, there is extant no portrait of Madame de Pompadour of exactly this type from which a reduced copy could have been taken. Jacques Charlier, the noted miniaturist and gouache painter, did admirable copies of and adaptations from Boucher's compositions, together with some things of which it is not easy to say whether they are merely inspired by the *peintre du roi* or stolen from him. The Wallace Collection contains an extraordinarily complete collection of these delicately-touched blond-toned gouaches, from which it may easily be seen how wide a gulf separates the rather mechanical and monotonous dexterity of Charlier from the true brilliance, the true impulse, which burst forth in the little Madame de Pompadour of his exemplar. Nearer to this last than anything else in the Wallace Collection is the Lady in a Costume of Pompadour fashion (No. 102 in the Catalogue of Miniatures), which has a piquancy, an *intimité* that are all its own. Yet between the technique of even this sprightly little piece and the Madame de Pompadour, its near neighbour here, a gulf yawns. The latter must have been a wholly exceptional effort on the part of the king's painter, who was also, and above all, the court painter of the favourite. In conception and style, in arrangement, it stands midway between two well-known portraits in oils. These are the Marquise au Jardin, of which one version is in the collection of Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, and another in the Jones collection at South Kensington, and the larger and more sumptuous Marquise sur sa Chaise-Longue, once in the collection of the earl of Lonsdale, and now at Waddesdon, in that of Miss Alice de Rothschild. Identical with this last in costume and pose, but perhaps more living, closer knit in the modelling and execution, a trifle more happily individualized, too, is the three-quarter length portrait in the National Gallery of Scotland. Of this last there is a fairly accurate miniature copy in the Wallace Collection (No. 79 in the Catalogue of Miniatures), and it is instructive to see how dull and lifeless it looks by the side of the original which we are now discussing. Another portrait differing wholly in design from those comprised in this group is that very attractive oil painting No. 418 in the Wallace Collection (Gallery XVIII) which depicts the Marquise standing wide-eyed and self-conscious—anxious to please yet somewhat weary—in a leafy bower that encloses a marble Nymph and Cupid of the true Boucher type. Here she looks in her supreme elegance the woman who feels the responsibilities and no longer enjoys the delights of her difficult position. The exquisite fashion of her *demi-toilette* of peach-blossom silk, trimmed with white or silver gauze, proves her once more to have been the best-dressed woman and the least *fagotée* of her time. In the miniature of the Wallace Collection there is a great resemblance of mould and feature to the famous life-size pastel portrait by Latour, which was at the Salon of 1755, and is now in the Louvre. And yet nothing could well be in more striking contrast than the langour and *ennui* of Latour's Marquise, posing for the woman of learning and accomplishment easily worn, and the fresh, charming coquetry of our Pompadour, with her piquant costume of blue and white satin—midway between that of the comedy shepherdess and the great lady—her dainty feet, naked and sandalled, her garlands and enwoven chains of fresh flowers, her general air of satisfaction with self and with life.

I should judge the miniature to have been executed some years before the ornate semi-official portrait of Waddesdon, with its subtle suggestion of *fadeur* and physical langour peeping forth under the well-sustained air of the court beauty *en titre*. This last was in the Salon of 1757, where, with other things, it was noted by the pencil of G. de St. Aubin. A repetition, signed and dated 1758, is in the collection of Baron Adolphe de Rothschild. The miniature of the Wallace Collection is, quite apart from its rarity and its exquisiteness of quality, one of the most individual and charming portraits extant of the elegant and accomplished woman who was so well able to attract admiration and regard of a certain kind, so little able to evoke genuine sympathy of the more emotional order. CLAUDE PHILLIPS.

## SHUTTERS OF A TRIPTYCH BY GERARD DAVID[2]

THE four paintings here reproduced adorn the shutters of a triptych, the central panel of which no doubt represented the taking down of our Lord

[2] Reproduced, Plate II, page 235. Oak: h. $0^{m}$ 865; b. $0^{m}$ 275.

NOTES, PLATE II. SHUTTERS OF A TRIPTYCH BY GERARD DAVID IN THE COLLECTION OF THE LATE M. RODOLPHE KANN, FORMERLY IN THE ASHBURNHAM AND WILLETT COLLECTIONS

from the Cross, or more probably the Deposition. It is not known where this central panel now is or whether it has been destroyed. The shutters were acquired by the late earl of Ashburnham in the early part of the last century, and passed from his collection into that of the late Mr. Henry Willett, of Brighton, from whom they were purchased by the late Mr. Rudolph Kann, of Paris, and there is now little chance of their returning to this country. When we reflect on the very inadequate manner in which the early Netherlandish masters, with the exception of John van Eyck and Gerard David, are represented in the National Gallery, and the many opportunities of acquiring authentic works that have occurred and been neglected during the last twenty years, it makes us feel rather ashamed of the manner in which our gallery is managed. But to return to our subject: The shutters have been sawn in their thickness and parquetted. The Annunciation is represented on what was the exterior. The archangel and the Virgin stand facing each other; Gabriel, on the dexter side, clad in an alb girt with a tasselled cord, holds a sceptre in his left hand, and with his right raised and outstretched has just delivered his message. Mary, attired in a simple dress and mantle, with a half-closed book in her left hand and her right raised, bows her head in token of her submission to the divine will; the Holy Dove is flying down to her. These two charming figures, remarkable for their simplicity and exquisite purity, have hardly been surpassed by any master. They are painted in grisaille, the flesh lightly tinted and the hair heightened with gold; the angel here and in the Annunciation of the Sigmaringen Museum[3] are painted from the same model, and both in pose and attire closely resemble each other.

Interior.—In the foreground of the dexter panel the Carriage of the Cross is represented, a composition of four figures. Our Lord, crowned with thorns and clad in a dark grey robe, his arms round the transverse beam of the Cross, is on the point of falling beneath its weight. Behind him an old man with grey hair and beard, Simon of Cyrene, is endeavouring to diminish the weight of the burden by lifting and supporting the cross; he wears a greenish-blue tunic with a purple hood. On his left is a soldier who, grinding his teeth with a vicious look, raises his hand to strike the Saviour. Another in front with a threatening gesture tugs at the rope with which our Lord is girt to make him advance. In the immediate front are a couple of flowering plants and a dog running at full speed. On a height in the background Christ is seen hanging on the cross between the thieves, with Mary Magdalene standing at the foot looking up, and on the left the Virgin Mother, Mary Cleophas, and St. John, the last kneeling; to the right, at some little distance, are Longinus and the centurion.

The Resurrection is represented on the other panel. The risen Saviour, clad in a crimson mantle, stands before the sepulchre hewn out in the side of a rock. His right hand is raised as in the act of blessing; with the left he holds a cross with a white banner charged with a red cross. On the right a soldier, fast asleep, is seated on a mound, with his arms crossed resting on his knees; another, on the left, apparently only half awake, grasps his lance with both hands; a third, wrapped in a cloak, lying at full length in the foreground, has just awoke, and is raising his hand to shade his eyes. On a road in the half distance our Lord and the two disciples are seen journeying towards a castellated building on a height in the background. Through one of the windows they are seen at table, our Lord in the act of breaking bread. The details of the soldier's costume are well rendered. This work appears to have been painted towards the close of the fifteenth century.

W. H. JAMES WEALE.

[3] Exhibited at Bruges in 1902, No 128 of the catalogue Photographed by Bruckmann.

## THE SOLDIER AND THE LAUGHING GIRL BY JAN VER MEER OF DELFT[1]

THIS masterpiece by Ver Meer of Delft, which by the kindness of the owner, Mrs. Joseph, we have been permitted to reproduce as a frontispiece, is well-known to all students of that now famous painter. It is strange to think that only fifteen or twenty years ago the name of Ver Meer was hardly remembered, much less regarded as a rival in honour to those of De Hoogh and Terborch. It is unfair to press comparisons between three such consummate masters of *genre*, but it is evident that, while De Hoogh conceals his art by his splendid sincerity, and Terborch in his best works by his exquisite taste, Ver Meer has no such shyness. At a glance we can recognize his marvellous brushwork, his sense of pattern, his astonishing feeling of light and atmosphere. He is always determined that his point shall not be mistaken, and so forces his sitter upon the observation by unusual breadth, unusual vividness, unusual contrast, or by an unusual point of vision, often by one much nearer to the spectator than was the practice of his contemporaries. Of this trait of character The Soldier and the Laughing Girl is a magnificent example; one feels that Sargent might have viewed the scene so. It may too, perhaps, explain the reason why Ver Meer, of all the great Dutchmen, is the one with whom the modern mind is most completely sympathetic.

[1] Reproduced, frontispiece, page 172.

## THE 'VIRGIN OF SALAMANCA' BY THE MAÎTRE DE FLEMALLE[5]

THE recent exhibition at the Burlington Fine Art Club of the picture now illustrated, and that of other works by or attributed to the same painter at the exhibition of 'Les primitifs Français,' in Paris last year, have added greatly to the interest taken in the works and personality of this important early master.

An ancient replica of this composition, with some variations, indicating the later date of production of the picture, has, moreover, been recently added by bequest to the Museum of the Louvre, and French art critics are now advancing the theory that the master was one of the chief luminaries of the early French school.

There does not, however, seem to be any valid evidence in support of that assumption. There are, on the other hand, direct and significant indications connecting the painter with an adjoining country—the Spanish Peninsula. Nearly all the works of this master, of which the original *provenance* has, in recent times, been discovered, have, as has been already noted by the German art critic, Von Tschudi, been traced to Spain. The present picture was acquired in that country many years ago.

More directly relevant and important, however, is the fact that there is internal evidence in the present work, of a direct circumstantial nature, to the effect that the painter, whoever he was, whether of Flemish, French or Spanish nationality, had visited and worked, and indeed, probably had his ultimate home in a particular part of the Peninsula.

In a further communication this evidence will be discussed and illustrated by reference to other works of the master, or his following, of which no note has hitherto been taken.

For convenience of reference, and on the basis of evidence which will be adduced later on, the picture now illustrated is entitled 'The Virgin of Salamanca.'

J. C. ROBINSON.

## A TUNIC FROM A CEMETERY IN EGYPT[5]

AMONG the most interesting ornaments of the garments unearthed in the cemeteries of Upper and Middle Egypt are the woven silk panels and bands sometimes found on tunics of the Byzantine period. The decorations of the earlier Roman epoch were mostly wrought into the garments themselves, but these silk pieces were woven entirely separate from the robes to which they were afterwards sewn. They have mostly survived as fragments. The common practice among searchers in the cemeteries has been to strip off the ornaments from the robes—greatly to the detriment of their historical value—and to discard the rest as worthless. The museum at South Kensington has, however, been fortunate in securing a complete linen tunic, still preserving its silken ornaments, though in a somewhat frayed condition. It belongs to a period when the toga or pallium had fallen into disuse for common wear, and the tunic was worn as an outer garment. It is about 4 ft. 6 in. long, of ample proportions, and provided with long sleeves. The woven silk ornaments consist of two narrow bands, or *clavi*, passing over the shoulders, and ending on both front and back near the waist. Circular medallions (*orbiculi*) are applied below, and the sleeves have rectangular panels over the wrists. The colour is purple, the patterns being in white. On the bands and the medallions are conventional plant forms. The more interesting ornament is found on the sleeves. It consists of a mounted horseman holding aloft a sceptre or mace, and attacked from below by a foot-soldier with a long spear. In the lower corner is a long-necked bird, perhaps a stork. Above the horseman is the word ZAXAPIOV. The design is a favourite one; the museum already possesses two or three examples, woven to different scales. The tunic probably dates from the sixth or seventh century; possibly from the fifth.[6] The last-named century is perhaps too early, as the secret of silk cultivation was then unknown in the west, and the precious material was of necessity used in a sparing manner. As to the locality of production, the Greek inscription points to a Byzantine origin, and this is strengthened by the fact that similar silk weavings sometimes have Christian subjects and symbols (*e.g.* St. Michael and the Dragon, the Cross, the A and Ω). But the term Byzantine must be used in a wide sense. They may have been woven at Alexandria, or in one of the Greek cities of Asia; it is even possible that they were produced in the royal weaving factory at Constantinople. It is evident that they were expressly woven for decorating a tunic. The clavus, with its roundel and narrow connecting band, is all woven in one piece, the parts cut away having been without ornament.

A. F. KENDRICK.

## THE OXFORD EXHIBITION OF HISTORICAL PORTRAITS

THIS series of portraits of personages who died between 1625 and 1714 undoubtedly did not contain many pictures of high artistic importance, and the works exhibited were too often damaged by repainting, but those who saw the collection are not likely to forget it, if only from the parts

[5] Reproduced, Plate III, page 239.

[6] Dr. Forrer (*Römische und Byzantinische Seiden Textilien*, Pl. vii.) attributes the piece with the horseman to the fourth or fifth century, but he has been misled by an imperfect example into replacing the initial Z by M, and has assigned the date accordingly.

THE VIRGIN OF SALAMANCA, BY THE MAÎTRE DE FLEMALLE

TUNIC FROM A CEMETERY IN EGYPT; NOW IN THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

SILVER

PEWTER

NOTES, PLATE IV. SALVERS DESIGNED AND MADE BY THE LATE GILBERT MARKS

which many of the originals played in the most disturbed and dramatic epoch of our history. To the student of English painting, however, the collection was far more instructive than if it had been composed entirely of works by well-known artists, since it was possible to form from it a fair general idea of the state of painting in England during the seventeenth century.

In the metropolis we see the fashionable studios of Van Dyck, Lely, and Kneller, each surrounded by a crowd of pupils, drapery painters, and copyists, English and foreign. Then we have the foreigner working in England, from the skilful professional such as Oliver de Crats to the peripatetic journeyman who travelled from town to town exploiting his smaller talent. Last we have the local English painters such as Taylor of Oxford and Gandy of Exeter; the one untrained and clumsy, but once at least showing an emphasis and grandeur which make the coming of a Reynolds seem hardly wonderful; the other the actual master of Reynolds who taught him much which he remembered and practised to the end of his life. Those responsible for the exhibition and the catalogue have done a most valuable piece of work, and their example might well be followed in other quarters.

## GILBERT MARKS: SILVERSMITH

THERE has lately passed away Gilbert Marks, silversmith, an artist of delicate grace and charm, whose name will probably take high rank in the estimation of the collector and connoisseur. Mr. Marks's career, though brief—for he has died before passing the middle age—was a protest against the ordinary conditions under which the modern silversmith has to work. He insisted that the smith must be at once the designer, the artist, and craftsman. He would have no dies, no machinery, no repetitions; every piece that left his hand was an original, and of no essential part of any piece is there any duplicate. He would have no polishing that would destroy the beauty of the metal's natural colour, no turning that would remove the marks of the tool or injure the modelling. His pieces are not the mere vessels of silver that are annually set before the public of to-day, but works of art which in their beauty of design and handling repay the torment and the love of the craftsman. He was not alone in his efforts; but there are not many such as he—still fewer who regarded their art as a noble and inspired thing. He despised the showy and pretentious products of the shops which in these days suffer so greatly from the paralysing conditions of the ordinary silversmith's workshop and from the fatal repression of the trade union—which are stamped by machinery, cast by the score, reproduced to order by electrotype, without more pride taken in the manufacture of them than attends the production of an American desk. For these things have no more artistic quality in them than is brought to them by the original designer, who rarely sees, much less touches, the work itself.

Gilbert Marks was wholly original in his designs. Gifted with a dainty imagination, with pure feeling for form and line, and, to harmonize all, a passion for simplicity, he bent his craftsmanship to the production of a series of beautiful objects which cannot fall far short of 750 or 800 pieces, all of them in the hands of collectors. The last decade of his life was his finest period, during which he realized the fancy and refinement of his design by the intelligence of his work. Fish or lizards, for example, would provide him with a delightful *motif* of decoration, but simple flowers—wild ones for choice—are his principal theme; and the strong strain of field-poetry in his nature adapted them to arrangements elegant and appropriate. What more natural than that a rose-water dish should bear a border of loves and rose-garlands? That on a beer-beaker there should be beaten up a decoration of cunningly devised hops? That a punch-bowl should be embellished with a tracery of poppies? His design was nearly always pure and felicitous, and the execution sound.

The silver-lover who is something more than a worshipper of the hall-mark must recognize the beauty and power that lay in the hammer, the raising tools and tracers of a *repoussé* worker such as Marks; and appreciate the apparent ease with which he could work the yielding metal, play with his pattern and his ornament, and bring it up to accents of sharpness or caress it into liquid meltingness. On bowl, beaker, tazza, cup, and dish, we have the pomegranate, the thistle, blackberry, or what not—as unlike the dull monotony of the million-struck fiddle-pattern spoon as Marks himself was unlike the ordinary Birmingham craftsman. It is the principle of undying Greece and Etruria which we find in work such as his—a touch of that art which alone survives from ancient civilizations, and which alone brings those nations face to face with ours—the concrete testimony of ancient glories that otherwise live but in the page of history. M. H. S.

## THE VERONA GALLERY

ALL students of Italian painting will rejoice to hear that there is at last some chance of the collection of pictures in the Museo Civico at Verona being cared for, preserved from the decay which was rapidly overtaking them, and rearranged in new galleries, better extended and better lighted. The gallery of Verona has for long been a byeword for neglect and mismanagement. The very title of *Museo Civico*, comprising as it does besides the gallery of pictures a valuable collection of Roman sculptures and other remains, was a permanent reproach to the municipality of Verona.

In no other gallery can the works of the Veronese school be studied in its entirety, and to many students the splendid series of paintings by Stefano di Zevio, Liberale, Morone, Giolfino, Girolamo dai Libri, Paolo Morando da Cavazzola, and Caroto, to say nothing of Paolo Caliari, and even Titian, must have often come as a surprise and a source of unexpected interest, sadly tempered, however, by the deplorable condition into which the pictures have been allowed to lapse, and the utter neglect of all the first requirements of a public picture-gallery.

This is now, we may hope, to be remedied. For many years the civic authorities of Verona had dispensed with the services of a director, small as the salary usually is which may be attached to such a post in Italy. But even paintings, like the worm in the proverb, will turn at last and protest, and the said authorities, as in the somewhat analogous case of the McLellan collection of pictures at Glasgow, have awoken to some sense of the importance of their gallery.

Their first duty was to find a director brave enough to face the gigantic task before him, and to give up probably the remaining years of his life to this duty, with but scanty hope of any pecuniary reward or perhaps even the thanks of his fellow citizens. Fortunately there was at hand Cavaliere Pietro Sgulmero, lately vice-librarian and vice-inspector of the monuments of Verona, whose knowledge of Verona and its contents is probably unsurpassed. Cavaliere Sgulmero would probably not satisfy the demands of those who think that only a painter can be qualified to direct a picture-gallery; but he has addressed himself to the task with all the equipment of a fine intelligence, deep-seated knowledge, and true patriotic enthusiasm.

The collection has hitherto been lodged in a portion of the Palazzo Pompei on the Adige opposite to the beautiful church of San Zermo Maggiore. It has been found possible to adapt two or three large galleries already existing in the palace, and it is proposed to extend the galleries by building over the adjoining garden.

The collection will now be sorted and rearranged in proper divisions and due chronology, a special feature being made of the works of Paolo Caliari. The work of restoration, which will occupy many years to come, has been placed in the hands of competent local artists, in whom confidence can be placed, and who are under Cavaliere Sgulmero's immediate observation. A catalogue will in due course of time be prepared, and the gallery, when completed, should become one of the most interesting in north Italy. The ground floor of the palace will be occupied by the Roman collections and an important collection of natural science belonging to the town.

The only danger lies in the disinclination of civic authorities to disburse money in this direction. Money is at all times scarce in Italy, and the Socialist element, which is at present very powerful, both in general and local politics, is opposed to anything like expenditure on art or culture or any form of so-called luxury.

In spite of such forebodings, all readers of The Burlington Magazine will surely wish Cavaliere Sgulmero all good fortune in his enterprise, and visitors to Verona will no doubt not lose the chance of encouraging him in his work.

Lionel Cust.

## GERMAN ART INSTITUTIONS IN ITALY

Almost a hundred years ago Italy, and more particularly Rome, was the ideal of German artists. This love of a locality where the possibility for work was so much greater than in the North estranged many of the best men from their native land, and from Carstens or Cornelius down to Feuerbach they felt happy only while abroad. What they produced after their return failed to be in touch with the country and civilization amid which they produced it, and perhaps this is the main cause of the deficiencies of these artists. This yearning for Rome did not fall in with a period of national prosperity, or we should certainly have opened an academy there, such as the French nation has kept up to this day. Perhaps this may be looked upon rather as a stroke of good fortune, for according to reports the French Academy at Rome is an establishment without any real *raison d'être* nowadays, and has fulfilled its mission long ago.

There are at the present day three German establishments connected with art maintained in Italy. The oldest is the Imperial German Archaeological Institute. Its reputation is a fine one, and its achievements are well known in other countries as well as our own. It enjoys the special patronage of the present emperor.

The second establishment is the Institute for the History of Art, in Florence. It is maintained by a small state subsidy and the subscriptions of a society formed to support it; the University of Leipzig contributes likewise, I believe, some pecuniary aid. The principal aim is to furnish German and other art historians who are interested in the study of Italian art with the help of a large library and other material which students are unable to take with them on their journey across the Alps. There are pleasant accommodations for work, and, generally speaking, the student will find the institute a valuable haven to start from even if the object of his research should not actually be contained within the walls of Florence itself. Professor Brockhaus, formerly of the Leipzig University, has come into residence as head of the establishment. Since a semester at the institute in Florence has been counted, under certain conditions, as a semester at one of the German universities, there have always been one or two younger

students there. With their help the institute is also made to serve in a limited manner as a bureau of information for questions pertaining to the history of Italian art. The institute is upon the point of publishing its first volume of studies.

The third establishment is of quite recent foundation. The new Deutsche Künstlerbund, with its headquarters at Weimar, has just bought the Villa Romana at Florence and is going to refashion it into a studio building for German artists. There will be six such studios to commence with, and all the necessary further accommodation for the artists who are to take possession of them. The Künstlerbund intends to abandon the distribution of prizes and medals at its exhibition and replace these by assigning these studios for a fixed period of time instead. Then, at last, German artists will have a fine opportunity of studying the nude model in the open air, an opportunity sorely missed in northern climates. This new venture is principally the work of Max Klinger, whose energy and disinterestedness in pushing the affair to a happy consummation are especially to be lauded, because twice before, when he was bent on carrying out the same plan, his intentions were frustrated in a most distressing manner. H. W. S.

## ART IN AMERICA

### Art Education

TWO movements are tending towards the advancement of art in the United States: the formation of Municipal Art Societies in various cities which are more or less closely associated with the leagues for civic improvement, and a spirit of co-operation among existing art societies. The Fine Arts Federation of New York is the most powerful influence in this latter direction, including as it does thirteen art societies, each one being entitled to three representatives at the meetings. The purpose of eight of these societies is to hold an annual exhibition, yet New York has few galleries able to accommodate them, and there seems to be a feeling that the chief requisite for the advancement of art and the prosperity of the artist is that a large building be erected and endowed, wherein one large annual exhibition could be held and where the various societies should have their headquarters. It is a question whether the best solution of the problem would not rather be the ability to hold many small exhibitions under the same roof and at the same time. Thus each society would maintain its individual existence, and yet they might co-operate in many ways.

A call for co-operation among the museums has been issued by the Director of the Pennsylvania Museum, Edwin A. Barber, and the following is quoted from the monthly bulletin of the museum:

> The time has arrived when the museums of this country, in order to keep abreast with modern progress, must enter into closer relations with each other than have existed in the past. Heretofore the work of museums has been of a more or less desultory character, and each curator has been a law unto himself. The physician, the educator, the librarian, the specialist, who holds aloof from his fellow workers, is left behind in the race, his methods become antiquated and his usefulness abridged. In this age of organization, of conventions and congresses, the best effort of the individual results only in an insignificant contribution to the total of human knowledge. Men meet at stated periods to communicate their discoveries to their fellows and to learn what has been accomplished by others in wider fields.
>
> The suggestion is here offered that curators of our various museums, from Boston to San Francisco, meet annually for the consideration of subjects relating to the most effective administration of public museums. By holding these meetings in turn at the various cities where important museums exist, a knowledge of what is being accomplished throughout the United States will be obtained, and the entire museum system of the country will be greatly benefited. The Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art is ready to take the initiative, and the curator will be glad to receive the views of the directors and curators of other museums on the subject.

Another step in this direction is the proposition which emanated from Professor Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, New York, looking toward the establishment of a great art school within the grounds of the university, which should be a combination of the present School of Architecture of Columbia, the Art Department of Teachers College, the schools of the National Academy of Design and of the Metropolitan Museum.

Then, too, there is a movement tending toward the establishment of national art schools. The first practical step in this direction has been the granting by Congress on March 1, 1905, of a charter to the American Academy in Rome. The Villa Mirafiori has been purchased, and efforts are being made to secure an endowment fund of one million dollars. Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, Mr. Henry Walters, Mr. William K. Vanderbilt, and Harvard University, through Mr. Henry L. Higginson, have each given one hundred thousand dollars.

The other Mecca of all artists is Paris, and while many schools in the United States have scholarships to enable talented pupils to study in that city, a National Institute is contemplated, and only awaits the action of Congress to make it an accomplished fact. Through the efforts of Miss Matilda Smedley, the city of Paris has given the institute a plot of ground, and in recognition of this gift it is to be hoped that at an early session Congress will vote the desired appropriation of $250,000 for the erection of a building. The plan is a very broad one, and includes an appropriation by each state to send one

or more pupils to the American National Art Institute in Paris, passing first through a National School to be located at Washington.

### Metropolitan Museum of Art

The thirty-fifth annual report of the museum shows that 1904 marked an epoch in its history. Three deaths occurred among the trustees. Samuel P. Avery, one of the original trustees, died on August 12; Frederick W. Rhinelander, president of the museum, died on September 25; and Louis P. di Cesnola, for twenty-five years the director and secretary of the museum, on November 20. This has led to an entire reorganization. The present officers are J. Pierpont Morgan, president; Rutherford Stuyvesent, first vice-president; John Steward Kennedy, second vice-president; Robert W. de Forest, secretary; and John Crosby Brown, treasurer.

The future policy of the museum is outlined, beginning with the appointment of Sir Caspar Purdon Clarke as director. The next step will be the complete organization of the museum into a greater number of departments and securing for each department a thoroughly capable curator. For the first time the museum is in a position to build up the collection according to a comprehensive plan, and it will be the aim of the trustees to assemble beautiful objects and display them harmoniously, grouping the masterpieces of different countries and times in such relation and sequence as to illustrate the history of art in the broadest sense, to make plain its teachings, and to inspire and direct its national development.

Special stress is laid on the need of a collection of American art, and a list is published of fifty-seven names of some of the best-known deceased American painters who either are not at all, or are not adequately, represented in the museum. By thus making public the wants of the museum it is hoped that the generosity and patriotism of our private citizens, who own the finest works of art, will lead them 'to give to their ownership a public use.'

Necessary legislation has been secured for the extension of the museum by a new wing at an expense not to exceed $1,250,000. Messrs. McKim, Mead and White have been selected as architects.

During 1904 the museum has substantially realized the full amount of Jacob S. Rogers's bequest, amounting to $4,904,811, assuring an annual income of over $200,000 for 'the purchase of rare and desirable art objects and books for the library.'

Some of the important donations of the year are: the 'Adams Gold Vase,' the gift of Edward D. Adams; A Street in Venice and The Candy Vendor, by Robert Blum, presented by Wm. J. Baer and the estate of Alfred Corning Clark; four paintings were presented by George A. Hearn, the portrait of Baron Arnold Le Roye by Van Dyck, portrait of a lady by Beechey, a seaport by Claude Lorrain, and a landscape with figures by Richard Wilson; 128 musical instruments were added to her collection by Mrs. John Crosby Brown; and a collection of 4,210 objects known as the Farman collection, consisting of Greek, Roman, and Egyptian coins and other antique art objects, was given by D. O. Mills.

The most important purchase from the income of the Rogers fund was the Dino collection of arms and armour. Three paintings were also added to the collections: Christ and Virgin, by Mostaert; A Nativity by Greco; and a head by Greuze. Other purchases from this fund include thirty-seven specimens of European faience of the sixteenth century; The Entombment of Christ, an enamelled terra-cotta group dated 1487; a large mosaic of Roman workmanship; a collection of Japanese armour; and 140 books for the library.

### Lewis and Clark Exhibition

Scarcely a year passes without an exhibition being held in some part of this vast country, and no exhibition is complete without a department of art. The exhibition commemorating the Lewis and Clark expedition, the pioneer settlers of the western section of the United States, was formally opened at Portland, Oregon, on the 1st of June, and will continue to be the centre of attraction until the 15th of October.

The division of Fine Arts is ably managed by the well-known painter, Frank Vincent DuMond. The exhibition of paintings was collected entirely by invitation, and is not confined to any one period or nationality. There are characteristic examples of the early French and English masters, and the Barbizon school is extremely well represented. One of the most interesting canvases is the famous Millet, The Man with the Hoe, which is owned by Mr. W. S. Crocker, of San Francisco. Every phase of the Impressionist movement is shown, from Manet and Degas to the Americans Theodore Robinson and Childe Hassan. There are portraits by the early American painters, excellent examples of the trio of great American landscape painters of the nineteenth century, Innes, Wyant, and Homer Martin, and several portraits by Sargent. Whistler is also represented by several characteristic works, and all the prominent men of to-day have at least one good picture on exhibition.

The Fine Arts building is a fire-proof structure consisting of seven galleries, each about twenty-five by thirty-five feet, and built around two sides of a square, with the entrance in the angle. Although this is only a temporary building, after the close of the exhibition a permanent art gallery will be established in Portland, and Mr. DuMond

will superintend the installation of the paintings before leaving the Pacific coast to return to his work in New York.

Competitions

For the fourth time American art students will be given an opportunity to compete for the Lazarus scholarship for the study of mural painting. As may be recalled, the fund carries $1,000 a year for three years. The primary conditions are that the competitor be an American citizen, a man, and unmarried. Furthermore, the candidate must pass preliminary examinations in perspective and artistic anatomy, and paint a presentable nude from the life. These examinations will be held at the National Academy of Design, in the city of New York, during the week beginning Monday, October 23, 1905, at nine o'clock a.m.

Those passing the ordeal will then be confronted by a second examination, which will begin on Monday, October 30, 1905, under conditions hereafter to be indicated.

The National Sculpture Society, through the generosity of its Honorary President, Mr. J. Q. A. Ward, and that of one of its lay members, Mr. I. W. Drummond, is offering two prizes, one of five hundred dollars and one of two hundred dollars, for a competition in portraiture. The first prize is to be awarded to the best portrait in the round, the second prize to the best portrait in relief.

Works entered for this competition are to be judged in the early part of November, 1905, by a jury selected by the society at large. A prospectus governing the competition may be had by addressing the Secretary of the National Sculpture Society at 215, West 57th Street, New York.

(For list of exhibitions in the United States see 'Exhibitions open during June.')

## LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

### THE DESTRUCTION OF THAMES SCENERY

Gentlemen,—

Will you permit me to call the attention of the wide and influential circle of your readers to the urgent need of public intervention for the preservation of Thames scenery?

Every year the upper Thames is losing something of what is left of its primitive charm. Throughout by far the greater part of the river from Teddington to Oxford there is hardly a mile in which some lamentable injury to the natural beauty of the valley has not been perpetrated, and most of the mischief has been done within the past few years. Every year there are more ugly and obtrusive boat-houses, more blazing advertisements, more squalid-looking sheds and factories, more execrable iron bridges, more vulgar 'villas.' Year after year 'improvements' keep nibbling away some of the most delightful characteristics of the river, and nobody has any adequate power to interfere.

The Thames Conservancy is the only body having any authority on the river; but it is no part of the conservators' business to look after aesthetic matters; and even if it were their recognized business, they are, as a body, not the men to do it. The thirty or forty members are business men, the greater part of them at any rate, of the most 'practical' and utilitarian type. They cannot be expected to see with the eye of the landscape artist, or to estimate the value of what for the majority of them probably has no existence.

Of course a board of business men for the business management of the river is indispensable; but what seems to be required is something of the kind that has been suggested by Sir W. B. Richmond, R.A., for the advising of the London County Council upon all proposals involving questions of artistic knowledge and taste. He would set up a Committee of Reference, consisting of recognized authorities, whose function it should be to consider all schemes for public improvements or alterations from the artistic point of view. That is precisely what is wanted for the guidance and advising of the Thames Conservancy.

But it is obvious that it would be of no use to set up a committee of advice unless the Conservators were empowered to act upon the advice, and some legislation would be necessary. When recently there seemed a possibility of the Government carrying a 'Port of London Bill' the Thames Preservation League presented a memorial asking that something should be done in this direction by the insertion of clauses empowering the river authority to carry out the recommendations of a Select Committee of the House of Commons which in 1884 strongly urged the desirability of giving power to purchase portions of the river bank where necessary for the public enjoyment and the preservation of the natural beauty of the Thames.

When, some years ago, the River Charles at Boston seemed to be in similar peril of ruin, the Bostonians resolved that it should not be, and they bought out all rights in the river and its banks and have preserved and developed it as a delightful 'water-park.' We poor Britons cannot afford to buy our Thames. Such heroic remedies are not for us; but we might at any rate set up an authority with the competency and the legal power to prevent the destruction of that natural beauty

which will become more and more precious to our people just in proportion as they become educated and refined, and which is in itself a means of education and refinement beyond all price.

G. F. MILLIN.

HARRINGTON HOUSE, CRAIG'S COURT

GENTLEMEN,

I have just seen with alarm that Harrington House—the beautiful old town house of the Harringtons—is to be sold by auction in less than a month.

Though within a stone's throw of Trafalgar Square it is so hidden that few who have not visited Craig's Court even know of its existence.

Unless prompt action is taken I have no doubt that this fine eighteenth-century house will be swallowed up by one of the monster hotels in Northumberland Avenue.

The old-world garden, which once overlooked the river, has already been shorn of its glories—one big tree alone remaining.

In a recent article on London architecture Mr. Street, after speaking of our old inns, asks 'are we going to let our old houses suffer the same fate?' It would be difficult to find one more worthy of preservation than this.

JULIAN SAMPSON.

*** We trust that this appeal will not be in vain. The opportunity is one for a wealthy lover of art to show his public spirit in default of the legislation so much needed to prevent the destruction of ancient buildings.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### MINIATURES

MINIATURES. By Dudley Heath. Methuen. 25s. net.

WE have read this book with genuine pleasure. It is not without faults, but the faults are for the most part trivial, and are far more than counterbalanced by conspicuous merits, which make it deserve a place both on the collector's bookshelf beside his Propert, and also in the studio of every living miniature painter.

The defects of the book are due chiefly to the impossibility of fully covering a wide and cosmopolitan area, and to a certain technical inexperience which has passed misprints such as 'Elector Galatine,' not to mention slips in figures, and omissions in the index. We doubt if the latest authorities on French illumination will think that Mr. Heath has done justice to Pol de Limbourg, or if Professor Giles would consider the treatment of Chinese art to be quite adequate. Nor is it possible always to agree with the author when writing upon the more familiar and restricted field of English portrait miniatures. Mr. Heath, for example, appreciates the greatness of Holbein, but he does not venture to separate quite sharply the half-dozen miniatures which must certainly be his from those which just fall short of that unsurpassable perfection. The duke of Buccleuch's version of Holbein's portrait should certainly have been compared with that at Hertford House, and the notice of John Bettes should have mentioned his picture in the National Gallery. The questions at issue are troublesome, but for that very reason we regret that they should not be tackled more thoroughly when a critic so observant and independent is brought face to face with them. A methodical classification and comparison, with the help if necessary of photographic enlargements, of the miniatures passing under Holbein's name might have invaluable results. We think, too, that if the rigorous justice which Mr. Heath metes out to the weaker work of Hilliard were also applied to Isaac Oliver, the latter would fare badly, but these are almost the only cases in which his critical balance seems at fault.

Thus he appreciates John Hoskins, though in the illustrations we miss the robust sincerity of the Windsor Charles I.; his reverence for the incomparable Samuel Cooper is all that could be desired, and he rightly emphasizes the great merits of Nathaniel Dixon. Thomas Flatman, Lawrence Crosse, and Bernard Lens are also justly placed.

It is in his criticism of the miniatures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, that Mr. Heath's taste and frankness show best. We wish these chapters could be read and taken to heart by all the advertising tradesmen and feeble young ladies who during the last ten years have made miniature painting the handmaid of the photograph and the fashion plate. Judged by their works five-sixths of our living miniaturists are unlikely to come across any good book on the subject, and if they do so are too ill equipped to make use of it. Yet if these artists combine to degrade their art, how can the silly society women who patronize them be taught to know better? We rejoice to hear that some attempt is being made by the Society of Miniature Painters towards a more serious standard of work, as much as we do to see that one miniature painter at least understands that Holbein and Cooper are the classical models to whom the miniaturist of the future must refer. Mr. Heath's analysis of the brilliant Cosway and his overrated satellites Engleheart and the Plimers is an excellent piece of criticism, indeed a little more praise for Edridge and the omission of two or three of the specimens of modern work are the only improvements we would wish to suggest in this large section of the book. Mr. Heath, in short, differs from previous writers

on the subject in possession not only of technical knowledge, but also that much rarer thing, a sense of the eternal and absolute difference between art that is great and art that is pretty.

Most of the illustrations are taken from examples in famous private collections which have not been reproduced hitherto. They are not always so clear as those in Mr. Foster's volumes, but Holbein is the only artist who really suffers, and the moderate price of the book forbids any grumbling. That its comparative cheapness may succeed in making it popular is what every lover of the great British tradition of miniature painting ought to wish.

## BIOGRAPHY

CRITICAL STUDIES AND FRAGMENTS. By the late S. Arthur Strong, M.A. With a memoir by Lord Balcarres, M.P. Duckworth. 16s. net.

THE untimely death of the late librarian to the House of Lords removed from literary and political life a personality that well deserved a permanent memorial; but that such a memorial in these days of compromise and advertisement should be false neither to facts nor to friendship is a singular piece of good fortune.

The task both of the anonymous editor and of the writer of the memoir was a delicate one. Professor Strong's incessant activities encroached upon many widely different fields of study, yet his writings seldom took a more elaborate form than that of a preface or a review. The collection of these scattered fragments, often published anonymously, into a connected whole has been achieved with great skill, and the result is approximately complete. It is also remarkable. Any reader of the book, with special knowledge of one or two of the many subjects handled so easily by Professor Strong, may perhaps question whether his intellect was so universally profound as it was wide in range and brilliant in intuition—a point to which occasional slips in intricate matters of art criticism are really less relevant than the shallow review of M. Maspero's 'Dawn of Civilization'—but no one can question his uncommon gifts as a writer. When quite sure of his ground, Professor Strong wrote with a wealth of metaphor, an epigrammatic conciseness, and, in his combative moods, with a sardonic humour that *parvis componere magna* might almost be termed Voltairean.

The memoir also is a model of its kind. The sternest critic could hardly deny that the analysis of Professor Strong's character is acute, felicitous, and impartial. It was doubtless from the Latin element in his ancestry that he inherited, together with his insight and logical width of interest, the political instinct which, though it is often latent in the Anglo-Saxon, is seldom frankly expressed by him. In an English man of letters this instinct must inevitably lead to misconception, to suspicion perhaps of wire-pulling, even when accompanied by an outspoken disdain of concealment and compromise. No better proof of the attractiveness of Professor Strong's real nature could be adduced than the fact that the friends both great and small whom he openly pressed into his service regarded their employment as a privilege, and not the least of their regrets at his early death must be the feeling that in the government of Orientals for which he was preparing himself, his ambitions would have found the scope they had so long been seeking.

The three fine portraits by M. Legros, Sir Charles Holroyd, and the Countess Feodora Gleichen, are the best possible illustrations for the memoir. Each artist depicts the striking face from a different point of view; each shows the character in a new aspect. Only by seeing the three together can we reconstruct that complex personality.

NIEDERLÄNDISCHES KÜNSTLER-LEXIKON AUF GRUND ARCHIVALISCHER FORSCHUNGEN BEARBEITET VON DR. A. VON WURZBACH. Vierte Lieferung. Wien, 1905.

THE fourth number of this excellent dictionary brings the notices of artists down to David. We continue our notes. Cleve. M. Hulin (Cat. critique, p. xxiv) considers him a pupil of John, son of Justus of Haarlem, the painter of the altarpiece at Calcar, and thinks that he was already a master painter when he removed to Antwerp in 1511. Peter De Clievere died in 1546. There is no reason for doubting the authorship of the triptych from the Meyer and Willett collections exhibited at Bruges, reproduced in my monograph on Gerard David (1895). The writing on the back stating it to be by Cornelia Cnoop is in the same hand as that on the back of the two miniatures by her husband in the Bruges Museum. All three were formerly in the abbey of our Lady of the Dunes.

Besides Cornelius, who died in 1561, and Caspar, who died in 1641, there were a number of other glass painters of the name of Coedyck at Bruges: Victor, 1545–1557; Caspar, 1554–1568; Wolfart, 1555–1584; and Peter, 1557–1584.

Under Coene no mention is made of James Coene, a painter and illuminator of Bruges who resided for some time in Paris, and was through French influence invited to Milan and was engaged with two assistants to make drawings of the cathedral, but after a short period was dismissed. Marcellus Cofferman's best work, St. Mary Magdalene, is now in the possession of Don Pablo Bosch at Madrid. Another signed picture representing St. Katherine was sold at Christie's in 1903.

The real name of Cornelius of Lyons is Cornelius Van der Capelle. He appears to have removed

from the Hague to Antwerp and worked under Quentin Metsys. In 1534 he painted the portrait of a receiver of town dues—John Obrechts?—in his office, weighing a coin; a woman by his side is turning over the leaves of a book, and a young man is coming in with a letter. This picture, signed Cornelius Van der Capelle, was in 1863 in the possession of M. J. B. Meyer at Bonn. Having embraced Lutheran opinions Cornelius fled to France, where he was appointed painter to the Dauphin in 1540. In 1547 he obtained letters of naturalization, was named painter to the King, and settled in Lyons. In the collection of Baron Oppenheim at Cologne is a painting of a receiver of taxes in his office, attributed to Quentin Metsys, but really by Cornelius, for on the leaf of the receiver's open ledger is this entry in capital letters:—LE ROY DOICT A/MAISTRE CORNEILLE/ DE LA CHAPELLE SON/PAINCTRE SVR LA/ GABELLE DV SEL/LA SOMME DE/DEVX MILLE . . . . . In 1548 Cornelius drew the portraits of Queen Katherine and the lords and ladies of her court who accompanied her to Lyons. He was reconciled to the Church on December 2, 1569, and continued to work at Lyons until his death in 1574-5. He left a son of the same name and a daughter; the latter, according to Antoine Du Verdier, painted *divinement bien* (*Notes and Queries*, 3 S., vi, 374; *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 4 S., x, 120; N. Rondot, 'Les Protestants à Lyon au dix-septième siècle,' p. 13). As to Albert Cornelis, the words *et chevalier* are an absurd addition to the text of the guild register. Peter Coustain was painter to the Dukes Philip and Charles from 1453 to 1481; in 1461 he polychromed two statues of St. Philip and St. Elisabeth of Thuringia. In 1467 he painted two panels, one with Christ on the Cross with the Blessed Virgin and St. John, and the other with the Blessed Virgin and Child, for which he was paid 40s.; these were placed at the head and foot of the catafalque at Duke Philip's funeral.

Crabbe's best work, a fine shrine of silver-gilt adorned with statuettes and enamelled escucheons, is in the church of St. Basil at Bruges. In this shrine the relic of the Holy Blood is carried at the annual procession; it was completed in April 1617.

The saints on the shutters of the triptych at Liverpool, attributed to Daret, are the patrons, not of St. John's Hospital, but of St. Julian's Hospice at Bruges. W. H. J. W.

JOHN N. RHODES. A Yorkshire Painter, 1809–1842. By William H. Thorp. R. Jackson, Leeds.

THE subject of this memoir is but little known outside his native city, and his work, though sometimes skilful and indicative of talent, is unequal in quality. His more able pictures look like rather weak imitations of the rustic trifles of William Collins. His painting can never occupy a very important place in the English school, and although the younger Rhodes died at the early age of thirty-three, there does not seem to be much reason for thinking that his art was likely to have developed much further than it had done before that time. Nevertheless, Mr. Thorp's book is of considerable interest, not only because it is pleasantly written, but because it is a valuable contribution to the history of art in Leeds. Until we have a good many more such local histories our knowledge of the ramifications of English painting will be far from complete, and we wish that some enthusiastic student in such a place as Bath or Ipswich would follow the good example which Mr. Thorp has set.

## BOOKS FOR COLLECTORS

SCOTTISH PEWTER-WARE AND PEWTERERS. By L. Ingleby Wood. Edinburgh: George A. Morton. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 15s. net.

BY keeping himself strictly within the limits of his subject Mr. Ingleby Wood has produced an excellent account of pewter-making in Scotland. We have no dissertations on Chinese alloys, on the Flemish metal-worker's art, or on the aesthetic value of pewter set upon old oak dressers, but the history of the Scottish pewterers and their art is set out for us simply and in good detail.

The use of pewter was in its day a luxury, and luxuries came laggard toward Scotland, the London pewterers being established for a century and a half before their Scottish brethren began work.

Old Scottish pewter is national in its simplicity, the Pirley Pig, a money-box in which the council of Dundee collected fines from absent members, being remarkable for its ornament. This curious piece, saved from a heap of old metal in 1839, makes perhaps the most interesting of Mr. Wood's many illustrations. It is a covered bowl, six inches across, with engraved decorations, strapwork, and rosettes, with three shields of arms, and a fourth shield with the initials of baillies of Dundee. But for the most part the illustrations show pewter-ware severely free from all ornament. The national piece is certainly the 'tappit hen,' a tall pewter measure of three English pints, with a handle and, as a rule, a knopped cover. The quaigh, a shallow drinking cup, with two plain ears, is very rarely found in pewter, although Mr. Wood gives two examples. The mere collector, careless of aught but filling divisions in a show-case, may occupy himself in Scotland with the Communion tokens which are still found in use in remote places, strange little pewter tickets bearing the initials or badge of the parish, without production of which catechised members of the reformed kirk might not present themselves at the

Communion table. Communion cups, flagons, and broad dishes make a great figure amongst the pewter pieces of a country in which silver was rare.

Mr. Wood, besides describing in detail the most characteristic examples of Scottish pewter ware, catalogues pieces in the national museums and in the episcopal churches. He gives lists of free pewterers and apprentice pewterers and describes their 'touches.' Town by town he records the history of the incorporated hammermen, amongst whom the pewterers are found, and here he adds many notes of value to the antiquary as to the collector. As his work ends with a carefully made index it should long remain a text-book as useful as it is unpretentiously learned. O. B.

THE PRESERVATION OF ANTIQUITIES. By Dr. Friedrich Rathgen, translated by George A. Auden, M.A., M.D., and Harold A. Auden, M.Sc., W.Sc. Cambridge University Press. 4s. 6d. net.

THIS book should be as invaluable to those who possess curiosities and antiquities as Professor Church's well-known hand-book on the chemistry of painting is to artists. The book is modestly described as a hand-book for curators, but it is one which ought to be in the hands of every collector who sets the smallest value upon his possessions. Although the causes of decay are dealt with from a chemical point of view, the methods of preservation are treated from a thoroughly practical standpoint, so that those who have no knowledge of the problems of chemistry involved can use the volume with perfect safety. The destruction of antique marbles and of plaster casts by the rusting of the irons inserted to support them, a very common cause of trouble, ought, perhaps, to have been discussed.

THE BROOCHES OF MANY NATIONS. By Harriet A. Heaton. Edited by J. Potter Briscoe, F.R.H.S. With 78 illustrations by the Authoress. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. 6s. net.

THE story of the development of the brooch, its form and ornament, might well form the subject of a useful monograph for the use of the artist or antiquary, but Miss Heaton's book seems to us unnecessary. Its archaeology is at second hand, and uncritical at that, and its literary style takes the form of that enthusiasm which becomes tiresome when expressed by the unskilled pen. Such an opening as 'In the brave old days, when men and women of spirit sought vent for their energy in martial deeds; when men detested a blank in their swords [whatever that may mean] as much as a blank in their lives,' does not call us encouragingly to the study of a chapter upon Scandinavian fibulæ, a thin chapter put together, as it appears, from easily accessible sources. The seventy-eight illustrations, line-blocks from pen drawings, follow the lines of their subjects with care and accuracy; but seeing the press of books which come about us, we cannot discover here in text or illustration Miss Heaton's excuse for adding another quarto to the crowd. O. B.

## CATALOGUES

CATALOG OF THE GARDINER GREENE HUBBARD COLLECTION OF ENGRAVINGS PRESENTED TO THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS BY MRS. G. G. H. Compiled by Arthur Jeffrey Parsons. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905.

THE Division of Prints in the Library of Congress, which before 1898 possessed little but American engravings coming to it largely under the copyright law, is to be congratulated on the gift of a collection which, within its 2,707 numbers (including 17 drawings), is as fairly representative as it well might be. Its value in a public institution is even enhanced by the fact that a very considerable number of second and third rate engravers are represented, so that it will form a solid nucleus in view of further additions for which the gift in some way provides.

To judge from the catalogue before us, the collector's artistic interest often yielded to the historical, and the portraits, to which there is a useful index, are a distinct feature, those of Frederick the Great and Napoleon alone amounting to some four hundred. Though the masters of line—notably Dürer—are better represented, there is a sound selection, in almost every school, of original etchings, ranging from Rembrandt to Zorn. Possibly secondary considerations may account for the somewhat over-abundant mass of line and mezzotint reproductions of paintings in themselves of little artistic value. In this latter respect the catalogue shows a praiseworthy clearness in the method by which the master after whom the engraver worked is indicated in prominent position and different type. As a book of reference the alphabetical order which is followed has its advantages, but the historical division, which would of course have made the second index of masters arranged according to schools superfluous, would on the whole have been more helpful to the student. It is pleasing to find that the somewhat full references given to the various catalogues —as far as we have been able to test them—are almost invariably correct. Unfortunately a considerable number of authorities have been omitted —one might instance Parthey's Hollar, Thausing's Dürer, Wibiral's Vandyck 'Iconography,' Kristeller's Mantegna, Seidlitz's Rembrandt. Reference to the latter reminds us of the loose way in which impressions of Rembrandt etchings are described, *e.g.*, a vague 'tenth state' suffices for the description of the 'Rembrandt drawing at a window.' It is evident, though not stated, that Rovinski is taken as the authority, but in this as in certain other like cases, Rovinski's division is

more than questionable. Among the omissions, the fact that Immerzeel has not been consulted n the more modern supplement (though even this is now some forty years old) of Kramm would account for the looseness of speaking of Cornelis van Dalen as though there were not two engravers of the name. That the catalogue does not aim at being critical may be instanced by the fact that the *aquatint* portrait of Cromwell by 'Jan van de Velde II,' which is thus accepted in its entirety as more than half a century prior to Le Prince, is passed without notice. Moreover, consultation of modern critical literature would hardly have left 'Dirk van Star' without a name. General lack of measurements and of signatures, and occasional information such as 'with the mark of an unknown collector,' 'state not described' (without description) are tantalizing, considering the fact that so many students are denied the opportunity of consulting the collection at first hand.

There are some well chosen and excellent reproductions in collotype. It passed the compiler's notice, however, that one of these, a small 'Presentation of the Virgin' (described as 'Anon. Italian sixteenth century'), is merely a reduced copy of a woodcut by Altdorfer. A. M. H.

Catalogue of the Collection of English Porcelain in the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities and Ethnography of the British Museum. By R. L. Hobson, B.A., assistant in the department. London: printed by order of the Trustees, 1905. 4to. pp. xxvi, 161; with xxxviii pl. (some col.) and 104 text illustrations. £1 10s.

A companion volume to the 'Catalogue of English Pottery and Earthenware,' published two years ago, has just been issued by the Trustees of the British Museum. The care of preparing an exhaustive Guide-book to the small but most select collection of English Porcelain exhibited in the Ceramic room, has been entrusted to the assistant curator, Mr. R. L. Hobson. Much credit is to be given to the writer for the accuracy and completeness displayed in the descriptive part of the work; one cannot say, however, that he has been equally successful in his treatment of the historical notices. One might have expected that a book, elaborated under the exceptional conditions in which the compiler was placed by his position, would contain a few hitherto unpublished statements, or at least give us some ingenious interpretation of the so far misunderstood old documents through which more than one standing problem might receive a plausible solution. The reader cannot help feeling disappointed in that respect. He has to be satisfied with a highly cautious and somewhat diffuse reiteration of the commonplace information that has so often done duty in books of the same order.

We hear that the MS. passed through the hands of several conscientious revisers before it received the *Imprimatur*. Revision could, doubtless, do much in the way of modifying or excising all controvertible matter, but it could not impart to this bulky catalogue anything more than a stern character of official respectability.

## MISCELLANEOUS

Apollon-Gavlgruppen fra Zeustemplet i Olympia, et forslag til nogle aendringen i opstillingen af figurerne. Af N. K. Skovgaard. (With a translation in German.) Kopenhagen, 1905. London: Williams and Norgate. 7s. 6d. net.

Mr. Skovgaard in this monograph attempts a rearrangement of the Western pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia on artistic rather than archaeological lines. In the main he accepts the arrangement of Professor Treu, which has been hitherto generally adopted, but with some important variations which may be seen at a glance by comparing the two arrangements on the plate. The principle he adopts is to follow the 'Linienwirkung,' and to see how the principal lines of the composition strike or should strike the eye. The chief result obtained on this system is that the two groups of a centaur carrying off a woman on each side of the central figure are now reversed. Artistically, however, this does not seem to be an improvement, as it will be seen to break into the ascending lines of the pediment space, a principle always observed by the Greeks in their temple-sculptures.

In estimating the sculptures as a whole the writer supports Treu's contention that they have been too much under-estimated; but though he is perhaps right in pointing this out, few will go so far as to urge with him their superiority in composition to the pediments of the Parthenon. His final conclusion is that both the pediments were probably the work of one artist whom he does not venture to name; obvious defects of execution are to be accounted for by supposing that they are due to assistants of inferior calibre.

H. B. W.

Dream Come True. By Laurence Binyon, with woodcut by the author and decorations by Lucien Pissarro, The Brook, Hammersmith. 15s. net.

We have before called attention to the charming productions of Mr. Pissarro's Eragny Press, in which the art of original wood engraving survives in company with typography of the greatest beauty; so we can give no higher praise to the little book before us than that it is entirely worthy of its author and publisher. Those who have watched the growth of Mr. Binyon's genius will know that the lofty poet of the 'Death of Adam' is also the possessor of a passionate intimate lyrical gift. His talent as a draughtsman has long been recognized

by his personal friends, and the justice of that recognition has never been more conclusively proved than by the little woodcut which serves as a frontispiece to the present volume. In spite of the small scale and bold cutting, the print has an airiness and serenity which are, alas, too rare.

Indication of Houses of Historical Interest in London. Parts I, II, III. Published for the L.C.C. by P. S. King and Son. One penny each.

On the recommendation of its Historical Records and Buildings Committee, the London County Council three years ago took over the work formerly undertaken by the Society of Arts of indicating by memorial tablets the residences of celebrated men and women in London. These interesting and useful records of the work of the Committee up to the present give the reasons in each case why the houses have been selected. The selection often involves a considerable amount of historical and topographical research, and changes in numbers, etc., add to the difficulties. There is little to be said about a work so obviously deserving unqualified commendation.

Norway. By Nico Jungman. Text by Beatrix Jungman. A. & C. Black. 20s. net.

A gossiping chronicle of very small beer in the manner of the book on Holland by the same author and artist, which we noticed a few months ago. Such merit as Mr. Jungman's work once possessed seems to have been lost through haste and carelessness, and very few of the pictures in this book are worth the pains spent upon them by the publishers.

Nuremberg. Painted by Arthur G. Bell; described by Mrs. Arthur G. Bell. Black. 7s. 6d. net.

A pleasantly-written book about Nuremberg of the dark ages, with its dungeons and torture-chambers; Nuremberg of the Renaissance, with its artists and craftsmen; and Nuremberg of to-day, with its factories and beer-gardens. Every chapter tells a legend or two, and every illustration is devoted to some relic of mediaeval or Renaissance architecture. We have seen better specimens of colour-printing. The writer has no very high standard of accuracy, especially in regard to names; and we wonder why, in writing of a town so typically Teutonic, she should persist in calling the Lorenzkirche 'San Lorenzo.'

Rome. Painted by Alberto Pisa. Text by M. A. R. Tuker and Hope Malleson. A. and C. Black. 20s. net.

This is one of the best volumes of Messrs. Black's pretty series which we have seen. The opening chapters perhaps attempt rather too much, and so leave only a confused impression upon the reader's mind; but the rest of the book is a thoroughly good piece of work, not very profound perhaps, but written with far more local knowledge and insight than is commonly found in books of the kind. The peculiarities of the Roman character in its attitude towards religion and life are admirably indicated, and the book will thus be not only a pleasant souvenir for those who already know Rome, but should also be of considerable use to those who wish to know it. The illustrations show no special sense of design or colour, but have the merit of being straightforward and unaffected.

Practical Hints on Painting 'Composition' Landscape and Etching. By Henry F. W. Ganz. Gibbings. 2s. 6d. net.

A series of notes, chiefly technical in character, rather incoherently arranged, and illustrated by the author's sketches. The critical statements are frequently loose, but the book may give some practical hints to learners if they do not expect too much.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

Apollon-Gaulgruppen. By N. K. Skovgaard. Williams and Norgate. 7s. 6d. net.

Ex Libris. By A. de Riquer. Williams and Norgate.

The Master of Game. Edited by W. A. Baillie-Grohman. Ballantyne, Hanson and Co. £6 6s.

Siena. By Casmir von Chledowski. Berlin: Bruno Cassirer.

The Langham Series of Art Monographs—Italian Architecture. By J. Wood Brown, M.A. A. Siegle. 1s. 6d. net.

The Langham Series of Art Monographs—Rome. By Albert Zacher. A. Siegle. 1s. 6d. net.

English Table Glass. By Percy Bate. George Newnes, Ltd. 7s. 6d. net.

Practical Hints on Painting 'Composition' Landscape and Etching. By Henry F. W. Ganz. Gibbings & Co. 2s. 6d. net.

Grammar of Greek Art. By Percy Gardner, Litt.D. Macmillan and Co. 7s. 6d. net.

The Gardiner Greene Hubbard Collection of Engravings. Arthur J. Parsons. Washington: Government Printing Office.

An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art. By Herbert A. Giles, M.A., LL.D. Kelby and Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai.

Robert Adam. By Percy Fitzgerald, M.A., F.S.A. T. Fisher Unwin. 10s. 6d. net.

The Preservation of Antiquities. Translated by George A. Auden and Harold A. Auden from the German of Dr. Friedrich Rathgen. University Press, Cambridge. 4s. 6d. net.

The Royal Academy Exhibitors, 1769-1904. Vol. I. Abbayne to Carrington. By Algernon Graves, F.S.A. George Bell and Sons, and Henry Graves and Co., Ltd. £2 2s. net.

Dream Come True. By Laurence Binyon. With woodcut by author, and decoration by Lucien Pissarro, The Brook, Hammersmith. 15s. net.

Old Masters and New. By Kenyon Cox. Fox Duffield and Co., New York. 1 dollar 50 cents.

### MAGAZINES RECEIVED

Le Correspondant, Paris. La Rassegna Nazionale, Florence. Die Graphischen Künste, Vienna. The Kokka, Tokyo. Die Kunst, Munich. The Craftsman, Syracuse, New York. Gazette des Beaux Arts, Paris. La Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité, Paris. Onze Kunst, Amsterdam. Sztuka, Wydawca. La Revue de l'Art, Paris. The Nineteenth Century and After. The Monthly Review. The Fortnightly Review. The National Review. The Gentleman's Magazine. The Contemporary Review. The Rapid Review. The Review of Reviews. The Anglo-Russian

### CATALOGUES

Vente D'Estampes Anciennes et de Dessins. MM. Frederik Muller and Co., Amsterdam.

# RECENT ART PUBLICATIONS

## ART HISTORY

Foucher (A.). L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhâra. Étude sur les origines de l'influence classique dans l'art bouddhique de l'Inde et de l'Extrême-Orient, Vol. I. (11 × 7) Paris (Leroux). Complete in two vols., many illustrations.

Lapauze (H.). Mélanges sur l'Art Français. (8 × 5) Paris (Hachette), 5 fr. Reprinted essays upon La Tour, Ingres, Carriès, the French Academy at Rome, 'Le droit d'entrée dans les Musées,' etc.

## ANTIQUITIES

Bœswillwald (E.), Cagnat (R.), and Ballu (A.). Timgad, une cité africaine sous l'empire romain. (14 × 11) Paris (Leroux). Completion of the eight parts published since 1892. 44 plates, plans, etc.

Hall (R. N.). Great Zimbabwe, Mashonaland, Rhodesia: an account of two years' examination work in 1902-4. (9 × 6) London (Methuen), 21s. net. Illustrated.

Beltramelli (A.). Da Commachio ad Argenta: le lagune e le bocche del Po. (11 × 7) Bergamo (Istituto d'Arti grafiche), 4 l. 'Italia Artistica'; 134 illustrations.

Alinari (V.). Églises et couvents de Florence. (7 × 5) Florence (Alinari), 5 fr. Illustrated. An illustrated pocket-guide of 287 pp.

Gallenga Stuart (R. A.). Perugia. (11 × 7) Bergamo (Istituto d'Arti grafiche), 4 l. 'Italia Artistica'; 169 illustrations.

Wall (J. C.). Shrines of British saints. (9 × 5) London (Methuen's Antiquary's Books). Illustrated.

## BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS AND MONOGRAPHS

Sparrow (W. S.). Women Painters of the World. From the time of Caterina Vigri, 1413-63, to Rosa Bonheur and the present day. (12 × 8) London (Hodder and Stoughton), 7s. 6d. net.

Clement (C. E.). Women Painters of the World. From the Seventh Century B.C. to the Twentieth Century A.D. (8 × 5) Boston (Houghton, Mifflin), $2.50. 32 plates.

Hodgson (J. H.) and Eaton (F. A.). The Royal Academy and its Members, 1768-1830. (9 × 6) London (Murray), 21s. net. 10 plates.

Fitzgerald (P.). Robert Adam, artist and architect; his works and his system. (11 × 8) London; Illustrated.

Bastelaer (R. van). Peter Bruegel l'ancien, son œuvre et son temps, suivie d'un catalogue raisonné de son œuvre dessiné et gravé; et d'un catalogue raisonné de son œuvre peint par G. H. de Loo. (13 × 10) Bruxelles (Van Oest). Pt. 1, 24 pp. 18 plates in heliogravure and phototype.

Robaut (A.). L'œuvre de Corot. Catalogue raisonné et illustré, précédé de l'histoire de Corot et de ses œuvres, par E. Moreau-Nélaton. Vols. I-II. (15 × 11) Paris (Floury); Vol. I. contains the biography; Vol. II. the catalogue, with a reproduction of each item; to be completed in 4 vols., each 400 fr.

Pottier (E.). Douris et les Peintres de Vases Grecs. (9 × 6) Paris (Laurens), 2 fr. 50. 'Les Grands Artistes.' 24 illustrations.

Laban (F.). Heinrich Friedrich Füger der Porträtminiaturist. (Jahrbuch der Kgl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, xxvi, pp. 1-27.) With many reproductions of miniatures and studies, some in colour.

Eabriczy (C. von). Giuliano da Majano in Macerata. (Jahrbuch der Kgl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, xxvi, 40-46.) Illustrated.

Van Eeghen (P.) and Van der Kellen (J. P.). Het Werk van Jan en Casper Luyken. 2 vols. (12 × 8) Amsterdam (Muller). With 56 reproductions of studies, prints, etc.

Collignon (M.). Lysippe. (9 × 6) Paris (Laurens), 2 fr. 50. 'Les Grands Artistes.' 24 illustrations.

Jordan (M.). Das Werk Adolf Menzels, 1815-1905. Mit einer Biographie des Künstlers. (12 × 9) München (Bruckmann), 10s. Illustrated.

Perrot (G.). Praxitèle. (9 × 6) Paris (Laurens), 2 fr. 50. 'Les Grands Artistes.' 24 illustrations.

Quarré-Reybourbon (L.). Arnould de Vuez, peintre lillois, 1644-1720. (10 × 7). Lille (Lefebvre-Ducrocq); 17 plates.

## ARCHITECTURE

Puchstein (O.). Führer durch die Ruinen von Baalbek. (7 × 5) Berlin (Reimer), 2 fr. 40 pp., illustrated.

Baudot (A. de) and Perrault-Dabot (A.). Les cathédrales de France. Fascicule I. (17 × 13) Paris (Schmid; Laurens), 25 fr. 25 photogravure plates.

Soil de Moriamé (E.-J.). L'Habitation Tournaisienne du XIe au XVIIIe siècle. Vol. I. (9 × 6) Tournai (Casterman). Forms a vol. of the annales of the Tournay Archaeological Society. Illustrated.

## PAINTING

Cremer (F. G.). Zur Oelmaltechnik des Alten. (9 × 6) Düsseldorf (Voss), 8 m.

Peters (J. P.) and Thiersch (H.). Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa (Marêshah). Edited by S. A. Cook. (11 × 8) London (Palestine Exploration Fund), 42s. net. 22 plates, some in colour.

Suida (W.). Einige florentinische Maler aus der Zeit des Übergangs vom Duecento ins Trecento: I. Die Madonna Ruccellai. (Jahrbuch der Kgl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, xxvi, pp. 28-39.) Illustrated.

Suida (W.). Florentinische Maler um die Mitte des XIV. Jahrhunderts. (12 × 8) Strassburg (Heitz), 8 m. Studies upon Orcagna, Nardo di Cione, Giovanni da Milano, etc., with 35 plates.

Gramm (J.). Spätmittelalterliche Wandgemälde im Konstanzer Münster. (10 × 6) Strassburg (Heitz), 6 m. 20 plates.

Meder (J.) and Schönbrunner (J. von). Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers in der Albertina zu Wien, in Nachbildungen. (19 × 14) Berlin (Grote); Vol. IV. (plates 448-588) of the late Dr. Lippmann's publication.

Bruck (R.). Das Skizzenbuch von Albrecht Dürer in der königl. öffentl. Bibliothek zu Dresden. (14 × 10) Strassburg (Heitz). 160 phototypes.

Ganz (P.). Handzeichnungen schweizerischer Meister des XV.-XVIII. Jahrhunderts. (15 × 12) London (Williams and Norgate). Pt. I., 15 plates; 10 fr.

Heath (D.). Miniatures. (10 × 7) London (Methuen), 25s. net, 43 plates, 11 in colour. 'Connoisseur's Library.'

Hawkesbury (Lord). Catalogue of the Portraits, Miniatures, etc. at Castle Howard and Naworth Castle. (In the Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society, vol. xi, pp. 35-122). Hull (A. Brown): with 19 plates.

## SCULPTURE

Sturgis (R.). The Appreciation of Sculpture. (10 × 6) London (Batsford), 7s. 6d. net. 80 illustrations.

Goldschmidt (A.). Elfenbeinreliefs aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen. (Jahrbuch der Kgl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, xxvi, 47-67.) Illustrated.

## MANUSCRIPTS.

Bradley (J. W.). Illuminated Manuscripts. London (Methuen). 2s. 6d. net. Illustrated.

Le Musée des Enluminures. Édité par Pol de Mont. (17 × 13) Haarlem (Kleinmann). Part I. of this publication is devoted to the Berry Hours at Brussels; reproductions in phototype.

Cockerell (S. C.). The Book of Hours of Yolande of Flanders, a manuscript of the fourteenth century in the Library of H. Y. Thompson. (13 × 10) London (printed by Whittingham). 7 photogravure plates: 24 pp.

Sarrazin (A.). Histoire de Rouen d'après les miniatures des manuscrits. (10 × 7) Rouen (Cagniard). Illustrations.

## GOLDSMITHS' WORK

Rosenberg (M.). Aegyptische Einlage in Gold und Silber. (14 × 11) Frankfurt am Main (Keller). 16 pp., 26 illustrations.

Dalton (O. M.). Franks Bequest: The Treasure of the Oxus, with other objects from Ancient Persia and India. (11 × 9) London (British Museum). 29 phototype plates, and text illustrations.

## MISCELLANEOUS

Museo civico di Torino. Sezione arte antica. Cento tavole riproducenti circa 700 oggetti. (19 × 13) Torino (Sambuy). Phototypes (antique to renaissance periods).

Molin (A. de). Histoire documentaire de la manufacture de Porcelaine de Nyon, 1781-1813. (13 × 10) Lausanne (Bridel). Illustrations, including 10 coloured plates.

Schmerber (H.). Die Schlange des Paradieses. (12 × 8) Strassburg (Heitz), 2 m. 50. 'Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes.' 3 plates.

Whall (C. W.). Stained Glass Work: A text book for students and workers in glass. (7 × 5) London (Hogg), 5s. net. Lethaby's 'Artistic Craft Series.' Illustrated.

*Portrait of Mr. Vestris*
*By Thomas Gainsborough*
*In the possession of Mr. Asher Wertheimer.*

Emery Walker Ph. Sc.

# ENGLISH PRIMITIVES

# THE PAINTED CHAMBER AND THE EARLY MASTERS OF THE WESTMINSTER SCHOOL

## BY W. R. LETHABY

AT the far end of the Great Hall of the Palace of Westminster, St. Stephen's Chapel, of which the beautiful undercroft, although terribly restored, still exists, jutted out at right angles towards the river. Beyond St. Stephen's, and parallel to it on the other side of a court, stood the famous Great Chamber of the King, otherwise called the Chamber of St. Edward or the Painted Chamber. For centuries the title Painted Chamber had been only a name, when, in the year 1800, some of the paintings were found on the walls behind tapestries which had long shrouded them.[1]

Later they were again covered up with whitewash and blue paper, until they were once more brought to light in 1819, when further alterations were made to the chamber. The paintings were soon after finally obliterated, except some on the jambs of the windows, which were allowed to remain in what had become the Court of Requests. The chamber and its paintings were wholly destroyed after the fire of 1834. A careful account of them, however, by John Gage Rokewode, was published by the Society of Antiquaries, together with some coloured engravings from drawings made in 1819 by that master draughtsman, C. A. Stothard.[2]

His original drawings are preserved in the library of the Society of Antiquaries; they are more delicate than the engravings, and the parts which in the original paintings were of gilt gesso work are represented by raised and burnished gold.

Amongst the recent acquisitions at the South Kensington Art Library are several other coloured drawings from the same paintings, which were once in the collection of Wm. Burges.

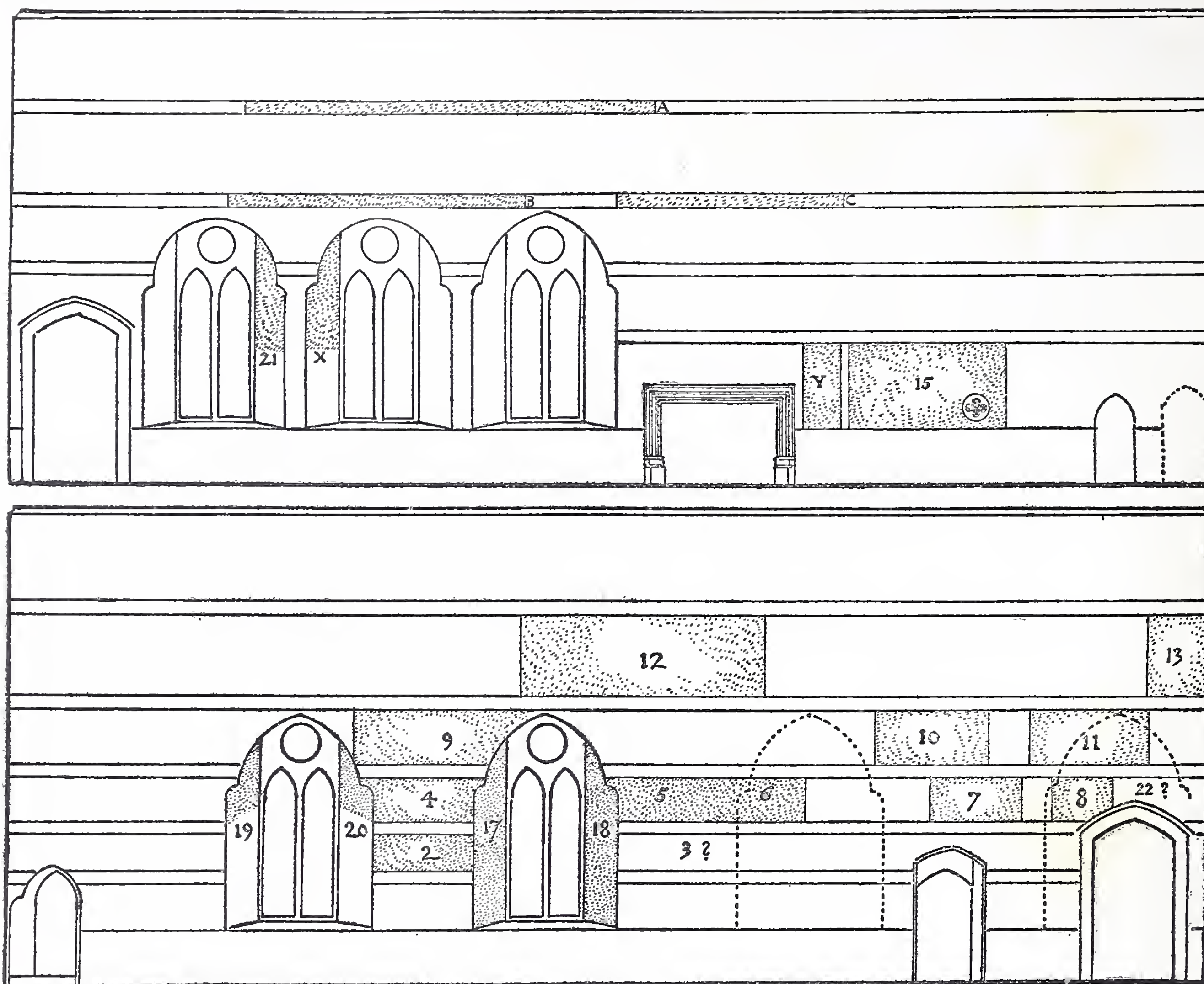
The finding of this new material for an account of what was the pre-eminent work of the painters of the Early English school is the immediate cause of this study of the subject. They are described as 'Spoilt drawings by Mr. Crocker.' Turning to Rokewode's text I found that Mr. Crocker was 'Master of the Works' during the alterations of 1819, and in a footnote to a description of one of the engravings a reference is made to Mr. Crocker's drawings of the same subject in the Douce Collection in the Bodleian Library. Mrs. E. N. P. Moor was good enough to follow up this clue for me, and found eighteen highly finished drawings, and three copies of long inscriptions, accompanied by a key-plan and elevations of the walls, showing the positions which the several paintings occupied, together with a short MS. account written 'by Edward Crocker, 1820.' This collection, which I have now examined, is preserved in the University Galleries. The drawings are exquisitely accurate, and fully coloured and gilded, the raised gesso work being represented in relief. They are drawn to a scale of 1½ inches to a foot, and the inscriptions are half full size.[3]

The chamber was raised above an undercroft of Norman work, and its walls were partly of that time, but it was altered into elegant early gothic about 1230. I had written thus, assigning the date from the

[1] John Carter, writing just before, says "certain markings on various parts of the walls appear like ornamental compartments, whose colours are hid by many coats of whitewash," *Gent. Mag.*, 1819, p. 422. He there describes the tapestries in detail, and sketches of them are preserved in the Crowle Collection in the British Museum.

[2] *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. VI.

[3] On the back of one of these is written 'Drawn by the encouragement of Sir Gregory Page Tanner, Bart. by Edw. Crocker, junr., Clerk of the Works.' The drawings resemble Stothard's in many respects. I am allowed to reproduce three of the drawings from negatives by the photographer to the University Galleries, and I must here express my thanks to Mr. A. Macdonald for much kind interest and assistance.




FIGS. 1 and 2.—Elevations of North and South sides of the Painted Chamber showing the position of the paintings copied by Stothard with reference numbers to the engravings. X and Y additional paintings copied by Crocker. A, B, C inscriptions.

two-light windows, when I found records that in 1231–2 Peter de Luton and other carpenters were to choose and fell timber at Havering for the King's Great Chamber at Westminster Palace, and that in 1232–3 Odo the goldsmith (the general keeper of the Westminster works) was commanded to receive William de Ruter and Hugh de Abbendon, carpenters, to do the king's work at Westminster.[4] The chamber was first painted soon after it was built, for we hear of a 'great history' painted there as early as 1237. But these paintings were superseded in the latter half of the century by those we are about to describe. In 1307 we find the name *camera depicta* in use for this chamber at Westminster.[5]

It was of noble size, 80 feet 6 inches long, 26 feet wide, and 31 feet high, and its walls, ceiling, fireplace, and the stonework of its windows were painted all over with stories and patterns. A large, accurate plan of the room made by W. Capon in 1799 is preserved in the Crace Collection at the British Museum.[6] This plan shows the details of the windows and doors and

[4] Close Rolls, Hen. III.

[5] As early as 1233 a 'painted chamber' at Winchester Castle is mentioned.

[6] Maps, xi, 47.

the spiral staircase at the south-east corner. Even the black and yellow tiles of the floor are represented. Two perspective engravings of the interior accompany Rokewode's account, and in Carter's 'Details of English Architecture and Painting' some other particulars, including a plan of the wooden ceiling, are given. This ceiling was boarded all over like a floor, and on it were set a number of large, flat, quatrefoil bosses, one of which I have found, without description, in the basement of the Soane Museum. At the east end, towards the river, were two windows; the north and south sides are shown in our diagrams amended from Crocker's drawings[7] (Figs. 1 and 2). Near the north-east corner was a door which seems to have led to the king's oratory, and close to it on the left was a small quatrefoil opening which was doubtless placed there so that the king might readily see the altar from his bed, which I hope to show was placed directly in front of the important picture of the Coronation of Edward the Confessor, through a corner of which the opening was pierced, as may be seen in Stothard's engraving.[8]

The four principal chambers in the palace were the great and little halls and the king's and queen's chambers. The latter two were occasionally, like the former, used for banquets. It is certain that the king's chamber and the Painted Chamber are one, but Rokewode does not seem to assert that it was the king's bed-chamber, although he implies as much; there cannot, however, be a doubt that the bed-chamber of Henry III. and the Edwards was the Painted Chamber.[9] Rokewode shows that the king's oratory was certainly at its north-east angle, and the oratory is more than once spoken of in the documents as close to, or behind, the king's bed, 'juxta lectum Rs.'—'retro lectum.' Again, finally, the opening which we have just mentioned can be no other than the 'king's round window' which is mentioned in an order of 1236, and which is expressly said to have been *juxta lectum regis* in the king's chamber.[10]

To the left was the fireplace, which was altered in Tudor times, but some records show that the earlier one had a painting on the hood above it. Further to the left, in the same north wall, were three two-light windows, and in the south wall there appear to have been four similar windows, two of which were closed before the paintings which chiefly concern us were executed.[11]

Through the rolls of accounts we know of a series of decorations in the king's chamber earlier than most of those which were discovered in 1819. In 1236 it was ordered that it should be painted of a good green colour in the manner of a curtain and that in the gable over the door should be written this motto, 'Ke ne dune ke ne tine ne pret ke desire.' (Qui ne donne ce qu'il tient, ne prend ce qu'il désire). In the year following we read of the 'great history' in the same chamber. Rokewode gives these references, and in the Close Rolls for 1243 and 1244 I find additional orders for two large lions to be painted face to face, and for the four Evangelists to be painted, the image of St. John to the east, St. Matthew to the west, St. Luke to the south, and St. Mark to the north, Another mandate ordered that the chamber should be wainscoted, and the pillars about the king's bed painted green and gold.

In 1252, Master William, the king's painter, was employed in repairing the paintings; the fireplace was rebuilt in 1259, and Master William and his men then received 43s. 2d. for painting a

[7] Capon's plan is the authority for the door at north-west corner, and Rokewode's text, p. 14, for the position of the door in north-east angle, which seems to have communicated with a stair similar to that at south-east angle.

[8] See our Fig. 1. Crocker says 'It is probable both door and opening were connected with the oratory.' See also Capon's remarks in *Vetusta Monumenta*.

[9] See Rokewode, in V. M., Vol. VI, pp. 9, 10, 13.

[10] V. M., Vol. VI. p. 7.

[11] V.M., Vol. VI. p. 7.

'Jesse' (tree) on the hood (mantle) above it, and for repairing and cleaning the paintings. William's two assistants were Richard Painter and John de Radinge, who received 6d. a day for painting the wall on either side of the chimney.[12] At the south-east corner of the room, one of the windows blocked when the second series of paintings was done was found to have on its jamb a painted green curtain.[13] Crocker says this 'was certainly older than any of the rest,' and it doubtless forms a remnant of the earlier series.

On 7 February 1262, a serious fire occurred, in which the lesser hall, the chamber, the chapel, etc., were burnt;[14] the figure paintings, which we know by copies, therefore belong to the time immediately following.

There were two commands relating to paintings issued in 1263, which Rokewode by error puts in inverse order, post-dating the earlier by a year. The first is dated 17 September, 1263.[15] In it, William of Gloucester, citizen of London, is ordered to provide gold for the completion of some paintings in the king's chamber by the Feast of St. Edward, that is, October 13, and the finishing required cannot have demanded much work. On November 10 of the same year[16] there was an order for the issue of money for paintings in the king's chamber and the chapel behind the king's bed, to be finished by Christmas. Other mandates of 1265 and 1267 refer to materials for making and completing paintings in the chamber, and in three issued during the latter year the artist engaged on the work is named, 'Master Walter, our painter.' Further payments were made for gold and colours for the pictures in the years 1268-69-70-71. All these notices are cited by Rokewode.

[12] Issue Rolls, 43 Hen. III.
[13] See V.M., Vol. vi, Pl. xx, Fig. 22.
[14] I find this definitely stated in Riley's 'Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs,' p. 54.
[15] Close Roll, 48 Hen. III, membrane 2.
[16] Close Roll, 48 Hen. III, membrane 10.

Eastlake brought to notice further accounts for the years 1274-7 (second to fifth year, Edward I.) for colours, oil, varnish, and gold. Another item in the last of these years was for a load of charcoal for drying the paintings in the king's chamber, 3s. 8d.—a considerable sum, equivalent to, say £3 10s.

This great drying, we may well suppose, marks the completion of the work, which may safely be dated as executed in sections during the fifteen years from 1262 to 1277. A considerable political event was consummated in the chamber in 1278, and this also may be held to be contributory evidence as to its then being completed. Alexander, 'late king of Scotland,' came to the king in the chamber at Westminster, and took the oath, 'I, Alexander, king of Scotland, become the liege-man of Sir Edward, king of England, against all men,' etc. (Close Roll, 6 Ed. I.) We may safely assign the inception and inspiration of the paintings to the art-loving king, Henry III., who died 1272. One account in 1256 describes how the king 'ordained' a painting for the palace in consultation with Master William, his painter.

When we again hear of the paintings, in 1288 and 1292-4, Master Walter, King Edward's painter, was engaged 'circa emendacionem pictorie in magna camera regis.' In the account of 1294, Thomas, son of the master, appears working as one of the nine men employed. In 1307, the king's painter, 'Master Thomas de Westminster, son of Walter, before mentioned,'[17] and others, were engaged in amending divers defects in the 'Camera Depicta,' in the ceiling, walls, and windows, and also on paintings in the 'Camera Marculfy' and other chambers, and on the ship in which the king (Edward II.) crossed to France for his wedding.

In 1322, while the chamber was still in its brilliant perfection, it was visited by two travelling friars, Simon, and Hugh the

[17] G. Rokewode, pp. 11 and 12.

DESTROYED FIGURES OF VIRTUES AND VICES. FROM PAINTINGS AFTER DRAWINGS BY STOTHARD, REPRODUCED BY THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

illuminator, who have left a description of what they saw. 'Near the monastery stands the most famous royal palace of England, in which is the celebrated chamber, on the walls of which all the warlike pictures of the whole Bible are painted with ineffable skill, and explained and completed by a regular series of texts beautifully written in French, to the great admiration of the beholder.'

FIG. 3.—Specimen of the inscriptions, about quarter full size.

These inscriptions, of which, as said above, fragments are preserved at Oxford, were in an admirable form of black letter, of which Fig. 3 is a specimen, being a part of one of the clearest fragments :—

> Li reis antiochus entra en egipte a grant ost . . .
> mut de batailes en gtre le re tholome de egipte . . .
> citees garnies & mist tut ala spee e a gret . . . .

They may be the work of William the Scribe, whose name appears in the accounts for 1292.

When the chamber was explored evidence even of the destroyed thirteenth century fireplace was discovered. It appears that at the time when it was replaced by the Tudor one, some new windows were also cut through the upper part of the walls and the stones of the original fireplace were taken to block up some of the early two-light windows. Stothard says that a quantity of wrought stone, painted on the surface, had been used for this purpose. 'I selected from them,' he says, 'a complete series of subjects representing the employments of the twelve months of the year, which, I am inclined to believe, ornamented the frieze of the original chimney-piece. The form and the arrangement of the stones confirm me in this conjecture ; the whole of these subjects might have been put together and perfectly restored.'[18]

The labours of the twelve months, comprising mowing, reaping, gathering fruits, etc., figured in a series of panels, are well known to us in the calendars of MSS. and other sources. In this relation I cannot help recalling here the subject which in 1240 Henry ordered to be painted over the fireplace of the queen's chamber, 'A figure of Winter, which by its sad countenance and miserable distortion of body may be likened to winter itself.'[19]

On the walls of our chamber the paintings were arranged in a succession of bands (see Figs. 1 and 2), and the inscriptions were in narrower bands, about 11 inches wide, between them. These spaces, thus fretted over in black on white, must have been of great value in setting off the brilliantly illuminated paintings. A similar system obtained in St. Stephen's Chapel, as may be seen on the fragments preserved in the British Museum. There were six bands of paintings in all, which increased in width upwards in order. Beneath them the dado was painted like a green curtain. Capon, in 1799, found the remains of this on the west wall: 'The fringe on the bottom well painted and the folding well understood.'[20] The lowest band contained the story of Joab, Abner, and David ; the next, events from the second book of the Maccabees, one scene being inscribed 'La Mère and vii filtz.' In the third band were the stories of Abimelech and Jotham, with their names written over their heads, of

[18] V. M. Vol. VI, page 2. [19] Ibid, page 20.
[20] Ibid Vol V

Hezekiah and Isaiah, of the Assyrians (called Arabians), of the captivity of Jehoiachin, and of the destruction of the Temple ('le Temple de Jerl'm'). The fourth band had the stories of Elijah and Elisha. The fifth band had the acts of Judas Maccabeus, and the sixth the story of Antiochus.[21]

On the jambs of the windows were large figures of the Virtues, and in one place of Edward the Confessor and the Pilgrim. Stothard's engravings Figs. 1, 3, 14, and 16 are not represented amongst Crocker's drawings, and the latter gives two large figures not engraved. The two series agree remarkably, although there are slight variations, Crocker's being, on the whole, the fuller. Of most of the compositions which have been engraved I will not give any description. The two drawings not represented by engravings are the upper part of one of the Virtues, and a knight under a canopy, which latter came from a space between the fireplace and the Coronation group. It was a fine figure over 5 feet high, clad in mail and holding a shield and spear, and probably represented some military saint like St. Eustace, guarding the king's bed, by which it stood[22] (Fig. 4). Crocker's drawing of the Virtue is lettered VERITE. She had a sword upraised in her right hand and a golden target charged with a red cross in the other. Her robe was red and her 'kerchief a delicate blue. The figure of Falsehood, on which she must have been trampling, had been destroyed, and what remained of the Virtue herself was much injured. It is, however, interesting to get a third-named figure of this Psychomachia. Some of the series were found on the windows of both the north and south sides of the chamber, and this distribution shows that there were probably eight Virtues in all. The four which were found were all crowned, armed with mail, and bore shields and various weapons (see Plates).

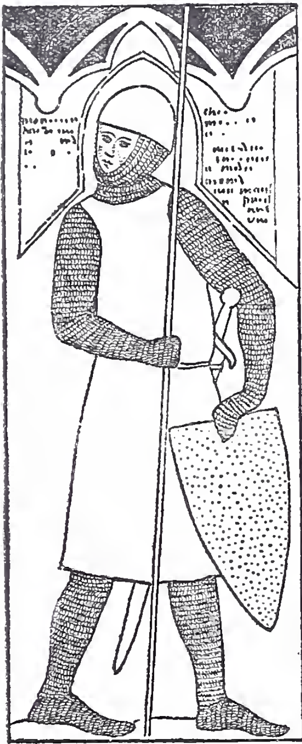


FIG. 4.—From Crocker's drawing of painting at Y.

Crocker's beautiful drawings of the three Virtues, also engraved after Stothard, give some few further indications of details. On the left jamb of the middle window on the south side was LARGESCE trampling down COVOTISE, a man weighed down by many money-bags hung around his neck, and choked with more gold which is being poured down his throat, while he falls back into his own strong-box. On the right jamb DEBONERETE was birching IRA,[23] a woman with one blind eye, who was tearing her hair. The shield carried by the Virtue was a magnificently drawn example of heraldry—England with the difference of two bars. The Virtues were noble figures, seven feet high, serene and smiling. Beneath both the Vices were low predella subjects not shown by Stothard. The fourth Virtue, as shown by the fragment in the representations, was as beautiful as any. It is made out in more detail in Crocker's drawing than in the engraving. She bore a spear and a round target on which was a cross and four lions on a green field. Assuming that the bearings had some significance, I shall call this Fortitude. It may be noted that Largesse significantly hid the blazon of her shield, and the lions and bars

[21] Crocker gives the passages from the Bible referred to in the pictures.

[22] At Winchester Castle in 1251 the king ordered 'the guards of the bed of Solomon' to be painted by his bed. St. Eustace was figured as a knight in St. Stephen's chapel.

[23] It may be noticed that in Chaucer's 'Parson's Tale' we find the same names of Virtues and Vices. 'The remedy against Ira is a virtue that men clepen Mansuetude, that is Debonairetee.' Again, 'The root of all harms is Coveitise.' 'And another manner of remedy against Avarice is reasonable Largesse.'

of Debonnaireté may mean strength in patience. In regard to this last-named figure I cannot forbear to quote a passage from Ruskin's 'Ariadne Florentina':—

'It is entirely conceived in colour and calculated for decorative effect. There is no more light and shade in it than in a Queen of Hearts in a pack of cards; all that the painter at first wants you to see is that the young lady has a white forehead, and a golden crown, and a fair neck, and a violet robe, and a crimson shield with golden leopards on it; and that behind her is clear blue sky. Then, further, he wants you to read her name, "Debonnaireté," which, when you have read, he further expects you to consider what it is to be debonnaire':—

> 'She was not brown nor dun of hue
> But white as snowe fallen new,
> With eyen glad, and browes bent,
> Her hair down to her heles went,
> And she was as simple as dove on tree,
> Full debonnair of heart was she.'

On the jambs of the first window on the south side was represented Henry the Third's favourite subject, the Confessor giving his ring to the pilgrim. This window was exactly opposite the king's bed, behind which was the magnificent picture of the Confessor's Coronation.

All the figures on the jambs were associated with painted tracery-canopies, and patterns all over the stonework of the windows. Over each canopy, and filling one side of the arch, was the figure of an angel with drooping wings, in garments of blue with gilt patterns, and holding a crown, on a red ground.[24] This composition is best explained in the engraving after a drawing by Stephanoff,[25] where we see on the curving undersides of the arch of the window angels holding crowns above the triumphant Virtues underneath.

The picture of the Coronation of the Confessor was 10 feet 8 inches long by nearly 6 feet high, and was the most splendid one in the chamber. On the background was inscribed C'EST LE CORONEMENT SEINT EDWARD. It appears far more perfect in Crocker's large drawing than in the engraving (see Plate II). The drawing is exquisitely minute and faithful to the mediaeval spirit. The group of bishops to the right are shown as almost complete, and the whole is of the highest value as a document. The quatrefoil opening into the oratory, which was included in the area of this picture, was surrounded by painted buttresses and a gable, so that it looked like the rose window of a church. The canopy work over the coronation picture was especially interesting, as from the drawing we can see that inlays of glass were represented in it, and also gold foliage on blue glass, exactly like the decorations of the celebrated retable of the Abbey now in the Jerusalem Chamber.[26]

Fig. 5.—Pattern of gesso-work from the margin of one of the window jambs.

Raised gesso-work gilded was lavishly used here and there on most of the pictures. The crowns of the Virtues were exquisitely embossed in this manner, and the canopy-work and margins were also patterned in gesso (Fig. 5). The tabernacles of Stothard's Fig. 5 were especially handsome. The colour throughout was of the highest pitch of harmonious brilliance—the backgrounds all of pure ultramarine and vermilion, on which full greens, purples, blues, crimsons, and white and black, were relieved by passages of delicate rose and grey violet. The faces were slightly dark in tone, the cheeks touched with crimson; the eyes were

[24] *Gent. Mag.*, Vol. 5, New S.

[25] Original Drawing 1821, In Library of S K M., but engraving of S. W. Reynolds is fuller

[26] Master Walter used similar inlays on the coronation chair.

white with black pupils and a bright blue circle around the outer rim of the iris, they thus told in a very striking way.

Let us turn for a moment to see our chamber as a completely painted whole. The Virtues and the coronation picture were the best lighted, and in every way the most important centres of interest. Unrolled on the rest of the walls were fierce battle scenes; a press of knights on richly caparisoned horses forming a confused mass of mail, heraldic tunics, gold helmets, and blazoned shields, with uplifted swords, trumpets, and banners cutting against the blue sky; here were groups of pinnacled towers and castles, and there, again, interiors were represented within panels of gilt tabernacle work. The first impression must have been of the active stimulus of colour from these painted stories all as clear and bright as stained glass. The walls were a romantic illuminated book of great deeds.

The workmanship, we may say with certainty, was, of its kind, of the highest technical excellence, the delineation being as swift and as sure as a Greek or Chinese vase-painter's. Comparing the delicately tinted yet brilliant colour shown even by the copies with other existing examples of the best work of the time—the altar-painting in St. Faith's Chapel and the retable, both at Westminster, the beautiful retable of English work of *c.* 1300 in the Cluny Museum (No. 1,664), the later Norwich retable, and also the fragments from St. Stephen's Chapel now at the British Museum—we can see that the painting must have been of true tempera brought up in successive semi-transparent films, and finally varnished, and this is confirmed by the accounts of materials bought for the work. The gilding, Rokewode says, was found burnished upon a raised composition under which was tinfoil, used for the purpose of protecting it from damp. One of Stothard's original drawings shows the mail of one of the pictures as silvered, and this is confirmed by the account in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which speaks of silver and gold enriched with stucco patterns.

In the accounts of the Painted Chamber, size ('cole') is the only medium mentioned, but Eastlake has shown that in 1277 Master William was, in another place, using honey, white wine (1 gallon, 3*d.*!), and eggs, the most approved of tempera vehicles.[27] In the account of 1289 the following materials are mentioned: white lead, varnish (solid, by the pound), oil (for mixing the varnish), red lead, tinfoil, size, gold and silver leaf, red ochre, vermilion, indigo, azure, green, vessels, cloth, plaster, thread, etc.[28] That azure was a precious colour is shown by the fact that a painting was ordered at Guildford Castle about this time, 'without gold or azure.' In the Westminster accounts, says Eastlake, *pura azura* at 26 shillings a pound is distinguished from *bis azura* at five shillings. The green curtain of the dado seems to have been in oil-paint.[29]

It was Stothard's view, expressed before the evidence of the documents was known, that 'the whole of the subjects had been at least twice re-painted; the last decoration was certainly not earlier than Edward I. . . . The last time the gilder was more employed than the painter.'[30] The documents corroborate his view as to repainting.

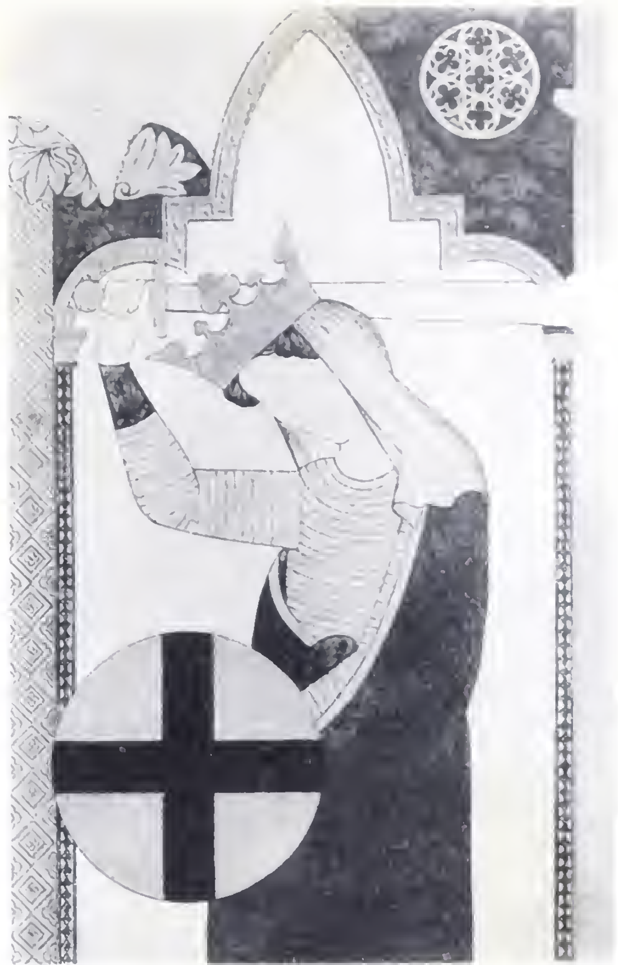
We have seen that Master William, king's painter to Henry III., was engaged in the Painted Chamber in 1259, a few years before our paintings were begun, and that Master Walter, also king's painter, was actually engaged on them in 1267. In this year (1267) Henry III. addressed a mandate to the bailiffs of London to 'pay

[27] Eastlake, Vol. I, page 109.

[28] Ibid., pages 53, 54. In the 1307 account we find red and white varnish, red lead, orpiment, oker, and brun mentioned, also pakthred for making lines, and a provision *pro factione et reparacione brushorum.*

[29] As to oil-painting—'distempre de oyle'—see Riley's *Liber Customarum*, page lviii.

[30] V. M., Vol. VI, page 14.



FRAGMENTS OF THE VIRTUES

THE CORONATION GROUP

PLATE II. PAINTINGS IN THE PAINTED CHAMBER AT WESTMINSTER, FROM CROCKER'S COPIES IN THE UNIVERSITY GALLERIES, OXFORD

to Master Walter, our painter, 20 marks for pictures in our great chamber at Westminster: and that ye by no means omit to do it.'[31] We know further that Walter, who is called Walter of Durham in another document of 1272, belonged to a later generation than William, who is heard of as early as 1240. Walter remained painter to Edward I. as late as 1301, when he painted the coronation chair preserved at the Abbey, on which are still some vestiges of patterned work in gilt gesso. It is possible to suppose that the scheme for the chamber was arranged by Master William the painter, in conjunction with the king, but I cannot agree with Stothard and Rokewode that the designs date from a time before the fire of 1262. I may also mention that Rokewode is certainly mistaken in speaking of Odo of Westminster and his son Edward as painters. The former was a goldsmith, the latter the king's clerk.

The accounts for 1292 and 1294 show that Master Walter was receiving one shilling a day, and give the names of a large number of other painters engaged on the work, of whom John of Soninghull and Richard Essex seem to have been paid at the same rate as the master, while the rest received 6d. or 5d. a day.[32]

The picture of St. Faith, mentioned above, is of earlier style than the paintings of the chamber, and from the known dates of works at the Abbey we may probably assign it to the decade 1250–60. On the left-hand side of it can be seen a small kneeling figure of a Benedictine monk in the well-known posture of the donor of a picture. This is probably none other than William the painter himself, who in some of the documents is described as 'Monk of Westminster.'[33] Besides the coronation chair slight vestiges of a painting by Master Walter are to be seen on the basement of the tomb of Queen Eleanor in the Abbey Church, and the splendid retable, now in Jerusalem Chamber, may also probably be his work. Some dignified paintings of kings filling panels in the back of the sedilia of the church are, we may suppose, the work of Master Thomas, son of Walter, for the sedilia of the church was set up in 1307. It was in this very year, as we have seen, that Master Thomas of Westminster was engaged on work in the chamber, repairing various defects 'in divers ystories,' and working on divers drawings; he was assisted by about a dozen other painters. He and three or four other masters received only 6d. a day.[34]

I have described above, as fully as may be, the general distribution of the paintings on the walls of the King's Great Chamber. So many of those paintings, of which copies have been preserved, clustered about the central south window, which was itself substantially perfect at the time the records were made, that it would be quite easy to make a practically correct restored drawing of a length of this side of the chamber.[35] If this were done it would form a valuable memorial of the work of the Westminster masters of painting, of whom Master William and Master Walter stand as the Cimabue and Giotto.

* * * *

While the above has been in type I have found an important entry in regard to the Painted Chamber in some miscellaneous accounts, chiefly relating to the Abbey church, printed in Scott's 'Gleanings' (p. 113):—Here it appears that in 1272 Master William, painter and monk of Westminster, was paid twenty marks for the painted tabernacle around the king's bed in his chamber. The surmise that Master William was engaged on the decorations of the Painted Chamber is thus justified.

[31] Walpole's 'Anecdotes of Painting.'

[32] The original Rolls are at the Record Office. Q. R. Works, 20 & 22 Edw. I. See 467. 2 & 3, and 467. 6, 1. In all about thirty painters are named in these and another roll of the same time. Add. MS. 24548 in the British Museum.

[33] Compare Matthew of Paris in MS. Royal 4 C VII.

[34] The original account, only partly extracted, is Add. MS. 30263 at the British Museum.

[35] Stothard's Fig. 1 also came from the lowest row on this side.

# SOME ENGLISH ARCHITECTURAL LEADWORK

## BY LAWRENCE WEAVER, F.S.A.

## PART I—THE EARLY PERIOD

IF the artistic history of pewter deserves, as it does, study and illustration, surely lead has an equal claim. In some of its uses pewter is silver's poor relation and its substitute, but lead stands by itself. It takes no rarer metal's place, and has values all its own. No valid comparison is, however, possible, for the pewterer was a domestic craftsman, the leadworker an architectural. Lead rainwater pipe heads show a characteristic English metal worked into its most characteristic English form. Foreign craftsmen equalled their English contemporaries in many uses of lead, and surpassed them in its application to mediaeval roofing. In the lead fonts of Norman times, and the lead gutters, pipes, pipe heads and cisterns of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Englishman not only was supreme but had practically no competitors.

Rainwater leadwork divides itself roughly into two great periods, one extending from the earliest examples of the middle of the sixteenth century until about 1640, and the other including the work of the second half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries. After 1750 there is nothing of much interest except a few local schools, as for example those of Aberdeen and of Shropshire. There the craft, instead of dying down into simple dullness, sometimes borrowed conventions from other sources, such as plasterwork, and produced examples often lacking a sense of material, but not without decorative charm.

The first period, with which I shall here deal, beginning before the Renaissance touched the plumber's art, and continuing until the new ideas were beginning to be felt, may fairly be called the Augustan age of English leadwork. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the English craftsman in lead had apparently lost the eminence which the lead fonts of the twelfth century had won for him. We can show nothing to compare with the delicate crockets and leafwork of French mediaeval roofs which Burges so faithfully recorded. When, however, stone gargoyles were abandoned for external lead downpipes and heads, the English plumber came into his own again, and at a time when his ideas of design were, with his material, in the melting pot.

Plumbers were conservative craftsmen, a reputation which I believe they enjoy today. It is constantly found that leadwork, judged by design and treatment, is fifty years or more behind the stone carving and plasterwork contemporary with it.

The reason for this is, doubtless, that no foreign leadworkers were imported with Torrigiano or with the German craftsmen who followed when the Italians fell into evil political odour. Even had they come, they would have brought no tradition to disturb the English treatment which had held sway since Henry III directed that lead downpipes be fixed at the Tower of London. External rainwater pipes are an English device, and the Continent never took to the idea. The gothic tradition, which persisted so long in the shells of buildings, and was discarded for Renaissance treatment at first only in such details as stone carving, continued long in the details of leadwork.

The head at Windsor Castle (Fig. 14) is of 1589, and is purely in the old manner; and another, which is fellow to it, and bears the date in bold figures, has a lion which prances in vigorous mediaeval style.

1. KNOLE

2. HADDON HALL

At Haddon Hall the lead heads are numerous, and, like most things there, a liberal education. The continuous building which enables us, as we move from one room to another, to step from one century to another, and to see the development of treatment and feeling, say of wood panelling, in its best expressions, does us the same kindness with the leadwork. The heads range from about 1580 to 1696, and beginning in work of purely gothic feeling run on to the stiff vase-shaped heads which are the common form of the eighteenth century. Some are direct descendants of the stone gargoyles. Indeed the gargoyles have been disestablished in their favour. The lead spouts from the stone figures which originally discharged clear of the building were shortened, and now discharge into pipe heads. In two cases the craftsman manifestly has been influenced by the gargoyle idea, and has fashioned the front of the heads as more or less human faces, one of a settled melancholy (Fig. 4), the other expressing a slightly humorous dissatisfaction. Save for the two laughing masks, prophetic of Dr. Johnson, on an example of 1699 at Durham Castle, I do not know of any other heads which are frankly amusing. In Fig. 5 is shown a head on the great hall, lower court. A long embattled gutter discharges into one end. The head has a *fleur-de-lys* cresting and a tracery disc on the front, but no trace of Renaissance treatment. Dr. Charles Cox, in a paper on Derbyshire Plumbery, illustrates a head similar to that of Fig. 5, but without a gutter, and with a circular disc of a rather richer tracery than the simple wheel pattern of my example. He dates it as probably of the first half of the sixteenth century, possibly of the time of Sir Henry Vernon, who died in 1515. I think the total absence of Renaissance feeling makes this theory plausible, and if it can be maintained the head is the earliest I know. But I am sceptical. The Eyam Hall heads have a very similar *fleur-de-lys* cresting, but one is dated 1676. I cite this as showing that the quite gothic treatment does not necessarily indicate early work.

Mr. Lethaby, in his most stimulating little book on leadwork, figures a head the same as my example, but he shows no gutter with it. Moreover, the top pipe socket bears, in his sketch, the Vernon *boar's head erased*, whereas the only existing head which has the boar's head on the top socket has a *peacock displayed* instead of a tracery disc on the front. If the Manners peacock is, if I may say so, indigenous to the head on which it is now fixed, it dates the head somewhere probably not earlier than 1577, when Sir John Manners went to live at Haddon on the death of his father-in-law, certainly not earlier than 1567, when he married Dorothy Vernon, and so demolishes the idea of a head of 1515. I incline to place it about 1580. Other heads are of the simple turreted type with embattled cresting, but the finest are those on the north side of the lower court (Fig. 2). A delightful feature is formed by outer fronts of pierced tracery, which produce lights and shadows of amazing grace. This tracery, and the delicate cornice with dentils, seem to me one of the happiest possible combinations of the traditional gothic with the new ideas. The shield on the pipe socket shows *three lozenges in fesse* for Montagu. As Sir John Manners did not marry Frances, daughter of Edward Lord Montagu, until 1628, we have here treatment which is almost entirely gothic, over a century after the first Italian invasion. If my page is here somewhat overcharged with names and dates, it is by way of illustrating the slow impact of the new ideas and the permanence of the gothic spirit.

Returning to Fig. 2, the three pendent knobs, the middle one polygonal while the outer ones are round, are a pleasant relief to the line of the underside of

the bowl. This illustration shows a very delightful feature of old leadwork in the silvery grey patches which relieve the main blackness. Modern lead gives and can give no such effects, for all its impurities (silver, arsenic, etc.) are painfully removed. Possibly the arsenic (the oxide of which is white) has to be thanked for these exquisite gradations of tone.

Not only the heads but the pipe sockets show a wealth of care and invention. One is shown in Fig. 13, the shield bearing the arms of the Pembrugge family, *a barry of six*. Clearly the Haddon plumbers were historically minded, for it was about the middle of the fourteenth century that a Vernon married a Pembrugge.

I am indebted to the kindness of Captain Charles Lindsay for the fine Haddon photographs here reproduced.

While Haddon Hall provides the finest group of heads regarded as an historical series, Knole Park, Sevenoaks, certainly gives us the finest series of heads of one date. Dating from 1604 to 1607, there are forty-seven in all. These heads not only touch the highest point of decorative charm, but from the wealth of treatment seem to me also to reach the limit of dexterous craftsmanship. The excellence of the workmanship is such, that in spite of the delicacy of much of the detail and the great number of parts of which each head is made up, most of them are to-day in very fair condition. In this connexion I venture to criticize some remarks on lead heads by Mr. Reginald Blomfield, A.R.A., in his history of 'Renaissance Architecture.' He says that towards the latter part of the seventeenth century the older and simpler treatment of heads gave way to more recondite forms owing to the ambition of the plumber, now become a very dexterous workman, to show his skill. He points to the 1730 head in the Square at Shrewsbury (Fig. 8) as illustrating the change that was destroying English craftsmanship. Mr. Blomfield suggests that the workman had long since passed the limitations imposed by technical inexperience, and could not resist the temptation to sacrifice artistic value to mechanical skill. I venture, however, to say that the elaborate work on the heads of Haddon and Knole and Hatfield of the early seventeenth century required, in all respects, as full a knowledge of the plumber's craft as the later work at Shrewsbury and elsewhere. While the gross richness of the later work is generally produced merely by applying an excess of ornaments, the early work is not lacking in an equally rich but withal restrained treatment of applied castings. In addition, we have the delicacy of the pierced work, and the colour treatment of painting, gilding, and tinning, which called for a dexterity more marked than is needed for cast work however elaborate.

With regard to the modelling of the cast ornaments, the lion of 1589 on the Windsor head is at least as good an effort as the acanthus leaves and swags of the later heads. I think that the decline in charm which we feel towards the end of the seventeenth century is due rather to a general decline in taste, and to the sinking in importance of the individual craftsman owing to the growth of power of the architect. Moreover, the interest taken by the architect in leadwork was faint. I think this is proved by the poverty of design of the water leadwork on the Wren churches.

On the south front at Knole two heads have pierced and twisted terminals which match the characteristic early Jacobean stone finials (Fig. 6). They bear, as do many others, the initials, arms, and crest of Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorset, who enlarged and beautified Knole.

Another on the south front (Fig. 1) has incised bands and straps, which were probably filled originally with black or coloured mastic. The cresting, as in most

3 DOME ALLEY, WINCHESTER

4. HADDON HALL

5. HADDON HALL.

6 KNOLE

7. HATFIELD

8. SHREWSBURY

9. BRAMHALL

11. COVENTRY

10 BRAMHALL

12. KNOLE

13 HADDON HALL

14. WINDSOR CASTLE

15. GUILDFORD

of them, is a delicate battlement springing from a cable moulding.

The east front has eight heads, all small and of one type, but each with some difference in treatment.

The Stone Court and Green Court heads are large and rich. One bears pentacles (Fig. 12), significant I am told of Thomas Sackville's masonic interests. I believe this is problematical, and that the pentacle is there as a pleasant geometrical ornament very suitable for tinning.

Pierced work like lace applied flat, flat pierced panels forming false fronts and throwing sharp shadows, pierced turrets, pierced pendants finishing in polygonal faced balls, solid turrets innumerable, chequers, chevrons, 8's, and strapwork in bright tinning, plans irregular or balanced, all go to make up a variety of treatment that indicates the apogee of the lead-worker's art.

At Hatfield House there is a fine series of heads ranging from 1610. Several are very large, and two of the largest fit round angles of the building and rest on the stone cornice which is pierced vertically to take the funnel outlet (Fig. 7). They bear the Cecil coat with supporters.

Some of the smaller heads have simple chevrons in bright tinning, and are so like the Knole heads in small details that I am tempted to the belief that the master plumber who finished working at Knole for the earl of Dorset about 1608 went on to Hatfield to do the work there in 1610.

At Abbot's Hospital, Guildford, is a series of 14 pipe heads and pipes dated from 1627 to 1629. Two on the High Street front are very elaborate and fit into the corners. The delicate brattishing on the top is a delightful feature (Fig. 15). The pipe sockets are really more interesting than the heads, having raised cable bands and ornamental patterns tinned on the face. The pipes have been painted freely, and as the tinning only stands up about one-sixteenth of an inch it is visible only on careful examination. There are nine patterns in all, including various types of cross and the *fleur-de-lys*.

At St. John's College, Oxford, are four magnificent heads of 1630, the important features of which are the elaborate painting and gilding of the lead. The royal arms and the arms of Archbishop Laud are blazoned in their proper colours, and the turreted face of the heads and the funnel outlets are painted black and white in chevron bands and in many other delightful patterns.

We are indebted to the painstaking care of Mr. F. W. Troup for the brilliant restoration of this colour work. Fortunately there were sufficient traces of the old colour to make its accurate renewal a certainty and not a speculation. This colour treatment was probably not uncommon in the seventeenth century, but three centuries have weathered most of it away. Two heads on the Bodleian Library retain traces, but apparently only of black and white. Gilt relief was doubtless quite common ; the heads at Condover Hall and on the new buildings at Magdalen College, Oxford, are so treated. As Viollet-le-Duc says : 'Mediaeval lead was wrought like colossal goldsmith's work,' and a profusion of gilding would lend actuality to this impression. It is curious in this connection to note (Mr. Massé's book is my authority) that the painting and gilding of pewter were stringently forbidden, and cases are cited where failure to obey the rule of the Pewterers' Company resulted in heavy penalties. A plumber's meat was apparently a pewterer's poison.

Dome Alley, Winchester, shows a delightful arrangement whereby the water issues from the valley of the roof under a decorated lead apron into a long gutter and is discharged into the side of a head, and so through a downpipe reaches the ground (Fig. 3). The buildings of Dome Alley

are probably Elizabethan. The original gables were cut down to their present form. I am told that there is nothing in the treatment of the heraldic charges to contradict the idea that the leadwork is of Queen Mary's reign, but I incline to date it about 1580. The triangular aprons are unusual, and if they date from the alteration of the gables, it may be that the leadwork is as late as 1620.

The heads have lost the knobs at the top and curls at the bottom which Twopeny's drawing, made in 1833, shows.

With the Dome Alley gutters it is interesting to compare another gutter at Old Palace Yard, Coventry (Fig. 11), of vine pattern, which is singularly fine, combining naturalistic treatment of the leaves and tendrils with a conventional composition. I think it may be attributed to 1580.

In Mr. Lethaby's book is a sketch of lead gutter (Fig. 9), pipe (Fig. 10), and pipe head (not illustrated) on a cottage at Bramhall, Cheshire. The cottage has been pulled down, and, after much difficulty, I found and photographed the leadwork in a builder's yard. The gutter (another vine pattern) and the pipe are particularly beautiful, the head dated 1698 is less remarkable. I incline to believe that the pipe and gutter date from about 1600, and that originally the pipe fitted round the gutter outlet without any head being used. As this arrangement would tend to cause overflows the head was added a century later. The bead and reel ornament on edges of pipe is unusual; in fact, I do not know of another use of it in English leadwork, since the time of the Anglo-Roman coffins, save on a Durham Castle head of 1699. The vine ornament on the face of the pipe, the socket bearing a crowned portcullis, and the ears covered with a tracery ornament make up, I think, the most beautiful pipe in England. To the symbolist on the prowl, water leadwork will be a disappointment. It would be only reasonable to look for some decorative motive suggesting water, but search has so far been vain, if we except the horizontal zig-zag bands that are fairly common. As, however, zig-zags as symbolic of water are archaic, the symbolism, if it can be claimed, is probably quite unconscious. I know of one lead cistern of 1724, the front of which is decorated with frogs, a commentary grim enough on the fauna of eighteenth-century drinking water, but hardly fit food for the symbolist's meditation. I confess to a small yearning to find some bands of wavy lines on the front of a head, or some modification of a wave scroll. I should be grateful even for a fylfot.

Rainwater cisterns do not come within the scope of this article. They cover a big field in the artistic treatment of large plain surfaces of regular form. The designer of cisterns had a different decorative problem to face, and more limitations than in the case of rainwater heads. The latter present no restrictions as to modelling, indeed the requirements of differently placed gutter outlets demand irregular, sometimes even bizarre, shapes.

Heads are, in fact, either glorified gutters or glorified funnels ; in neither case does water stand in them, they serve simply to direct it to its downpipe. Irregularity in plan and section is, therefore, no practical disadvantage, but cisterns demand a regular and plain inside surface that can readily be cleaned.

It is interesting to note that London, where the heads are chiefly dreary repetitions of a not very distinguished type, is wealthy in cisterns. Bloomsbury areas are full of them. By reason of the fact that 20, Hanover Square is the Common Lodging House of Learned Societies (I borrow a friend's phrase) the simple lead cistern in the area is probably the most familiar London example.

The Knole photographs are by Essenhigh Corke and Co.

(*To be concluded.*)

# ECCLESIASTICAL DRESS IN ART

## BY EGERTON BECK

## ARTICLE I—COLOUR (PART I)

SOME knowledge of ecclesiology in general, and of ecclesiastical dress in particular, is an advantage to all whose business it is to describe works of art: for students of certain schools of painting it is a necessity. The knowledge, for example, that the dress worn by a donor is that of a particular order, of the canons of a particular church, of some particular dignitary, might be of material assistance; just as a mistake in such a matter might vitiate an argument. It is, however, in England comparatively rare to find any adequate appreciation of the subject.

A writer who would shrink from calling a grenadier's bearskin a hat, or a herald's tabard a coat, sees no incongruity in speaking of a bishop in chasuble and mitre as wearing 'magnificent robes'—a term which to one accustomed to chasubles and mitres is suggestive of anything rather than the facts. Even by salaried officials, from whom we have a right to expect better things, scant, if any, effort seems to be made to master and use the proper terms; one need but refer to the National Gallery catalogue (1901) in which Richelieu, in the full length portrait by Philip de Champagne, is described as being in a surplice, though, as a matter of fact, he is wearing a rochet.[1] The explanation may, perhaps, be found in a certain attitude of mind of the average, even the educated, Englishman. Whilst many are interested in the religious orders, the institutions, the ceremonies of the Catholic Church, few in practice seem able to grasp the fact that these are still living things coming down without substantial change from the middle ages in a stream of uninterrupted tradition; or to understand that where there has been change, it is change which has sprung gradually and naturally out of that which was already in existence. Moreover the idea does not seem readily to suggest itself, or to be easily allowed, that something may be learnt from those to whom daily use and wont makes such things familiar. An instance will explain what I mean. The author of some papers on 'English Academical Dress,' published in *The Archaeological Journal* for 1893, had occasion to refer to the *mantellettum*. He naturally enough quotes the definition given by Du Cange, but does not understand it. Although Du Cange took this definition from the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, it does not seem to have occurred to the writer that he could have got the information he wanted from those to whom the *Caeremoniale* is more familiar than Du Cange or even than *The Archaeological Journal*; or assuredly, being a learned man and a professor, he would have turned to them, and so perchance have saved himself from writing learned nonsense.[2]

Though many gross mistakes could be avoided with a little care and by inquiry in the right quarters, the subject of ecclesiastical dress is in many ways obscure, and one on which it is not altogether easy to obtain accurate information. Books will not suffice: they are often worse than useless, they are misleading. Personal investigation is necessary. The subject, too, is complicated beyond expression by the appalling number of 'privileges' which have been granted or tacitly allowed. Nothing

[1] There is another mistake in the catalogue in connexion with this picture. It says that the cardinal is wearing the order of St. Louis. His order is that of the Holy Ghost. The cross of St Louis had a figure of that saint on it; the cross of the Holy Ghost a dove, and it is a dove in the picture. It is hard to believe that the officials of the National Gallery have never heard of a *cordon bleu*.

[2] The writer tells us that from Du Cange he could not make out whether the *mantellettum* 'was something worn over the rochet or was a form of the rochet itself', that 'it is said vaguely to be worn "abroad in some places" by Doctors of Canon Law, in which case it is clearly to be identified, as it has been [one wonders by what doctor!] with the "mozette"'

is too great, nothing is too small, to be the subject matter of an ecclesiastical privilege. In the sixteenth century we find the bishop of Teramo, in the Abruzzi, in that age, and in fact, a peaceable person enough, singing mass in full armour, his arms lying on the altar the while ; in the nineteenth, a chaplain of the king of Spain distinguished by a green tuft, tassel, or button on his skull-cap. In addition to privileges there are distinctions assumed without authority ; the provost of a collegiate church, for instance, was given permission to have a train to his cassock, but as he already used one, he commuted the privilege, on his own authority, for a violet biretta.[3] One may laugh at these exhibitions of petty vanity, but they are found in all ages, and the result is often puzzling and sometimes not to the ecclesiologist only.

The difficulty is increased by the changes which are made in the course of time in the choir dress of capitular bodies : of this the cathedral of Strasburg affords a good example. The clergy of the cathedral was composed of three classes of ecclesiastics and corporate bodies—the first of these, the occupants of the highest row of stalls, were the 'lords, princes, and counts of the grand chapter,' otherwise the 'lords canons-prelates of the grand chapter,' and these formed the real capitular body to whom alone pertained capitular rights; then came the 'grand choir,' who took the middle row of stalls and officiated at the ordinary services; and lastly, in the lowest row of stalls, the chaplains. The 'lords, princes, and counts of the grand chapter' belonged to the noblest families of Germany and France. For the German stalls only the issue of princes and counts of the empire for a certain number of generations back, on both father and mother's side, were eligible ; for the French ones, a third of the whole number, but few families were sufficiently noble—those of Bourbon, Lorraine, La Tour d'Auvergne, Rohan, and La Tremouille probably exhaust the list.[4] These great personages were as distinguished by their dress as by their lineage. Originally this dress consisted of a black cassock, a surplice, and a black fur tippet, called an almuce. At the end of the fourteenth century the colour of the almuce was changed to grey ; at the beginning of the fifteenth the black cassock was replaced by a violet velvet *simarre*.[5] A century later the almuce was changed again ; in place of the grey, a white one spotted with grey was adopted. In 1615 the violet *simarre* was changed for a red one, also velvet ; to which at the beginning of the eighteenth century was added a train. One might think that the dress of the canons of Strasburg had attained its full development, and that a red velvet *simarre* with hanging sleeves and a train, a lace surplice, and a white fur almuce would satisfy even this chapter of 'lords, princes, and counts.' But it was not so. In 1775, a few years before its dissolution, a pectoral cross of peculiar design was given by Louis XVI, and the canons were required to swear that they would never lay it aside, to whatever dignity they might be raised.[6] Examples of similar, though not of such extensive changes, might be multiplied indefinitely ; but this one must suffice. It is impossible, within the limits of these papers, to do more than touch the fringe of the subject.

There is now no choice allowed to the clergy as to the colour of their dress ; but this was not always the case. It is true that laws forbidding certain colours to clerks were enacted by council after council; but it is quite evident that in practice these

[3] The square cap worn by most ecclesiastics.

[4] In 1785 the grand chapter included a prince of Lorraine, a Rohan-Guémenée, three Hohenlohes, and a Salm-Salm ; and among the 'domiciliaires,' supernumeraries who succeeded to the capitular stalls as vacancies occurred, were a Salm-Salm, three Rohans, and a La Tremouille. See Gabrielly, *La France Chevaleresque et Capitulaire en* 1785.

[5] I am not quite sure what this was exactly, but think that it was a loose cassock with large sleeves. The word has several meanings.

[6] Grandidier, *Essais sur la cathédrale de Strasbourg* (Strasb. 1782), pages 201–2, 310–11, 387.

laws were ignored, and this not by clerks only : we find, for instance, a bishop of Le Puy, in the early part of the fourteenth century, dressing his ecclesiastical household in green, one of the colours which had been forbidden by the third council of the Lateran a hundred years earlier.[7] And this seems to be the common fate of ecclesiastical sumptuary laws ; even now the explicit directions of the *Caerimoniale Episcoporum* are disregarded, not by clerks but by bishops. The Le Puy inventory not only shows that it is unsafe to assume that practice follows the law ; it also suggests that there was no uniformity of practice in any given place, that the household of a bishop might be in green one year, blue the next, red the following, at the caprice of their master.[8] As to other ecclesiastics, the extant inventories show that at one and the same time they had dresses of various colours, red, blue, green, purple.

In the matter of colours of ecclesiastical dress, the easy method of generalization in ignorance of the facts is unsafe ; the only safe course is to take the different colours in order, and to endeavour to ascertain by what classes each has been used. But a word in explanation is necessary. The habits of the religious orders and congregations, using the words in their more extended and popular sense, will be dealt with in future papers ; but it will be necessary to refer to the colours of those habits in the present paper for the reason that cardinals and bishops who belong to the monastic and mendicant orders, though they have for long worn the prelatial dress, keep to the colour or colours of the habit of their order—and it must be noted that abbots may easily be mistaken for bishops. It is, perhaps, also advisable to note that we are not at present concerned with the eucharistic vestments or the cope.

Red has been used for many centuries by the Roman pontiff. It is commonly said that at the beginning of the sixth century the emperor, Justin I, authorized the pope, John I, to use the imperial colour ; but it will be enough, and more than enough, for the present purpose to say that the papal red was referred to by an eleventh-century writer, St. Peter Damian.[9] The popes have also used a white cassock from an early date ; there is reason for thinking that this custom is at least as old as the end of the eleventh century.[10] At the present day whilst the pope uses white for his cassock, sash, collar, and stockings, he uses red for everything else—except during the octave of Easter, when the mozzetta[11] and the camauro[12] are white. The papal red is a crimson. I am unable to say whether this was always the case ; but that it was so at the beginning of the sixteenth century Raphael's Julius II in the National Gallery and his Leo X in the Pitti palace bear witness.

Papal legates also used the papal colour, and this even when they were monks or friars.[13] The portrait of one such legate, Cardinal Albergati, a Carthusian, is preserved in the Vienna gallery, and in it the cardinal legate is represented in a crimson mantle.[14] The portrait[15] was painted by John van Eyck between 1430 and 1435,

[7] See the inventory of the goods of Peter Gogueil, bishop of Le Puy, made in 1327, at his death, printed in the *Annales de la Société d'agriculture, sciences et arts du Puy*, Vol. xxviii (1866-67), at p. 582. For a knowledge of this and the other inventories to which I shall refer I am indebted to that invaluable work *La Bibliographie générale des inventaires imprimés*, by Messrs. Fernand de Mély and Edmund Bishop (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1892-95).

[8] The words of the inventory are ' *Due pecie integre illius panni quo dictus Dominus Petrus condam episcopus hoc anno se et suos induerat.*

[9] See his letter to the antipope Honorius II, Cadalous bishop of Parma (Migne, *Patrol.* cxliv, 242), written some time between the end of the year 1061 and the beginning of 1069.

[10] See Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione* (Venice, 1840-1861), xcvi, 239, and De Marca, *De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii* (Naples, 1771), Lib. v, cap. 52.

[11] A tippet with a small hood attached.

[12] The peculiar papal head-dress.

[13] See De Marca, *loc. cit.*; Moroni, liv, 142; and *Responsorum divini humanique Juris Consultorum de Bireto Coccineo dando S. R. E. Cardinalibus regularibus* (Rome, 1606), *Resp.* viii, 1—the first edition of this work was published in Rome in 1592 according to Moroni, but it is not in the British Museum.

[14] This seems to be the mantle of the *cappa magna*, which in its complete form consists of a mantle, reaching to the feet, and a tippet, covered with fur in the winter, with a hood.

[15] Reproduced in The Burlington Magazine, Vol. V, p. 193.

so that if the colour be authentic, it is evidence for the use of crimson by the popes at that date. The privilege of using red was not extended to nuncios as a class; but in 1771 the nuncio to the court of France was allowed to wear a scarlet, not a crimson, dress when, directly representing the pope, he received the profession, as a Carmelite, of Madame Louise of France, daughter of Louis XV.[16]

The red hat was granted to cardinals by Innocent IV at the council of Lyons, in 1245, and was conferred for the first time at Cluny in 1246. Of this there is contemporary evidence; that of the Franciscan Nicholas of Curbio, who was appointed bishop of Assisi in 1247.[17] Soon after his election in 1464, Paul II gave secular cardinals the red biretta; of this too we have contemporary evidence in the Commentaries of James Ammanati, called Piccolomini, bishop of Pavia, the *Cardinalis Papiensis*, who was a cardinal at the time.[18] Platina, another contemporary, adds that the pope ordered, *proposita poena*, that no one but a cardinal should use it.[19] Cardinals who were monks or friars did not get the red biretta from Paul II, but it was conceded to them in 1591 by Gregory XIV.[20] These are, I believe, the only exact dates which can be given with any degree of certainty in connexion with the use of scarlet by cardinals. As to the rest of their dress some writers assert that they received permission to wear red from Boniface VIII (1294–1303); but this appears to be an assertion without warrant, and to have gained authority by mere repetition. It seems probable that the use of the red cappa dates from the time of Paul II, for Paris de Grassis, a canon of Bologna and papal master of ceremonies, who wrote some thirty years after the death of that pope, says that he had read that cardinals began to wear it during his pontificate, before which it had been reserved to legates.[21] Cardinals are indeed represented in red in Orcagna's Coronation of the Virgin in the National Gallery; in a tapestry made for St. Mary's hall, Coventry, before 1447;[22] and in the early fifteenth century *Histoire des Rois de France* in the British Museum.[23] But no sound deduction can be drawn from these or similar instances. In an English *Horae* of the first half of the fifteenth century[24] we find a cardinal in a blue cappa; in a Spanish MS.[25] of the same century another in a violet one; and in French miniatures and pictures cardinals are found in blue, violet, grey, and other colours.[26] It is only in the second half of the fifteenth century that cardinals generally are represented in red; there are examples by Crivelli, by Luca Signorelli, and by the Masters of Liesborn and Werden in the National Gallery. The earliest item of real evidence which I have seen is a reference to the cardinals as a body in the acts of the fifth council of the Lateran and its twelfth session (1517), which certainly implies that they then officially wore the 'purple.'[27]

But it may be doubted whether even then the cassock was of necessity of the same colour as the cappa. In an early sixteenth century tapestry belonging to Mr. Pierpont Morgan which is on view in the Victoria and Albert Museum, among other figures are two cardinals, in red cappa and hat, one of whom shows his right arm clothed

16 Moroni, xxxi, 81.

17 *Vita Innocentii Papae IV. scripta a Fratre Nicolao de Curbio Ordinis Minorum postmodum Episcopo Assisinatensi*, cap. xxi; in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, iii. 592.

18 *Epistolae et Commentarii Jacobi Piccolomini Cardinalis Papiensis* (Milan, 1506), p. 350.

19 *Historia B. Platinæ de Vitis Pontificum Romanorum* (Cologne, 1600), p. 339.

20 Moroni, v, 157; Macri, *Hierolexicon* (Rome, 1677), s. v. *Cardinalis*.

21 *P. Crassi . . . De Ceremoniis Cardinalium et Episcoporum* (Rome, 1563). Though the book was first printed in 1563, it was written between the years 1502 and 1510.

22 Reproduced in Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*.

23 Royal MSS. 20 C vii.

24 Victoria and Albert Museum (MS. given by Mr. George Reid in 1902).

25 British Museum. Add. MSS. 18,193.

26 Quicherat, *Histoire du Costume en France* (Paris, 1875), p. 318.

27 In the *Schedula contra invadentes domos Cardinalium*, in which the cardinals are referred to in the words *quibus sacrosancta militans Ecclesia tanquam purpureo tota decoratur amictu*.

in blue. The tapestry deserves attention because it is easy to see that the artist has paid considerable attention to the exactness of his details. Pictures by Perugino and Luca Signorelli in the National Gallery also show the red cappa with a cassock of some other colour. It would be unwise to lay too much stress on paintings of this kind; but we see the same thing in the portrait of Cardinal Hippolytus dei Medici, by Sebastiano del Piombo, in which the cardinal has a red mozzetta and apparently a black cassock. This suggestion is supported to some extent by Paris de Grassis, who it will be remembered wrote his Ceremonial between 1502 and 1510. Speaking of a cardinal's mourning, he says that it should never interfere with the public gladness of a great feast. As a concession, however, to human weakness, *if a cardinal's grief were very great*, Grassis, in his official character as ceremoniar, allows that such cardinal might wear his violet cappa on his way to the church and there change it for a red one; but there is not a word of the cassock.

The cardinalitial red is a scarlet, though it is technically called purple. Some very good examples of it are to be seen in the National Gallery—in Orcagna's Coronation of the Virgin; Luca Signorelli's Virgin crowned by Angels; Crivelli's Ascoli altarpiece and his Madonna della Rondine. In the Victoria and Albert Museum, we have Rizzoni's portrait of Cardinal Barnabò, kneeling in the church of St. Honuphrius in Rome, and Petitot's miniature of Cardinal Mazarin. The cappa magna in Philip de Champaigne's full-length portrait of Richelieu in the National Gallery is a striking example of what the colour should not be. Another example of false colour in the same gallery, is the mozzetta in the portrait of a cardinal by El Greco.[28] Yet another bad example is the portrait of Cardinal Newman in the National Portrait Gallery: to realize how bad this is, it is only necessary to compare the colour of the mantle sash and skullcap, with that of the mozzetta in the portrait of Cardinal Manning, by Watts, which hangs a few yards away.

Formerly bishops considered themselves at liberty to use red as may be seen from the inventories made of their goods for probate purposes.[29] There are, at the present day, a few who, with the exception of the hat, and in one case of the skullcap, dress exactly like cardinals. These are the archbishops of Salzburg, Cologne, Gnesen and Posen, the patriarch of Lisbon, the archbishop of Mohilev and Minsk, and the archbishop of Warsaw. I have not been able to ascertain how far back the use of red by the archbishop of Salzburg goes, but it is based, so the writers tell us, traditionally on the fact of his being a *legatus natus*,[30] a dignity attached to the see by Alexander II (1061–1073).[31] Whether, however, this is the case, or whether red was adopted for reasons of congruence does not appear. It has been stated that the archbishops of Salzburg placed the red hat over their arms,[32] but of this I have failed to find any confirmation. The archbishop of Cologne was made a *legatus natus* in 1380, and I am given to understand that the use of red began at the same time; but the earliest known portrait of an archbishop in that colour is that of Ernest, duke of Bavaria, who governed the

[28] Is there any reason for saying, as the catalogue does, that this 'is probably nothing more than one of those realistic representations of the Fathers of the Church, of which there are other examples' by El Greco? I would suggest the possibility of its being the portrait of Cardinal Louis Cornaro, who was archbishop of Zara and afterwards administrator of Trani, Bergamo, etc. He was born in 1516 and so would have been sixty in 1576, the year before El Greco is believed to have left Venice. The name and date were painted later than the picture. May it not be that the present inscription is an unfaithful restoration of the original?

[29] See for examples that of Henry Bowet, archbishop of York (1423), published in Raine's *Testamenta Eboracensia*, iii, pp. 72, 73 (Surtees Society), and that of Philip of Burgundy, archbishop of Utrecht (1524), printed in Matthæus, *Veteris Ævi Analecta* (The Hague, 1738), i, 210.

[30] Hansiz, *Germania Sacra* (Augsburg, 1727–29), ii, 8

[31] Metzger, *Historia Salisburgensis* (Salzburg, 1692), p. 316.

[32] Macri, *Hierolexicon*, s. v. *Cardinalis*.

diocese from 1583 to 1612.[33] The archbishop of Gnesen, primate of Poland, received the title of *legatus natus* and permission to wear scarlet from Leo X,[34] i.e. some time between the years 1513 and 1522. In the Dulwich gallery is a portrait of an ecclesiastic in red mozzetta and skullcap, said in the catalogue to be the brother of Stanislas II, king of Poland, that is Michael Poniatowski, who was archbishop of Gnesen[35] from 1785 to 1794.

The use of scarlet by the other three prelates is of much more recent origin. The patriarchate of Lisbon was erected in 1718; the city being divided between the old archbishop and the new patriarch till 1740, when the archbishopric was abolished. The patriarch was given the purple, but in his case it is not of much importance, from the point of view of the artist, as since 1737, he has always been created a cardinal in the consistory following that of his preconisation.[36] The see of Mohilev and Minsk was erected in 1783 and the archbishop placed over all the Latin catholics of Russia. The emperor asked Pius VI to make him a cardinal; there were reasons which made this inexpedient, and the pope refused but, to soften the refusal, he gave the archbishop and his successors permission to dress as cardinals.[37] The archbishop of Warsaw was in 1818 granted a similar but less extensive privilege, for in his case the red skullcap was expressly excepted.[38]

Another bishop who dresses in red is the patriarch of Venice; but his red is not the cardinalitial scarlet. When I was in Venice the present pope, then Cardinal Sarto, was patriarch and of course he, as cardinal, wore the 'purple.' But I am informed that the red of the Venetian patriarch is a dark shade. Moroni states, moreover, that the patriarch uses a 'crimson' skullcap.[39] I am unable to say when the patriarch of Venice began to wear red. My courteous informant[40] could only tell me that the use went back 'to the time of the republic,' that is at least to the eighteenth century.

Subject to what will be said in the next paragraph, this, to the best of my belief, completes the list of bishops who now use red. But formerly there were others, and that in modern times. The patriarch of Aquileia used 'the purple' for all but his hat[41] and that patriarchate was suppressed only in 1752. The archbishop-elector of Mainz, grand chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire and dean of the electoral college, also wore scarlet; but there is, it is well to note, no painted portrait of an archbishop of Mainz of earlier date than the eighteenth century.[42] The archbishop-elector of Trier, arch-chancellor of the empire in Gaul and Arles, on ordinary days wore a black cassock edged with red, but on gala occasions he too wore 'the purple' of a cardinal.[43] Early in the eighteenth century the archbishop of Prague, primate of Bohemia, seems to have adopted scarlet, for in 1723 a vigorous protest was sent to Rome by the archbishops of Salzburg and Cologne,[44] the result being that the Bohemian prelate had to be content with violet. It is perhaps worth mentioning that in 1825 the archbishop of Rheims was given permission, on the occasion of the coronation of Charles X, to dress as a cardinal with the exception of the skullcap. This is probably not a solitary case, but I know of no other.

Some bishops enjoy a privilege of a more limited character. The archbishop of Pisa

[33] For this and other information relating to the see of Cologne I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Theodore Collme, one of the vicars of the cathedral.
[34] I have to thank the Rev. F. Komski, secretary to the present archbishop of Gnesen and Posen, for these details.
[35] Till 1821, Gnesen (in Polish Gniezno) was a separate see. In that year the ancient see of Posen was erected into an archbishopric and united with Gnesen.
[36] Moroni, xxxviii, 313, 314.
[37] Baldassari, *Relazione delle Avversità e Patimenti del Glorioso Papa Pio VI* (Second Edition, Modena, 1842), vol. iii, p. 160.
[38] Moroni, lxxxviii, 152.

[39] *Op. cit.* v, 175.
[40] Father Bernardine, a Carmelite belonging to the convent of the Scalzi.
[41] Macri, *Hierolexicon*, s.v. *Cardinalis.*
[42] Mgr. Schneider, canon of the cathedral, obligingly gave me this information about Mainz.
[43] So I am informed by the secretary of the bishop of Trier.
[44] *Germania Sacra*, ii, 8.

wears a scarlet cappa magna, but in other respects he dresses as any other bishop.[45] I have been unable to ascertain when he first did this, but it was certainly not later than the earliest years of the eighteenth century.[46] The archbishop of Cagliari in Sardinia appears to have or to have had the same privilege, for in 1701 we find the cathedral chapter objecting to the archbishop, a mercedarian, wearing a red cappa on the ground that he was a regular.[47] The archbishop of Seville also wears a red cappa, not scarlet, however, but cherry-coloured.[48] The bishop of Tortosa in Catalonia was given a very different privilege by Adrian VI, that is in 1522 or 1523—the right to wear a red biretta, and this has been maintained to present times.[49]

The privilege of the bishop of Tortosa suggests a possible explanation of a curious portrait hanging in the large Tuscan room of the National Gallery; it is labelled 'Portrait of a Cardinal,' but the dress is unusual. The biretta indeed is scarlet and cardinalitial, the mozzetta is decidedly violet. It is true that a cardinal uses a violet mozzetta in penitential seasons, at times of mourning, and in Rome on some other occasions; but he would hardly choose it for his portrait. A reasonable explanation seems to be that this is the portrait not of a cardinal but of a bishop who either, like the bishop of Tortosa, had the privilege, possibly a personal one, of wearing a red biretta, or wore one without permission. The latter alternative is far from being an unlikely one; in 1731, the bishop of Malta was called upon, by the Roman authorities, to explain why he wore a red biretta on certain feasts and a white one upon others.[50]

So much for bishops. Now a word must be said of two other classes, both connected with the papal court—clerical chamberlains and chaplains.

All these functionaries wear a red cappa of a particular form when they take part in a ceremony at which the pope officiates; a chamberlain also wears this cappa when, as ablegate, he takes the biretta to a newly-created cardinal. But it is not worn on any other occasion.

Red is one of the colours forbidden to clerks by councils;[51] but it was certainly used by them in the middle ages. Quicherat[52] says that during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was one of the favourite colours in France: whilst as to England one has but to glance at the inventories to realize that it was freely used.[53] There is some reason even for thinking that the use of red may not have been extinct among the clergy of Venice at the end of the sixteenth century,[54] nor among those of Benevento a century later.[55]

Chancellor Melton seems to have kept his 'gowne of red scarlet[56] furred with menyvere,' and his 'cremsyn gowne and a hood furred with foones' for use outside the church, for there is mention of 'a black abite for the church with green sarcenet in it.' But many chapters used, and not a few still use red for their choir dress.

[45] Mr. Montgomery Carmichael, the British vice-consul in Leghorn, very kindly made inquiries for me on this point.

[46] The privilege is mentioned in the second edition of Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* (Venice, 1717-1722) iii, 348—a volume published in 1717.

[47] Decree of the S. C. of rites, reported in Barbier de Montault, *Le Costume* (Paris, 1898), i, 315.

[48] For this item of information I have to thank a friend who knows Seville.

[49] Barbier de Montault, *op. cit.* i, 230.

[50] Barbier de Montault, *op. cit.* i, 230.

[51] See Thomassin, *Vetus et Nova Ecclesiae Disciplina* (Lucca, 1728), Pt. I, Bk. ii, ch. 50.

[52] *Loc. cit.*

[53] For instance, those of the goods of Rich. de Ravenser, archdeacon of Lincoln (1386), printed in *The Proceedings of the Royal Archaeological Institute* for 1848; of John of Scarborough, rector of Tichmarsh (1395), in Raine, *Test. Ebor.* iii; of William Melton, chancellor of York (1528), *Test. Ebor.* v.

[54] See *Constitutiones et Privilegia Patriarchatus et Cleri Venetiarum* (Venice, 1587), in which its use was forbidden.

[55] See the decree (1686) of Cardinal Orsini, archbishop of Benevento, printed in Barbier de Montault, *Le Costume*, i, 21.

[56] The term 'scarlet' is applied to a material as well as a colour—so that there may be not only a red scarlet but a black scarlet; just as now in Rome the technical word *purpura* denotes a cassock with a train, which so far as colour goes may be red, violet, rose, blue, white, black, or brown. See *Annuaire Pontifical Catholique* for 1902, p. 103.

The twenty-four canons of the cathedral of Milan are not infrequently taken by English people for cardinals. They are said to have dressed in red since the early years of the eleventh century, and it has been suggested that the red cappa of the cardinal was borrowed from them.[57] The canons of Pisa have had a red cappa for use in winter from time immemorial, and since 1560 a red mozzetta for summer; and in 1790 they were given a red cassock.[58] The canons of the cathedral of Genoa have a red cassock;[59] those of the collegiate church of our Lady of the Vines in the same city a red cappa.[60] Other chapters in Italy have the right to dress in red.[61] In France we find that the canons of Avignon have the same privilege,[62] as on great feasts have those of Angers[63] and Nevers;[64] so in Portugal those of Lisbon,[65] and in Switzerland the canons-regular of St. Maurice d'Agaune.[66] Formerly red was worn by the canons of St. Paul's in London;[67] by those of Tournai between the years 1300 and 1526;[68] Auxerre; Autun; Le Puy; Brioude; Strasburg;[69] Mainz;[70] by all or some of the dignitaries of Paris, Bayeux, Coutances, and Rouen; and by the canons-regular of St. Vincent of Senlis and of Sémur en Auxois.

Rose.—This is a peculiar colour, lying between the Roman violet and scarlet.[71] It might perhaps be best described as a dull brick red. At the present day, it is used by cardinals on *Gaudete* Sunday, the third of Advent. Till comparatively recent times they also used it on the fourth Sunday in Lent; and at the beginning of the sixteenth century its use was much more extensive. Paris de Grassis says that cardinals should wear it on feasts which were not of the first rank; and that bishops might wear it on those days on which cardinals wore red.[72]

Protonotaries[73] are sometimes mistaken for cardinals because of the rose cord which they wear on their hat. This was given them in 1674 that they might be distinguished from other curial prelates. Within the last few months a further distinction of the same character, a red tuft on their biretta, has been granted to them by the present pope.

I know of no other ecclesiastics who use this colour except the canons of the cathedral of Leghorn: they wear a rose-coloured mozzetta in choir on ordinary days in summer.[74]

*(To be continued.)*

[57] Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* (2nd edition), iv, 19.

[58] Sainati, *Diario Sacro Pisano* (Turin, 1898), pp. 141–2.

[59] Barbier de Montault, *Le Costume*, i, 276.

[60] *Ibid.* i, 396.

[61] Those of Naples (Barbier de Montault, *Œuvres Complètes*, Poitiers 1889 etc. v, 108) and Capua (Macri, *Hierolexicon*, s.v. *Cardinalis*) have a red cappa on great feasts. It was granted to the chapter of Venafro by Benedict XIV (1740–1758) according to Moroni (xc, 103). There are probably others.

[62] Granted in 1676. They had worn it before this, but were compelled to put it off in 1673 (Moroni, iii, 266). It was stated that they had worn it from 'time immemorial,' but it must, I think, have been assumed after 1559, as there is no mention of it in the *Histoire Chronologique de l'église . . d'Avignon* by Nougouier, which was published in that year.

[63] Barbier de Montault, *Œuvres Complètes*, viii, 400.

[64] *Ibid.* v, 107.

[65] Moroni, xxxviii, 314.

[66] Canon Abbet, the claustral prior of St. Maurice d'Agaune, has very kindly supplied me with information as to the dress of the abbot and canons.

[67] Desiderii Erasmi, *Epistolae* (Leyden, 1706), i, 457.

[68] Dom Claude de Vert, who also mentions all the other places except Mainz in *Cérémonies de l'église*, ii, 357 (2nd edition, Paris, 1709–13).

[69] *Ante*, p. 282.

[70] Mgr. Schneider informed me that before Mainz was annexed to France by Napoleon the canons had a red choir dress. He remarked on the extreme difficulty of getting precise and accurate information on this subject, even on the spot; in his own chapter, for example, there have been no written laws as to dress.

[71] In Latin *rosa sicca*: Italian *rosaceo*: French *rose sèche*. Paris de Grassis defines it as being *inter violaceum et rubeum medius*.

[72] His arrangement of colours for cardinals is not devoid of interest. He says that during the greater part of the year their cappa should be violet, on about thirty feast days in the year red; and on feasts not the greatest, such as those of the Blessed Virgin, other than the Assumption, and of the Apostles, rose.

[73] The college of protonotaries apostolic has only seven members, who are officially styled *de numero participantium*. There are three classes of honorary protonotaries: (1) Those who are styled *ad instar participantium*, and have for the most part the same privileges as the members of the college; (2) Canons of certain cathedrals who have been given the privileges of protonotaries within, generally speaking, the limits of their diocese only: these are now known as supernumerary protonotaries; (3) Titular protonotaries who do not wear the red cord or the tuft.

[74] I am indebted to Mr. Carmichael for this information: he obtained it for me from Canon Polese, a member of the chapter.

# A TUDOR MANOR HOUSE: SUTTON PLACE BY GUILDFORD[1]

## BY ROBERT DELL

MONG the monuments that still remain to us of the great period of English domestic architecture which was contemporaneous with the reigns of the Tudor sovereigns, are some with which Sutton Place cannot pretend to vie in magnificence; but, apart from its beauty—less splendid but no less real than that of the great Tudor palaces—it has a special claim to consideration, not because it is entirely typical of its time and country, but rather because it is not. It stands, in many respects, almost alone in the domestic architecture of the early sixteenth century, this strangely attractive building, neither gothic nor Renascence, neither wholly English nor wholly Italian, nor yet a mere eclectic mixture of styles such as we know too well in these days, but a composition in which diverse elements have been cunningly welded to produce a unity that is different from any of them and *sui generis*.

We have called Sutton Place a Tudor house; but that is only historically a strictly accurate description. Architecturally it is not an ordinary Tudor house; early Tudor it is, undoubtedly, in its main features, and, if it must be catalogued, the Tudor style is that to which it will be assigned; but it rather belongs to a style of its own, of which it is the only example except Layer Marney in Essex, which approaches it more nearly than any other building of the period. It must have been the creation of an individual genius. Was its designer a travelled Englishman who had brought home with him from Italy, or possibly from France, a knowledge of and taste for the artistic Renascence which had as yet scarcely touched his native country? Was he an Italian who had sucked in the ideas of the Renascence as naturally as he breathed, and who translated them, so to speak, into English in this Surrey manor? We do not know, and it is unlikely that we ever shall know. We do indeed know that the house was built by Sir Richard Weston, Knight of the Bath, Privy Councillor, and a statesman of no little importance in his day, who, in 1521, received from Henry VIII the grant of the royal manor of Sutton by Guildford, but whether Sir Richard was or was not his own architect we cannot tell. If he was, he deserves a high place in the annals of English art; for such a combination of daring originality with taste and restraint, as is shown in Sutton Place, is rare. Mr. Frederic Harrison thinks it likely that the house was the work of builders trained in gothic art, but working under the artistic superintendence of Trevisano (Girolamo da Treviso) or one of the other Italians attached to the court of Henry VIII, but there is no positive evidence available.

In any case Sir Richard Weston himself had had the opportunity of coming under the influence of the Italian Renascence, if only at second hand. In 1518 he went to France on a special embassy from Henry VIII to Francis I; two years later he accompanied Henry VIII to the Field of the Cloth of Gold; three years later still he was there again, on a mission not of peace but of war, and took part in the siege of Boulogne. In France he must have seen the domestic *châteaux* that were then springing up all over the country to replace the old *châteaux forts*; although, therefore, it is unlikely that the conception and design of his house were his own, it is probable that they represent his personal taste. However this may be, he built, somewhere between 1521 and 1525, on his new estate the house which, except that it has lost one side of its chief quadrangle, still stands almost in every detail the same as when it left its builders'

[1] For most of the facts in this article the writer is indebted to Mr. Frederic Harrison's fascinating 'Annals of an Old Manor House' (Macmillan), which should be read by everyone interested in the subject.

hands. It is a striking example of the right way to use foreign influences in art. Strong as is the influence of the Italian Renascence, not merely in ornamental details, but to some extent in the whole conception and even in the materials used, yet this building is entirely suited to its environment. It is English in plan, quadrangular like other houses of the period; fundamentally it is an example of that perpendicular style which is the one native English style of architecture; its great mullioned windows with their perpendicular traceries are like those that we see in other buildings of the first half of the sixteenth century. It could be nothing but an English manor house, and would be as much out of place in any other country as is a pseudo-classical temple of the eighteenth century in an English park. The architect, whoever he was, knew that, though architecture may borrow from other countries, it must belong fundamentally to its own. He did not, like Wren and his contemporaries, import an exotic style which, great though its intrinsic merits are, and suitable and natural as it is to Italy, is unsuitable and meaningless in England. Had his example been followed, we might not have had to lament the destruction of English architecture, checked in its natural development by an artificial and belated classicism.

Before we go further, it may be of interest to note that Sutton Place has never changed hands by sale since it was built, and is now in the possession of a cadet of the Weston family in the female line, though not a descendant of Sir Richard Weston, the original owner of the estate, and founder of the Sutton branch of the family. The line of Sir Richard Weston became extinct by the death in 1782 at the age of seventy-nine of Melior Mary Weston, daughter and heiress of John Weston. By her the estate was bequeathed to John Webbe, also of Sarnesfield Court, Herefordshire, fifth in descent from Dorothy Weston, sister of the first earl of Portland and wife of Sir Edward Pincheon, and through her descended from the Essex branch of the Weston family. John Webbe-Weston (he assumed the latter surname under the will of his kinswoman) had two sons, both of whom married but died childless, and on his death in 1823 he bequeathed the Sutton estate to Francis Henry Salvin, sixth son of his second daughter Mary Ann by her marriage with Thomas Salvin, of Croxdale, Durham. Mr. Salvin died last year at the age of eighty-seven, and the estate passed to one of his relatives. It is also an interesting fact that Sutton Place has been continuously in Catholic hands from its foundation, the successive owners of the property never having swerved from the ancient faith.

Sutton Place has been let for many years; it was for some years occupied by the late Mr. Frederick Harrison and, after his death in 1881, by his distinguished son. Not very long ago it was let on a long lease to Sir Alfred and Lady Harmsworth, by whose kind permission the photographs from which our illustrations are made have been taken. Lady Harmsworth takes a keen interest in the beautiful house, which has been furnished and decorated under her own supervision. It does not come within the scope of this article to deal with the furniture of the house, but it would be ungracious not to mention the admirable taste which is shown in every detail. Everything in the house is in keeping with it; that is not to say that all the furniture, tapestries, and pictures are of the sixteenth century; such a limitation would be as impossible as it is unnecessary. But nearly all the furniture is ancient, most of it is English, and all of it is suited to its environment. Whatever additions have been made in the way of domestic comforts and conveniences have been made without in the least injuring the house or altering its

THE QUADRANGLE, FROM THE NORTH

THE SOUTH AND EAST WINGS, FROM THE SOUTH EAST

THE SMALL PANELLED HALL

THE DINING-ROOM

PLATE II. SUTTON PLACE BY GUILDFORD

character, and its furnishing has been guided by a unity of artistic conception as real as that which inspired its builders.

One of the most interesting points about Sutton is the fact that it is built entirely of brick and terra-cotta, no stone at all having been used. The building is dressed with terra-cotta in precisely the same way as other brick buildings are dressed with stone; the mullions, turrets, arches, and other details are all moulded in this material. This use of terra-cotta in the construction as well as in the ornament makes Sutton of particular interest to architects and builders in these days when the employment of terra-cotta in building has been revived after centuries of disuse. It is in the details of the terra-cotta mouldings that the influence of the Renascence shows itself most strongly in Sutton. The *amorini* over the doors in the north and south wings, the arabesque work, the mullions of the windows, and most of the other ornaments are distinctly Renascence and even Italian in character, but they are widely different from the pseudo-classical ornament of a later age. The way in which this ornament is harmonized with and adapted to a building fundamentally gothic is very remarkable, and whoever was responsible for it was a true artist. One is struck by no incongruity between the building itself and its decoration; taste and skill have preserved a complete unity.

Another feature in the house which is certainly of foreign origin is the stepping of the gables; an example of this may be seen in the gables at the north ends of the east and west wings in the first illustration.[2] Mr. Frederic Harrison quotes Mr. J. J. Stevenson as saying that this was originally a French artifice; one would rather have thought it to be Flemish; at any rate, wherever it originated, it is one of the most characteristic features of the architecture of the Netherlands, as every visitor to Bruges must have observed. It also, of course, became very common in Scotland. Mr. Frederic Harrison also rightly finds Renascence influence in the symmetry of the quadrangle at Sutton, and the regularity of the façade. The quadrangle, in its original form when the northern wing was standing, was exactly square, measuring 81 ft. 3 in. in each direction; it would also be exactly symmetrical were it not for some irregularity in the intervals of the windows in the western wing.

The house as originally built consisted of the main quadrangle, of which three sides are still standing (see illustration); the small quadrangle which now adjoins the west wing is not part of the original house, but was added to it at a later date; it contains no terra-cotta. The northern wing of the main quadrangle, which has now disappeared, contained a gateway with a gate tower about 70 ft. high (that is, rather more than double the height of the existing house) which was flanked by two large octagonal turrets which served as staircases to reach the upper story of the tower. This north wing was with the east wing injured by the fire which occurred in the reign of Elizabeth; the rooms injured by that fire, in Mr. Frederic Harrison's opinion, were probably never completely refitted and furnished. The Weston family seem to have resided on their other property, Clandon, and not at Sutton, from the time of Sir Henry Weston (1535–92) to that of the third Sir Richard Weston, who, eleven years before his death, which occurred in 1652, had sold the Clandon estate to Sir Richard Onslow. Sir Richard Weston encumbered his estate by unfortunate speculations, and was probably unable to restore Sutton properly. He therefore fitted up the west wing for use, and perhaps added the small quadrangle on the west side of the house.

The north wing had in any case become

[2] Plate I, page 291.

[3] Plate I, page 291.

ruinous when John Webbe-Weston succeeded to the estate in 1782, and in the same year he demolished the whole of it, including the gate-house and tower. The quadrangle was thus thrown open in the way that will be seen in the illustration. Nothing but want of funds prevented Mr. Webbe-Weston from entirely destroying the house; under his instructions, the Italian architect Bonomi had prepared designs for transforming it into an imitation of a classical temple, but happily they were too expensive for Mr. Webbe-Weston's pocket, and the house was saved for the benefit of people with better taste than himself. Since that time it has been piously preserved, and stands in its original condition except that about a dozen of the windows have modern mullions and frames which were inserted by the late Mr. Frederick Harrison in 1875, in place of sash windows which had been substituted for the old ones at some time in the eighteenth century. The new mullions and frames were taken in moulds from casts of the existing ancient windows.

The main entrance to the house was formerly in the centre of the south wing, facing the gate-house, which has now disappeared; but, as this door enters straight into the great hall, it has long been disused, and one now enters the house by the door in the west wing. This door opens into an outer hall adjoining the panelled room, which is now used as the entrance hall of the house, though in the seventeenth century it was known as the parlour. The walls of this entrance hall are covered with seventeenth-century oak-panelling, which was restored to its original condition in 1874 by the late Mr. Frederick Harrison, who removed the canvas and paint with which it was covered. The fireplace is of the same date as the house, and is almost identical with that in the great hall; both are of terra-cotta, and are decorated with the pomegranate, the badge of Catherine of Aragon. Over the fireplace are the arms of Weston impaling those of Copley, being the coat of the first John Weston, who married in 1637 Mary, daughter and heiress of William Copley, of Gatton, Surrey. Through the door shown in the picture of the panelled hall[4] one passes into a lobby from which ascends the staircase to the bedrooms which occupy the first floor of this wing, and immediately opposite this door is the door of the dining-room, which is also illustrated.[4] The panelling of this beautiful room does not belong to the house; it has been placed in its present position within the last few years, and the four fine tapestries (three of which are shown in the illustration) were fitted in at the same time. Off the dining-room is a small library or study, which forms the north end of the west wing.

Returning from the dining-room through the panelled hall, and passing along a wide passage, which turns round into the south wing, we have the drawing-room on our right. This room, which was originally the kitchen, is now decorated with white panelling in the style of the eighteenth century, but Lady Harmsworth regards its present arrangement as only temporary, and it is, therefore, not illustrated. Its windows are all on the garden side of the house, facing south.[5] The greater part of the south wing is composed of the great hall, which occupies both storeys,[6] and it has eighteen windows, ten on the north side facing the court, and eight on the south side facing the garden. There is a door into the garden immediately opposite that on the north side, which opens into the middle of the court. This is a magnificent and nobly-proportioned room, 51 ft. 6 in. in length, 26 ft. in breadth, and nearly 31 ft. in height. The walls are covered by oak-panelling of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries up to about half their height, and the terra-cotta fireplace, like that in the small hall, is of the same

[4] Plate II, page 294.
[5] Plate I, page 291. [6] Plates III, p. 297 and IV, p. 300.

THE LONG GALLERY IN THE EAST WING

THE GREAT HALL

PLATE IV. SUTTON PLACE BY GUILDFORD

date as the house. The illustrations will give some idea of the general effect of the hall, which contains several interesting portraits belonging to the owners of the house. One of its most remarkable features is the splendid series of armorial painted glass in the windows; this glass requires an article to itself, and it is impossible here to do more than refer the reader to Mr. Frederic Harrison's account, which is finely illustrated by plates in colour.[7] The ceiling is of flat plaster, and is probably original; at least, Mr. Frederic Harrison points out that the beams in the roof over the ceiling were evidently not constructed to be shown as an open timber roof. There is a gallery both on the east and west sides of the hall; that on the west side is shown in the illustration on plate III, and the other is immediately opposite it. This was, of course, originally the dining hall of the house, and the high table no doubt stood very much in the position now occupied by the billiard table.

The door seen in the illustration on plate III gives on to the west wing, and the staircase seen through it leads up to the long gallery, which occupies the whole of the first floor of that wing.[8] It is very improbable that this floor was originally arranged as a long gallery; it was almost certainly divided up into rooms as the first floor of the east wing is at present, and the probability is that it was never properly restored after the fire in 1560. The panelling in the room is mostly of the eighteenth century, though a little of it is earlier; it came from another house, and was placed here by the late Mr. Harrison when he restored the gallery. The gallery, including the staircase, measures 152 by 21 ft., and has windows on three sides of the wing. Hung as it is at present with fine tapestries, and furnished with exquisite taste, it is perhaps the most attractive room in the house, and our illustration, small as it is, gives some idea of the impression that one receives when one enters the gallery from the staircase. The ground floor of the east wing has not been restored since the fire of 1560, and is at present disused.

[7] 'Annals of an Old Manor House,' Chap. XII, pp 164-190.

[8] Plate IV, page 300.

It has been impossible, within the limits of a short article, to do anything like justice to the merits of this beautiful house; but this cursory description will have served its purpose if it incites those who are interested in English architecture to refer to Mr. Frederic Harrison's work on the subject, or to obtain permission to visit Sutton. One ventures to hope that it may even perhaps induce architects with houses to design not hastily to dismiss the possibilities of the perpendicular style of architecture. Sutton Place is a striking example of those possibilities; it shows that perpendicular architecture is quite compatible with modern ideas of comfort. Here is a house which, in the words of an auctioneer's advertisement, is 'replete with every modern convenience,' yet at the same time its value as a work of art has been in no way diminished. If it has been possible so to adapt a sixteenth-century house, much more possible must it be to build one in the same style with all the arrangements that modern needs demand. If we had in the twentieth century any architectural style of our own, one would not for a moment suggest recurrence to a style of the past. But since all modern architecture that is worth anything is a copy or adaptation of what has gone before, surely it would be better to copy or adapt the one style of architecture which really belongs to this country. Perhaps perpendicular architecture, if it were generally adopted, might be made a starting point for a genuine architectural development. The experiment is worth trying, and it is very much to be regretted that it is not tried when such opportunities arise as that which is afforded, to take a notable instance, by the new Kingsway which is now being made between Holborn and the Strand.

# OPUS ANGLICANUM AT THE BURLINGTON FINE ARTS CLUB

## BY MAY MORRIS

IN no public gathering do we, nor can we in the nature of things, have shows so severe in quality as those at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, and since its first announcement in the spring the exhibition of English Embroideries of early date has been eagerly looked for. On considering the exhibits as a whole, one is more than ever struck by the versatility of the mediaeval genius at its best and happiest moments. But there is more than this; there is a certain quality in the work produced that may sometimes be missed, overloaded, maybe, by that very versatility and the exuberant life that must be expressed anyhow and everywhere. For instance, in making a study of one particular type of Opus Anglicanum such as the Pienza cope lately figured in these pages, one finds the same design persisting in half-a-dozen of these pieces, the same saints standing in those now familiar arcades with twisted columns and lion bases. Turn over the pages of any manuscript of the period and similar pictures meet the eye: the same appeal, the same dramatic trick, the same slight touch of humour and homely sentiment. At the sight of so much repetition, it would be but natural to grow vaguely weary of the invention that seems to be limited on all sides by the necessity of supplying a certain sentiment and a certain legend to the popular demand. As Emile Mâle would say, a great French portal or painted window was literally a sermon in stone or glass; certain canons have to be observed, certain stories must be told in just one way, certain figures should be drawn on such and such lines. The stern archaic head of Christ looks out of a picture full of fourteenth-century elegancies; St. Peter is recognizable always by the sturdy square head and close-curled grey hair; the figures in a story are grouped as in a pageant-play familiar to all eyes, in which the actors have posed themselves in the same attitudes for generations, well aware that their patrons will allow no innovation in gesture or expression. But this is not the whole story, and 'the little more' happens to be just the secret of the charm. If there were nothing but the 'popular' element in mediaeval art, it would be as unendurable as it is actually delightful. The early-fourteenth-century Apocalypse pictures often fatigue the eye by their childlike representation of impossibilities, but the wonder expressed in them and the rare moments of illumination when the painter, in a happy dream, seems to have peered through the window of heaven in the company of St. John himself—these things give us a not infrequent sight of the thoughts and aspirations of the mediaeval mind. And though the church embroideries, for obvious reasons, give the story of the religion rather than its visions, we have here, too (less markedly), a feeling that at the back of the obvious and commonplace lies a plane of thought of some spaciousness and dignity. On all of them lies the freshness and vivacity of the artist in love with his task and amused by it; all the pieces I am specially noting here are, roughly speaking, the product of the same forty or fifty years of artistic activity in England; each of them has a different flavour and a different charm, a charm not lost through the almost painfully laborious medium of fine stitching.

The cope on crimson velvet which, cut up into chasuble, stole, maniple, and altar-hanging, was formerly partly at Mount St. Mary's College, Chesterfield, and partly in the family whose present representative, Colonel Butler-Bowdon, now lends it, is one of the series of copes designed after one pattern, with certain modifications.[1] I should say this piece is about the simplest of the copes in radiating arcades, as the St. John Lateran one is the most intricate. It is interesting to compare the two, that under our eyes being far more dignified for the broad planning of the figures and the plainer design of the three zones of arcading. The colour of it is masterly, the pearly quality of the orphrey finely opposed to the rich red mass of the body of the vestment, whose hem is encircled by a narrow border of flowery green and white and purple, freshly simple. The whole thing was at one time savagely cut, but has been pieced together by a distinguished and learned hand, no attempt being made to 'restore' the missing portions, which are merely explained by slight painting on the canvas backing. The body of the cope is divided into three series of arcading with twisted oak-leaf columns and lions' heads for capitals. The centre is occupied by the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Wise Men, and the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin. Single figures, standing on a wreath-twisted platform, fill the rest of the ground. In the upper series are SS. Stephen and Lawrence, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. Helena. St. Edward the Confessor holding a church stands at one end of the second row, and St. Edmund the King with an arrow at the other. Next him is an archbishop, probably Thomas of Canterbury. Within are Margaret and Catherine of Alexandria, John the Baptist, and John the Evangelist, and a bishop. The outer row gives the apostles, and the whole piece presents a most useful and informing series of the symbols of saints and apostles in these earliest fourteenth-century days.[2] It is a somewhat matter-of-fact piece, for all the lively invention; but an individual note is struck by the pair of green parakeets that stand on the crockets above the Coronation, and a touch of

[1] Plate I, p. 305. [2] See page 303.

poetry supplied by the charming angels, seated in rich green faldestols, holding stars in their laps; in each half-spandrel at the end is a little standing figure stretching out his star with an eager gesture. The orphrey, particularly fresh and brilliant, is a fine display of high personages—kings, queens, bishops, and an archbishop; they stand on a golden ground figured with eagles, lions, flower de luce, etc., while in the spandrels and between the arcades are heraldic beasts, griffins, and lions, all in white silk. The triangular hood, where two angels are censing, now cut in two and sewn to the outer edge of the embroidery, might easily be restored to its proper place. There is a good deal of enrichment all over the cope by means of raised gold, fine pearls and beads; the angels' stars have all been covered with fine pearls, also the lion-masks at the 'ties' of the net-arcade. The faces are worked after the peculiar convention of the time, but more loopy than round, and consequently flatter and less grotesque than the faces in the Syon cope. The gold-work is of good, bold style (the broad folds of the drapery in silver), but not so admirable as in the Steeple Aston cope.

In sentiment nothing could be further apart than these two fine pieces—the Butler-Bowdon cope and the cope which, slashed and pieced into altar frontal and dorsal, has been preserved for so many years in the village of Steeple Aston.[3] In this piece there is no question of a 'touch' of poetry—the whole thing is entirely dream-like and elusive. Not for choice of subjects is it so incomparable (just the saints' martyrdoms), nor for anything that can be criticized technically from a fresh point of view, but for its air both of simplicity and subtlety; it is far-off and fragile, the ghost of something lovely, appealing not to the senses, but to the imagination. The network of this cope was evolved by some person who chose to screen the order of his design by breaking the line into a tangle of ivy and oak boughs. To describe or explain a design of so rare a quality is to violate the charm of its reserve; certainly the embroiderer of his time has imagined nothing of greater excellence. I should not venture a definite pronouncement on the former colour of the material this piece is worked on; the received opinion seems to be that it is faded from some sort of red. If that is so I am unwilling to recall its fresher splendour, for the grey gold and grey white are harmonious beyond telling, and the spots of positive colour—saints' hair, cloak-lining, peacock wing—start up here and there with a little wilfulness that is pleasing, and if a fault, a trivial one. The ground is a thin twilled silk backed with a stronger material, the work entirely gold but for the flesh and the touches aforesaid. All has been outlined with a fine black line. The quatrefoils of the net are tied by faces set in vine leaves and raised green fruit, and in the spandrels are lions passant, armed and langed azure. The centre of the cope is occupied by The Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, The Crucifixion, and The Bearing of the Cross. The rest of the subjects are martyrdoms of saints and apostles, with their names inscribed in bold lettering. I give a list comparing the saints in these groups with the single figures in the Butler-Bowdon cope:—

| | Butler-Bowdon Cope. | Steeple Aston Cope. |
|---|---|---|
| Matthew | Sword drawn | —— |
| Simon | Saw | Bust only |
| Jude | Boat | Bust only |
| Thomas | Spear | Pierced with spear |
| Andrew | Cross | Tied to cross |
| James the Great | Staff and wallet | Staff and wallet |
| Peter | Keys | On cross, head downward |
| Paul | Sword | Beheaded |
| Mathias | Halberd | —— |
| James the Less | Cross | Cross |
| Philip | Loaves | —— |
| Bartholomew | Knife | Knife |
| Stephen | Stones | Stoned |
| Lawrence | Gridiron | Gridiron |
| Margaret | Dragon | Issuing from Dragon |
| Catherine | Wheel and sword | Wheel, beheaded |
| Barnabas | —— | Beaten with clubs |

The faces in this cope are different in type from those in the Butler-Bowdon piece. In the latter the apostles' heads are drawn with a uniform ruggedness, while the kings and queens are merely large-eyed and gentle. In the Steeple Aston work we meet with a serious wistfulness of expression; one or two of the heads are nobly poised, and some of the 'bad fellows' full of character, not merely grotesque. The faces are in fact better drawn. Enough is spared of the striking and beautiful orphrey to make one lament the rest. On a golden ground, rippled like a sunlit sea touched by the wind, are angels, alternately front and back view. Of those who turn their backs we have nothing but curly locks and peacock wings. Those who face us are mounted on horseback and playing, one on a fiddle, the other on a cittern, and between them are medallions with the world-symbol, the whole orphrey being Creation's hymn to the Most High. The narrow border, all gold, consists of woodland animals in eager chase. I regret to see that this priceless work shows growing signs of decay since I saw it some ten years ago. Once mounted in the most suitable way it should be kept framed and handled as little as possible.

Work of yet another temper (full of puzzles) is the cope lent by the Musée Royal of Brussels,[4] which it is a privilege to see here and compare with other things.

This cope, formerly from the church of Harlebeke, has its orphrey and hood embroidered most finely and minutely. It is not possible to describe it here as closely as it deserves; it is full of interesting and curious details of dress and musical instruments. The background of each panel is of fine gold diaper, mostly a lozenge and keyed-cross

[3] Plate I, page 305

[4] Plate II, page 308.

pattern, portions of the work such as architectural details being emphasized by raised lines. The martyrdoms of the apostles are figured on the orphrey and all follow the accepted legend with much precision. On the bottom, on the left, is named St. Matthew (S. Matoce), but the figure kneeling and stoned by two men is, of course, St. Mathias, the Matthew legend being given on the other side with much dramatic force and named for St. Mathias (S. Mathia). Next is St. Thomas kneeling by the heathen altar, commanding the destruction of the idol, the king of India looking on. James the Less is being clubbed in the next; then Bartholomew flayed, a curiously violent representation for this early period, when the martyrdoms are usually presented with all artistic reserve. Next, St. Andrew bound to the diagonal cross, one of his executioners wearing a feathered cap. Then comes St. Paul beheaded, one of 'Nero's knyghtes" looking on; St. Peter (Sce Petre) is also beheaded, curiously. St. John the Evangelist sits in a caldron of boiling oil, one executioner filling it from a bucket, and the other, a man with wild green locks, stirring the fire. Next is St. Matthew (named for Mathias); after solemnizing the mass he is stabbed in the back at the altar by the king's men. St. James the Great is beheaded; St. Philip tied to a cross by two executioners, SS. Simon and Jude lying on the ground are stoned by two men, and clubbed by a third. Elegant little angels stand in niches of the pillars, playing various instruments, and half-length figures of the prophets fill the spandrils. The present hood contains the Crucifixion, the old triangular hood, two birds with a delicate flower border, being at the base of it. I take it that the Crucifixion was formerly in the middle of the orphrey between Peter and Paul. This piece has an unusual unfamiliar look for English work of the date it must be (not later than 1320), and leads one to speculate on the very different schools there must have been in England at this one time. In the same case is another chasuble also claimed for English, which I had already concluded with characteristic rashness to be Italian, in spite of the evidence of the heraldry upon it, *i.e.* the shield of John Grandisson, bishop of Exeter (1327–1369). It would, however, be impertinent to persist in an opinion against the learning of other people with whom I have discussed this piece; there is, no doubt, some reason that we shall never know for its distinctly Italian character. It is, of course, much later than the Brussels piece.

I have unwillingly to pass with a word things of great historical interest, as the amice-apparel of Thomas of Canterbury, formerly in the treasury of Sens Cathedral, and lent by St. Thomas's Abbey, Erdington; and his mitre, lent by the archbishop of Westminster. These important and beautiful relics belong to a school different from the one I am considering, and should be studied with other early gold-work; the ancient Durham ornaments, the pieces in the Hôtel Cluny at Paris, the Worcester fragments which are exhibited here, the mitre, buskins, and sandals from the tomb of Archbishop Hubert Walter at Canterbury,[5] and finally with the blue chasuble from the Victoria and Albert Museum shown here (case A) which is a link between the English art that is of Byzantium and that which is English at last. Of the Worcester embroideries the later fragments have a marked affinity with the ornament on this blue chasuble; both have the same characteristic scroll-work with its curled leaves and buds of early spring.

Out of a note-book crowded with reminders of these romantic things I have to select two more of superlative interest before concluding. From St. Dominick's Priory at Haverstock Hill comes a large panel consisting of an arcade in which the figure of Our Lord sits on a gold throne.[6] His right hand is raised in blessing, and under the left, which holds a sceptre, is an orb divided into three parts inscribed

I
EUROPA AFFCA and ASIA.

The design is broad in style, and indeed far larger, as a single subject, than any embroideries with which I am acquainted of this date, though the work is as fine and highly finished as embroideries on a much smaller scale; the combination of breadth and delicacy gives much distinction to this piece. The ground is a dull grey purple twilled silk semé with lions rampant in gold. The figure is royally clad in a gold mantle and brown tunic, once red (the experts say it of all these lovely pallid browns and fawns), decorated with bands of gold-embroidered red-purple at the neck and wrists and across the body. The nimbus has embroidered jewels, and the cross is laid with seed-pearls. In the spandrels of the arch are the sun and moon with dragons and lions above and below. Above is the Annunciation in two arcades, the Blessed Virgin, with the Holy Dove over her, standing on one side, and the angel Gabriel on the other. The space between is filled with a sloping arcade, alternately red and green. The figure of Christ is strangely solemn and concentrated in expression. It is archaic of intent too; the little figures above are of their century, the Blessed Virgin, even, with a somewhat mannered charm. But this gaunt face, with its look beyond, has gazed on us from many a page of Apocalypse pictures; the Lambeth manuscript contains it, and Mr. Yates Thompson's Rimini manuscript, and the folds of the Ascoli cope show it once more. Of intent and instinct the man who invented this panel has endowed every line of the drapery, every touch of the dead

[5] Plate II, page 308. [6] Vetusta Monumenta, Vol. VII.

PORTION OF THE STEEPLE ASTON COPE (ALTAR FRONTAL)

OPUS ANGLICANUM AT THE BURLINGTON FINE ARTS CLUB, PLATE I. FROM PHOTOGRAPHS LENT BY THE CLUB

PANEL BELONGING TO ST. DOMINICK'S PRIORY, HAVERSTOCK HILL; FROM A PHOTOGRAPH LENT BY THE BURLINGTON FINE ARTS CLUB

THE HARLEBEKE COPE BELONGING TO THE CINQUANTENAIRE MUSEUM, BRUSSELS; FROM THE NEW CATALOGUE OF THE MUSEUM, BY PERMISSION OF THE DIRECTOR

OPUS ANGLICANUM AT THE BURLINGTON FINE ARTS CLUB, PLATE II

purple and grey gold, with austerity and aloofness, and it is impossible not to be much moved by what he has striven to convey, whether he has succeeded, or whether it be only his effort that touches one.

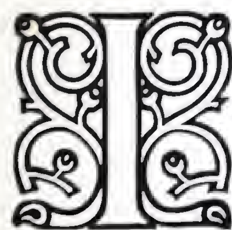
A triumphant piece of decorative work is the red velvet chasuble lent by Prince Solms-Braunfels. At first the golden lions of England, set in a golden scroll-work, is all we see. Closer examination shows that the beasts have terrible bushy eyebrows and eyes of flat crystal, and that their bodies are worked in fine gold, the tufted manes done with a certain simplicity, but with an entire command over material. Little jewels of cabochon crystals are scattered here and there, set as it were in a framework of black silk heightened with seed-pearls. Among the leafage lie small figures of men and women, elegant and idly vivacious (courtiers all), drawn in the best possible style. The catalogue says of this piece, 'This chasuble appears to have been made from a horse-trapper. Tradition has assigned an English origin to this superb example of mediaeval art. The lions upon the back show great similarity to those upon the well-known shield of John of Eltham, second son of Edward II. It is of interest to note that Eleanor, sister of this prince, was married in 1332 to Rainald, second duke of Guelders (1326–1343), which may perhaps explain the vestments being in the possession of a noble German house.' Experts tell me that the treatment of the lions is specially English. That being so, English art of the period is certainly full of delightful surprises, for this scroll-work has an unusual look, and the little ladies with their broad serene foreheads and the gallants with their rippled yellow locks smile from their bower of gold with a foreign grace—Rhenish, one might have thought, or Burgundian, and the assurance that it is English makes it the more interesting.

One case shows some striking pieces from two different sources, a maniple and stole lent by Miss Weld, and a stole lent by Lord Willoughby de Broke, all heraldic. The former are more faded than is the latter, and are of quite delicious colour, a ground alternately green and fawn, with velvety grey-blue and so forth. The ground of Lord Willoughby de Broke's stole remains of a pinky shade, and this brings to my mind the question of the use of red in these mediaeval embroideries. The Syon cope has a fawn ground, the Steeple Aston pieces are greyish-white; the figure in the Haverstock Hill panel has a fawn tunic, the stole and maniple here have fawn-brown, and so on. These various shades are generally taken to have faded from some central red; and yet, if it is so, the dyes used must have varied immensely in character, for some of the pieces retain their brilliant reds and crimsons almost unchanged. Looking at the Steeple Aston cope with a friend one day, we came to the conclusion that the ground here at least had never been of a full quality, for these wonderful colourists knew better than to overload their work by placing a black outline round everything on a solid red ground. It has been suggested by Mr. Kendrick that some of these fawns may have been of a pink shade, of the quality of Lord Willoughby de Broke's stole (the *reverse* of the borders on the Syon cope shows this same sweetish pink, while the body of it is brownish, both back and front). It seems possible; I have not sufficient knowledge of the history of dye-stuffs to know what might be used for reds at the time, beyond the well-known kermes and madder: safflower would give, I believe, just this luscious red and pink, and is extremely fugitive.

It is obviously impossible in a few pages to say all one would wish to note about the exhibition. I gather it has come as a surprise to many people that work so distinguished, so highly developed and so varied, should have been produced in our midst at this early date. The surprise surprises me, for they accept without exclamation the front of Wells Cathedral, illuminated books from Winchester, and so forth, and this is but part of the same story. In the introduction to the catalogue, Mr. A. F. Kendrick gives some most useful accounts of English copes, etc., on the continent. The forthcoming illustrated catalogue will prove quite essential to every student of mediaeval embroidery.

## A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY WALL-PAPER AT WOTTON-UNDER-EDGE

### BY ARCHIBALD G. B. RUSSELL



IT is obvious that of all kinds of domestic decoration wall-papers are likely to be the most perishable, and it is on account of the scarcity of old examples that this artistically important branch of design has not yet received attention from the historians of art. Though they had been in use among the Chinese from very early times, wall-hangings made of paper do not appear to have been adopted by the west until the middle of the sixteenth century, when they began to be imported by Spanish and Dutch merchants; but it was not before the end of the following century that this less costly substitute for the tapestries, silk and satin damasks, figured velvets, stamped leather painted and gilded, which formerly adorned the walls of the fortunate,

found its way into our islands; and it was a hundred years again, owing to the excessive tax which hampered the industry, before it became possible for their manufacture to be carried on at home on any considerable scale.

The early experiments which preceded their introduction from the east were, as is naturally to be expected, of a purely imitative character, consisting of an endeavour to provide colourable reproductions of the fashionable hangings in a cheaper material. As is also to be expected, the result was possessed of little or no artistic merit. In 1634 one John Lanyer obtained a patent for a process of applying flock to a cotton ground, with a view to counterfeiting damasks, Utrecht velvets, and other luxuries, for the purpose of mural decoration. The idea of using a paper ground does not seem to have occurred to him. The first papers actually to be hung on walls in England were of this flock description, and came into use between the years 1670 and 1680. The invention was introduced into France in 1688 by Jean Papillon, a wood engraver, and there obtained a considerable vogue, but only in second-rate establishments. Then followed the production of papers in imitation of leather hangings, silvered or gilded, and ornamented with flowers and conventional patterns; and in France there appeared also at the beginning of the eighteenth century printed wall-papers designed after the fashion of dominoterie, the marbled or figured paper in use among bookbinders. All these kinds, however, were as inferior in quality as they were artistically, and were scarcely ever to be found, at any rate until the middle of the eighteenth century, in the houses of the upper classes, those who could not afford a more sumptuous style remaining content to live in simple panelled or whitewashed apartments.

But there was one exception. About the time of the accession of William and Mary, a few years after the Chinese craze had invaded England, wall-papers designed and painted in China began to reach our shores. The *rapprochement* with Holland (whose oriental trade had long ago provided this luxury for herself), consequent upon the arrival of the Dutch prince, was to some extent responsible for this; but our own East India Company, which had first touched China in 1637, had at this time a rapidly increasing traffic with the Far East. Chinese goods of every description (besides wall-papers), porcelain, screens, cabinets, silks, embroideries, hanging pictures, and the like, were imported in quantities; and the Chinese influence began to permeate many of our own arts, metal work, fictiles, and embroidery being especially tranformed by the new-fangled style. The remarkable silver toilet set in the possession of Sir Samuel Montagu, belonging to the years 1683 and 1687, and decorated with men, animals, birds, trees, buildings, fountains, etc., in the Chinese manner, is one of the most conspicuous examples of this kind of work. So the coming of wall-papers to match the prevailing taste was joyfully welcomed in polite households, and though they were far from being cheap, they were widely employed both in England and France, and remained in fashion for at least a century and a half. The frequent mention in the *livre-journal* of Duvaux (the middle of the eighteenth century) of so many 'feuilles de papier la Chine, fond blanc à fleurs et oiseaux,' being supplied for paper hangings to the nobility, always has reference to these importations from China.

The delightful wall-paper of Chinese origin of which two specimens are here reproduced by the courteous permission of its owner, Mr. Vincent Perkins, has been hanging, since the close of the seventeenth century, on the parlour walls of a house, formerly in the possession of the Berkeley family, at Wotton-under-Edge in Gloucestershire. It is thus one of the very first of the Chinese papers to have been put up in an English house. It is, fortunately, on the whole, with some discolouration of the ground, in an excellent state of preservation; and we cannot be too grateful for the miracle of its survival, showing as it does the art of the Chinese designer before it had become contaminated with Western influences, or done to order from Western patterns. The colouring is executed entirely by hand, without the aid of either block or stencil. The design, as is always the case with Chinese papers, is varied all the way round the room, the sections of it being most ingeniously adapted to the exigencies of angles and recesses. The basis of the design, as may be seen from the illustrations, is a row of trees, planted by the side of water upon the projecting points of an indented shore, and laden with blossom and fruit and large flowers. Lotuses and other aquatic plants rise from the water to decorate the interstices between the stems of the trees. Pheasants, cranes, and richly-plumaged birds rest upon the boughs and fill the air about them, and below there are ducks, swimming and diving. The colours are bright and harmoniously combined, the many-hued birds and flowers shining with jewel-like splendour amid the pale olive and dark bluish-greens of the foliage. The whole scheme of the design is skilfully subordinated to decorative necessities, the plane of the wall surface being frankly admitted, and no attempt made to obtain effects of relief or perspective. It was the inability to realize the importance of this last limitation and the ludicrous endeavour to give an appearance of solidity to the objects rendered which proved so fatal to the majority of indigenous designs, until the coming of Morris.

Another paper, nearly identical in pattern with the one at Wotton-under-Edge, and said to have been put up during the first years of the eighteenth century, is in the principal room at Ightham

A WALL PAPER OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AT WOTTON-UNDER-EDGE,
FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY ALBERT DURN

Mote in Kent. It is rather more elaborate in character. The *ho* bird (the Chinese phoenix), the peacock, and some silver pheasants, as well as pomegranates and bright blue irises, appear in the design and serve to make the effect a somewhat more sumptuous one; but the formless, fantastic shapes of the rocks from which the trees spring are somewhat disquieting to a Western eye. Unfortunately, it was found necessary by the late owners of the house to take the paper down for the purpose of whitening the ground and repainting practically the whole of the coloured parts. The result, as may be imagined, is far from being satisfactory. The beauty of the original design happily still remains; but the superimposed pigment is crude in tone, and the clean white ground is by no means to be preferred to the rich and mellow qualities of the Wotton-under-Edge paper, where the stains and other marks of age are still to be seen. I am informed by Mr. Colyer-Fergusson, the present owner of the Mote, that there is yet another paper very similar to his at Cobham Hall, the seat of the Earl of Darnley.

'Whatever you have in your rooms, think first of the walls, for they are that which makes your house and home.' Since these words were spoken by Morris there has been a conscious endeavour on every side to produce beautiful designs for the purpose of wall decoration. The wonderful ugliness of the 'artistic' wall-paper of the present day is not so much due to want of idea on the part of designers as to the ignorance of the structural principles underlying the beautiful designs of Morris and others which they strive to imitate and only succeed in caricaturing. 'Every wall-paper,' he said, 'must have a distinct idea in it; some beautiful piece of nature must have pressed itself on our notice so forcibly that we are quite full of it.' There is certainly a great deal worthy of the designer's consideration in these early Chinese productions. Probably no nation has ever carried the science of decorative composition and decorative convention to such an extraordinary perfection as the Chinese artists. If there is a scarcity of actual wall-papers of the early period to which those already described belong, there is, in the British Museum and elsewhere, an abundance of hanging pictures of the same date and earlier which will be found extremely suggestive by the designer. The early wall-papers may also be studied from the point of view of durability and fastness of the colours. I have little doubt that a lining of thick rice paper, which I found in the case of some papers of later date in the possession of Messrs. Cowtan, has had a great deal to do with the marvellous condition of the specimen at Wotton-under-Edge.

# AN UNKNOWN FRESCO-WORK BY GUIDO RENI

BY ROBERT EISLER, FELLOW OF THE I.R. INSTITUTE FOR AUSTRIAN HISTORY

THE artistic treasure which I am allowed to unearth here, by the kind permission of his Grace the Duke Don Giuseppe Rospigliosi,[1] seems to have escaped even the author's first biographers. Indeed, strange as it may seem, neither Malvasia nor Baldinucci,[2] in their lives of Guido Reni, makes the slightest mention even of the now well-known Aurora in the Palazzo Rospigliosi; and Passeri himself, who does give a description of that famous picture, seems not to do so from ocular evidence.[3] Baglione, who was generally well informed by means of his official position as President of the Painters' Academy, did not write Guido's life, not indeed, as Baldinucci believed, because the latter refused to give him the necessary information, or because he was 'poco amico a Guido,' as Malvasia[4] supposes, but because Guido was still alive when Baglione's book was published, and therefore excluded from the settled plan of this biographical collection.

Nor does any modern writer mention the paintings in question. Yet the palace which contains them is well known to every modern and ancient traveller; it occupies a site between the following modern streets: Via del Quirinale, Via della Consulta, Via Nazionale, and Via Mazzarino, and was built, as far as we know, not before 1605,[5] the date of the election of Pope Paul V. Up to the pontificate of Sixtus V, who intersected the

[1] I am much indebted besides to Prince Schonburg, at that time chargé d'affaires of the Austrian Embassy, and to Hofrat Pastor, director of the Istituto Austriaco dei studi storici in Rome, for their kind mediation.

[2] Can: Conte Carlo Malvasia 'Felsina pittrice,' 1672, Bologna; 2nd ed. Bologna, 1841. Baldinucci, 'notizie del professori da Cimabue in qua,' 2nd ed., Florence, 1846, Vol. IV, pages 12–50. In the life of Giovanni da San Giovanni, IV, 231, B. says that this painter executed a fresco on the wall 'opposite' (!) to that where Guido had painted his famous Aurora, a blunder which only proves that he knew neither of these pictures, which he had probably found mentioned in the materials for Giovanni's life given to him by the painter's relations.

[3] See below, page 317

[4] Malvasia, 2nd ed. II, 62.

[5] The date, 1603, given by Baedeker cannot be traced to any authority. Contemporary engravings of the palace may be found in the 'Ritratto di Roma,' 1638, and the 'Roma antica e moderna,' 1652. The earliest description of the palace and its decorations (in which, however, no artist's name is mentioned) is given in the Vatican MS., Borghese IV, 50.

*Altipiano Quirinale* by several new avenues, the greater part of it was an *insula*, surrounded by a few antique streets and covered with but a few *Vigne*—combinations of vineyards and villas, each one furnished with a *casino nobile*, a *giardino secreto*, a *casa colonica*, and an orchard, separated from each other by box and laurel hedges, or by the usual Italian garden walls.[6] In the middle of these gardens lay the enormous ruins of the Constantine baths,[7] before the front of them stood the famous Horsetamers.

Still in the year 1580 the state of things was not much altered, as the following entry in Michel de Montaigne's diary [8] shows:—

> Le quartier montueus qui estoit le siège de la vieille ville et ou il faisoit tous les jours mil promenades et visites est scisi de quelques eglises et maisons rares et jardins de Cardinaus.

A new era for that silent quarter began only in the reign of Paul V. Lodovico d'Este had ceded his casino on the Monte Cavallo, built by Cardinal Ippolito d'Este about 1550, to Gregory XIII, who began to transform it into a new papal palace by the aid of the Bolognese architect Ottavio Mascherini 'acciochè i sommi pontefici passando dal Vaticano vi potessero mutar d'aria.'[9] Paul V was the first to take up his summer residence on the Quirinal—even before the house was completely finished. His predecessors had had to content themselves with the *appartamento Clementino*[10] and the *villa Pia*,[11] in the unwholesome low grounds of the Vatican.[12] As formerly in the Borgo quarter, so persons who had to live near to the court were now compelled to acquire houses on the Quirinal: 'Qui vicino,' says an old Roman guide book,[13] 'il patriarca Biondo mastro di casa di Paolo V ha fatto un luogo molto bello, benchè sia piccolo, per sua habitatione quando il papa sta a Monte Cavallo.' The pope himself built and bought several houses in the neighbourhood to provide for his *familia*.[14]

First of all the mighty nephew of the pope, Cardinal Scipio Caffarelli-Borghese, one of the most liberal art-patrons of his time, whom the Romans used to call 'delicium urbis,[15] wanted now besides his magnificent palace on the Ripetta, a comfortable summer residence on the Montecavallo. He bought the ground from the dukes of Altaemps,[16] had the ruins of the Thermae Constantinianae demolished,[17] and a new sumptuous palace built by the Borghese family architect, Flaminio Ponzio. Before the work was finished Flaminio died, and was replaced by the Fleming Jan Varzant [18] and the Comasque Carlo Maderna.[19] The wall-paintings were entrusted to Lodovico Cigoli,[20] Antonio Tempesta,[21] Guido Reni [22] and Paul Bril. Afterwards, under the next proprietor,[23] the inner disposition of the ground floor was changed, and part of the paintings had to be destroyed; they were replaced by paintings executed by Agostino Tassi and Orazio Gentileschi.[24] Thus from the paintings of the first period nothing was left, except the frescoes in

[6] See the list of the 'domus cardinalium' in Albertini's 'Opusculum de mirabilibus urbis Romae' (reprint by Schmarsow, p. 25), written about 1510, and Bufalini's plan of Rome (1550-60), of which an old copy is in the Imperial Library in Vienna. The best information on the topography of the Quirinal hill in the sixteenth century is to be found in Lanciani's note in the 'Bulletino communale di archeologia di Roma,' 1889, p. 389 (with a plan after that of Bufalini). D'Ancona's 'Notizia dei possessori del Quirinale, cavata da un documento contemporaneo' (n. 2, p. 198 of his reprint of Montaigne's diary) is evidently based on Bufalini, but full of errors. I do not know, for instance, why the 'vinea di Ascanio de Cornea,' situated according to B. near the porta Pinciana on the grounds of the later Villa Borghese, should be identified with the later Rospigliosi palace and garden.

[7] If a woodcut in the Venetian edition (1588) of Andrea Fulvio's 'Roma antica' may be trusted, these ruins must still have been imposing enough. A great exedra with its well-preserved vault stood still erect, and Bufalini's plan shows how another similar one had been enclosed as apse into the church of S. Salvatore de Cornelii. On the east side, too, a little church or monastery, S. Salvatore, stood amidst the ruins.

[8] D'Ancona's reprint, Città di Castello, 1895, p. 198.

[9] Baglione, p. 5.

[10] Van Mander, Schilderboeck, 1604, f. 291*b*, still calls the 'sala del consistoro' 'de Somer-camer van den Paus.'

[11] Since the *villa Pia* was finished, the *Belvedere* was only used for guests of minor rank.

[12] 'Grave Vaticani agri coelum' (Ciaconius, 'Vitae et res gestae pontificum,' etc. IV, 389).

[13] Roma antica e moderna, presso Giacomo Fei, 1653.

[14] Ciaconius, l. c. IV, 384. 'Maphaeorum aedibus Datariae adscriptis' (this house lay evidently on the west side of the papal palace in the modern Via della Dataria). The 'Aedes quas olim in Quirinali clivo monachi Benedictini extruxerant' were bought too and used for the 'scuderia.'

[15] Ciaconius, IV, 401.

[16] A German family. One of them, Marcus Sitticus, had been archbishop of Salzburg. Passeri, l. c. page 68, says that Card. Scipio bought the place from the Altaemps family; the same statement in the 'ritratto di Roma' (in Roma, per il Mascardi, 1638), only in the edition of 1652 (presso Filippo de' Rossi) I find: 'Il palazzo . . . fabricato da Scip. Card. Borghese . . . *venduto* a Gio. Angelo Duca Altaemps. . .'

[17] Little pieces of antique fresco-decoration are still to be seen in the picture gallery in the 'casino dell' Aurora.' Cf. the reproduction on Plate XIII of Wickhoff's 'Roman Art' (London: Heinemann, 1900). Part of the statues found during the excavation of the ground came on the Capitol (Titi, descrizione delle pitture sculture, etc. Rome 1783, page 282), partly they remained to decorate the new palace (see below).

[18] The builder of the Villa Borghese. Cf. Baglione, l. c. page 176.

[19] Ibid. page 308.

[20] Ibid. page 154.

[21] Ibid. page 315.

[22] Passeri, l. c. page 68.

[23] After Paul V's death Card. Scipio had no more interest to live so close to the papal residence. Card. Guido Bentivoglio, having just returned (1621) from his Parisian legacy, bought the palace from him. Constrained by his enormous debts (Ciaconius, l. c. IV, 455) he was forced a few years afterwards to sell the palace for 70,000 scudi to Card. Giulio Mazarin (Ciaconius, IV, 615). Mazarin's sister, married to principe Lorenzo Mancini, inherited it from him, and from the Mancini family it came to the Tuscan house of the Rospigliosi, dukes of Zagarola. Part of it now belongs to the principi Pallavicini.

[24] The pictures by Tassi will be treated in my 'History of Decorative Landscape Painting in Italy.' Reproductions of three paintings from the remaining ceilings by Orazio are given on Plate II, partly because of their high artistic qualities, partly because they might have a special interest for the English connoisseur, as Orazio lived from 1626 till 1647 in London as court painter of Charles I, and executed, among other things, some painted ceilings at Greenwich. Cf. Walpole's 'Anecdotes of Painting in England.' Giovanni da S. Giovanni is said (Baldinucci, IV, 231, *seq.*) to have also painted in the palace by order of Guido Bentivoglio, a fresco representing the Chariot of Night. I neither know where this picture was, nor what became of it, nor if the whole romantic story related by B. is true.

the well-known Casino dell' Aurora towards the Via del Quirinale, and the *painted vault of a little open gallery* at the back front of the palace: 'una loggietta,' says Baglione,[25] 'dentro del giardino verso la via che guarda all' horto di S. Agata,'[26] which afterwards was closed towards the garden, and thus turned into a little cabinet. That room is now entered through a great hall, which opens on the same part of the garden, decorated at present with a stucco decoration in pale blue and white of much later origin, and with some antique statues.[27] This room may be meant by Baglione,[28] when he relates that Cigoli painted for Cardinal Scipio Borghese in his palace, afterwards sold to the Bentivogli 'una loggia nel giardino e vi rappresentò la favola di Psyche.'[29]

The above-mentioned little gallery, of which we have now to treat, is not quite rectangular in its ground plan. Towards the garden it once opened through three open arches supported by four columns; on either side of these open arches were two blind ones, two similar ones closed both ends of the gallery, and the inner wall was divided into five corresponding arches. Several doors—now there is only one left—seem to have led into the inner apartments. The rest of the walls may have been decorated with white gesso work, or the usual pale grottesco paintings. Now the walls are clothed with modern wall paper.

Baglione mentions the room in Paul Bril's life in the following terms:—

> Vi ha rappresentato col suo penello una pergolata d'uve diverse con varii animali dal naturale assai belli ed eccellenti. E vi sono alcuni paesi vaghissimi, che furono da lui felicemente condotti, etc. etc.

Occupied with studies on Paul Bril,[30] it fell to my charge to view these paintings. To my agreeable surprise I found on reaching the spot, not only Bril's landscapes in the lunettes, and on the vault the splendidly painted bower (Plate I), justly admired by Baglione because of its illusionary charm and its clever realistic execution, but also besides the manifold animals—birds, butterflies, spiders, bees, etc.—that enliven its foliage, *some splendid groups of putti, occupied round some flower pots*, which proved at first glance to be the work of an eminent artist, although, to my knowledge, they were not mentioned by any of our authorities. Deceived by Titi's statement[31] on the Psyche pictures by Cigoli, I took them at first for the work of that skilful painter, although the marked differences between these paintings and his other *authentic* works did not escape me. Only long after my return from Rome I found on looking through the engraved work of the Bologna School in the Print-room of the Imperial Library, a set of engravings, evidently after these frescoes by Carlo Cesio,[32] with the following title page:—

> Angoli dipinti da Guido Reni nella loggia contigua al giardino del palazzo dell ecc.^mo Sig^r. Duca Mazarino nel Monte Quirinale da Carlo Cesio dati in luce da Domenico de Rossi erede di Gio. Giac. de Rossi in Roma alla Pace con priv . . . etc.

Every print bears a number and the address: 'Guid. Ren. in Virid° Mazarino.'

This at last is a testimony which not only for itself deserves the greatest credit—Cesio (1626–86) being a younger contemporary of Guido Reni († 1641)—but is also confirmed by ocular evidence in such a convincing way that one feels almost ashamed of not having recognized the master's hand without a literary hint. Not indeed in order to corroborate Guido's authorship, but only for the sake of completeness, I should wish to add two other testimonies lacking in themselves independent value.

Passeri, in Guido's life,[33] first describes the celebrated Aurora in the garden house, and then goes on as follows:—

> D'intorno a detta (!) loggia in alcuni ripartimenti (note the lack of precision due to the want of ocular evidence!) vi sono di sua mano certi putti, li quali per la nobiltà della bella idea possono esser giudicati non solo di regie sembianze, ma d'angeliche e sovraumane bellezze.

In reality Guido's paintings are confined to the ceiling, the walls being decorated, but with friezes by Antonio Tempesta,[34] and four landscapes by Paul Bril representing the seasons. It is evident that Passeri knew only Cesio's engravings, and believed the originals to be in the same place as the Aurora.

A second set of engravings, not to be found in the Albertina or in the Imperial print-room, unknown also to Bartsch, are mentioned in the anonymous notes appended to the edition of 1763 of Titi's 'Ammaestramento di Pitture, etc.,' on page 480.

> In una loggia del giardino (Rospigliosi) sono molte coppie di putti, che tengono un vaso di fiori, i quali putti son dipinti da Guido e intagliati da *Pier Antonio Cozza*.[35]

The whole decoration comprises ten groups; as the subject needs no explanation, a description is rendered superfluous by our reproductions. The colouring is very clear yet warm and rich, and

[25] Page 297.

[26] On the ground of the former monastery of St. Agata stands now the National Bank of Italy.

[27] See above, note 17.

[28] Page 154.

[29] This hall, although a little smaller, resembles very much the Psyche gallery—once also called 'loggia'—in the Villa Farnesina, and may have been decorated in a similar way. Now these lost Psyche paintings can never have adorned, as Titi's confused description (page 283) would make one believe, the adjacent little gallery, whose ceiling is still covered with the original paintings (see above), and whose walls cannot have afforded sufficient space for such a rich subject.

[30] To be published in my 'History of Decorative Landscape Painting,' where these landscapes, too, will be treated separately.

[31] See note 29.

[32] Bartsch, No. 81–90.

[33] Page 68.

[34] In 1629 they were shown to Velasquez during his sojourn in Rome (cf. Justi. Velasquez, 2nd ed., I., page 241). Baglione in 1642 says (p. 315). 'fece nella loggia del palazzo vicino a Cavalli del Monti Quirinale per il Cardinale Scipione Borghese, poi de' Signori Bentivogli le due bellissime cavalcate che girano a foggia di fregio tutta la loggia.'

[35] Nothing is known about this engraver. Nagler reproduces only Titi's above quoted words.

like that of the Aurora characteristic of Guido's 'golden' period. The sky is painted in deep blue.

The date of these frescoes can be approximately determined. Of course, they were painted about the same time as the Aurora, which was executed, if Passeri's chronology of Guido's work may be trusted, before the paintings in the new papal chapel (finished 1610) and after his other works for the Card. Scipione, that is, the Crucifixion for S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane,[36] and the frescoes in S. Andrea near S. Gregorio in Monte Celio (1608), and in the neighbouring S. Silvia Madre (1609).[37] Thus the paintings in the Rospigliosi palace must have occupied the rest of the year 1609.[38]

The collaboration of Paul Bril and Guido is easily explained by the fact that they had already worked together, not only in the casino dell' Aurora, but already in the year 1599[39] for Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrati, the nephew of Gregory XIV, and former papal legate in Bologna, in S. Cecilia in Trastevere, where Paul Bril had covered the walls of the saint's 'house' with decorative landscapes, while Guido had to paint an altarpiece representing the death of the virgin martyr.[40]

Besides, Bril was acquainted with Tempesta through the studio of his brother Matteo, as they had worked together in the third loggiato in the cortile di S. Damaso in the Vatican, and last, not least, he was a compatriot of the architect Varzant.

Whether Bril or Reni made the plan for the whole decoration is of no importance, as the whole scheme was by no means a new one. The Romans in the past used to paint the vaults of their rooms with naturalistic foliage, bowers animated by birds, etc., as proved by a passage in the letters of the younger Pliny,[41] and some remains in early Christian catacombs,[42] and in pagan cemeteries.[43] A late example is to be found in the mosaics of S. Constanza (phot. Anderson Nos. 83, 84, 85, 88).

The Quattrocento painters had already brought to light that decorative scheme from the 'grottos,' and made the happiest use of it. Giovanni da Udine, who in 1539 painted a wonderful ceiling of this kind in the palazzo Grimani in Venice (see Plate III), and had decorated in 1519 the vaults of the first loggiato in the Vatican with bowers of roses, orange and jasmine blossoms (repr. on pl. I of Gruner's 'Fresco Decorations') was certainly not the first to do so. Mantegna had already decorated the cupola of the lost chapel in the Belvedere with a sort of bower,[44] and combined the latter with naked putti in different playful positions.[45] This motive, too, familiar as it was to Mantegna from his earliest pictures, is of classical origin. To Boethos of Kalchedon,[46] a sculptor of the beginning of the second century B.C., our literary tradition ascribes the introduction of children's figures into art, where it afterwards played such an important part, especially in the decorative style of later antiquity. The Florentine sculptors adopted the motive; under Donatello's influence Mantegna introduced it into the decorative scheme of the Ermitani chapel, and into many a later work. Indeed, it is striking how closely the above-mentioned description of his lost vault-painting in the Belvedere resembles a celebrated work of later times that could not have remained untouched by Mantegna's influence. I mean Correggio's Camera di S. Paolo, a decoration that Guido knew beyond all doubt, were it only from drawings of his masters, the brothers Caracci.

After Correggio Titian has had the greatest influence on putto-painting in the seventeenth century. His amoretti—the Vienna Academical Gallery, for instance, contains one[47]—his angels in the

[36] Now in the Vatican gallery.

[37] These dates are ascertained by two inscriptions severally published; cf. for instance, Ciaconius, l. c. iv. 461.

[38] This date has already been fixed for the Aurora by Janitschek in his critical essay on Guido Reni, in Dohme's 'Kunst und Künstler.'

[39] For the date cf. Ciaconius, iv., 225; Laderchius S. Caeciliae acta et transtiberiana basilica, Rome, 1772, and Bondini, Memorie storiche di S. Cecilia, Rome, 1885.

[40] Cf. Passeri, page 62. Malvasia, 2nd ed., II., 12, who could not know Passeri's work (published a century after its author's death), mentions 'due quadri fatti al Cardinal Sfondrato e de' quali ne avean fatte le meraviglie il Cavalier d'Arpino . . . ed altri.' The second picture was beyond all doubt the tondo with the coronation of S. Cecilia and S. Valerian, still existing on the opposite wall. Malvasia means that the pictures were ordered and executed in Bologna and afterwards sent to Rome, an error caused by a false interpretation of a passage in an autobiographical sketch by Albani (Malvasia, 2nd ed., II., 151): '(Guidò) . . . dilattò il suo nome non solo per Bologna, ma anche arrivò sino a Roma, dove ebbe commandi dal Cardinal Sfondrati, etc.' At that time Guido could not yet be so famous, and, above all, in Rome people had to be on the spot and to make all kind of efforts to get a commission. That Guido did the copy of Raphael's Cecilia in Bologna is quite natural, because if Cardinal Fachenetti wished to get a copy from a Bolognese picture he could not but order it from a Bolognese painter. That Titi (page 54) ascribes the two pictures to an *unknown imitator* of Guido Reni is certainly not the outcome of his critical sagacity, but proves only that although he could not find any documentary evidence about the author of these pictures—Malvasia did not mention the locality and Passeri was not yet published—the close resemblance with Guido's works did not escape him.

[41] Epp.V., 6, 22, he describes a bedroom in his villa as follows:—'Nec cedit gratiæ marmoris *ramos incidentesque* ramis *aves* imitata pictura.'

[42] Wilpert, 'The Catacombs,' Plate I. (coloured reprod.), Garucci, 'Storia dell' Arte Christiana,' Vol. II., Plate 19.

[43] In the Vigna Codini, on the vault near the entrance; cf. the description by Henzen in 'Monumenti ed annali publicati dall' istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica,' 1856, page 19. (Sui columbari di Vigna Codini) 'Erano le pareti e la volta adornati di graziose pitture di fogliami, di grappoli d'uva, di fiori ed ucelli.' Restored by cav. Ruspi in 1852; cf. also Dollmayr, Schule Raffaels, Jahrb. der Kunsth. Sammlungen des allerh. Kaiserhauses, XVI., 317.

[44] The same motive in the Madonna della Vittoria, of the Louvre collection.

[45] Taja, descrizione del Vaticano, page 401; cf. Chattard, nuova descrizione d. Vat. III., 143. 'La picciola cupoletta di essa capella è ornata di alcuni finti spartimenti di figura tonda *tra se intrecciati* insieme a modo di *una ingraticolata* interrotta da quindici putti, che tengono festoni.'

[46] Cf. DanskeVid. Selsk. Forhandl., 1904, page 73 and Herzog, Jahreshefte des k. k. österreichischen archaeol. Instituts, 1903, page 215.

[47] Phot. by Löwy, Vienna. It is a pity that this certainly genuine work is not contained in the 'complete' edition of 'Tizians Gemaelde,' by Oskar Fischl, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1904.

THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE

THE RAPE OF AMPHITRITE

THE RAPE OF EUROPA

PLATE II. [illegible]
GENTILESCHI, IN THE [illegible]
[illegible] PALACE, [illegible]

CEILING BY GIOVANNI DA UDINE IN THE GRIMANI PALACE, VENICE; BY SPECIAL PERMISSION OF THE MARQUIS PAOLUCCI

FRESCO BY GUIDO RENI, WITH LANDSCAPES BY PAUL BRIL, IN THE ROSPIGLIOSI PALACE, ROME

Assunta picture, and above all his Triumph of Venus in the Prado, formerly in the Villa Ludovisi in Rome, were the models imitated by Guido, as well as later on by Nicholas Poussin, Francesco Fiammingo,[48] and Rubens.

Besides, the direct influence of *classical art* is evident. As the 'horae' in the Aurora picture are copied from the famous Borghese dancers,[49] so he imitated in a picture representing the infant Christ asleep over the Holy Cross[50] a statuette of that familiar type well known to the art historian by the story of Michael Angelo's pseudo-antique Cupid. One of our putti—the left one in No. 3—resembles in its position one of those frequently occurring 'hypnos' types, with crossed legs, slightly-bent head, *προλοβίῳ ἐπέχων*, as Philostratus says in his 'Comus.'

Maybe that Guido also strove to emulate Raphael's, or rather say Giulio Romano's putti, holding the symbols of the different gods in the pendentives of the Farnesina hall.

In any case, it is a fact that this artistic problem occupied him more than ever in these years. He revels in ever-new variations of the motive as well in S. Silvia Madre[51] as in the Quirinal chapel and, after his precipitate return to Bologna, in the Palazzo Zani.[52] All these frescoes, some pictures, like the youthful Bacchus in the Pitti, that merry putto in the Dresden Gallery, or the recumbent child with the flying bird once in Düsseldorf,[53] some of Guido's own engravings[54] and of his drawings engraved by other artists,[55] form together with the Rospigliosi putti a distinct group in Guido's work, which shows by its serene brightness and harmonious beauty the closest connexion with the Aurora: pictures of a happy springtime in his life which he has never surpassed nor even equalled.

Preparatory drawings for these frescoes I cannot assign, although they may still exist. In Viennese collections there are none. That they once existed is proved by two engravings by Ciamberlano[56] (Bartsch, Nos. 21 and 27) and one by Scarsello (Bartsch, No. 5). The former belong to a series representing angels with the instruments of the Passion.[57] Two of them are signed 'Guid. Ren. inv.,' and directly copied from two of the Rospigliosi putti (B. 21 after the left figure in the group Cesio No. 3, B. 27 after the left figure in Cesio No. 6). Scarsello's print (B. 5) shows some putti in different decorative and playful positions. The one on the extreme right is composed with regard to the boundary line of a pendentive, still visible in the engraving. Very probably the original was an afterwards rejected drawing for the Rospigliosi loggia.[58]

In any case, these engravings, together with those of Cesio, Passeri's already quoted judgement, and the fact that Guido's paintings alone were spared in the great restoration of the palace under Cardinal Bentivoglio, prove the high esteem in which this work was held by the contemporaries. The later oblivion was surely the effect of mere outward circumstances. Indeed, the estimation of works such as the Aurora and our putti is not subject to any future change of taste. There were always, and there will always be, people who enjoy the innate grace and sweet beauty of such creations, but there were always people, and there are still, whose longing for individual reality, life, and strength is too eager to allow them to enjoy those 'divine ideas' and 'celestial visions' of the 'Bolognese Apelles' which enraptured the Cavalier Marini, and inspired some of his most affected sonnets. I do not believe that Michael Angelo da Caravaggio wanted to kill Guido Reni, but he heartily despised him, both as a man and an artist. Indeed, this highly gifted man was as peevish and conceited as a woman, and we must not forget that contemporary gossip made fun of his chastity.[59]

The most ardent admirers and most faithful followers of his art and taste were two women, Artemisia Gentileschi and Elisabetta Sirani. The master himself, genial and charming as he was, had not much of a man about him.

[48] Cf. Passeri, pages 86 and 92, Bellori, Vite dei pittori, etc., page 160. One of Poussin's drawings after the 'Triumph of Venus' is kept in the Albertina.

[49] This relief, called 'the most beautiful of the whole world' by Winckelmann (cf. Iusti. Winckelmann, 2nd ed., Vol. II, page 20), had already inspired Mantegna in his Parnasse, Raphael in his drawing for the Chigi monument in S. Maria del Popolo (cf. E. Loewy, Archivio storico dell'arte, Serie II, anno II, fasc. IV), his pupils in the Vatican loggia (cf. Dollmayr, Werkstätte Raphaels, page 74), etc., etc.

[50] I know the picture only by the numerous engravings. A similar one with a skull and an hour-glass has been engraved by Fr. Pilsen under the title 'Dalla cuna alla tomba è un breve passo.'

[51] Phot. Moscioni Nos. 4,412, 4,413; Anderson 2,308–2,314.

[52] The original is in the Albertina collection, and bears an old ink inscription: 'Guido Reni fec. in Bologna.' The motive is taken from classical paintings. Cf. for instance Bellori, Sepolcro dei Nasoni, plate No. 26.

[53] Engraved by P. T. Rutten, 1785. The Düsseldorf gallery is now in the Pinacothek in Munich, but this picture is not contained in the catalogue. A similar one was reproduced by Felice Guasconi in stipple engraving after an original 'in aedibus Andreae Taliacarnii patritii Genuensis.'

[54] Bartsch. Nos. 12, 13, and 18. From the last once very popular print exist two *états* and a lot of copies. I know one by Flaminio Torre, one signed G. R. F. with a landscape (perhaps a third *état*), a reverse copy without the landscape, another by Stefano della Bella, one by Brechtel (exc. Fred. de Widt).

[55] Lorenzo Loli B. 20–24, El. Sirani B. 19, 23, 26; Geron. Rossi B 5.

[56] Luca C. da Urbino; the dates of his life are not known. He worked in Rome between 1599 and 1641.

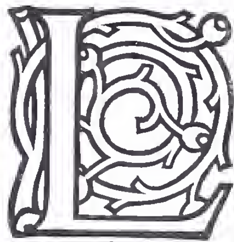
[57] Title: 'Jesus Christi domini nostri passionis mysteria'; a very popular devotional subject, which draws its origin from the Speculum humanae salvationis; in the fifteenth century frequently employed in pictures of the Virgin, for instance in the pseudo-Mantegnesque Madonna of the Berlin Gallery, and in an altarpiece of the Murano studio in S. Pantaleone in Venice.

[58] Malvasia 2, II, 24, already tells us that G's drawings were eagerly coveted by other artists, especially by engravers 'Gli tagliarono all' aqua forte le prime bozze, capaci di pentimento e mutazione . . . senza fargliene un semplice motto'

[59] Malvasia, 2nd ed., II, 53, 'fu communemente tenuto per vergine . . . essendosi sempre mostrato un marmo alla presenza e contemplazione di tante Celie giovani, che le servirono di modelli.'

# NOTES ON SOME RECENTLY-EXHIBITED PICTURES OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL

## BY C. J. HOLMES



AST year the disposal of Mr. Orrocks's Collection was the chief feature of the season for students and collectors of the works of the British School. In a note on that Collection in THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE for July 1904, an attempt was made to face some of the critical problems suggested. The Huth and Tweedmouth sales coinciding with the exhibition of Mr. Staats Forbes's pictures at the Grafton Gallery have brought together for the moment an even more important aggregate of pictures, and in spite of the prevalent depression of business the prices obtained have in many cases been the highest on record.

In no case was the advance in value more remarkable than in that of Hogarth. Raeburn was helped by the fashionable craze for eighteenth-century female portraits. Morland instinctively appeals to the English mind in virtue of the subjects which he painted, but the most high-priced of the Hogarths was *The Assembly at Wanstead House* (Tweedmouth, 23), which had neither the alluring graces of pretty femininity, nor the sporting interest of a picture of pigs and donkeys. It must therefore have triumphed by sheer fine painting and rich colour. The *Taste in High Life* (Huth, 104) was slightly more dry in texture, but was so splendidly typical of Hogarth the satirist as to deserve even more honour than it received. Two other pictures attributed to Hogarth presented really difficult problems. *The Beggars' Opera* (Huth, 103) was one of several versions of the subject, another of which had appeared in the Capel Cure sale (84). The Capel Cure picture, though the principal figures were drastically repainted, was a most characteristic specimen of Hogarth's work, and the Huth picture did not emerge well from the comparison, since, though in fine condition, the handling throughout was less characteristic and emphatic. Hogarth is said to have painted the picture in 1729, that is say a year later than the ripe and full-blooded *Assembly at Wanstead House*. How comes it then that the *Dudley Woodbridge and Captain Holland* (Huth, 105), which is later still, being dated 1730, should be so timid, stiff, and immature? The picture is evidently a work of Hogarth's time, and has a short pedigree, but we may wonder how his broad and summary brush could have tickled up those polished pink faces, and worked throughout with so much hesitation and tightness. The actual signature was not convincing, so the question of the picture's authorship ought perhaps to remain an open one.

The landscapes by Gainsborough were not important. The *Bay Scene* from the Cartwright collection (100) was similar to the exquisite oval picture in Sir Charles Tennant's possession, but appeared to have been finished by a looser and weaker hand, perhaps that of Gainsborough Dupont. The Gainsborough portraits, however, in the Huth collection were magnificent. That of the handsome dancer, Mr. Vestris, which by the courtesy of the fortunate owner, Mr. Asher Wertheimer, is reproduced as frontispiece to the present number of THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE,[1] rightly took precedence among them. It was rumoured that the portrait had been cut down to its present size and shape, and that the background had been retouched, but the painting itself was the best rebuff to its detractors, being at once a singularly fine example of Gainsborough's feeling for male beauty, and a most perfect and masterly picture. If Mr. Vestris illustrated Gainsborough's most intimate and peculiar gifts the other portraits in the Huth sale served equally well to illustrate his variety. As the chalk drawing (8) summed up the opulent graces of the Duchess of Devonshire, so the *Mrs. Burroughs* (99) summed up the frail nobility of old age; while in the portrait of an exceedingly formidable lady (97) the artist faced one of those problems with which Mr. Sargent has made us familiar, the turning of some amazing sitter into a fine picture by accepting and insisting upon awkward facts.

Lack of space makes it impossible to discuss the numerous works by or attributed to Reynolds. The noticeable resemblance to Cotes in the portraits of *Miss Anne Dutton* (Tweedmouth, 44) and *Miss Milles* (Cartwright, 84) may perhaps be due to the employment of Peter Toms, who was drapery painter to both masters. No better instance of the difference in value which fashion has made between male and female portraits could be given than the fact that the splendid portrait of Reynolds himself (Huth, 124) fetched far less than the studio piece *Lady Amelia Spencer* (125), or the genuine but much restored version of *Simplicity* (Tweedmouth, 45), costing hardly more than the vivid study in the Cartwright collection (112). One other Reynolds portrait, that of Mrs. Martin (Tweedmouth, 45), deserved attention on account of its close resemblance in style to the fine three-quarter length of a lady in a white dress, which formed one of the attractions and the problems of Messrs. Agnew's show of old masters in (if I remember rightly) 1903. Its technique was so like that of Romney that the work was ascribed to him by many authorities, but the Tweedmouth *Mrs. Martin* indicates that Messrs. Agnew's attribution to Reynolds was correct.

The examples of Romney, Raeburn, and Hoppner were almost all well-known and characteristic

[1] Page 256.

PLATE I.—LANDSCAPE WITH FIGURES, BY JOHN CROME; IN THE POSSESSION OF MESSRS. T. AGNEW AND SONS.

works. Since they have received quite their due share of appreciation they need not be discussed here. The finely coloured if rather weakly drawn royal group by Stothard (Huth, 126), with one or two smaller works in the Tweedmouth sale, such as the fresh and pleasant sketch of two children by Allan Ramsay (40), which might almost have been the work of some good contemporary Frenchman, and a charming work by Kneller (27), were among the best of the less important things. The delightful picture by Cosway and Hodges (22) had a certain interest apart from its attractiveness. Hodges was the best of Wilson's pupils, as the astonishingly modern-looking landscape might indicate; the sky, indeed, actually anticipates Bonington in its freedom, and there can be little doubt that his works frequently pass under the name of his master. The peculiar use of black touches or black outlines in his foregrounds is characteristic of his work, which lacks the 'fatness' of pigment found in Wilson, and more nearly resembles water-colour painting. Hodges must have been over forty when he painted the Tweedmouth picture, which thus represents his mature style; the *View of Ludlow* at South Kensington, dated some ten years earlier, shows a much closer approach to the manner of Wilson. Morland has rarely shown to such advantage in the sale room, and the high prices paid were paid for specimens that might be matched but could hardly be surpassed. It was interesting to note, however, that a singularly perfect specimen of Ibbetson (Huth, 108) was hardly distinguishable in technique from a highly-finished little Morland (Huth, 117) which hung near it.

The appearance of three absolutely genuine works by the elder Crome in the Huth collection was something of an event, for Crome has been so industriously imitated that at least a hundred spurious pictures come into the sale room for every authentic one. Of these works the most important by far was the large *Landscape with Figures* (Huth, 44), which by the courtesy of the owners, Messrs. Thomas Agnew and Sons, I am permitted to reproduce.[2] Since these notes were made it is said that doubt has been cast upon the picture in certain quarters. Doubt was seldom less justified. Even the one fault of this elaborate picture tells in its favour, for its slightly cold and academic air is as absolutely characteristic of Crome's mind at one period of his development as the actual handling everywhere is characteristic of his brush. The picture must date from about the year 1815, when Crome was for a time diverted from his broader natural manner by having his thoughts directed to Hobbema and the Dutch masters, a diversion which, to judge from his etchings, must have begun before his visit to Paris in 1814. Of this phase of Crome's art, which is unrepresented in the National Gallery, Mr. Huth's picture is a thoroughly typical specimen. The *View of Norwich* (45) contained some fine passages, but its effect was damaged by a certain pettiness in the treatment of the sky, and it was a far less attractive picture than the *View on the Yare* (46), a work of similar date and technique to the famous *Windmill* in the National Gallery. No. 46 was one of the most charming specimens of Crome's work on a small scale that exists, blending the breadth of his early style with the delicacy of his mature one, and designed with that peculiar feeling for spaciousness that gives him his lofty place among landscape painters.

No Crome in the Staats-Forbes collection could be quite compared with this for quality, though several of the works attributed to him were excellent. Taking them in order, we begin with the *Norgate Chrome* (*sic*), No. 288, a genuine picture covered with a needless amount of varnish. No. 294 was one of several versions of the subject, superior to any I have seen, but still heavy in effect and petty in touch, though quite skilful in places. It was possibly a work by John Berney Crome done under his father's eye from one of his designs. The *Mousehold House* (296) was a puzzling picture, probably executed by Crome about 1806, since it shows traces both of the style of Wilson and of pictures like Gainsborough's *Forest*. No. 297 was also genuine, and looked like a latish work done from an earlier study in the Lake District. No. 302, however, was not a Crome at all, but an excellent and typical example of Stark. Nor was it possible to accept No. 322 as coming from Crome's hand, although it appeared to be a work of the Norwich school, and might well have been painted by some such artist as Middleton. No. 329, too, *Front of the New Mills, Norwich*, was obviously not by Crome, but was an early work of David Hodgson adapted from the large etching of the subject. Hodgson's style is easily recognizable, and several of his works, mostly later in date than the Staats-Forbes picture, were sold at Christie's a couple of months ago. No. 334 was a sound and genuine sketch of Crome's last years, but the *Landscape with Windmill* (335) seemed to be an excellent early work by that most persistent of Crome forgers, the famous 'Old Paul,' who in youth was as capable as he was afterwards prolific.

In dealing with Crome it is necessary to keep dates in mind, because his style within certain limits varied greatly. Such a precaution is less necessary in the case of minor men; though with Stark the difference in quality between a fine early picture such as the *Loading Timber* (289), and later works, such as No. 305, is immense. No. 290 was a very good specimen of Stark's chief follower, S. D. Colkitt, signed and dated 1801, and painted in collaboration with Bristow, who was responsible for three other pictures (306, 307, 308) on the same wall. The single work by George

[2] Plate I, page 325.

Vincent (295) completed the tale of the Norwich pictures with the exception of Cotman's *Cottage at St. Albans*, a beautiful piece of painting which, as it has already been discussed and reproduced in THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE (Jan. 1904), need not be described again.

A somewhat troublesome problem is suggested by No. 301, described in the catalogue *An Autumn Evening*, R. P. Bonnington (*sic*). This work appears to be identical with one which was engraved by R. Wallis many years ago, and published in the *Art Journal* as a work of Turner with the title *On the Thames*. In both print and picture there is the same air of heaviness and the same poor drawing of branches and foliage. In favour of the ascription to Turner the clever painting of the house, the sky, and one or two passages in the foreground might be quoted, in addition to the fact that Wallis had engraved much of Turner's genuine work, and should have been able to tell an original from an imitation. On the other hand though Turner's workmanship varies considerably, and the dullness of the picture is therefore not incompatible with genuineness, especially in an early work, the structureless drawing of the trees is a fatal objection to Turner's claim, and since the whole appears to be the work of one hand, the idea of a sketch by Turner finished by another painter cannot be entertained. The very change of title and authorship shows that the ascription to Turner was not regarded as a certainty even after the work was engraved, and it is easy to understand that an engraver if in doubt would not care to publish his doubts at the risk of losing a commission and displeasing his employers. If the picture be regarded as an early work by Callcott all these difficulties vanish, its merits and defects being at once explained.

Two fine sketches in the Huth sale represented Constable's art at its best. The *Dedham Watermill* (39) was of course a study for the picture at South Kensington, and the replica in the possession of Mr. T. Horrocks Miller. The former of these was painted in 1820, and this sketch may therefore be dated a year or two earlier, a date with which its style exactly corresponds. In virtue of its swiftness of handling it has a freshness and spirit which are lacking in both the finished works. Still more radiant was the rather later study for the *Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's Garden* at South Kensington, one of the very finest of Constable's large sketches, with a sky of quite unusual beauty and refinement of colour.

None of the pictures attributed to Constable in the Staats-Forbes collection approached the same standard. The *Landscape* (291) was a genuine sketch from nature, apparently near Langham, and dating about the year 1813. The *Surrey Hills* (293), however, was not Constable's at all, but by some such painter as Willcock or F. W. Watts. No. 311 *Dedham Vale*, a genuine sketch by Constable, had been finished by another hand. The whole of the central portion was an excellent and typical piece of his work, and those acquainted with his handling will find it easy to trace where this beginning has been supplemented to make a saleable composition. The next pictures were still more unlucky. No. 312 was obviously copied from the well-known Lucas engraving. The *Loch* (sic) *between Beccles and Bungay* (313) was a variant of the picture in the Diploma Gallery, which represents the lock and bridge by Flatford Mill, thirty miles or more from Beccles, and with the whole county of Suffolk lying between. The Diploma picture hung in the Winter Exhibition of 1902–3, side by side with Sir Charles Tennant's version, somewhat to the disadvantage of the latter work. Yet the Staats-Forbes picture would suffer even more by such a comparison, and must without hesitation be ascribed to James Webb. That versatile painter, rather later in life, was responsible for another picture in the Grafton Gallery, the *Sunset* (326), ascribed (Heaven knows why!) to Creswick. Webb's imitations of Turner are so numerous and so well known to collectors that the use of Creswick's name is inexplicable. Nor need the two remaining works given to Constable detain us since No. 314 was merely a poor imitation of Müller, and the *Highgate Church* (315) a modern sketch painted at least half a century after Constable's death.[3]

These notes, since they deal largely with pictures whose attributions seem to need reconsideration, naturally tend to convey a pessimistic impression of the collections with which they deal, and of the Staats-Forbes collection in particular, since its main strength lay in French and Dutch pictures, and works by British masters formed only a small part of it. Perhaps the most curious feature of these exhibitions is the absence of any good picture by Turner, the most prolific of all our painters, and the appearance of no less than seven works by Crome, who was one of the least prolific, although, of course, forgeries and school-works bearing his name are common enough. Messrs. Colnaghi's admirable exhibition of English pictures contained nothing by either master,

[3] Two or three pictures in the sale at Christie's on June 8 may also be noticed. The *Head of a Gentleman* ascribed to Holbein (82) was, of course, a portrait of the artist himself painted apparently a year or two before the miniatures in the Buccleuch and Hertford House collections. Though lacking the supreme delicacy of Holbein's personal touch, this admirable painting must at least have been executed in his immediate *entourage*, and was, therefore, a document of no small value. The picture given to Cotman (No, 138) was identical in style with those enumerated by a writer in the *Athenaeum* (January 31, 1903) as the work of J. J. Cotman, the second son of the famous painter of that name. As Cotman's work is also confused with that of his son Miles, the destinctive manner of both sons has to be remembered. The *Farm Buildings near Norwich* given to Crome (155) was similar in design to a picture formerly at Norwich, painted, it was said, by one of Crome's numerous amateur pupils and retouched by him—a statement which may explain several of the small pictures with which Crome is now credited.

PLATE II.—PORTRAIT OF MRS. IRWIN, BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS. IN THE POSSESSION OF MESSRS. P. AND D. COLNAGHI.

so the interesting, if unusual, street scene *Winchester Cross*, dating apparently from about 1800, at the Carlton Gallery, and the graceful sketch in Messrs. Shepherds' show (which contained also an important landscape by Cotman) seem to be the only oil-paintings by the greatest of English landscape painters which have come into the market recently. Among the interesting portraits at Messrs. Colnaghi's, that of Mrs. Irwin by Reynolds deserved more than a casual word of praise. The fading of the carnations had reduced this exquisite picture to a uniform silvery tone, without in the least impairing its charms—charms so subtle that the reproduction [4] hardly does them complete justice. The picture, indeed, in its quiet way was far more delightful and perfect than the more pretentious works by Reynolds which have recently been received with such a flourish of trumpets in the sale-room.

[4] Plate II, page 329.

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

### NEW ACQUISITION AT BERLIN

An important acquisition has lately been made for the Berlin Gallery, the more important because the paintings in question are among those which, as one would have supposed, the authorities of the Louvre at Paris would have strained every nerve to possess, and fragments of them are in our own National Gallery. Dr. Bode has secured for Berlin, at the price, it is said, of 400,000 marks, the two famous paintings by Simon Marmion, lately in the possession of the Princess of Wied, and formerly in that of King William II of the Netherlands.

These two paintings, which represent the life of St. Bertin, were painted for the abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer in Picardy, and formed part of an altarpiece the central portion of which was probably carved in wood. They are of the utmost importance in the history of painting on that indefinable borderline between France and Flanders.

At some period the two finials, containing the upper portion of each painting, were sawn off in order to make the remainder of a more amenable shape. These two fragments passed into the hands of M. Edmond Beaucousin, at Paris, and were purchased for the National Gallery in 1860. Those lovers of art who are not actuated by the mere desire for possession will perhaps hope that the two fragments may some day be rejoined to the main portions of the paintings. Meanwhile they will remain in the National Gallery 'to point a moral and adorn a tale.'

### A PORTRAIT AT OXFORD

The Exhibition of Historical Portraits at Oxford, which has just closed, has been connected with the following event of interest.

For some time past the Curators of the Bodleian Library at Oxford have been engaged, so far as the limited means at their disposal would permit, in repairing the valuable collection of historical portraits in the gallery of the Bodleian, which had been somewhat unduly neglected in past years.

Among the interesting portraits lately exhibited at Oxford was the fine full-length portrait of Dr. John Wallis, Savilian Professor of Geometry, painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller for Mr. Samuel Pepys, and presented by Mr. Pepys himself to the University of Oxford. The expense of restoring this portrait, which Kneller himself esteemed as one of his best productions, and its frame in the original silvered treatment, as given by Mr. Pepys, has been defrayed by the members of the Samuel Pepys Club, in pious memory of Mr. Pepys.

### HOLBEIN AND HORENBAULT

The sale of Books and Manuscripts at Sotheby's on June 3 included a paper roll signed at head and foot by Henry VIII, and containing a list of New Year's gifts presented to that monarch on January 1, 1539. Among the persons who presented gifts are two painters: Hans Holbein and Luke Horenbault or Hornebolt of Ghent, and the medallist and factor of musical instruments, Michael Mercator of Venloo, of whose history and works I published an account in 1872.[1] These are the entries:—

> 'By Hanse Holbyne, a table of the pictour of the princes grace.'
> 'By Mighell Marcator, two gunnes.'
> 'By Lewcas, paynter, a skrene to set afore the fyre, standing uppon a fote of woode, and the skrene blewe worsted.'

On the reverse the king's gifts are enumerated:

> 'To Hanse Holbyne, paynter, a gilte cruse with a couer, Cornelis, weing x oz. qrt.'
> 'To Mighell Marcator, a gilte cuppe with a couer, Morgan, weing xxiiij oz. dī. dī. qr̄t. Item, a gilte glasse with a couer, Cornelis, prīz. xxv oz. qr̄t dī., and a gilte salte, Cornelis, weing, xxij s. qr̄t., som. lxxij oz. qr̄t.'
> 'To Lucas, paynter, a gilte cruse with a couer, Cornelis, weing x oz dī.'

W. H. J. W.

### A PORTRAIT OF AUGUSTUS WELBY PUGIN

The interesting portrait of Augustus Welby Pugin, which is reproduced on page 333, was recently exhibited at Messrs. Shepherd's Gallery, and, having been brought to Mr. Lionel Cust's notice, it was purchased for the National Portrait Gallery. The portrait represents the great architect at a comparatively early age; he can hardly be more than twenty-one at the most, and may even be younger since he was a man who always looked older than he actually was. If we suppose that

[1] 'Le Beffroi,' iv, 98-110, Bruges, 1872.

the portrait was painted when Pugin was about twenty-one and that it was painted from life its date would be about 1833. It is just possible that the portrait is a posthumous one, but this hypothesis is unlikely for several reasons. In the first place, Mrs. Welby Pugin, who has survived her husband for more than half a century, had never heard of the portrait until she saw it in Messrs. Shepherd's Gallery. Had it been posthumous, it is most unlikely that it would have been painted without her knowledge; on the other hand, if it was painted from life it would have been painted several years before she made her husband's acquaintance and some fourteen years before she married him, so that her ignorance of its existence would be explained. Moreover the portrait is far too striking a likeness to make it probable that it was painted from memory, and there does not seem to have been any existing portrait from which the artist could have worked. Further, an examination of the picture makes it almost certain that the inscription was painted subsequently to the portrait; this, however, might have been the case even if the portrait were posthumous.

The picture is painted with remarkable skill and taste, and the head stands out in bold relief against the red background. Nothing is known of the history of the picture or of its painter, but it has been attributed with considerable probability to the late Mr. George Richmond, R.A.[2] Not only does the picture show resemblances to his known work, but the fact that he was a personal friend of Pugin makes it quite likely that he painted his portrait. Richmond, by the way, was Pugin's senior by three years, but he died only in 1896, whereas Pugin died in 1852. The only other portrait of Pugin in existence is that by the late Mr. Herbert, R.A., now in Mrs. Pugin's possession, and it is very satisfactory that the nation has secured so interesting a memorial of the man to whom modern English architecture owes more than to any other. The inscription along the top of the picture reads: AUGUSTUS : WELBY : NORTHMORE : PUGIN : R.I.P. On either side of the head are the dates of Pugin's birth and death, and the arms of the Pugin family.

R. E. D.

## A FRANÇOISE DUPARC?

In the March number of The Burlington Magazine M. Philippe Auquier published four paintings by a little-known Marseillaise artist of the eighteenth century, Françoise Duparc. In the accompanying article he mentioned the tradition that she had done the better part of her work in London, but threw doubt on the legend, and appealed to English collectors for any traces of her activity in this country. In the April number Mr. A. B. Chamberlain drew attention to the appearance in exhibition catalogues of works by 'Mrs. Dupart' (a possible misprint) and by '— Duparc,' and the editors renewed M. Auquier's appeal.

It occurred to me that there was a very close resemblance between the Marseilles museum pictures and the head of an old woman, the authorship of which had puzzled its owner (Mr. Henry Tonks) and his friends. This picture was bought at a sale in London a few years ago, and had an obviously fanciful label attached to it, 'The Artist's Mother, by Hogarth.' I have compared it carefully with the photographs from which the blocks were made for this Magazine, and so far as one can judge without seeing the Marseilles originals, the case for the identity of the painter with the author of those pictures is convincing. The general conception of portrait-subject, the character and expression, pose and dress, agree; the treatment of forms closely corresponds throughout, and also the illumination, which is the same in the five pictures in its disposition, and in the peculiarity of the reflected lights. The colour, so far as M. Auquier's notes go, also corresponds, blue ribbon and white dress, and the look of the surfaces. The background is green, and the colour has the effect of simple glazing over an underpainting. The resemblance of this head to the old woman in Plate I of M. Auquier's article[3] is so close that they may be studies of the same model. Mr. Tonks's picture, if accepted as a Duparc, does not of course prove that the lady worked in England; but it gives some colour to the story, and may possibly be the 'Old Woman' of Mr. Chamberlain's citation. In any case, its accomplishment and shrewd character would give Françoise Duparc a respectable place among women painters. D. S. MacColl.

## THE FORTHCOMING THIRD GERMAN EXHIBITION OF APPLIED ART

The two predecessors of this Exhibition, which promises to be a highly important affair, took place at Munich in 1876 and 1888.

Originally every manner of artist was at first a craftsman of some kind, and he had to pass through all the purgatory of apprenticeship, entrance into a guild, etc., before he could appear as master.

It was only after the so-called higher arts, painting and sculpture, were entirely cut adrift from architecture that the relationship between the crafts and art was gradually dissolved. The craftsman went along one path and the artist along his; each had his own system of education and his proper schools. If this division resulted in some loss to the artist, it altogether ruined the working man's craft, for it finally left him altogether out of touch with art of any kind. When this became apparent a general movement arose with

[2] Sir William Richmond, however, has no knowledge that his father painted a portrait of Pugin, and there seems to be no record of it.

[3] Vol. VI, page 479 (March 1905).

PAINTING ATTRIBUTED TO FRANÇOISE DUPARC, IN THE POSSESSION OF MRS. HENRY JONES

the object of uniting the two factors, art and craft. Special academies and special museums were founded; the expression *Kunstgewerbe* (literally Art-craft) was coined, and Applied Art was in everybody's mind. It was natural that at first one had recourse to imitating the old times when the union had not yet been disjointed, and it was also perhaps natural that people imitated models rather than the spirit. A new flood of German Renaissance Decoration ran over all Germany. What it achieved for better or for worse was shown at the 1876 Exhibition.

About the same time the great industrial era commenced, the age of steam developed into an age of electricity, and machine manufactory as opposed to handicraft became our emblem. The odium of the famous dictum passed upon our practical industries at Philadelphia in 1876, 'cheap and poor,' has been thoroughly wiped out in the course of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, but it seems to have settled upon the art-industries. At the point to which Applied Art had been raised, by 1876 it was delivered over, bound hand and foot, to the machine manufactory. The 1888 Exhibition disclosed the fact that not the slightest progress had been made except in the direction of cheapness. This had entailed the ruin of public taste. Perfect stagnation had ensued; because there was no longer any demand for true handicraft, our artists turned entirely aside from it, and the manufacturing trade had hunted to death the few ideas that had been handed over to them.

The great revival of decorative art began with us in the middle of the nineties. The appearance of *The Studio*, which was welcomed in Germany as loudly as in England, had not a little to do with calling it forth, as should in justice be said. Within ten years a remarkable advance has been made. Evidence of this was given in the German exhibits at Paris 1900, Turin 1902, and St. Louis 1904, but strangely enough, never as yet in Germany itself. The third German Exhibition of Applied Art, to take place at Dresden in 1906, will furnish occasion for this.

It appears that this Exhibition is being most carefully prepared. There will be a historical department containing single masterpieces of handicraft, fine bronzes, bookbindings, porcelain, etc. of former times. A second feature will be a large display of farm-house rooms, showing the rural art of the different provinces. A third set of rooms will show what has been done in the way of education: the principles which govern different schools of Applied Art will be laid down, and the results attained will be shown. The very large central hall of the exhibition buildings will be divided up into two chapels, one arranged for Catholic, the other for Protestant worship. The field of religious art is perhaps the one which can show the least progress in Germany, because the authorities interested in it are the most conservative of people. If there has been perhaps some advance in church architecture within the past decade, there has been very little in the matter of church decoration. There is a wide field open here for improvement and new ideas in the interior equipment of churches, as well as in designs, for the manifold accessories of divine service. The principal exhibit will consist of a large number of completely furnished rooms, in which the principal artists of Germany, like Behrens, Riemerschmidt, Vandevelde, will display their talent, and the best executing firms (such as the 'Werkstaetten' at Dresden, Munich, Stuttgart, etc.) their skill. It is proposed to arrange a series of shops, which will in themselves be models of decoration, and will contain such single products of Applied Art as cannot be arranged in one of the rooms, or are exhibited by specialist-artists. Finally, there will be also a department devoted to industrial art. It is intended to show here, besides the best products, the manner of their production. For example, the visitor will be able to follow the production of a picture post card in colours from the making of the original design down to the printing of a large edition. There will also be a mock cemetery to show new designs of tombstones and graveyard decoration.

H. W. S.

## LETTER TO THE EDITORS

### THE TWEEDMOUTH PICTURES

Gentlemen,—If picture-collectors would realize how easy it is to detect modern repaints and restorations, £4,000 would not have been paid at Christie's recently for Lord Tweedmouth's *Simplicity* formerly by Sir Joshua Reynolds, now not, except the general design and a portion of one hand; nor £6,000 for Raeburn's portrait partially by himself, the rest, the larger part, by an unknown nineteenth or perhaps twentieth-century sign-painter. Lady Raeburn's portrait has been handled with more suavity than is customary among sign-painters, but is nevertheless largely repainted. The *Countess of Bellamont* startles with revelations of hitherto unknown methods in Sir Joshua Reynolds's treatment of shadows in drapery and other details, or have we here the same twentieth-century master?

It is most instructive to examine with a fairly strong hand-lens the surface of any retouched picture. It may be safely asserted that all genuine pictures of the Reynolds period are cracked, and a good glass will show up these cracks, and will

also show clearly where they are covered, partly or entirely, by a new layer of paint. I have even seen a cracked re-painting under which the different cracks of the original paint could be discerned. Besides, this new paint is dead and opaque without the semi-transparency and lustre of old paint. An honest mend of a hole or a bad crack has the merit, under the lens, of enhancing the beauty of untouched parts. But the modern restorer is fiendish. To disguise mends he spreads his new paint far around, entirely careless of the priceless quality which he is obliterating for the sake of a temporary smugness.

CHRISTIANA J. HERRINGHAM.

## ART IN AMERICA

### IN THE AUCTION ROOM

WHILE European sales of art objects are divided between London and Paris the centre for the sales in the United States is New York. Important sales of prints are occasionally held at the Thomas Galleries in Philadelphia, but otherwise the scattering collections that are brought to the hammer in that city or in Boston are scarcely worth mentioning. The season of 1904-1905 has been a notable one owing to the fact that three important private collections of paintings were dispersed under the auspices of the American art galleries in New York—the Waggaman, the Kauffman, and the King. Five dealers risked the chances of the auction room—Fischhof, Ehrich, Brandus, and Prinz, at the Fifth Avenue Art Galleries, and Blakeslee at the American Art Galleries. Groups of paintings by the following deceased American painters were sold: Robert C. Minor, C. Morgan, McIlhenney, Edwin Lord Weeks, and Kruseman van Elten, at the American Art Galleries, and Peter Rudell at the Fifth Avenue Art Galleries.

Collections other than paintings that have been sold during the past season at the American Art Galleries include the art objects belonging to John Jay Gilbert, of Baltimore, the wonderful collection of Oriental art objects belonging to Mr. Thomas Waggaman, of Washington, the Carter collection of etchings and engravings, the furniture which formed part of the King collection, and the large and varied collections of the late Dr. Joseph Wiener, which included prints, medals, coins, *bric-à-brac*, and paintings. Among the dealers' sales in this line were the Yamanaka collection of Oriental art objects, the Matsuki collection of Japanese armour, the Benguiat textiles, and the A. D. Vorce collection of Oriental art.

The art objects dispersed through the Fifth Avenue Art Galleries include the Persian Government exhibit from the St. Louis Exposition, several groups of Japanese art objects, furniture from Ollivier of Paris, and from Herter of New York, a group of rugs, and some antique glass and other art objects collected by Azeez Khayat, a dealer.

On the whole the prices realized were good, the highest figure being $40,200 paid by Herman Schaus at the Waggaman sale for the painting *Sheep Coming out of the Forest*, by Anton Mauve. A beaker-shaped vase of the Kiang-Hsi period was bought by Mr. W. Williams for $2,500, and the highest price among the art objects was realized when Mr. Charles L. Freer of Detroit paid $3,100 for a celebrated Japanese screen. The nine afternoon and three evenings of the Waggaman sale realized $341,538. Next in importance was the David H. King sale, when seventy paintings brought $201,035, and with the furniture and art objects the total reached was $218,915. The painting which brought the highest price was a portrait of the Countess D'Argenson, by Nattier, for which J. D. Ichenhausen paid $18,000.

### PITTSBURG

AT the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburg, the permanent collection is in place in the building erected a year ago to accommodate the Department of Fine Arts during the construction of the large wing of the Institute, which will contain galleries devoted to this department and to the scientific museum.

These temporary quarters consist of three well-lighted galleries, where about sixty paintings are hung. Among the important canvases is Edwin A. Abbey's *Penance of Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester*, rich in colour and well composed; *The Wreck*, a powerful canvas by Winslow Homer, painted in 1896 and purchased as the beginning of the Chronological Collection, established by a deed of trust from Mr. Carnegie, and intended to represent the progress of painting in America.

The collection is also strong in works by foreign contemporary painters. Among the French painters, Dagnan-Bouveret is represented by *The Disciples at Emmaus*, a large and important composition presented to the Institute by Mr. and Mrs. Henry C. Frick of Pittsburg, and which was lent to Buffalo for the initial exhibition at the Albright Gallery. Bastien-Lepage, Chartran, Harpignies, Pissarro, Puvis de Chavannes, Raffaelli, and others have each signed one or more good pictures.

The next International Exhibition will be held from the first week in November to January 1, 1906. The Jury, as usual, is selected by votes of the exhibitors at the last annual exhibition, and this year will meet in Pittsburg on October 12.

### CINCINNATI

IT is interesting to watch the growth of the art interests in the smaller cities. Cincinnati, for example, has a museum and art school which

deserves the highest praise. It was incorporated in 1881, and while no support is received from taxation, the Association, by relying entirely upon the liberality of the citizens of Cincinnati, has erected an attractive building in Eden Park; secured over 450 paintings for its permanent collection, together with casts and interesting examples of the applied arts; maintains an Art Academy where advanced instruction is given to over 400 students in drawing, painting, modelling, and design, and gives an annual exhibition of paintings by American artists that ranks as one of the best of the year.

Much of the success of the Cincinnati Museum is due to the serious work of the director, J. H. Guest, and to the staff of the school which includes such prominent painters as Frank Duveneck, A.N.A., Thomas S. Noble, L. H. Meakin, and Vincent Nowottny and the sculptor, Clement Barnhorn.

The twelfth annual exhibition was held from May 20 to July 10, and proved of great help to the students as well as giving much pleasure to the residents of Cincinnati, whose appreciation for the best in art is being cultivated by such exhibitions.

But the Museum is not the only art activity of Cincinnati. The twelfth annual exhibition of the Cincinnati Art Club was held from May 8 to 20, and among the seventy-eight paintings shown there was good work by H. F. Farny and J. H. Sharp, who paint Indians with knowledge of their ways; landscapes by L. H. Meakin; and figure pieces by Leo Mielziner, who is now a resident of Paris, where he takes an active interest in the American Art Association.

The art department of the women's club holds frequent exhibitions, the last being a group of German lithographs. Two of the men's clubs have formed art associations for the purpose of purchasing paintings and other works of art to decorate their club houses. Emery H. Barton, Esq., is president of the Art Association of the Business Men's Club, and W. W. Taylor, Esq., of that of the Queen City Club.

This brings us to another phase of the art activities of Cincinnati. Mr. Taylor is the manager of the Rookwood Pottery. Started in a small way by a woman, now Mrs. Bellany Storer, the making of this artistic pottery has made the city of Cincinnati famous throughout the world. While other potteries have been established in various parts of the United States and are turning out more or less artistic pieces, it is to Rookwood that we must turn not only for the earliest of our potteries but for constant advancement and improvement. The making of tiles and other pieces for use in architecture and interior decoration gives an opportunity to do practical work, and recently most artistic mantelpieces, fountains, and vases have been produced.

### Chicago

The most active of all our cities, outside of New York, is Chicago, and here the art interests are centred around the Art Institute. The permanent collections contain much that is of intrinsic as well as educational value, and we will study these collections in detail at some other time. In addition there is a constantly changing temporary collection, the last one for the season of 1904-5 being the seventeenth annual exhibition of water-colours, pastels, and miniatures by American artists. There were 468 numbers, and it was the best exhibition of water-colours for the current year, with the possible exception of those seen at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia.

The Boston Water-colour Club sent several works by each of its members, and they were hung in groups in one of the large rooms. Charles Woodbury had three of his powerful marines so full of dash and the spirit of the waves; seven canvases represented Maurice Prendergast, whose charm is in the management of many people seen as spots of colour; while two portraits by Mrs. Sarah C. Sears were delicately and sympathetically rendered.

There were a good many works which have been made for reproductive purposes, and while they were extremely decorative they completely lacked the poetry and atmosphere which would make them suited as daily companions. To this decorative class belong *Mother's Joy* by Ellen W. Ahrens, and Edwin S. Clymer's glaring *Decorative Landscape*. Of all this class of work possibly the most successful is a cover design by Violet Oakley, entitled *Spring*, wherein five figures are well grouped, and the entire colour scheme consists of cream and a soft grey-green.

Hugh Breckenridge sent a delightful *Autumn Hills*, rich and glowing with the trees in their red and yellow gowns, yet it was not at all exaggerated. Everett L. Bryant has a way of touching in his French Vaudeville characters which is truly fascinating; the *Banjo Players* is carried farther than the majority. Mary Cassatt's pastel of a *Mother and Child* is one of her very good works; while Sergeant Kendall in his *Mother and Child* gives us a composition simple, tender, and sympathetic. Of the three clear wash water-colours by Winslow Homer, the most satisfactory is his *Hauling in Anchor*, which is masterly of its kind.

## THE ROYAL ACADEMY

THE ROYAL ACADEMY AND ITS MEMBERS. 1768–1830. By the late J. E. Hodgson, R.A., and Fred A. Eaton, M.A. Murray, 21s. net.

IT is unfortunate that the authors of this handsome semi-official publication should have stopped at the year 1830, and have devoted so much space to biographical facts that are already stale news, since a really definite history of the Royal Academy would be of the greatest value. By their action they have certainly avoided difficulties, but the result is of course incomplete. In Mr. Eaton's preface we are told what share each writer had in the book, and how on Mr. Hodgson's death his work was continued and finished by Mr. G. D. Leslie. Mr. Eaton's account of the Academy itself is carefully put together. It is interesting to see how several reforms effected recently were urged long ago by the broad-minded C. R. Leslie, and how the opening of Lord Leighton's enlightened presidency was signalized by the repayment to the Turner Fund of some £8,000 which had been appropriated by the general account of the institution. His notes, too, on the pecuniary help given to distressed members are really the most novel feature in the biographies. The lists in the Appendices are convenient, but that of Honorary Foreign Academicians contains some names such as Adolf Minzel and Jules Brebon, which are unfamiliar. Mr. Leslie's section also, if rather commonplace, is careful and impartial. But one finds it hard to speak charitably of the part which must be assigned to Mr. Hodgson. Mr. Hodgson's own experiences might have preserved him from gloating over the failure of poor Barry (p. 162); and his official post from such monumental ignorance as that displayed in his eulogy of the Rev. W. Peters (p. 130), or in his sneers at the first holder of his own professorship (p. 61). The excellent pictures over whose non-existence he makes merry have been hanging for years 'on the line' in one of the most important English public galleries! All who are interested in the Royal Academy will hope that Mr. Eaton will find time to complete his work, and will wish that Mr. Leslie had been his associate from the first.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF ARTS: A complete Dictionary of Contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904. By Algernon Graves, F.S.A. Vol. I. Henry Graves and Co. and G. Bell. £2 2s. net.

MR. ALGERNON GRAVES has once more placed all students of the English school of painting, both present and future, under a heavy obligation, by adding one more to the invaluable works of reference with which his name is associated. In his preface he relates how this book originated more than thirty years ago from a small present of wine and a slippery day. In the convalescence following his accident Mr. Graves began to arrange the exhibitors at the Academy alphabetically. Up to the year 1800 titles were copied word for word; after that date titles and quotations were curtailed. Where possible anonymous portraits are identified, and the marginal notes to Horace Walpole's Catalogues belonging to Lord Rosebery have been included. The address from which each picture was sent is also given, so that the painters' movements can be traced from year to year. So far as rough tests go the book appears to be as impeccable in point of accuracy as it is in point of completeness. The author has even added blank pages at the end of each section for the addition of manuscript notes.

Only by some such description as this is it possible to convey any idea of the value of the book, and that value is increased from the fact that the Academy, for many years after its foundation, included all the best talent of the country, and its history is almost the history of British Art during that period. For the last thirty or forty years that has ceased to be the case, but of these years records more or less accurate exist. Mr. Graves's book thus comes to our assistance just where help is most needed.

Apart from its usefulness as an indispensable work of reference to every student of English Painting, the book suggests some interesting speculations. What, for instance, has happened to all the pictures, some two hundred in number, exhibited by George Arnald? Few collectors of English pictures could name offhand more than half-a-dozen works which now bear his name. The remainder probably pass, with those of men like the elder Barret, under the more august and profitable title of Richard Wilson or even of Turner himself. It is a common fallacy in the criticism of English painters to have too short a memory for the unmemorable, just as in some other countries the lesser lights at the moment seem to be magnified till they outshine the planets. Mr. Graves's book is exactly what was needed to enable us to strike the happy balance.

## ARCHITECTURE

NUREMBERG AND ITS ART TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Dr. P. J. Rée. Translated by G. H. Palmer. Grevel and Co. 4s. net.

NUREMBERG. By H. Uhde-Bernays. Siegle and Co. 1s. 6d. net.

IF the volume on 'Nuremberg' is a fair sample of Messrs. Grevel's series of 'Famous Art Cities' now in course of issue, their publication should be a great success. Dr. Rée's book is not only an admirable piece of work, but the clearness and method of the letterpress are repeated in the choice and arrangement of the very numerous and excellent illustrations of the city's sculpture, architecture, metal-work, and painting. An occasional uncouth phrase, such as the frequently repeated 'Barock,' the choice of an aspect of the Nuremberg Madonna which gives a false idea

of its character, and one or two slips such as that about the design of the Apollobrunnen, do not detract much from the merit of a book that is so thoroughly good and so wonderfully cheap. Mr. Bernay's book is also good of its kind, but more personal and emotional. It may be helpful to visitors who can make only a short stay in Nuremberg, and should prevent them being surprised by factory chimneys, but cannot be compared with Dr. Rée's work either for completeness or attractiveness.

ITALIAN ARCHITECTURE: being a brief account of its Principles and Progress. By J. Wood Brown. Siegle. 1s. 6d. net.

ROME AS AN ART CITY. By Albert Zacher. Siegle. 1s. 6d. net.

THESE two volumes of the same series of little monographs present a curious contrast. Mr. Zacher attempts to tell the story of art in Rome in detail from the time of the Etruscans to the present day in the space of ninety-one small pages. The book is thus a compact mass of names and dates, diversified here and there with short passages of ecstatic uncomprehending gush. Mr. Wood Brown with more wisdom views his subject broadly, though with all his care he quite fails to give an adequate account of the architecture of the Renaissance. The development of the earlier phases of Italian buildings is handled with considerable skill. The book would have been still more serviceable to those with little practical knowledge of architecture if technical points, such as those discussed on pages 55–8, had been illustrated by rough diagrams, but it is distinctly above the average of its kind.

## MISCELLANEOUS

DIE GRUNDZÜGE DER LINEAR PERSPEKTIVISCHEN DARSTELLUNG IN DER KUNST DER GEBRÜDER VAN EYCK UND IHRER SCHULE. I Die perspektivische Projektion Von Joseph Kern. 40 pp., 14 plates, and 3 cuts. Leipzig (Seemann), 1904. 6 m.

ANOTHER work on the van Eycks! some of our readers will probably exclaim; surely by this time, after all that has been written since the beginning of the last century, there ought not to be much left unsaid that is worth saying. We think, however, that it will be found that the present work does really bring fresh material of importance that must lead to reconsideration as to the date and authorship of certain paintings.

When interest in the productions of the early Netherlandish school was first aroused few persons were able to study more than a very limited number of paintings. Hence the attribution of works to the van Eycks could only be criticized by few, and thus it came to pass that for a long time little progress was made in separating their paintings from those by other masters of the fifteenth century. The documents published by Laborde in 1849, and subsequently by Pinchart and others, cleared up the biography of the brothers to a certain extent, but even now we have no reliable information as to either of them before October 1421. My own researches have led to the identification of the persons represented in several paintings and to the fixing of the date of their execution. Photography and retrospective exhibitions have facilitated study and led to much valuable criticism as to the technical qualities of the works. Bode, Friedländer, Seeck, Kämmerer, and Hulin have distinguished themselves by various essays. Others have confined their remarks to the treatment of landscape, or to that of trees and plants, while the present work is devoted to the examination of a certain number of paintings solely with regard to the extent of knowledge of the laws of linear perspective which they prove their authors to have possessed at the date of their execution. Previous writers had confined their remarks to the consideration of the source from which the van Eycks derived their knowledge of linear perspective. Crowe and Cavalcaselle were of opinion that John did not attain to a thorough knowledge of the laws of linear perspective, but that his faithful and minute observation of nature, his perception of tone and clever handling of colour, enabled him to represent atmospheric effects and produce in his pictures the illusion of their being true perspective views. Nielsen, as a result of his study, came to the conclusion that John was acquainted with the perspective laws of distance, and observed them in his works; that he derived his knowledge from the study of Euclid and private speculation, and was not indebted to any Italian source.

As far as I am aware, no one before the author of the present work has pushed the inquiry further. M. Kern, however, has analyzed a certain number of works by or attributed to Melchior Broederlam, the van Eycks, and Peter Christus, and gives a detailed description of the results illustrated by diagrams. He shows that the laws of linear perspective have been correctly observed in the representation of the interior of the Temple in the Presentation by Broederlam; in the design of the canopied niche in which St. Barbara stands in the Calvary picture of the Tanners' Gild at St. Saviour's, Bruges; in that of the tomb in the Richmond picture of the three Marys, of the pavement in the three upper panels of the Ghent polyptych, and of the pavement and ceiling of the Virgin's chamber on the exterior. He also demonstrates that in 1434 John did not follow the laws of linear perspective in their application to the room in which John Arnolfini and his bride are standing, and that at that time he evidently had no knowledge of the starting point of collective orthogonals. Did he attain to a full knowledge before his death in 1441? The only known authentic work of large dimensions which can lead to a decision on this point is his last picture,

the Ypres triptych belonging to M. Helleputte, and this M. Kern has unfortunately not examined. There is, of course, the Louvre altarpiece representing the Chancellor Rolin kneeling before Our Lady and Child, but opinions differ as to the authorship and date of this work, some setting this as early as 1422, others as late as 1437. M. Kern shows that if painted by John it cannot have been designed before 1436. Rolin was born in 1376, and, judging by his portrait,[1] cannot have been more than fifty when it was painted; it follows that the picture dates from about 1426, and that John was not its author. The somewhat similar picture representing the Carthusian Herman Steenken protected by St. Barbara kneeling before Our Lady and Child accompanied by St. Anne (according to others, St. Elisabeth of Thuringia) must have been painted before 1428, probably some years earlier, as Steenken died April 28, 1428.

The Berlin picture representing the same Carthusian presented to Our Lady by St. Barbara is attributed by M. Kern to Peter Christus, and assigned to 1436, or a later date. As to the laws of perspective distance, he agrees with other writers that neither the van Eycks nor Peter Christus attained to a complete knowledge of them. W. H. J. W.

DRAWINGS BY OLD MASTERS OF THE DUTCH AND FLEMISH SCHOOLS IN THE ROYAL COLLECTION AT AMSTERDAM. Part V. Williams and Norgate. £1 14s. net.

THE fifth part of the sumptuous publication appeals perhaps more to students of the Dutch School than to students of art in general. Two drawings, however, are of exceptional interest. The fine study of *A Farmyard* by Jan Lievens proves that the inspiration of Rembrandt's landscapes was not inherited by Philips de Koninck only, while the study of *A Gentleman Saluting*, by Cornelius Troost, 'The Dutch Watteau,' is an unusually good specimen of the spirited and graceful draughtsmanship by which that master earned his nickname. The coloured reproductions, as in the previous parts, are wonderfully good.

OLD MASTERS AND NEW. By Kenyon Cox. Fox, Duffield & Co. New York.

THAT painters do not more frequently write upon art is unfortunate both for the public, who hear too little of the painter's side of painting, and for painters themselves, since when their student days are over, if not earlier, they are apt to forget that other painters have existed. Mr. Kenyon Cox's series of essays covers a wide field, since the first deals with sculptors of the early Italian Renaissance and the last with St. Gaudens. The articles on Puvis de Chavannes and Paul Baudry are specially good, but the whole book is fresh, sensible, and thoroughly readable. Now and then it contains some startling remarks such as the statement that Sargent is a draughtsman, while Rembrandt was not. The author in fact is to some extent biassed by the modern tendency to depreciate creativeness and emphasis in favour of the faculty of representation, in reality a much commoner talent.

[1] Rolin's portrait in the hospital at Bedune, painted by Roger De la Pasture in or before 1447, shows him to have been then at least twenty years older than in the Louvre picture.

EARLY WORKS OF TITIAN. By Malcolm Bell. Newnes. 3s. 6d. net. FILIPPINO LIPPI. By P. G. Konody. Newnes. 3s. 6d. net.

Two more volumes of Messrs. Newnes' handy series of reproductions. Of the two, that on Filippino is distinctly the more careful, though neither is free from mistakes. The three frescoes by Titian in the Scuola del Santo are so well known that Mr. Bell's mistake in omitting them all and reproducing one which is certainly not by Titian is curious to say the least of it.

THE MOSAIC. No. I. Oxford; Holywell Press.

THIS little medley of essays in poetry and prose will doubtless recall pleasant memories to those who in earlier days have themselves embarked upon some such adventure. The opinions of the art critic and the methods of the writer of the short story seem alike needlessly sweeping, but all the contributors have some literary feeling and some faculty of observation, and will no doubt be heard of again.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

EARLY WORKS OF TITIAN. By Malcolm Bell. George Newnes, Ltd. 3s. 6d. net.

FILIPPINO LIPPI. By P. G. Konody. George Newnes, Ltd. 3s. 6d. net.

ISLAMISCHE TONGEFÄSZE AUS MESOPOTAMIEN. By Friedrich Sarre. G. Grotésche Verlagsbuchhandlung.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY AND ITS MEMBERS. By the late J. E. Hodgson, R.A. and Fred A. Eaton, M.A. John Murray. 21s. net.

UN BAS-RELIEF DE BRONZE. By Etienne Michon. Ernest Leroux, Paris.

BIBLIOTHEK EUGEN MUENTZ. Joseph Baer and Co., Frankfort-am-Main.

ORIGINAL DRAWINGS OF THE DUTCH AND FLEMISH SCHOOL; Part 5. Williams and Norgate. £1 14s. net.

HISTORY OF ANCIENT POTTERY. In two vols. By H. B. Walters. John Murray. 63s. net.

BEAUTIFUL WALES. Painted by Robert Fowler; described by Edward Thomas. A. and C. Black. 20s. net.

NUREMBERG AND ITS ART TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Dr. P. J. Rée; translated by G. H. Palmer. Grevel and Co. 4s. net.

NUREMBERG. By H. Uhde-Bernays. Siegle and Co. 1s. 6d. net.

IVORIES. By Alfred Maskell. Methuen and Co. 25s. net.

CHEFS-D'ŒUVRE D'ART JAPONAIS. By Gaston Migeon. D. A. Longuet, Paris.

THE £30,000 PORTRAIT AND THE DISCOVERY OF A LONG LOST ITALIAN PORTRAIT. A Criticism. By George Washington Moon, Hon.F.R.S.L. Farncombe's Library. 2s. 6d. net.

MR. WHISTLER'S LITHOGRAPHS: THE CATALOGUE. By Thomas R. Way. London: G. Bell and Sons. New York: H. Wunderlich and Co. 10s. 6d. net.

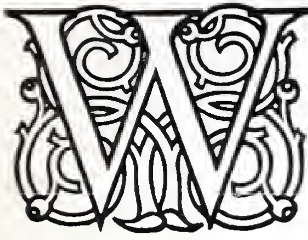
LITTLE BOOKS ON ART—RAPHAEL. By A. R. Dryhurst. Methuen and Co. 2s. 6d. net.

L'ARTE IN VAL DI NIEVOLE. By Carlo Stiavelli Francesco Lumachi, Florence. 2.50 lire.

HANDZEICHNUNGEN SCHWEIZERISCHER MEISTER DES XV–XVIII JAHRHUNDERTS. Part 2. Basel, Helbing, and Lichtenhahn.

Study by George Romney
for the "Egremont Family Piece" at Petworth
In the collection of Mrs Bischoffsheim

# EDITORIAL ARTICLE
## THE DIRECTORS OF OUR PUBLIC GALLERIES



WE have referred more than once to the vacant Directorships of the National Gallery and South Kensington Museum, and in again calling attention to these vacancies we do so in no spirit of impatience. A busy Government may, from pressure of work as much as from the desire to do right, be compelled to decide slowly, yet we trust that the decision as to these two appointments will not be delayed much longer. Already there are rumours that the Government intend to dispense altogether with a director for the National Gallery, and the Board of Education, which has replaced the notorious Science and Art Department, would be only too happy to follow so comfortable a precedent.

We have already pointed out the immediate damage which must result to our national collections from such an anarchical policy. The appearance in England of a first-class Titian of an order which is unlikely to come up for sale again, and of a kind of which we have not a single example in any public gallery, might serve as a text for a further discourse on the subject. The National Arts Collection Fund has just atoned for one of the most discreditable omissions of the Chantrey Trustees, but it cannot be expected to make up for every fault in our official system.

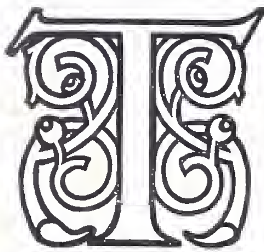
The evil effects of such a policy would not be confined to the particular appointments now vacant. The passing over of men of note, either in favour of an official favourite, or of a committee of gentlemen, who, however intelligent, keen, and conscientious they may be, are, after all, only amateurs, would be a blow not only to our national collections but also to our national scholarship. The rewards of the sincere and capable student of art in Great Britain are already few enough and poor enough in all conscience; but if the two or three posts that carry any real position with them are abolished or filled by men who are obviously not the most experienced and scholarly men available, the effect upon art institutions throughout the country cannot fail to be disastrous.

Capable directors cannot be improvised at a moment's notice. If the highest posts were always properly filled, they would remain as a perpetual incentive to workers in humbler positions both in London and in the provinces. Provincial galleries, indeed, stand sorely in need of some such stimulus. Two or three conspicuous successes in the Midlands and in the North are made the more prominent by the ignorance and mismanagement of the remainder. Bradford may serve as a case in point. Last year Bradford opened a handsome art gallery. With the help of many prominent artists and collectors, a representative exhibition was formed of the best English painting and English furniture from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present time, a show which in method and completeness has rarely been rivalled in the provinces. Yet in spite of this admirable object lesson the corporation has now apparently wasted its money upon pictures of the type beloved of the readers of penny magazines—pictures of which even the least well informed galleries in other counties have begun to fight shy. Yet if our Government discourages scholarship, how can a poor provincial town council be expected to do better?

If rumour may be trusted, it is upon Lord Lansdowne that the Prime Minister relies for advice in these matters; we therefore hope that the judgement which the Foreign Secretary has recently shown in international affairs will soon be exercised on behalf of serious art scholarship in the country, and of the important industries directly or indirectly dependent upon it.

# PIETRO ARETINO BY TITIAN

## BY ROGER E. FRY



HE portrait of Aretino by Titian, from the Chigi Palace, now at Messrs. P. & D. Colnaghi's gallery and here reproduced by their kind permission, has been made familiar to students by Dr. Gronau's notice and reproduction of it in his excellent monograph on the master. It is no small piece of good fortune to us to be able to examine at leisure and in a good light so remarkable an example of Titian's portraiture. It is indeed in some ways a unique example on account of the peculiar relationship which subsisted between the artist and sitter.

The conditions of the artist's profession were undergoing rapid changes by the middle of the sixteenth century. The barriers of local schools were breaking down, the power and wealth of the men who surrounded Charles V were predominant, a new idea of aristocratic and courtly etiquette was beginning to prevail. The old intimacy between patrons and even humble craftsmen was disappearing. In fact the conditions were changing from that of the mediaeval guild with its well established trade rules to those of modern life. Already the prizes of the few successful artists were becoming immense, already these stood out from the ruck of the profession as they had never done before. Picture-painting was becoming a somewhat speculative profession instead of a solid and humble trade. With this change towards modern conditions two important modern auxiliaries of the craft came into existence, the dealer and the journalist. In the scramble for prizes, the intrigues for favour, amid all the cross currents and undertows of influence which went on in court-life, Aretino piloted Titian with the consummate skill, the brilliant wit, and the brazen impudence which distinguished him. He it was who knew the precise moment at which a present would take effect, who knew which picture to send to the Empress in order to secure the Emperor's favour. Titian, man of the world though he was, had not, one may imagine, the same certainty of instinct nor the same cynical knowledge of human nature as this professional flatterer, bully, and tout. In any case Titian owed something of his extraordinarily rapid success to Aretino, and their intimate friendship remained unbroken for nearly thirty years. That Aretino had the sensibility of an artist, a keen critical insight and the charm of a brilliant talker, together with some capacity for generous and spontaneous feeling, may help to explain Titian's intimacy.

Thus it is that there are few portraits left to us by the greatest masters in which the relation of artist and sitter was as intimate as is here the case. According to Milanesi Titian painted Aretino six times. Once as Pilate in the *Christ before Pilate* at Vienna, once as a soldier in the *Allocution of del Vasto* in the same gallery, and four times in separate portraits. One of these, executed in 1545, was sent by Aretino to Duke Cosimo I de' Medici, and is now in the Pitti. It is this which is described in a letter by Aretino with disparaging remarks, unintelligible to our eyes, about the painting of the accessories. Another was painted in 1527, soon after Aretino's arrival in Venice, and was sent to the marquis of Mantua. The date of this clearly prevents it from being the same as the Chigi portrait, which, therefore, is probably one of the two remaining ones of which we have notices. These were, one belonging to the engraver Marcolini, the other done for Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici. Since Ippolito was poisoned in 1535, while our picture must clearly date from the forties, there is every probability that it is the one

PORTRAIT OF PIETRO ARETINO, BY TITIAN, FORMERLY IN THE CHIGI PALACE, NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF MESSRS. P. AND D. COLNAGHI.

which was once in Marcolini's possession. Marcolini used to boast of this that Titian had painted it in three days, and indeed there is nothing incredible in such a statement. The portrait has a note of intimacy and spontaneity which well agrees with the idea of its being such a rapid rendering of a man struck off while the inspiration of some happy accident of pose and lighting on the familiar features lasted—a work done entirely among friends without any reference to the outside world, without any pose or afterthought. It has strikingly this character when compared with the Pitti portrait, done perhaps a few years earlier, but done with slightly more regard to Aretino's pretensions. In that it is true the satyr in Aretino comes out, but the intention is to show him as a great man, as the intimate of princes and the patron of merit. Here we have Aretino in his friend's studio, without self-consciousness, without pose and without reserve, abstracted for a moment, in a mood of equable reverie, which allows one to see the whole man with no one aspect so emphasized as to disturb the balance.

Whether the picture is, as we have suggested, the one done for Marcolini or no, it has the character which we have indicated : it is an intensely artistic portrait, painted particularly for those who understand the language of art, painted without any compromises with the exigencies of princely or popular demands. Such at least is the impression which we get from this wonderful masterpiece, with its intense simplification of form, of tone, and of colour. The contour is rounded off to a great oval mass almost including the head, which, with its heavy bull neck and massive protruding forehead, predominates, in spite of the exaggerated length and volume of the body and arm. Several portraits painted about the same period as this show a similar tendency to such a rounded oval mass in the general contour. Dr. Gronau has already called attention to the similarity with the Granvella portrait at Besançon of 1548, and the *John Frederick of Saxony*, of the same year, affords another striking example. In tone and colour the same reduction to the simplest and most directly expressive terms is apparent. The whole magnificent scheme built up out of a few elements, the pure and lovely grey (a Whistlerian grey in effect) of the background, the deep, tawny brown orange of the robe, and the rich, earthy carnations, make an unforgettable harmony in one restricted key.

The handling betrays the same singleness of purpose ; the impressive effect of solidity and mass is obtained by thin scumbles, put on with the utmost ease and apparent rapidity ; a few marvellously written scrawls of lighter yellow upon the half-tone of the sleeve give it at once its form and an adequate notion of texture. Throughout we get the spontaneity of direct, together with the elusiveness and mystery of indirect painting. Analysis here gives place to mere wonder at the inscrutable quality of the result.

It has been suggested that means should be found to acquire this magnificent work for the nation, and already we believe an anonymous and public-spirited donor has offered a large sum towards the price. It is most sincerely to be hoped that others will come forward with the same generosity. With this example of Titian's portraiture in the full maturity of his powers placed beside the early Giorgionesque work we have lately acquired, we should have the most interesting exemplification of the development of Titian's genius. Titian at seventy was so completely different a man from Titian at twenty-five, and both were such supreme masters, that the scheme of acquiring this for the nation should not be overruled on the ground that we already possess a noble example of his work as a portraitist.

# DALOU

## BY CHARLES RICKETTS

OME fifteen years ago it was not an uncommon thing to hear that French art was in complete decadence, that two artists alone, Bastien Lepage and Dalou, relieved the average 'doubtless clever—but tricky.' Time and fashion have dealt very roughly (too roughly in fact) with Lepage; Dalou has survived for several reasons, among which we may count his genuine and instinctive ability.

For some years an exile in England, he is still remembered as an indirect educational influence on our more timid local sculpture. France in the second virgin blush of her Third Republic has welcomed him again as a new republican sculptor, the sculptor in fact of the republic. At its best his work is assured of enduring admiration, at its worst it is a survival from the Second Empire. Easy in his art, engaging, and a little florid, to some he is an admirable 'piece sculptor,' to others he is a 'decorative sculptor:' both verdicts are founded on his facility. If admirable at times in the execution of the piece, he never achieves the mastery which Rodin for instance reveals in a bust or fragment; with one or two exceptions Dalou has executed no good busts. In his large decorative works he realizes a spirited effect which raises them beyond decorative set-pieces; they are 'telling' as a whole, admirable in part if a little shallow in invention; they are genial and abundant, rhetorical in a legitimate way, and admirably illustrative of their sounding titles, *Fraternity uniting the people*, *Time striving to wrest the wreath from Fame*. In this he is essentially French—it is part of the temper of a people that has inherited the old Latin sense of the effective. Something which has a pictorial force is to be found in the utterances of Napoleon and the men of the Revolution. Delacroix and even Puvis de Chavannes give titles to their works which have an epigrammatic terseness in their Latin ease. Dalou is in everything traditional and Gallic, he is at his ease in the public place and in the palace—that is, a French palace where Fame, Victory, and the Arts find a home even in the cornices. I would state this without the slightest insular or provincial British prejudice. I recognize in our more shy and remote sense of art a lesser vitality, or perhaps even conviction. I am even inclined to think that our coldness towards directness of utterance, or condensed thought, or effective symbol accounts to some extent for the small hold the sculpture of Alfred Stevens has achieved upon cultivated people in this country. Dalou lived for several years in England, known to his contemporaries as a facile and dainty craftsman whose work showed something of that undefinable quality which might be described as 'le sourire du XVIII$^{e}$ siècle.' In the Victorian era, which we are beginning to look back upon as one of great refinement, anterior to the sort of 'Hotel Ritz' ideal of life now prevailing, Dalou obtained employment even from royalty, and to the English phase of his career we owe two very fine works, an admirable bust of Mrs. Crowe and an admirable seated portrait of Lady Carlisle. English taste, with its leaning towards the pretty, encouraged him in that side of his temperament in which he descends from the craftsmen of the eighteenth century; he is often of their rank. He is not to be counted with the foremost of them like the incomparable Houdon (one of France's truly great artists); and Clodion, with all his desperate facility and monotony, is perhaps more endowed in that essential element of personality, being in fact a sort of eighteenth-century Rossellino; but a comparison between Dalou and the work of Falconet and Pajou is not crushing to the modern Frenchman. Dalou's work is more at home in fact in

HEAD OF [illegible]

TORSO.

STUDY OF A SLEEPING CHILD.

WOMAN TAKING OFF HER STOCKING.

PLATE II. SCULPTURES BY DALOU.

the vicinity of the better sculpture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than in the company of the major sculptors of the nineteenth; there is a latent feverishness in the work of Carpeaux which was due perhaps to the lingering influence of Delacroix. The more austere and intense arts of Barye, Rodin, and Meunier are even less allied to him, though in some of his latest works he has not concealed his acknowledged admiration for Meunier. Rude, the republican who incarnates the Revolution and the First Empire, has had little influence upon Dalou the republican and socialist. It is Houdon and Clodion who were crushed by the Revolution, who stand sponsors to his art; Puget and Caffieri were not far off, the second had stood sponsor to Carpeaux; but these masters felt and modelled with a more violent and expressive force. Dalou's work stands below them in character, below them in sincerity; he is too fluent and easy and too local.

Perhaps the last sentence requires some explanation, for in the long run it will be found that most great artists focus for us the temper of some locality or period in which the casual and contemporary man is very anxious to claim some after share. Let us for the moment grant that most art could only have been done when and where it was done. We find, nevertheless, that the major men stand above these more obvious relationships; they catch light from each other even at a distance, and illumine the future of a great art tradition, such as it has been the privilege of two great civilizing nations—Italy and France—to produce: the major men stand out as beacons on different heights. However related to French thought and emotion, the art of Rodin, for instance, is equally related to that of Donatello and Michael Angelo, whose teaching he turns to his own special uses. Barye, though one of the great figures of the Romantic period, faces the essential elements of his art with a directness and precision which carry us back in thought almost to a pre-Pheidean epoch.

Below such men stand their artistic contemporaries who translate into a more general tongue the more personal messages of the major man. These secondary craftsmen remould the temper of their period and nation, and form the connecting and reflecting mass between different masters and traditions. This faculty of absorption and dilution, this faculty for continuity and reconciliation, is a great element in the general French artistic temperament; nothing escapes it, nothing is lost by it, it is at once the privilege of the greater number, and, if viewed properly, a sort of consolation to the master. It is in the essentially traditional and national elements in French art that Dalou is quite himself; a slight accent of his own epoch—that, namely, of the Second Empire—accounts for an indefinable absence of what I would call spirituality for lack of a more accurate word; the amiability of the eighteenth century is more nimble and delicate. In the art of Dalou we find that the kindred elements between the great French sculptors, such as Puget and Carpeaux, have become reconciled to Houdon and even to Clodion, whose fresh wet clay work Dalou can emulate, whose method of sketching he at times possesses absolutely. The head of Diana here reproduced[1] is a younger sister of the more aristocratic and exquisite goddess by Houdon, who in her turn, perhaps, claims relationship with the lithe elegant figures of the French Renaissance; for, strangely enough, this bust by this modern sculptor is even more in the manner of the eighteenth century than the prototype. This Diana seems on the watch for some rude, sudden Cupid by Fragonard, bent on stealing her arrows. A study of a sleeping child[2] might be some piece of sculpture introduced by Chardin in a group of accessories illustrating the arts; both these works are exquisite;

[1] Plate I, page 349. [2] Plate II, page 352.

they are illumined by the spirit of a charmed period in art, that of the eighteenth century; they are touched with the sunlight of France—to use the exquisite words of the great Gluck.

Like many facile and instinctive artists, Dalou felt he had also some major intellectual mission, and to that impression we owe two magnificent works, the *Monument of the Republic* with its decorative lions, cherubs, and buxom women, and a fine bas-relief of *Fraternity Uniting the People*. Both are virile in modelling and fine in the sense of movement; they are equal in quality to the superb *Silenus and Nymphs* in the Luxembourg Gardens, which has no didactic aim. In these pictorial groups the sense of vitality runs high, the invention and modelling are rich and easy; they are worth a dozen monuments to Gambetta or the projected *Pillar to the Proletariat* or *Monument du Travail*, with its hastily invented series of workmen niched in a ridiculous tower.

I have stated that Dalou was unsuccessful in most of his busts; in this he inherits nothing from his master Carpeaux, nothing from Houdon, who are both two of the greatest, perhaps the two greatest, portrait sculptors; yet, to me at least, there is one exception, namely his bust of Delacroix. This is so admirable that one wonders if too great an habitual reliance upon nature may not account for his many failures; or shall we say that the exigencies of his living models may be to blame with their preconceived knowledge of their faces in photography, whose influence has by now almost stifled all interpretive art in current modern portraiture? True, that in the bust of Delacroix the sculptor had the fine nervous portrait by the master to follow, yet this does not discount the fact that the result surpasses anticipation, that it reveals imaginative insight, showing us Delacroix as he stands in history, concentrated and intense, one of those who are 'impassioned of passion'; this vivid face in bronze is worthy of the model; it is outside and beyond the habitual temper and gift of Dalou; it is possessed of the finest qualities possible in portraiture.

## STUDY FOR THE 'EGREMONT FAMILY PIECE' BY GEORGE ROMNEY

This striking work, which by the courtesy of the owner, Mrs. Bischoffsheim, we are permitted to reproduce as a frontispiece to the present number of The Burlington Magazine (p. 342), is a comparatively recent addition to the artistic treasures of Bute House. According to Mr. Humphry Ward's monumental 'Life of Romney' the original picture at Petworth was painted at Eartham for Lord Egremont in 1795. The subject is described as 'A lady and four children; the lady in the character of Titania, with her children as fairies, shooting at bats with bows and arrows.' Some uncertainty seems to exist as to the identity of the lady in the Petworth group. There was no countess of Egremont when the picture was painted, and the earl who commissioned it was never married, and his mother by a second marriage became Countess Brühl in 1794. In the Petworth Catalogue (No. 381) the personages are thus enumerated: 'Elizabeth countess of Egremont, with Colonel Wyndham, General Wyndham, Lady Burrell, and Mrs. King when children.

In Mrs. Bischoffsheim's version of the subject the recumbent figure is obviously a reminiscence of Lady Hamilton. The picture appears to have remained in Sussex till it was recently brought to London. There it was recognized and purchased by Mrs. Bischoffsheim, and her judgement has been since confirmed by Mr. Claude Phillips and Sir Walter Armstrong.

# SOME FLORENTINE WOODCUTS

## BY G. T. CLOUGH

THE religious side of the Renascentine movement—that which presented itself to a cultured Italian—had surely its element of pathos. Around him he saw the mental systems of an Old World of thought engaged in conflict with a New World of ideas, and mediaeval mysticism hard put to it to hold her own in the atmosphere of classical artificiality with which humanism enveloped her. Then Rome, with her monuments, some freshly discovered, all freshly appreciated, stepped into the arena, bringing to the new cause traditions that had the charm both of antiquity and the appeal to patriotism. To the mind of a Florentine or Milanese citizen, grieving over Italy's divisions and exposure to foreign incursion, Rome would present herself with enhanced vigour as the embodiment of unity, and a dominion which made invasion the remotest of contingencies; while, for the sensuous side of his character, fresh stimulus would be provided by the store of pagan imagery which every year saw rescued by her excavators. Is it matter for wonder that, among the great and the learned, doubt should here and there have arisen as to the limits likely to be observed by the new movement—whether Neopaganism would not reach the position of an accepted creed, and Christ have to give place to Jupiter? But as in the rise of Christianity, so now in her temporary decline, her hold upon 'the common people' is the secret of her power; and while among the humanists cases arise of those who coquet with Olympus, or burn lamps before Plato, the great mass of the population remains faithful to orthodox ideas.

In their prosecution of this conflict between two ideals, the ascetic, and one that took all knowledge and all pleasure for its province, both sides furnished employment for the new art of engraving. Mantegna's contributions by his burin to the classical revival are too well known to need description.

From Marc-Antonio's *bottega* there issued a succession of some 170 still extant pieces, devoted to pagan mythology or classical story—sheets which, on their first appearance, Vasari tells us, 'struck all Rome with amazement.' The passionate interest taken by cultured society in Roman excavations was fostered by engraved versions of her statues; while the patriotism of a population, torn by internal division and wracked by fear of foreign invasion, was soothed by reminiscences of Rome's former imperial ascendency—prints which derive additional poignancy from the consideration that their purchasers must, many of them, have seen her sacked by the Constable Bourbon's mercenaries. The opposing ranks of Christian orthodoxy, these also wielded weapons forged in Marc-Antonio's workshop: witness his counterfeited edition of Dürer's 'Life of the Virgin,' and numerous biblical subjects, the cherished treasures of sixteenth-century virtuosi. But for the typical printed art of the masses, whose piety formed the mainstay of the official religion, we must turn to the ephemeral chap-books, which recorded for the Florentine populace the words of Savonarola's sermons and the popular miracle-plays. In these catchpenny pamphlets, of which, from their frail character, only sixteenth-century later editions, for the most part, have come down to us, we find impressions of wood blocks designed and cut towards the close of the fifteenth century, when Renascentine art had reached its apogee of gracefulness, and before it had passed, as it too soon did pass, into a stage of meretricious exuberance. The paternity of their designs has been given to various artists—notably by Mr. Berenson, in the case of some of them, to a follower

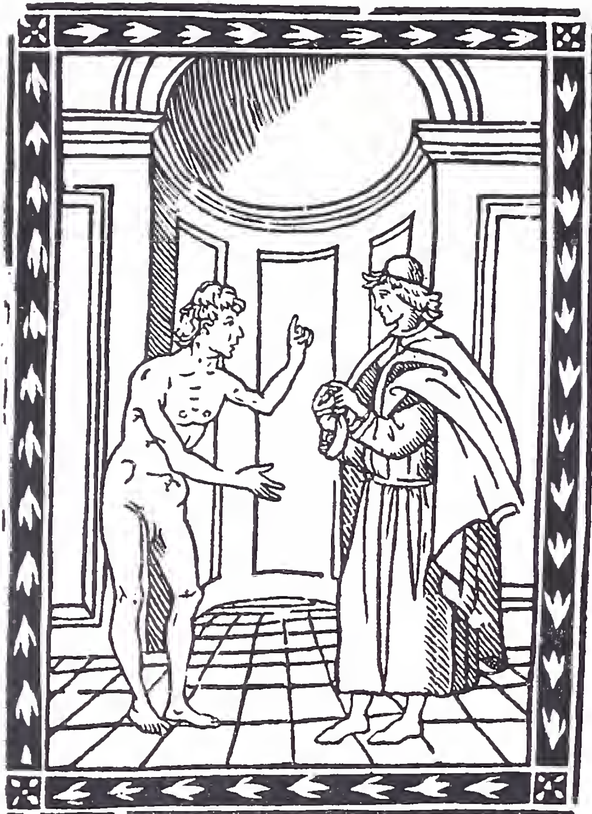


Fig. 1.

of Ghirlandaio.[1] What I wish here to emphasize is the happy fortune of the Florentine masses, for whose benefit these delicately beautiful woodcuts were published, at a time when painting generally wore the bombastic forms favoured by men like Bronzino and Vasari—pigmies straining themselves to wear Michelangelo's armour. If, as we can well believe, the wave of Spanish pietism, which swept the peninsula in the wake of Charles V's invasion, led to a larger demand for miracle-play literature, we may regard the consequent preservation of these modest designs as some small counterpoise to the injury wrought by that movement upon the art of the sixteenth century.

Happy in the general conception of these illustrations, the draughtsmen of the majority of them were equally happy in their adaptation of their design to the conditions of the material that was to interpret it. They seem to have recognized intuitively that the flat black ground of the block was the artistic *raison d'être* of a woodcut's existence, and that to work that black ground in the direction of its greatest capacity of expression was a law for the designer no less than the craftsman. Self-evident as this may appear, the contrary practice had been too much the rule in Germany, whose colder climate made it, from an early age, the home of duplicated illustration. There, woodcutting had from the first been set to reproduce drawings made with the pen or point, and a material whose special genius lay in the rendering of tint had with the rarest exceptions[2] been set to copying line.[3] Transferred to Italy, the art in the main took the same unfortunate direction, the greatest skill being devoted to the execution of woodcuts whose ideal seemed to be the reduction of the black ground of the block to a minimum. In Florence however—whether,

[1] Burlington Magazine, Vol. I, pp. 18, 19 (March 1903).

[2] Conspicuous among these exceptions are the six wood blocks giving the intricate convolutions of an endless white line which Dürer produced under the inspiration of certain line engravings proceeding from Leonardo da Vinci's Academy.

[3] The existence of a preliminary stage in which woodcut was supplemented by colour-wash will not, however wide its prevalence, affect our judgment of the final and independent result.

Fig. 2.

as Delaborde suggests, from the artists' previous familiarity with niello-work, or from that intuitive perception of the narrow road of rectitude in art which her citizens believed they owed to their clearer air and severer mutual criticism—in Florentine woodcuts we find the ground of the block allowed fuller artistic utterance. Even here the law of white on black is by no means unanimously followed, and Delaborde's statement regarding the Florentine artists, that it is 'd'un commun accord qu'ils s'y conforment,' requires some qualification. The charming woodcut given by Mr. Pollard and Dr. Kristeller, from Jacopone da Todi's 'Laudi,' runs perilously close to contemporary Venetian cuts in giving a *suggestio falsi* as to the nature of the material employed, and not a few of the cuts in Kristeller, if their borders were eliminated, would be open to the same criticism. Figs. 2 and 3 here reproduced, the signs of whose blocks' long service cannot hide their original beauty, fall within the same category. In advance of these the fine cut from the 'Rappresentazione of S. Alexo,' Fig. 4, shows the block's ground utilized for door and window shadow; while in Fig. 5 it is given still greater prominence in the form of alternate insets to a stone flooring. From this it is but a step to scenes like Fig. 6, representing Saint Apollonia's martyrdom, in which the intaglio effect is complete, and the scheme white on black receives full realization. After this the transference of the method to out-door effects is easy, and we reach a scene like Fig. 7, which represents the Communion of St. Mary Magdalene, or still better Fig. 8, where some artist working in his happiest mood has found a craftsman worthy of his conception.

Dr. Kristeller's text-book gives his readers abundant examples of the black ground's various stages of utilization. I have confined myself in the above to cuts, reproductions of which do not appear in his pages, and which an appeal to Mr. Pollard's wide experience of book illustration induces me to think are among the specimens of the art least familiar to English students.[4]

In thus putting the Rappresentazione woodcuts in the forefront of the religious printed art of the Florentine masses, we have to make the admission that some of the cuts attain that dignity solely by the accident of their insertion in the text of the miracle-plays, and not by any inherent directness of religious application. When the publisher of a later edition of one of these 'books of the words' wished to give it greater attractiveness, he felt no scruple about inserting a block that had appeared in a secular publication, however unsuitable might be its past history or present significance. Thus the woodcut Fig. 8, containing two queens, with their

Fig. 3.

[4] Of Fig. 1 I can find no mention in Dr. Kristeller's catalogue. The border is characteristically Florentine, but there are points about the treatment of the subject suggesting Venetian influence, and I am doubtful therefore of its right to appear in its present companionship. The print, which is a mere fragment, bears upon its *verso* a list of the virtues and vices, 'L'Odio, La Fede,' etc., arranged Index fashion. Here also I find trace of the Venetian dialect. Possibly some more experienced reader of the BURLINGTON can throw light on the origin of the cut.

¶ RAPPRESENTATIONE DI S. ALEXO.

Fig. 4.

attendants, strolling through a charming landscape, has been borrowed by the publisher from some unknown source to embellish the story of the Maries and Lazarus, with which it has not the slightest literary connexion. The same miracle-play treats us to a picture of the death bed of Lazarus, of which all the appropriateness is dissipated by the fact obtruded on our notice that the sufferer is a woman. Again, Dr. Kristeller's reproduction, No. 168, in which a bare-legged gentleman prepared for bed is laying down the law to a much-afflicted lady, makes its first appearance in the 'Novella della figliuola del mercatante,' the story of a wife who from prudential motives makes her escape from her husband at the close of the marriage festivities. Opening its career under these wholly secular and somewhat dubious conditions, it is rather startling to find the cut figuring in a later miracle-play containing the story of St. Theodora, a maiden who, on religious grounds, had vowed herself to perpetual virginity, and suffered martyrdom rather than become the wife of a heathen pro-consul.

In the tribute rendered above to the merits of the Florentine school of wood-cutting it will be understood that it is the relative superiority of their method that I wish to establish, not the pre-eminence over all other woodcut illustration of their ultimate result. I have supposed it to be an axiom that a method which displays the nature of the material employed, and carries it forward in the direction of its greatest capacity of expression, is more artistic than one that obscures the material basis and neglects its special genius of utterance. I should have thought this to be a truth so elementary as to be perilously close to a commonplace, if it had not furnished occasion for controversy between two reputable antagonists, one a theorist, the other an expert, and if I were not, in the line here adopted, so unfortunate as to be opposed by the expert. When the late Mr. Hamerton in his volume on the Graphic Arts reaches the art of Holbein and his exponent Lutzelburger, he finds himself obliged to qualify his admiration of the *Dance of Death* series by the follow-

ing caution : 'It is a great mistake to suppose that facsimile wood-engraving, like that which bears the name of Holbein, represents the art at its best, or even represents it fairly. The Holbein cuts are only drawings in grey and white, and they do not make the most of a wood-block, with its possibilities of fine blacks and other resources.' Upon this judgement that excellent craftsman Mr. W. J. Linton brings down his truncheon with almost Johnsonian vigour. 'I think this very unintelligent criticism. Are drawings or engravings in grey and white less artistic than drawings or engravings that make the most of "fine blacks" or "other resources"?'

Fig. 6.

Here, I submit, it is Mr. Linton who is unintelligent, ignoring the point at issue. It is of course quite conceivable that two pre-eminent artists, working on mistaken lines, may combine in the creation of a masterpiece which shall eclipse the productions of their less competent brethren working on a more harmonious system. Few, I suppose, would deny to Holbein and Lutzelburger, or to Dürer and that unknown *formschneider* who cut the block of the Great Trinity (Bartsch, 122), the credit of producing results which defy comparison, and form the acme of Renascentine woodcut illustration. All this it is possible to grant, and yet feel regarding them that they are only magnificent aberrations, victories won in defiance of the rules of the game, and that in the modest prints here treated of, stray waifs from the Florentine presses, we are 'shown a more excellent way' of utilizing a woodblock's resources.

Fig. 5.

It is on much the same principle that some of us continue to derive pleasure from line engravings of the now depreciated Roman school, a pleasure which is quite distinct from that afforded us by their grace of form or place in Renascentine history. In the generous spaces clear of shading, that we owe to their limited chiaroscuro, we find record, not only of each plate's line of execution, but of the art's early connexion with low-

Fig. 7.

and in architecture where stone has copied forms more appropriate to a fibrous material. In the case of these arts, however, the lapse from principle was only occasional, or made during the period of early immaturity. It was the fate of wood-engraving, over the larger part of Western Europe, and for the greater part of its career, to put forth work, voluminous in quantity and of great technical ability, which was conceived upon a system prescribed for it by a kindred art, based upon radically different technical conditions; and, Florence and the North Italian *chiaroscuro* prints excluded, we have to come to England, and the close of the eighteenth century, to find the surface texture of a wood-block given its completest and most natural expression. It is a far cry artistically and socially from Florence under the earlier Medici to Newcastle or London under the later Georges; but it adds to the pleasure we derive from these Florentine woodcuts that we are able to see in their unknown authors the precursors of William Blake and Thomas Bewick, and find, even in the rudest of them, anticipations of the skill displayed in pictures like those of Phillips's 'Pastoral Poems,' and the 'British Birds.'

relief metalwork. Our imagination carries us back in thought to those early craftsmen, and that worship of humanity which underlies all artistic interest, whether in the cave-dwellers' scratchings or in the vault of the Sistine, receives grateful stimulation. Add to these merits that predominance of noble line, which was impaired when local colour was given its value and the plate was wholly obscured with shading, and we get a result which makes us disposed to be lenient to some tameness in the burin-work, and to an occasional defect in draughtsmanship.

One further reflection presents itself. Wood-engraving is not the only art which, lured by the charm of a rival, has at some stage of its career left the road and been false to its highest vocation. Students will remember in plastic art instances where bronze has been given a treatment inspired by painting[5]

Fig. 8.

[5] Ghiberti's gates for instance.

# MINOR ENGLISH FURNITURE MAKERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

## BY R. S. CLOUSTON

## ARTICLE VIII—(*Conclusion*)[1]

SEVERAL of the publications of the Chippendale period are interesting rather from the bearing they have on the furniture history of the time than from artistic merit. Chief among these is a book by William Halfpenny, entitled 'New Designs for Chinese Temples, Triumphal Arches, Garden Seats, etc.' This was published in 1750; that is, four years before Chippendale's 'Director,' and also prior to the time when Sir William Chambers settled in London. The introduction of 'the Chinese taste' is, nevertheless, continually ascribed to one or other of these men, who had certainly nothing to do with its inception, so far, at least, as publication is concerned. Actual Chinese pieces had been imported into England in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and though it is difficult to fix even the approximate date when English furniture design began to be affected, it is certain that it was considerably before even Halfpenny's publication. He does not, like Chambers, make any misleading claim to innovation, but, on the contrary, distinctly states that the Chinese style had already been used 'with success.'

Chambers, therefore, could have had nothing to do with the introduction of Chinese design; and though it is possible that Chippendale may have been the first culprit so far as actual manufacture is concerned, it is extremely unlikely. He troubled himself neither with invention nor the search for new influences, being content to take what lay to his hand, and, in his own words, 'refine and improve' what other designers had already made fashionable.

[1] For Articles I to VII see Vol. IV, page 227; Vol. V, page 173, Vol. VI, pp. 47, 210, 402; and pp. 41, 211 *ante* (March, May, October, December, 1904; February, April, June, 1905).

It was probably to Halfpenny's book and another (equally open to criticism) published by Edwards and Darly in 1754, that Chambers alluded when he spoke of 'the extravagancies that daily appear under the name of Chinese.' 'Most of them,' he continues, 'are mere inventions, and the rest copies from the lame representations found on porcelain and paperhangings.'

Even the advent of Robert Adam did nothing to stop the Chinese craze, and some of the most virulent examples were published by Crunden in 1765, and again in 1770. These are absolutely without value from any point of view, and a third book by the same author (1776), in which he had the assistance of Columbani, Overton, and Milton, is little better. From his titles to his designs, everything connected with his books is merely laughable. High-flown titles for such publications were a fashion of the time, but no one attained the point of bathos touched by Crunden when he christened his first book 'The Joyner and Cabinet-Maker's Darling.'

Matthias Darly—not the one who collaborated with Edwards, but Chippendale's principal engraver—published a book of his own, mostly architectural, in 1770. A considerable part of this bears a very strong resemblance to the plates he engraved for Chippendale; indeed, it requires an actual comparison of the books to be certain that Chippendale's plates of the five orders of architecture have not been reprinted. The chimney-pieces are also so exceedingly similar as to make it likely that those in the 'Director' were designed as well as engraved by Darly. He gives several pages of urns and vases, all of them being heavy and clumsy in style—the very acme of the useless combined with the unornamental. He is somewhat happier in his mirror

frames, in which he attempts, though vainly, to follow Robert Adam. The book is well engraved, for Darly executed the plates himself, but it is a wearisome production with little else to recommend it to notice.

Another designer of the time who, following in his father's footsteps, adapted himself to the newer feeling, was Thomas Chippendale the younger. George Smith, 'Upholsterer to His Majesty,' writing of him in 1826, says, 'Mr. Thomas Chippendale (lately deceased) though possessing a great degree of taste and ability as a draughtsman and designer, was known only to a few.' The exact date of his death, as has been discovered by Miss Constance Simon, was 1823, and he was probably born about 1750, as, again quoting Miss Simon, his father, or another man of the name, was married in 1748.

We are also indebted to the same author for the information that both Thomas Chippendale and his son were members of the Society of Arts, and that the younger man, despite his connexion with the rival institution, had pictures hung from time to time by the Royal Academy. Of these there seems unfortunately to be no trace, but their titles would suggest that he was influenced by George Morland, who, though only twenty-one at the date of the first of these exhibits (1784), had already come to the front.

The 'London Directory' of the eighteenth century is excessively incomplete, and in most cases there is but little to be learnt from it. As negative evidence it is valueless, for it seems to have been looked on, both by its producers and the firms mentioned in it, as a means of advertisement rather than a complete and exhaustive directory. Very few of the cabinet-makers thought it necessary for their names to appear at all, and then chiefly in the closing years of the century. The author of the 'Director' never used it, though a certain John Chippindale, cooper (who later spells his name 'Chippingdale'), does so from 1760. It is possible that he may have been a connexion of the furniture maker's, especially as he seems to have taken a partner into his business in the same year (1779). The St. Martin's Lane firm were equally careless how their names were spelt, the first mention of them being as 'Chippindale and Hage,' mistakes which they did not trouble to correct till 1785, when for a few years the junior partner became head of the business, which is then entered as 'Haig and Chippendale.'

Though the approximate time of the last Chippendale's death has always been common knowledge, there is a widespread idea that the difference in style between the first and third editions of the 'Director' arose from the introduction of designs by Thomas Chippendale's son or sons. There is no impossibility as regards dates that this may have been the case, for the marriage discovered by Miss Simon may either be that of someone else or not a first marriage. The differences in style, however, are directly traceable to the influence of Johnson and the employment of fresh engravers, whose individualities show so plainly that the latitude allowed to them is evident.

Another argument against the supposition, which I have myself expressed, is founded on the more retiring nature of the son and his avoidance of advertising himself by publication. That he did not produce a book at all comparable to the 'Director' may be looked on as certain, for such a book, with such a name attached, could hardly have been lost. There has, however, lately come into my hands a small publication by him containing eight original etchings, each plate being signed 'T. Chippendale Jun$^{r.}$ inv$^{t.}$ et ex.', and dated 1779. From these it is at least evident that his reason for not appearing before the public in a more pretentious way was not lack of artistic ability. The etchings are by no means supreme either in design or execu-

tion, but they are much the best of the original plates produced by any of the furniture designers of the time, with the possible exception of some by Pergolesi. Unfortunately, they are devoted entirely to ornament; yet they are interesting not only in themselves, but as showing the change which had taken place in the work of the firm. The author of the 'Director' was still alive at the date of this publication, though there is some reason for supposing that he had by that time retired from the management of the business, if not from all connexion with it. The change, however, was probably quite as much due to the father as the son, for the great Chippendale was an absolute chameleon, taking colour from all his surroundings, whether bad or good.

If Robert Adam's chief idea had been to influence the whole of the English furniture he could not have hit on a better plan than that he adopted. Had he started a workshop, or, as in the case of his patent stucco, employed a crowd of workmen of his own, he would have met with considerable opposition from the trade. It would not have affected either his position or his income; nor was he the man who cared the snuff of a candle for personal enmity (of which he had his full share), but, probably because his hands were sufficiently full already, he left the manufacture of furniture to the men whose business it was. Not only were the pieces he designed put in the hands of the existing cabinet-makers, but in several notable instances—Claydon House, for example—he appears to have left them a free hand. That Chippendale and Gillow worked for him or with him is a matter of history, and that Lock also did so is, in my opinion, capable of proof, while Johnson and probably also several other carvers of the time appear to have been employed.

In one single instance, where Adam was architect, Chippendale's bill for furniture ran to about eighteen hundred pounds. There was every reason, therefore, for adopting Adam's style, and very little for the expensive advertisement of books such as the 'Director.' With the exception of Adam's own publication nothing else of any real importance appeared between 1765 and 1787. The old style, as we have already seen, still existed, becoming gradually modified by the fresh influence; but it is only from the relics of the furniture actually constructed that we can form any estimate of its prevalence. As far as can be shown, the Chippendales at least had very little to do with keeping it alive, and 'the newest taste' appears to have been the text of the son as much as it had been of the father.

The pamphlet mentioned is utterly unlike anything we know as 'Chippendale,' bearing throughout a strong resemblance to Robert Adam, and a stronger still to Pergolesi. Regarded merely as etchings the designs are superior to Lock's, but wanting in the restraint which Lock so admirably copied from Robert Adam. The Italians of the time seemed unable to leave well alone, and few of the English copyists succeeded in grasping the dignity of Adam's translations. Among these the last Chippendale cannot be ranked. His designs are pleasing enough in general construction, but he insists on carrying them too far. Just as the flamboyance of Johnson attracted his father, so he was affected by the too intricate treatment of Pergolesi. Nor is there anything which can be called new in his ornament. The ram's head, the urn, the fan, the medallion, and the honeysuckle are extensively used, as also the griffin and the sphinx. To the latter he gives a whole plate, besides using it as a supporter. It is not, of course, the Sphinx of Gizeh, but is taken, like those of Robert Adam and other designers up to Sheraton, from the Greek imitation—the female Sphinx who propounded the famous conundrum, and killed

herself, in a fit of temper, when it was solved. Though these are the only etchings which have come to light, the executive skill they display proves that they were not maiden efforts. The designs have not been transferred to the ground, but drawn directly on it with the needle, for the middle line he used as a guide in getting both sides alike shows on the prints. They are, for the most part, pleasantly composed, with considerable artistic feeling and knowledge of draughtsmanship. The form, too, is frequently cleverly suggested instead of being made out in the hard and fast manner of Lock and his contemporaries, and the figures, particularly some of the more sketchy among them, are effective and dainty. There is, in fact, artistic power but no attempt at originality. If one might guess the branch of cabinet-making he worked at personally, the likelihood would seem to be that while his father's tool was the chisel his was the brush.

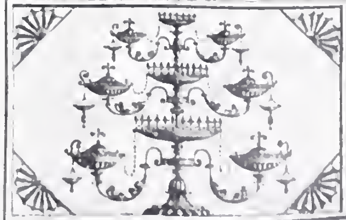
It is quite possible that this small book may have been published in emulation of Pergolesi, who two years previously had begun issuing in parts a volume of what purport to be original plates. Pergolesi was one of the crowd of foreign artists who flocked to London during the fifties and sixties when we were just beginning to have a real national art of our own. The reception given to many of these is now almost unbelievable. Cipriani was considered the best historical painter, and several of the others were original members of the Royal Academy. That their influence on the English Renaissance was no greater is little short of miraculous, for they had, one and all, that soul-destroying facility so captivating to the young worker. As artists they barely merit serious consideration, but as furniture and mural decorators they were exactly in their right places, and it was in these walks of art that they were greatly engaged, Sir W. Chambers and Robert Adam, who employed them, being responsible for the arrival of most of them in England.

Michel Angelo Pergolesi has been credited by some of his admirers with a dexterity in the use of the brush as great as his ease in ornament, but, judging on the evidence of his book, this appears to me to be more than doubtful. This book is folio size, the different parts dating from 1777 to shortly after the death of his patron, Robert Adam. His dedication is almost as grandiloquent as his wrongly-spelt name:—'To the Memory of the late most High and Puissant Prince, Hugh Percy, Duke of Northumberland, who was a Patron of the Arts, and to Whose Virtues This work is Dedicated by His most Grateful and humble Servant Michel Angelo Pergolesi.'

The publication line engraved on his plates is as curiously wrong in manner as in fact :—' Pergolesi Del$^{t}$ Scul$^{t}$ *et Publish'd* according to act of Parliament the 1 of May 1777.' That some of the etchings —many of them, in fact—were executed by himself is extremely likely, but a large proportion are evidently by several different men. Most of the plates contain ten or more different designs, in placing which, so as to make a pleasing whole, he displays considerable skill and judgement.

In some of the later numbers there is a central panel such as that illustrated,[2] drawn by Cipriani and engraved by Bartolozzi ; yet though their names are engraved on each side of it in the usual manner, Pergolesi makes no alteration in his publication line for the whole plate. There are other similar plates in the earlier part of the book which seem to have given rise to the idea that he himself could treat a figure panel in this manner ; but not only is the majority of the figure-work which may be ascribed to him immensely inferior to that of his greater compatriots, but the unacknowledged plates in this style are evidently also by them.

[2] No. 2, Plate I, page 365.

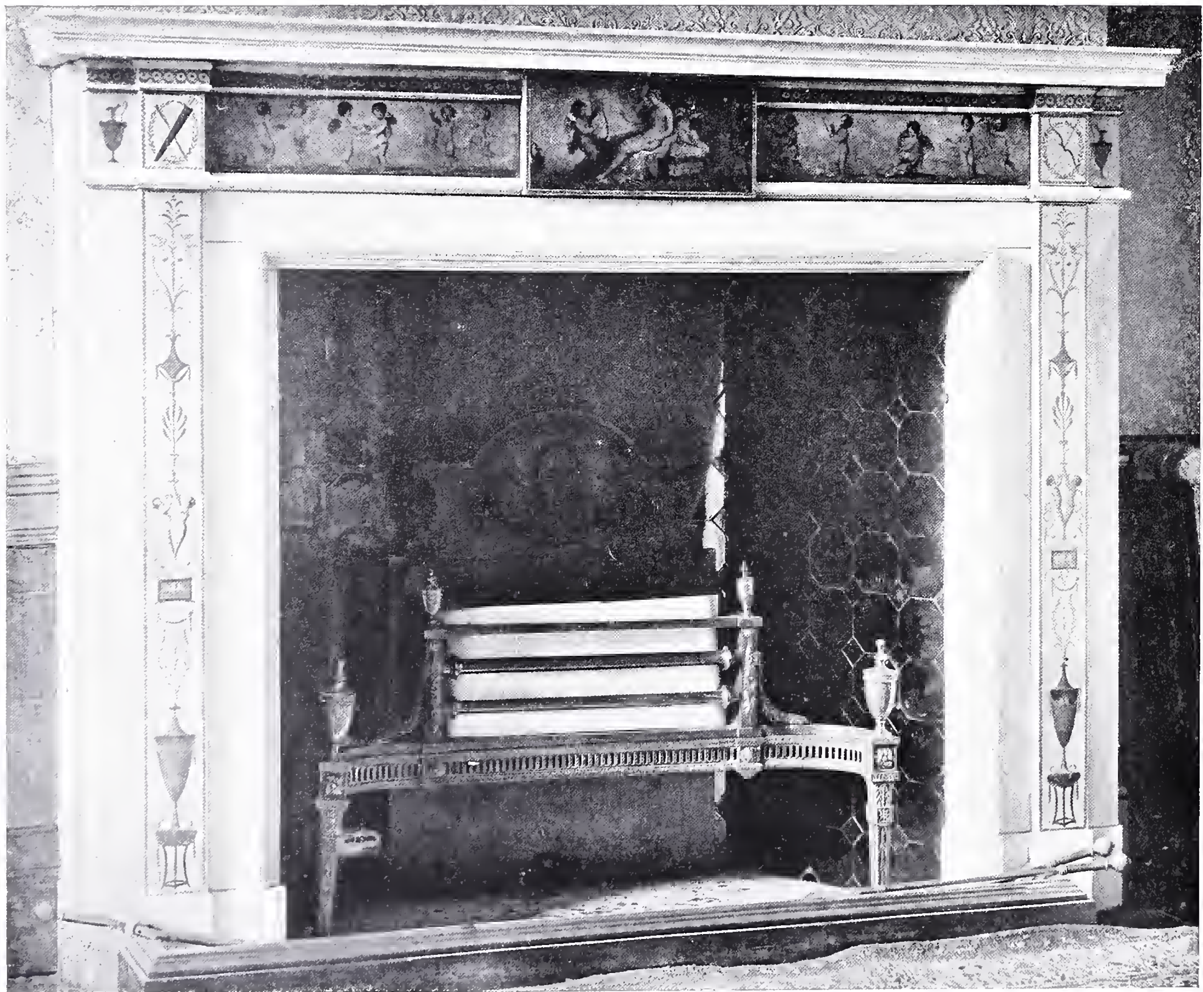


1. PAGE [illegible]

2. PAGE 40

PLATE L. DESIGNS BY M. A.

COMMODE IN THE STYLE OF ADAM, DECORATED BY ANGELICA KAUFFMAN



CHIMNEY-PIECE DECORATED BY ANGELICA KAUFFMAN; FORMERLY IN SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS'S HOUSE

PLATE II. FURNITURE IN THE COLLECTION OF SIR WALTER GILBEY, BART.

Pergolesi must have been immensely useful to Robert Adam as a draughtsman, for it is evident that he had the whole work of the school from which Adam took his ornament at his finger ends, and where he restrained his too exuberant curves and flourishes, it is difficult to discriminate between them, more particularly as a large number of Adam's acknowledged designs were probably by him. When, however, we come to furniture there can be no such confusion. The page illustrated [3] is a fair sample both of Pergolesi's ornament and his furniture, which latter, fortunately for us, resembles nothing else of the period.

By far the most famous decorator of English eighteenth-century furniture was the lady artist we know as Angelica Kauffman, whose real names were Marie Anne Angelique Catherine. Some of her biographers must have been, like the gentleman in the Bab Ballads, 'shaky in their dates,' as they seldom agree. Her first marriage, for instance, is variously said to have taken place in 1768 and 1769; her departure from England in 1780 and 1781, and her death in 1805 and 1807; nor do they even agree as to the time and place of her birth. As, however, none of these occurrences were, like Robert Adam's return from Italy, epoch-making in the history of English furniture, absolute accuracy is not required so far as present purposes are concerned.

'The fair Angelica,' as her English adorers loved to call her, began as an infant prodigy. Her father was a poor Swiss portrait painter, and at the age of nine her earnings were already of considerable importance to her parents, while at eleven she was painting portraits of bishops, archbishops, and dukes. At fifteen, when she was the rage of Rome, she could speak four languages perfectly, and was a finished musician in addition to her other artistic endowments. Even if we accept the earlier date given for her birth and add another two years to the ages given, the facts will still be sufficiently surprising.

She came to England in 1765, and at once became the fashion, both in social and artistic circles. She painted portraits of the king and the prince of Wales, and became the personal friend of Queen Charlotte. She had proposals of marriage by the score, for she was amiable and beautiful as well as clever, but she paid heed to none of them, having fixed her affections (or possibly her ambition) on Reynolds. Though that confirmed old bachelor saw no reason for changing his condition, he not only found her work, but actually employed her, and the marble chimney-piece illustrated [4] was one of two in his house which were thus treated.

White marble chimney-pieces had only just come into fashion, and were considered very grand indeed. Goldsmith makes one of his characters say, 'I have often seen a good sideboard, or a marble chimney-piece, though not actually put in the bill, inflame the bill confoundedly.' Our ideas regarding them have changed. The cold white of marble is destructive to colour harmony, and one of our greatest experts on colour furnishing recommended giving them a coat of paint. Reynolds evidently felt something of this, but, not being quite so revolutionary in his ideas, endeavoured to make them suit their surroundings by having them decorated by the fair Angelica.

It is probably a mistake to suppose that Angelica Kauffman was included as an original member of the Royal Academy through Reynolds's influence; it is, in fact, much more likely that she had a good deal to do with the actual grant of the Charter. Whatever the Academy may or may not have done to justify its existence, nothing can be more certain than that it was founded on pique and came into being through back-stairs intrigue. Angelica

[3] No. 1, Plate I, page 365.

[4] Plate II, page 368.

had the Queen's ear, and her influence with royalty could only have been second to that of Sir William Chambers, the royal drawing-master.

The re-introduction of painted decoration into English furniture may be accounted for in more ways than one, but it is by no means improbable that the vogue attained by this lady artist had much to do with its general adoption. Robert Adam has left a design for an organ, dated in the early sixties, in which painted panels formed part of the decoration; but musical instruments, to a very great extent, followed a line of evolution of their own, and so far as his drawings in the Soane Museum show, he did not again employ this method till 1770. It was not for want of artists capable of executing the work that this means was not resorted to, for Cipriani had come to London three years before Adam returned from Italy. Angelica certainly belonged to the rival artistic faction, but so did his own assistant Zucchi, and, moreover, he had probably met her in Rome as well as London.

Be that as it may, it is at least certain that it was not till some years after Angelica Kauffman had attained to eminence in England that painted furniture became the fashion. The commode illustrated[5] is an instance of how the chisel was rapidly being forsaken for the brush.

Up to the time of her inclusion in the Royal Academy Angelica's history had been a series of unbroken successes; after that she made the fatal mistake which ruined her life. The footman whom she married under the impression that he was of noble birth was pensioned off on the condition of his leaving England; but Angelica felt the blow to her pride so severely that, for the rest of her stay in this country, she never again appeared in society. Her work continued to be much sought after, and she must have amassed a considerable fortune; the ceiling of the Council-room of the Royal Academy was decorated by her, and Boydell published nearly sixty plates from her paintings.

There is nothing distinctive in her style, and much is attributed to her on which it would be difficult to pass an opinion without an amount of study which the subject does not deserve. It is worthy of remark, however, that when in 1780 (or 1781) her husband died and she married Zucchi, she left for Rome never again to return to England. Yet though this throws considerable doubt on the later work attributed to her, it does not absolutely prove that such pieces are not authentic.

Poor Angelica's second marriage was even more disastrous than the first, for Zucchi seems to have taken to gambling or speculation, and dissipated her fortune as well as his own. Nor was her second visit to Rome a success. Her former reception in what was then the art capital of the world was probably quite as much due to her marvellous precocity as to her art, and the woman of forty seems to have come very near starvation where the child made a large income. Under these circumstances it would have been strange if such a good business woman had not used her English connexion. In matters artistic Rome was nearer London in the end of the eighteenth century than it is now, and the mere fact that an art object of any kind came from the Eternal City gave it value in the eyes of the ordinary English collector. There is, therefore, every likelihood, especially towards the end of the century when her circumstances had gone from bad to worse, that she made use of the only market where her work was still in demand, and that many of the later painted decorations on which doubt has recently been thrown[6] are perfectly authentic.

[5] Plate II, page 368.

[6] Compare, *e.g.*, a piano shown at the Bradford Exhibition last year and illustrated in THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE for August 1904 (Vol. V, page 501), which must have been made nearly twenty years after Angelica Kauffman's departure from England.

# THE AUCTIONEER AS DEALER

ET another season is drawing to its close, and dealers, collectors, and all interested in artistic matters are engaged in contemplating the result of the work of the past seven or eight months. As most of the interest centres around the dealer, let us consider his case first.

To begin with, it must be remembered that he is a very conservative mortal, who will continue to pursue a course that has paid him well in the past, even when he sees business declining from month to month. The shrinkage has been ascribed to bad trade, Stock Exchange depression, the rage for motor-cars—any reason has served as an excuse but the right one. Last year a writer in this magazine warned the dealers that the day of phenomenal prices for rubbish, in either America or Europe, was fast drawing to a close. A few took the advice in the spirit in which it was given, and are now reaping the benefit. But those who in the past have made large sums from a lucky deal or two are hard to convince of the foolishness of a policy that has yielded them such a rich harvest.

They have been pursuing the same course, accumulating a number of objects—most of them of considerable interest, for there has been a decided improvement in quality—at prices bordering on the extravagant, and holding them in the hope of inducing trans-Atlantic buyers to pay anything they choose to ask for them. This policy has accounted for the extraordinary prices realized from time to time during the past season for objects having some pretension to quality and importance. Again they have been unsuccessful. Nearly all these objects remain in the hands of the dealers who purchased them. Most of them, it is true, are wealthy men; still they do not purchase for their own amusement, and the result of this season's operations—perhaps the worst they have yet encountered—will leave them in no encouraging mood.

The smaller men have had a very hard time. Owing to the excessive prices that good things have fetched, they have been unable to buy what their old customers require, and they have in consequence been obliged to look on at the operations of their richer friends.

Yet, side by side with this condition of affairs, the sales have been exceedingly well attended, and prices have ruled high even for specimens that in past years would have come under the category of rubbish. The habit of attending sales has become a society craze, and the wealthiest people in England are to be found in the rooms for the two or three days upon which the things are on view. Naturally many objects attract their attention, and they give a commission or two before they leave the sale-room. Now, unfortunately, wealth and artistic perception do not necessarily go hand in hand, and these people are seldom found to possess either judgement or idea of value. The result is that grotesquely extravagant prices have frequently been obtained for rubbish. The fact is all the harder for the dealer to bear since he is conscious that he has far finer things at home that he would often be only too pleased to sell for one quarter of the figure realized for similar specimens in the auction room.

Then, again, when a person purchases anything from a dealer he expects a guarantee—unreasonable as it frequently is on the face of it—and gets it. If some indiscreet friend of the buyer, or some rival of the seller, declares the object other than what it was sold for, the dealer is compelled to rescind the sale, or risk creating a situation which may materially damage his reputation. When a thing is purchased under the hammer the auctioneer effectually safeguards himself against any contingency by selling with all faults and

errors of description, and making no warrant whatsoever. Thus he has in a large measure usurped the place of the dealer whilst ridding himself of the latter's responsibilities.

At the same time we frankly admit that the auctioneer has not wittingly created the situation. He sold works of art under precisely the same conditions in past years when few but dealers frequented his rooms. In a great measure the change has been brought about by the phenomenal puffing of sales in the press. The attention of the public has been attracted by sensational articles which more often than not dwell entirely upon the sensational prices likely to be obtained for certain objects, and neglect utterly the artistic standpoint.

The result is that art sales have been invested with a speculative attraction that can be likened only to the cotton or wheat market when a boom is in progress. Now and then some of these reporters overstep the limits of their knowledge and endeavour to work up the aesthetic side of their subject, with results that are frequently ludicrous. Many of our readers will remember a long article which appeared at the time of the Capel Cure sale, upon a comparatively worthless terra-cotta bust given to Donatello, urging its purchase by the nation! It realized some fifty or sixty guineas. Similar nonsense was written about the so-called Botticelli at the Ashburton sale the other day.

The mischief wrought to the collector and dealer by such writing is enormous, not to mention the injury to the cause of art itself by the setting up of wrong ideals and by fostering a sordid spirit amongst the general public.

That the really meritorious objects are not always appreciated fully can well be seen by examining the results of the Capel Cure sale. The della Robbias, many of the bronzes, the superb Riccio plaques—finer have never been seen in London—and the exquisite Italian shield, were sold for comparatively insignificant sums.

In truth, the public have turned the auctioneer into their dealer. In the long run the results will be still more disastrous for the purchasers than for the dealers. The latter are generally men of long experience and wide knowledge, which formerly were placed at the disposal of their customers. Hence if the latter possessed little or no judgement they were protected in their purchases by the dealer, provided he acted in an honest manner.

Then again the purchaser is not always treated fairly by the commission agent. An agent is tempted to refrain from adverse criticism when he sees a buyer keen upon acquiring an object. He knows he will meet with small opposition in buying a poor thing, and a handsome fee will accrue to himself. When a good example is submitted it is to the interest of the dealers to make a private man, buying either in person or through a commission agent, pay its full value, to prevent an impression getting abroad that things can be bought more cheaply in the open market than from them.

However, another season like that which is coming to a close may effectually break up the apparently invincible combination at present dominating the market in works of art. Already a few courageous spirits have demonstrated by their exhibitions that a thing must not of necessity be old in order to be good. They might go one step further still and show that beautiful and valuable objects can be secured by people of quite moderate means.

In this way the older type of collector, the man who was a connoisseur in the truest sense of the term, may be tempted back to the hobby he has so long had to forsake.

# ECCLESIASTICAL DRESS IN ART

## BY EGERTON BECK

## ARTICLE II—COLOUR (PART II) [1]

BEFORE dealing with the remaining colours, it may not be amiss to give some more instances of the use of red by bishops, canons, and other churchmen. It would be impossible to complete the list, but as every ecclesiastic in red is at once assumed to be a cardinal every additional item of information is of value and should tend to minimize errors.

To the list of bishops must be added the archbishop of Milan, who, a friend on the spot informs me, wears a red cappa like the archbishop of Pisa. The archbishop of Valencia, if an anonymous seventeenth-century writer [2] may be trusted, at one time dressed as a cardinal; of this, however, I have not found any confirmation, nor do I know how he dresses at the present day. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the archbishop of Florence was, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, granted the privilege of using the 'purple' for his dress on certain great feasts.[3]

It seems that the archbishop of Canterbury wore a red cassock. Warham (1503–1532) is so represented in his portraits at Lambeth and in the Louvre; so is Arundel (1397–1398 and 1399–1414) in his portrait at Lambeth, but in this case a question arises as to the date of the painting.

Villanueva [4] quotes a document from the archives of the chapter of Urgel, or La Seu d'Urgel, in Catalonia, which shows that the bishop of Urgel (joint over-lord with France of the republic of Andorra) and his canons formerly, and apparently for a long period, dressed in red. In 1429, the cardinal-legate, Peter de Foix, afterwards archbishop of Arles, forbade the clergy of the Aragonese dominions to make use of red. Against this decree one of the canons of Urgel, Augustin de Insula, protested at the council of Tortosa, presided over by the legate. In his protest the worthy canon stated that the bishop and canons had for more than three hundred years worn red, and that the pope and the Roman church had known of and tolerated the custom. Villanueva adds that he does not know the result of the protest; at the time of his visit, however, the canons dressed in violet.

Among the canons, not already mentioned, who wear red are those of Bisignano, in Calabria, who have a crimson cappa and mozzetta;[5] those of the cathedrals in the provinces of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, who all use a dark red cappa, *morado* or mulberry colour.[6] The canons of Brixen, in Tyrol, have had a red collar since 1748;[7] those of Valladolid, in Old Castile, have not only a red collar but also red stockings;[8] and those of Braga, in Portugal, have red stockings and a red sash.[9] The canons of Sorrento have for ages past, *da tempo antichissimo*, worn a 'purple' mozzetta;[10] and the same distinction was granted to the chapter of the collegiate church of Courgnè, in Piedmont, in the early part of the last century.[11] About the same time the canons of the collegiate churches of Monticelli and Castellarquato, in the then duchy of Parma, were given a crimson silk mozzetta;[12] and those of Sora, in the Terra

[1] For Article I see page 281, *ante* (July, 1905).

[2] The author of *Voyage d'Espagne, Contenant entre plusieurs particularitez de ce Royaume Trois Discours Politiques sur les affaires du Protecteur d'Angleterre, la Reine de Suede et du Duc de Lorraine* (Cologne, 1666). See p. 103.

[3] Moroni, *Dizionario*, xxv, 56

[4] *Viage literario à las Iglesias de España*, ix, 186, 187. (Madrid, 1803–1852; the work is in 22 vols.)

[5] *Bullarii Romani Continuatio* (edited by Barberi), xvii, 418. The crimson mozzetta was worn before this date; the bull confirmed the custom and gave the crimson cappa.

[6] Villanueva, op. cit. i, 33, 34.

[7] This appears from the statutes of the chapter. The part relating to the choir-dress of the canons was most kindly copied and sent to me, with much further information, by the Rev. Alfred Fink, of the Missionhaus at Brixen.

[8] For this information I am indebted to the rector of the Scots' college, Valladolid.

[9] *Bull. Rom. Cont.* xiii, 457.

[10] Moroni, lxvii, 233.

[11] *Bull. Rom. Cont.* xix, 653.

[12] Ibid. xiv, 572 and xv, 291.

di Lavoro, have the particular privilege of wearing one of crimson velvet like that of the pope.[13]

In former times the canons of Milan had red skullcaps and shoes in addition to the red cappa which they still wear;[14] and the dignitaries of Le Puy en Velay had not given up their red choir dress when Vital Bernard, himself a canon of that church, wrote in the seventeenth century.[15] In the Low Countries the wearing of red was not unknown; the canons of Tournay have been mentioned already, but they were not the only ones distinguished by the use of that colour. In the exhibition at Utrecht in 1894 there was a portrait (belonging, I believe, to the city orphanage) of one Evert Zoudenbatch, who was canon and treasurer of Utrecht, and provost of Maestricht at the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century. He is represented in cassock, surplice, and almuce; and the exhibition catalogue says that the cassock is red.[16]

Certain ecclesiastics, of whom no mention has so far been made, wore red because of their connexion with a military order. Some of the knights of the French order of Mount Carmel and St. Lazarus were clerics, and their distinguishing dress was a crimson velvet mozzetta worn over a rochet.[17] The Italian order of Constantine also had ecclesiastical knights, and such of them as were of noble birth wore a crimson velvet biretta.[18] The chief ecclesiastic of the Constantine order and the ordinary of its churches was the grand prior. In chapter and on state occasions this personage wore a violet cassock with crimson trimmings; a lace rochet; over the rochet a 'sopraveste' of sky-blue; a crimson sash; on the breast of the 'sopraveste' the cross o the order in crimson velvet, silver and gold; a violet mantle; and a crimson velvet biretta—a dress which suggests the glory or the gaudiness of a bird of paradise or a parrot.[19]

Some religious also dressed in red. An order of Slav monks found in Bohemia and Poland had a habit of that colour;[20] and Boissard mentions another, the 'ordo Johannitarum de Civitate' as having a red habit,[21] but I have so far failed to find any mention of this order elsewhere.

Before passing on something more must be said too about *rose*. It was stated in the last article that the hat-cord of protonotaries was of this colour. This is no longer the case; the reigning pope has but just recently changed it. In February last he regulated the privileges of protonotaries by a *motu proprio;* and now the cord of their hat, the cord of their pectoral cross, when they wear one, the tuft of their biretta, and the tassels of the hat placed over their arms have all to be ruby-coloured, *coloris rubini.*[22] On the other hand, the canons of Leghorn do not stand alone in having a rose-coloured choir-dress. The canons of the collegiate church of St. Erasmus at Veroli, in the Campagna, have a rose silk cappa, the tippet of which is faced with violet.[23]

VIOLET.—Till the second half of the sixteenth century there was no restriction as to the use of violet. With French clerics it was a favourite colour during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,[24] and its use by them continued till well within the seventeenth; Dom Claude de Vert, prior of the Cluniac house of St. Peter at Abbeville, says that people were still living

[13] Moroni, lxvii, 202.

[14] Magistretti, *Le Vesti ecclesiastiche in Milano,* p. 15 (2nd ed. Milan, 1905).

[15] V. Bernard, *Le Miroir de Chanoines,* p. 27 (Paris, 1630).

[16] A reproduction of the portrait and the catalogue of the exhibition are in the print room of the British Museum.

[17] Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Religieux,* i. 396 (Paris, 1714–1719).

[18] Radente, *Bolla di Clemente XI 'Militantis Ecclesiæ,' e suo commento,* p. 145. (Naples, 1858.)

[19] Radente, op. cit. 138.

[20] Helyot, op. cit. i. 229 ss. and Boissard, *Habitus variarum orbis gentium,* Pt. iii, plate 15. (Antwerp, 1581.)

[21] Loc. cit.

[22] Motu Proprio, *Inter multiplices curas* at pp. 9, 10, 12 (Rome Vatican Press, 1905).

[23] Moroni, xciv, 10 (volume dated 1859).

[24] Quicherat, *Histoire du Costume en France* (Paris, 1875), p. 318.

when he wrote, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, who remembered ecclesiastics in that town wearing violet.[25] It is also mentioned in English inventories.[26] In Venice it was used by parish priests and by such other ecclesiastics as were graduates of Padua;[27] we find too that, in 1591, the canons of St. Mark's, the ducal chapel, were ordered by the doge, Pasqual Cicogna, to resume the violet choir-dress which they had abandoned.[28] In 1592 violet was recognized by the patriarch, Laurence Priuli, as suitable for the use of the dignified clergy and of parish priests.[29] In the diocese of Bologna it had to be expressly forbidden so late as 1736.[30]

But already at the beginning of the sixteenth century it is mentioned by Paris de Grassis as being one of the two colours suitable for a bishop's cappa;[31] and in the last year of that century it was definitely ordered for bishops by the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, published by direction of Clement VIII. But as has been said already its use by the ordinary clergy lingered on for another century. However in 1736 Cardinal Lambertini was able to say, in general terms, that then violet was proper to bishops, the papal household, and some seminarists to the exclusion of all other ecclesiastics. He made no mention of canons, many of whom wear violet, possibly because, except in the case of a special privilege, they may only use this colour for their choir-dress, whilst the others also use it for their ordinary dress.

The violet ordered by the *Caeremoniale* did not extend to the head-dress. The skullcap of that colour was granted to bishops so late as 1867 by Pius IX;[32] and the biretta only by Leo XIII in 1888.[33] But skullcaps and birettas of violet had already been used by some dignified ecclesiastics; and the biretta even by the choir boys of Angers.[34] The patriarch of Aquileia wore a violet biretta whenever he wore a violet cappa;[35] according to Sarnelli, quoted by Bonanni,[36] the canons of Antwerp also used one by ancient custom; in 1748 Benedict XIV granted it to the cathedral chapter of Brixen; and in 1801 it was granted by Pius VII to the canons of Csanad in Hungary.[37] French bishops, too, adopted it before its use became general. So with the skullcap: it was worn by many archbishops and by French and Flemish bishops before the reign of Pius IX,[38] and before the French revolution by the canons of Antwerp.[39] Some ten years ago a violet biretta of peculiar form was granted to the Ruthenian chapters of Lemberg, Przemsyl, and Stanislaw.[40] And the 'privilege' of violet skullcap and biretta is being extended to abbots. The abbot of Monte Cassino has both. But it must be observed that, though not a bishop, he has episcopal jurisdiction, and actually rules a diocese larger than most in southern Italy. The present abbot of Monte Vergine also has both as a personal privilege;[41] but he, too, has episcopal jurisdiction. The abbot of Einsiedeln, though he also has episcopal jurisdiction, has neither skullcap nor biretta of violet. The abbot of Solesmes has the violet skullcap.[42]

At the beginning of the seventeenth century many, perhaps most, of the curial prelates wore black; but in the course of that century the use of violet was so freely

[25] *Cérémonies de l'église* (2nd ed.), ii, 357.

[26] See, for example, that of Richard de Ravenser in *The Proceedings of the Royal Archaeological Institute*, 1848.

[27] Gallicciolli, *Memorie Venete*, bk. ii, § 1678 (Venice, 1795).

[28] Ibid. § 1684.

[29] Ibid. § 1683.

[30] See the decree of Cardinal Lambertini, afterwards Benedict XIV, then archbishop of Bologna; it is printed in Barbier de Montault, *Le Costume et les Usages ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1898), i. 37.

[31] *De Ceremoniis Cardinalium et Episcoporum*, p. 45 (Rome, 1563); it may be well to repeat that the book was written between the years 1502 and 1510.

[32] Barbier de Montault, op. cit. i. 224.

[33] Ibid. p. 231.

[34] Moleon, *Voyages liturgiques en France*, p. 83 (Paris, 1718).

[35] Macri, *Hierolexicon*, s. v. *Cardinalis*.

[36] *La Gerarchia Ecclesiastica*, i, 154 (Rome, 1720). Bonanni does not give the reference, but he is apparently quoting from the *Lettere Ecclesiastiche* of Pompeo Sarnelli (Manfredonia, 1686, and a second edition, Venice, 1716).

[37] *Bull. Rom. Cont.* xi, 167.

[38] Moroni, v. 174 (volume published in 1840).

[39] Ibid.

[40] Barbier de Montault, op. cit. i. 454.

[41] So I am informed by his secretary, Dom Celestin Mercuro.

[42] Barbier de Montault, op. cit. i. 226.

granted to them that it came to be regarded as the proper colour for the dress of the officials of the papal court—taking this term to include not only those who actually perform the duties appertaining to the various offices, but also those whose connexion with the court is but honorary. And the lavish bestowal, in later times, of these honorary distinctions makes violet nowadays very common.[43] Writers on ecclesiastical subjects are prone to see symbolism in everything, and it is not without interest to find that one such writer[44] says (and he seems to be writing seriously) that there is good reason for the use of violet by the curial officials because that colour typifies 'modesty, moderation, and humility.' The papal household, however, is not the only one clothed in violet; that of the patriarch of Lisbon enjoys the same distinction.[45]

The grand prior of the order of Constantine was given permission by Clement XI (1700–1721) to wear a violet mozzetta in the churches under his jurisdiction, in the absence of the grand-master. When that dignitary was present he might not wear the mozzetta, but was allowed a violet mantelletta.[46] The same pope granted the use of the violet mozzetta to sixty chaplains of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. As a matter of fact they only availed themselves of the privilege in Malta: some of them tried to do so in France, but the bishops objected.[47]

The canons of many churches have a violet choir-dress: for example, those of the patriarchal basilicas of Rome; of the cathedral of Milan, at certain seasons;[48] of St. Ambrose at Milan;[49] of Toledo[50] and Seville in Spain; those of Cologne and Mainz in Germany; of Le Puy and Besançon in France; of Trent and Brixen in Tyrol; of Mechlin and Liége in Belgium;[51] of Westminster and the other catholic cathedrals in England. The cappa of the canons of Salamanca is partly black and partly violet; the mantle being of the former colour, the tippet of violet velvet.[52] Formerly the canons of Brioude and Laon,[53] the dignitaries of Orleans,[54] and the canons-regular of some houses, as those of St. Eloi of Arras and of St. Aubert of Cambrai,[55] also wore violet. Some minor canons[56] also have it, and among them those of Pisa and Lisbon. And in at least one house of canons-regular, that of St. Jean des vignes at Soissons, the lay brothers were dressed in violet.[57] In Rome the consistorial advocates,[58] though for the most part laymen and married, wear, probably now only on ceremonial occasions, the ecclesiastical dress and that of violet.

It is advisable to note that there are two kinds of violet—the Roman which inclines to red, and the commoner one which tends to blue; and that Paris de Grassis[59] expressed the opinion that the violet cappa should vary in shade, that it should be lighter or darker according to the season or the feast. There is a specimen of a light shade of the Roman violet in the picture labelled *Portrait of a Cardinal* in the large Tuscan room of the National Gallery.

(*To be continued.*)

[43] The *Annuaire Pontifical Catholique* for 1905 gives a list of over 3,000 holders of honorary offices (all having the title *Monsignore*)—protonotaries, domestic prelates, chamberlains, chaplains—with the warning, however, that the numbers must not be taken too strictly, as notices of death come to hand slowly. In 1797, according to the *Notizie dell' Anno* for that year, there were only 266 of these honorary distinctions.

[44] Bonanni, op. cit. p. 472.

[45] Moroni, xxxviii, 314.

[46] Radente, op. cit. 138.

[47] Helyot, iii, 114, 115.

[48] Magistretti, op. cit. p. 20.

[49] Magistretti, op. cit. p. 16.

[50] Barbier de Montault, op. cit. i, 391.

[51] I am indebted to the Rev. Theodore Collme, a vicar of the cathedral of Cologne, to Mgr. Schneider, a canon of Mainz, to Canon Daniel of Le Puy, to the secretaries of the archbishops of Besançon and Mechlin, to the Rev. Dr. Niglutsch of Trent, and to Canon Le Roy, president of the seminary at Liége, for information relating to the cathedral chapters of these cities.

[52] For this information I have to thank the rector of the Irish college at Salamanca.

[53] Cl. de Vert, loc. cit.

[54] Moleon, op. cit. pp. 181, 182.

[55] Helyot, ii, 76.

[56] I use this term to denote the second rank of ecclesiastics in a cathedral or collegiate church; as a matter of fact they are known by various names.

[57] Helyot, ii, 84.

[58] Moroni, iii, 306.

[59] Op. cit. p. 44.

# NOTES ON PICTURES IN THE ROYAL COLLECTIONS
## ARTICLE VIII—THE STORY OF SIMON MAGUS, PART OF A PREDELLA PAINTING BY BENOZZO GOZZOLI[1]

BY LIONEL CUST, M.V.O., AND HERBERT HORNE

MONG the early Italian paintings purchased in 1846 by H.R.H. Prince Albert, from Mr. Warner Ottley, was a small picture representing the story of Simon Magus, painted on panel, measuring 9½ inches high by 14 inches wide, and attributed to Benozzo Gozzoli. On examining this interesting little picture it seemed evident that this ascription was correct, and it has been further corroborated by such competent critics as Mr. Claude Phillips and Mr. Roger Fry.

Subsequently the researches of Mr. Herbert P. Horne, at Florence, have thrown a clear light upon the history of this painting, and shown that *The Story of Simon Magus*, which now hangs in the private room of H.M. Queen Alexandra, at Buckingham Palace, together with that representing the miracle of St. Zenobius in the collection of the late M. Rodolphe Kann, at Paris, and that representing the miracle of St. Dominic, now in the Brera Gallery at Milan, formed part of the *predella* of the great altarpiece, painted for the Confraternity of the Purification of the Virgin and of St. Zenobius at Florence, by agreement dated October 23, 1461. The principal portion of this altarpiece, representing the Madonna enthroned, with St. John the Baptist, St. Zenobius and St. Jerome (kneeling) on one side, and St. Peter, St. Dominic, and St. Francis (kneeling) on the other, after many vicissitudes, which will be found narrated by Mr. Horne, was purchased in 1855 for the National Gallery. In the catalogue of that gallery it is described as having been painted for the Compagnia of San Marco, a name by which the confraternity was vulgarly called in ancient times, because it was then the only company which met in St. Mark's Church at Florence.

The recovery of three of the *predella* paintings would lead to the hope that the remaining four may be discovered hereafter. The break-up and dispersal of altarpieces in Florence and central Italy at about the date when this fragment was acquired, must be a source of regret to all lovers of pictures. The severance of the *Madonna* by Gentile da Fabriano from the main body of the Quaratesi altarpiece at Florence is one instance, as already set forth in THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE. The *predella* by Gozzoli is another, and owing to the information kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Horne and Mr. Roger Fry, I hope to be able to give a third illustration in THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE in the case of the Pistoja altarpiece by Pesellino.

LIONEL CUST.

This panel is not only of the same dimensions as two other panels by Benozzo, but it recalls them so closely both in manner and handling, that there can be little doubt that all three pictures once formed portions of the same *predella*. The panel now in the King's collection at Buckingham Palace was purchased by Prince Albert in 1846, and measures 0,237 h. × 0,336 w.

Of the other two panels, one, in the collection of the late M. Rodolphe Kann at Paris, represents the miracle of San Zanobio restoring to life the child of the noble lady of Gaul in the Borgo degli Albizzi at Florence, and measures 0,24 h. × 0,34 w.: the other, which has recently been purchased for the Brera at Milan, represents the story of the boy, Napoleone, being

[1] For Articles I to VII see Vol V, pp. 7, 349, 517, Vol. VI, pp. 104, 204, 353, 470 (April, July, September, November and December, 1904; February and March, 1905)

trampled to death by a white horse, and his miraculous restoration to life by St. Dominic. This latter panel measures 0,24 h. × 0,36 w. Signor Corrado Ricci, in an article which appeared in the *Rivista d'Arte*,[2] has suggested that the panels at Paris and Milan originally formed part of the 'predella' of the altarpiece, which Benozzo painted for the 'Compagnia della Purificazione della Vergine' at Florence: and now this third panel, which has recently come to light, goes far, as I hope to show, to remove any doubt which may have attached to Signor Ricci's conjectures.

The agreement by which Benozzo undertook to paint this altarpiece, for the oratory in which the Confraternity assembled, 'disopra alla chiesa di sancto Marco apresso all' orto di detta chiesa,' is dated October 23, 1461.[3] By its terms, he was to paint in the principal panel 'the figure of Our Lady, with the throne, in the manner and form of, and with ornaments similar to, the picture of the High Altar of San Marco,' which had been executed by Fra Angelico: and on the right side of the Virgin he was to depict the figures of St. John the Baptist and St. Zenobius, with St. Jerome on his knees; and on the left side St. Peter and St. Dominic, with St. Francis also kneeling. Furthermore, the document adds:

'the said Benozzo is to paint with his own hand, at the foot, namely, in the *predella* of the said altar, the stories of the said saints, each one over against its proper saint.'

Giuseppe Richa, in his 'Notizie delle chiese Fiorentine,'[4] relates how the Dominicans of San Marco, having need of the site of the original oratory of the Confraternity of the Purification of the Virgin and of St. Zenobius (as its full title ran) in order to enlarge their monastery, induced the members of the company to accept in lieu of it a plot of land in the Via San Gallo, on which a new oratory was erected for them by the convent, and to which they removed in 1506. Towards the latter part of the seventeenth century this new oratory was incorporated with the buildings of the Ospizio del Melani, a Hospital for Pilgrims, of which, by the will, dated August 12, 1690, of its founder, a musician named Domenico di Santi Melani, the members of the Confraternity, for the time being, became the patrons and administrators. When Richa published the fifth volume of his 'Notizie,' in 1757, Benozzo's altarpiece was hanging on the wall of the refectory of the Ospizio.[5]

On the suppression of the hospital towards the end of the eighteenth century, the altarpiece appears to have been broken up, and the principal panel eventually passed into the possession of the Rinuccini family, from whose heirs it was purchased in 1855 for the National Gallery, where it bears the number 283. In this picture, perhaps the finest of all Benozzo's altarpieces on panel, we find the saints depicted in accordance with the stipulations of the document of 1461. We may, therefore conclude that the *predella* was also executed in accordance with the tenor of that agreement: and that it contained, in all probability, seven little panels; six of them being severally painted with the stories of the six saints commemorated in the principal picture, and the seventh, or central one, with a *Pietà* or some story of the Virgin.

But let us first inquire what may be the subject of the panel at Buckingham Palace. More than one critic has remarked that the composition of the *Story of St. Zenobius*, in the Kann collection at Paris, closely resembles that of one of the four predella panels in the Palazzo Alessandri,

[2] Firenze, 1904, No. 1, pp. 1–12.
[3] It has been thrice printed: the second time by L. Tanfani Centofanti in his 'Notizie di Artisti tratte dai documenti Pisani,' Pisa, 1890, pp. 83–86; and again by Signor Ricci, l.c.
[4] l. c., Vol. V, pp. 331–4.
[5] l. c. vol. v. p. 335.

THE DEATH OF SIMON MAGUS, IN THE COLLECTION OF H.M. THE KING AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE

MIRACLE OF ST. DOMINIC, IN THE BRERA GALLERY, MILAN
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDERSON

in the Borgo degli Albizzi, at Florence. These panels, which were formerly in the church of San Pier Maggiore, were ascribed by Vasari to 'Pesello':

'Et in san Piermaggiore nella cappella degl' Alessandri, fece quattro storiette di figure piccole, di san Piero, di san Paulo, di san Zanobi, quando resuscita il figliolo della Vedoua: & di san Benedetto.'[6]

It was Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, I believe, who first pointed out that these four panels were undoubtedly in the manner of Benozzo. The story of St. Paul represents his conversion; that of St. Benedict represents the saint before Totila; while the remaining panel, which according to Vasari represents some story of St. Peter, contains a composition which bears the same close resemblance, though in reverse, to the panel at Buckingham Palace, as the *Story of St. Zenobius* does to that at Paris. It has been generally conjectured that this *Story of St. Peter* represents the death of Simon Magus; but hitherto no version of the legend has been produced which explains all the details of the picture. Indeed, Herr von Weisbach has gone so far as to contend, that the panel at Florence represents the death of Ananias. The story of Simon Magus, as related in the Acts of the Apostles, leaves the greater part of the figures and incidents, which are represented in the panels at London and Florence, unaccounted for. The standing figure of the saint with the short beard, on the right of the composition, is plainly intended for St. Peter; and that of the kneeling saint, with the long beard, for St. Paul; the character of both their heads being in accordance with the traditional portraits of the Apostles. Yet why is St. Paul here represented? and who is the Roman consul or emperor seated on the left? And what incident does the wooden scaffold, and the figure of a man borne aloft by devils, illustrate? The story of Simon Magus, as related by Petrus de Natalibus, bishop of Equilio, in his 'Catalogus Sanctorum et gestorum eorum'[7] is one of the most delightful of religious fairy tales, and I will not detract from its naïvety by attempting to turn the child-like gravity of its mediaeval Latin into modern English. So here is the original, as it occurs in the course of the good bishop's version of the legend of St. Peter:

'Quarto igitur anno claudii petrus romam applicuit: & ibidem 25 annis sedit usque ad annum ultimum neronis cesaris . . . . . Post hec apparuit dominus petro: & eidem prenunciauit: quod simon magus & nero cesar contra ipsum cogitarent: sed eum hortatus est: ne dubitaret: quia semper sibi assisteret: & solatium coapostoli pauli in crastinum urbem intraturi eidem concederet. Dieque sequenti paulus romam ingressus petro adhesit: & secum predicare cepit. . . . Simon autem magus intantum a nerone amabatur: quod uite eius & salutis & totius urbis custos putabatur.' [Here are set forth various gests of St. Peter and Simon Magus.]

'Tunc simon ad domum marcelli discipuli petri canem maximum alligauit: ut petrum ad discipulum ex more uenientem laceraret. Post modicum petrus uenit: & facto signo crucis canem exoluit. Canis autem omnibus blandiens solum simonem persecutum in ipsum insiluit: & ut sibi apostolus iusserat corpus quidem eius non lesit: sed uestes totaliter lacerauit: populus autem & pueri simul cum cane illum tamquam lupum ex urbe fugarunt. Cuius opprobii pudorem non ferens simon per annum nusquam comparuit. Post annum uero ad urbem rediens: iterum in neronis gratiam receptus est. Qui & popolum urbis conuocauit: & se grauiter a galileis offensum perhibuit: & ideo diem statuit: quo mundum deserens celum ascenderet: quia non dignabatur in terris amplius habitare. Igitur die statuta turrim excelsam sibi de lignis a nerone fabricatam ascendit: & coronatus lauro uolare cepit. Apostoli autem ad inuicem condixerunt: ut paulus oraret: & petrus imperaret. Cum autem nero simonem deum assereret: & apostolos seductores diceret. Paulus autem petro suaderet: ut iam domini iussa perficeret: eo quod xp̄s illos ad se uocaret. Petrus surrexit: angelos sathane per xp̄i nomen adiurauit: ut simonem amplius non ferrent: sed ad terram corruere permitterent. Et continuo dimissus corruit: & fractis membris omnibus expirauit. Nero autem se talem uirum perdidisse doluit: & apostolos detentos in manibus paulini uiri clarissimi tradidit.'

Here we have the entire explanation of Benozzo's composition. The seated figure

[6] Vasari ed. 1568, vol. I, p. 405.

[7] Ed. Vicentiae, 1493, lib. vi. cap. xxii.

on the left represents Nero attended by his guard: on the right are the Apostles with the assembled Romans. In the background, in the centre, is the wooden 'tower' (represented by Benozzo as a kind of stage or scaffold), from which Simon Magus has just taken his flight, borne aloft by two 'angels of Satan.' St. Paul is represented praying, in accordance with the legend; while St. Peter, who has risen up, is in the act of abjuring the evil spirits to desist from bearing the mage to heaven. Lastly, in the foreground, lies the dead body of Simon Magus, who has fallen face downwards to the earth, 'with all his limbs broken.' Having regard to all the circumstances here adduced, there can be little doubt, I think, that the panel at Buckingham Palace originally formed the story of St. Peter in the 'predella' of the altarpiece which Benozzo painted for the Compagnia di Santa Maria della Purificazione; as those at Paris and Milan severally formed the stories of St. Zenobius and St. Dominic in the same 'predella.' We may not unreasonably hope that the four missing panels of this 'predella' may yet be discovered in some little-known gallery or country-house: but the original frame of the altarpiece is, no doubt, irretrievably lost. This frame, as we learn from the last of the three documents which will be found appended to this article, was 'bella' and 'tutta messa d'oro,' and above the frame were other 'adornamenti messi d'oro, begli.' The first of these three documents is the minute of the meeting of the Compagnia Santa Maria della Purificazione, held on August 30, 1461, at which the members of the Confraternity decided upon the ways and means to be adopted for defraying the charges of the altarpiece. The second document is a 'recordo' of the year 1501, but copied apparently from one of an earlier date, which is of value as showing that the draft of the agreement (to which I have already alluded) drawn up between Benozzo and the 'Operai' of the Confraternity was actually executed on October 23, 1461. The last is an extract from an inventory of the goods of the Confraternity compiled in the year 1518. In conclusion, I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to my friend, Sir Domenic Colnaghi, for having kindly drawn my attention to these documents in the course of our joint researches in the Florentine archives.

HERBERT P. HORNE.

## APPENDIX

DOC. I.

Firenze: R. Archivio di Stato; Corporazioni Religiose soppresse; Compagnia di Santa Maria della Purificazione e di San Zanobio: P. xxx, N° 14.

Libro di debitore e creditore e ricordanze; dal 1 Marzo, 1455-6, al 23 Dicembre, 1466.

fol. 155 tergo,

Richordo chome adj 30 daghosto 146j. il nostro padre Ghuardiano & ghouernat*ore* & suo chonsigljere insieme ispiratj dallo spirjto santo deliberorono & mjssono ina*n*zi afratellj isop*r*adettj patj & parerj: p*ri*ma simjsse abotj & uolanta che una tauola p*r*incjpiata p*r*allaltare delnostro luogho sidouessj dalle [*sic*, dare] mezo & fjne allalde dellonjpotente jddio & della sua glorjoxa madre V*er*gine marja & p*er* uentj q*u*attro botj uj ne tuttj unjtame*n*te i*n*sieme rjmasono sidouessj dare buono mezo & fine adetta tauola & p*er*uolere fare q*u*anto edetto sife dette p*r*oujgionj chome ap*r*esso sidira

p°. della tauola

Et p*ri*ma che q*u*alunche danajo uenisse inostro luogho ecetto queglj delljnfermj didue soldj il mese sidouesse mettere inaumentatjone p*er* fare della tauola chauato nessussj [*sic*, ne fussi] il bissongnjo dellacera oljo ealtre mjnute choxe p*er*nostro luogho & quelle sifattono [*sic*, facciono] chon piu masserjzie si puo

E anchora che q*u*alunche fusse dinostro numero che antichame*n*te sipaghaua dentrata vno grosso che q*u*alunche no*n*lo auessj paghato lopaghj & uadj adetto cho*n*to didetta tauola & an*n*e atenere chonto ilghovernat*ore* p*er* questj tempj saran*n*o

E piu missono a p*ar*tit*a* due uolerj c*i*oe che chi diceua difare 1ª tassa dj s*oldj* vno ilmese p*er*detta tauola & chj diceua didue s*oldj* ilmese missono ap*ar*tita cheq*u*alunche rjmaneua didettj due p*ar*tit*e* di piu faue nere sauessj apigliare rimasse delle piu faue quello sipaghassj s*oldj* vno c*i*aschuno mese & ujnsesi p*er*soficjente numero & choxj side paghare & mettere a detta massa di detta tauola ealtare

DOC. II.

Firenze: R. Archivio di Stato; Corporazioni Religiose soppresse; Compagnia di Santa Maria della Purificazione e di San Zanobio: P. xxx, N° 7, Libro di Ricordanze; 'chiamasj Libro dello scrivano': dal 6 Maggio, 1501, al 25 Marzo, 1525.

fol. ccxl tergo,

+ xħs M D J°

Richordo chome adj xxiij dotob*r*e 1461 sidette adipingnere latauola della nost*ra* chonpangnia abenozo dalesso dipintore nel popolo disanta maria del fiore delegne [*sic*, delege] tutto elchorpo della chonpangnia 3 operaj sop*r*a nost*ra* chura asolecitarella / edomenicho distefano ritagliatore alp*r*esente [8] ghouernatore / furano g*i*ouannj dangnolo chalzaiuolo franc° dantonjo mercajo es*cr* piero dis*er* andreª benccj furano fattj q*ue*stj 3 operaj p*er*ilchorpo dinost*ra* chonpangnia fec*i*ano elpatto p*er* *lire* 300 ob*r*igossj el guardiano chonquestj 3 sopradettj operaj cioe g*i*ouannj franc° e s*er* piero

[8] [*i.e.* anno 1461. This is evidently a later copy, or abstract, of some contemporary 'ricordo.']

DOC. III.

Firenze: R. Archivio di Stato; Corporazioni Religiose soppresse; Compagnia di Santa Maria della Purificazione e di San Zanobio: P. xxx, № 8, Libro di Ricordanze; 'chiamasj libro dello schrivano': dal 10 Maggio 1518, al 4 Dicembre 1475.

fol. 260 recto,

+ M D J [? error for 1518.]

Quiappie cholnome diddio sara nota p*er*inuentario dj tutte lerobe Ecose mobile chealp*r*esente sitruoua E pellauenire ara lanostra sq*u*ola ouero chompa*n*gnia E p*rim*a .

+ Nella sagrestia djrieto alnostro oratorio . . .

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

Seghue nelloratorio djnazj adetta sagrestia

Vnaltare murata chonuna tauola dj pietra E indetta pietra Eunchiusino Entrouj piu Reliq*u*ie jnischanbio dj pietra sagrata

fol. 260 tergo.

+ M D xviij

Vnatauola bella jnsuldetto altare dipintouj vna V*er*gine choruno banbino jnchollo Et sej altrj santj Ealtre djpinture choruna bella chornicie tutta messa doro Esop*r*a lachornicie altrj adornamentj messj doro beglj.

DOC. IV.

[Since writing the foregoing, I have found another version of the legend of St. Peter, written in Tuscan, by a contemporary of Benozzo, from which I have transcribed the following account of the flight and death of Simon Magus.]

Firenze: Biblioteca Nazionale, Conventi soppressi, Cod. B, 3, 783, 'Leggende di Santi,' etc.; begun on September 2, 1452, by Malpiglio Ciccioni da San Miniato del Tedesco, and finished by him on the Feast of All Saints, 1463. From the Monastery of Santo Spirito.

fol. 4 recto,

La passione disantto piero.

. . . Allora simone a*n*do i*n* chasa dimarccello suo diciepolo ellegho vno grandissimo chane allusccio / etdisse Amarccello ora vedero se p[iero] potera venire a*ua*ntte chome egli evsato diuenire / et pocho istando edechoti venire santto p[iero] et fattosi losegnio della sa*n*tto croce / etsciolsse il chane dimostra*n*do atutti gra*n*de Ma*n*suetudine / Eando [con] gra*n*de furia inversso simone Mago etfecelo chadere i*n* terra. Et preselo i*n*nella gola et strangolaualo/esantto p[iero] co*n* gra[n]de voce grido et chomando Alchane chenon glifacesse Morte / et ilchane No*n* glifece male Alle charne / matute leuestime*n*tte istracio ellasiollo q*u*asi chome i*n*gniudo / Allora elpopolo masimame*n*tte efa[n]ccugli chello chacciarno chongra[n]de Romore fuori della cita / et simone Mago p*e*llo vergognia istette vnano che egli no*n* torno i*n* Roma / et Marccello vede*n*do q*u*ello miracholo / Aba*n*dono simone mago / et diue*n*tto diciepolo di sa*n*tto p[iero] et dopo vno a*n*no Ritorno simone Mago Aroma / et diuento gra[n]de Amicho dinerone imperadore et Rauno tutto elpopolo etdisse iosono durame*n*tte ofeso dagalilei i*n* q*u*esta citta laquale ema*n*tenuta et ghouernata p*e*llamia verttu p*e*llaq*u*alchosa io gudicho che io No*n* voglio piu Abitare i*n* terra, Ancho Mene voglio Andare i*n*ccielo eabandonare Roma / et detto questo, ordino qualdi Nedouesse andare inccielo et fece fare Vna torre dilegniame / et sagliui suso chonuna grilanda i*n* chapo daloro, eperinchanttame*n*tto didimonio, chomi[n]ccio Avolare p*e*llaria / et sa*n*tto pauolo disse / Asantto p[iero] Amesaparti[e]ne orare / eatte sapartiene elchomandare / et nerone disse chostui euerace vmo Maui siete Mentitori e inghanatori / et santto p[iero] disse Asantto pauolo, leua altto il chapo et vedi / et pauolo leua[n]do alto ilchapo euedendo volare p*e*laria simone Mago / disse asantto piero perche tidugi piu cho*m*pi q*u*ello cheai chomi[n]ciato i*n* peto che xp̄o tichiama aparadiso / allora sa[n]tto piero disse / io visco*n*guro Angnioli disattano / et portate simone mago et chosi vichoma*n*do dalla partte del nostro signiore gieso xp̄o chenoi nollo portiate piusu mallasciatelo chadere / i*m*mantanentte glidimoni chello portauano lolasorno chadere / et chadendo tutto sifracello emori / e nerone Nefu molto tristo et disse Asantto p[iero] easa[n]tto pauolo voi a[u]ete Messo gra[n]de sospetto etdolore Nelmio chuore / p*e*lla q*u*alchosa / Jo vccidero voj / Allora Nerone glichomisse A paulino il quale glimise i*n* p*r*igione.

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

### A PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM CAXTON

AMONG the many treasures of the duke of Devonshire's library at Chatsworth House, which were brought back to the light under the librarianship of the late S. Arthur Strong, an engraving (see Plate I), prefixed to the well-known copy of Caxton's 'Recuyell of the Histories of Troye,' deserves especial notice. It has escaped the vigilant eyes of Ames, Dibdin, and of all writers on the Devonshire Caxtons, including Blades and Sir James Lacaita, who compiled the catalogue of the Chatsworth Library. It was, I believe, verbally noted by M. Wauters, but seems to have received no further attention from any student either of typography or of engraving.

The subject is the presentation of a volume to a patroness, who is shown, by the initials C and M joined by an interlacing cord, and by the motto 'Bien en aviengne' beneath them, to be Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV of England, who was married in 1468 to Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, as his third wife. The monogram and device occur together in too many monuments of ascertained origin to leave any doubt as to the recipient intended.[1]

We know on the authority of the prologue to the book itself, that it was at the 'dredefull comandement' of this princess that the translation into English of the 'Recuyell of Troye' was carried to completion, and that the manuscript of the finished work was presented to, and well rewarded, by her. William Caxton is at once the writer of this prologue, the translator of the romance, and the producer of the book, the first work printed in the English language. If, therefore, the engraving belongs to the volume in which it is now found, there is reason for regarding the kneeling figure as a portrait of Caxton himself.

The use of engravings for the illustration of printed books is rare in the fifteenth century, but one example of it survives (unfortunately in a single copy), which shows that this method of replacing the work of the illuminators could have been known to Caxton. His typographical undertakings undoubtedly brought him into contact with Colard Mansion, the introducer of printing

[1] See for examples the instances cited by M. L. Galesloot in the 'Annales de la Société pour l'étude de l'histoire de la Flandre,' 1870, and by the Rev. J. van den Gheyn in the 'Annales de l'Acad. Roy. d'Archéologie de Belgique,' 1904.

into Bruges. The close similarity of the types and workmanship of these two pioneers puts the fact of their having been acquainted with each other beyond question. One of Mansion's earliest and most important works was a Boccaccio, 'De la Ruyne des Nobles Hommes,' dated 1476. It exists in various states, the diversity of which is due to the attempt to decorate the book, at an advanced stage of its manufacture, by means of prints from engraved copperplates. The difficulties encountered in this undertaking led, as in similar experiments at other presses, to its abandonment. At least, the existence of only one complete illustrated copy of this volume is now recorded. It belongs to the marquess of Lothian, and is preserved at Newbattle Abbey. Its nine plates were issued in 1878 by Dr. David Laing in somewhat unsatisfactory facsimile, and were described in the same year by Mr. Sidney Colvin in *L'Art*, vol. xiii. They form a group to which our plate is allied, although I will not say that it must have proceeded from the same hand. It is nearest in character to an engraving of *The Transfiguration* in the Print Room of the British Museum, attributed by Dr. Max Lehrs[2] to the 'Master of the illustrations to Boccaccio,' a name introduced when these prints were first described by Sotzmann.[3]

Caxton left Bruges in order to establish himself in London in 1476, the year in which Mansion's Boccaccio was printed, and about two years after the appearance of his own 'Recuyell,' for which I suggest that the Chatsworth engraving was produced. He could at that time easily have been acquainted, from his intercourse with Mansion, with the possibility of using copperplates. The non-appearance of the prints in other copies of the same book presents no difficulty. The representation was appropriate only to the volume destined for Margaret, and that this copy was at one time in the duchess's possession is at least not made impossible by the inscription in it stating that it was the property of Queen Elizabeth, wife of Edward IV, and sister-in-law to Margaret. The queen died in 1492, the duchess in 1503, and there is record of letters passing between them about 1478.

There is then, in face of the Chatsworth volume, a great probability that Caxton, on completion of his first printed work, caused this example of it, intended for his mistress, to be ornamented by the new process made known to him by his collaborator Mansion; unless, indeed, he had been the first to learn it either in Bruges, or during his stay in Cologne in 1471, or elsewhere on the Rhine. In either case it is certain that the innovation was a possible one at the time and place of the appearance of the 'Recuyell.' Engraving was practised in Bruges, and was used in Caxton's immediate neighbourhood for book-illustration. We are thus led to see here a contemporary portrait of the Father of English printing—a portrait which, in spite of some inadequacy to his task in the engraver, is rendered more interesting by the fact that all the so-called likenesses hitherto known have been shown to be either deliberate inventions, or founded upon mistaken identification.

It must, however, be pointed out that in its present condition the engraving does not belong to the structure of the volume in which it is contained. It is mounted on a leaf which must be regarded as a somewhat late addition, although it probably reproduces the original arrangement. Mrs. Strong, to whom I am much indebted both for calling my attention to the volume, and for information concerning it, considers the material of this leaf to be similar to that used for the repair of the first printed page. Such mending is not likely to have taken place until the book was old enough to have been regarded as an antiquity of some value, and the possibility that a print not originally belonging to it, but so perfectly suited to its history, place of origin, and first recorded possessor, should have been at hand for insertion a couple of centuries later, may be regarded as too hypothetical to inconvenience us in our speculations.

Margaret of York, however, may have had other printed books dedicated to her, even if her library, of which a remnant is still at Brussels, consisted mainly of manuscripts. Colard Mansion is the most probable person to have followed Caxton's example in this respect, although we have no record that he did so. Apart from the above-mentioned unlikelihood that a print from another fifteenth-century Bruges book has got transferred to the Chatsworth volume, we are fortunate in the survival of two authentic portraits in manuscripts written by him (he was a professional scribe before he became a printer). These are 'The Pénitence d'Adam' and the 'Dialogue des Créatures' belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale. In neither case is there any resemblance to our print.

The silence of the many experts through whose hands the volume passed may be explained by the great uncertainty which formerly hung, even more densely than at present, over the early history of engraving, and of the centres in which it was practised. Early cataloguers had two main headings for works of this class—Israhel von Meckenen and School of Van Eyck. Bibliographers may be forgiven who failed to bring either of these into connexion with an English printer in 1474. The Newbattle Boccaccio remained little known owing to what Dr. Lehrs characterizes—in this case perhaps not undeservedly—as the 'Englische Unsitte' of an edition limited to forty-five copies.

[2] 'Jahrbuch der kön. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen,' 1902, p. 135.

[3] The simpler lines of the drapery, and a greater capacity for grouping figures, and for rendering their movement in the space represented, points to an artist of a younger generation than that of Master W. A., the engraver of the great Arms of Burgundy.

WILLIAM CAXTON PRESENTING THE 'RECUYELL OF TROYE' TO MARGARET OF YORK
COPPERPLATE ENGRAVING PREFIXED TO THE COPY OF THE BOOK IN THE CHATSWORTH LIBRARY

It is possible that Caxton himself presented the volume to Queen Elisabeth Woodville, whose husband and brother were his protectors, in which event the engraving would be a memorial of the original destination of the MS. version as set out in the prologue. In either case the suggestion as to the personages portrayed remains valid, and we have the somewhat surprising result that the first known case of an engraving used as illustration is to be found in an English book. The 'Monte Sancto di Dio,' the earliest instance hitherto recorded, appeared in 1477.

S. MONTAGU PEARTREE.

## A PORTRAIT OF NAPOLEON BY DAVID[4]

THIS portrait has had a strange career; its history, like the picture itself, has been handed down from father to son in the Carmichael family. It is stated to have been painted by J. L. David, and to have been presented by Buonaparte to his brother-in-law, General Le Clerc, when the latter went in command of the expedition against St. Domingo, where he destroyed himself. General Le Barquier, who succeeded to the command, upon surrendering the city of St. Domingo in 1809 to the British troops, presented the portrait to the commander-in-chief of the British Forces, Major-General Carmichael. The picture is now in the possession of Mr. John Carmichael-Ferrall, of Augher Castle, co. Tyrone, the only great-grandson in the male line of Major-General Carmichael, through whose wife—an heiress—the name of Ferrall was assumed by Royal Warrant in addition to the family surname of Carmichael.

The painting, as will be seen from the reproduction, is a sketch and not a finished picture; it must have been painted from life and there can be little doubt that the traditional attribution to David is the correct one. Napoleon does not look much older than thirty in the portrait, but the fact that he is wearing the Imperial Order makes it necessary to conclude that the picture was painted after he became emperor, and it must be attributed to about the year 1804, when he would be thirty-five. This interesting portrait, which seems to have escaped the notice of all Napoleonic iconographers, gives us a far more pleasing impression than the later portraits painted when Napoleon's face had filled out and his expression had become sullen and lowering.

## THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

THE forty-eighth annual report of that admirably managed institution, the National Portrait Gallery, deals at some length, as was natural, with the loss of two of its greatest benefactors, Mr. G. F. Watts and Mr. W. H. Alexander. Those who realize how much the Gallery stands in need of more space will read with the greatest possible regret that the Trustees have apparently failed to obtain from the Army Council any encouragement for the hope that some portions of the space occupied by St. George's Barracks will be available.

[4] Reproduced, Plate I, page 385.

## THE 'MAÎTRE DE FLEMALLE' AND THE PAINTERS OF THE SCHOOL OF SALAMANCA

IN the June number of this magazine[5] I stated that there were special indications pointing to a connexion of this important early master with Spain. I have now to follow up this theme.

Whilst undoubtedly the main source of inspiration of the Maître de Flemalle, of whatever nationality he may have been, was the great early Flemish school, there are, I think, evidences in his works of influences which induced distinct breakings away from the usual and rather hackneyed canons of his contemporaries of the Van Eyck following.

One of these evidences is conspicuously displayed in the two important works of the master in this country, Mr. Salting's *Somzee Madonna* and *The Virgin of Salamanca*. One of the most striking peculiarities of both these pictures is the departure in them from the practice, which seems to have been almost universal in the fifteenth century both with the Flemish and Italian artists, of representing the Virgin as clad in blue and crimson robes. But the Maître de Flemalle represents her clad in *white* and blue, like the Peninsular painters of later date, the Alonso Canos and Murillos of the seventeenth century. This departure is a striking one, and must have had a motive. Can it have been other than the conforming to the established rule of the Spanish church by which it was ordained that the Virgin should be so depicted? *Vide* the old Spanish work, 'El Pintor Erudito,' by the Jesuit father Ayala, in which the rule and the liturgical reasons for it are sagely laid down.

But the pictures of the Maître de Flemalle are remarkable for other peculiarities in respect of colouring. There is to be seen in them indications of an understanding of the value of tone and the harmony of secondary colours, qualities of art with a certain aspect of modernity, if I may so express it, which do not seem to have been revealed to any of his contemporaries. The scheme of colouring of the Salamanca Virgin picture might indeed not inaptly be described as a 'harmony in grey.'

This peculiar and original bias of colour is nevertheless to be seen in certain pictures of a somewhat later date brought from Spain and unquestionably painted in the Peninsula. Four of these pictures are illustrated in the present number, and the question is suggested whether they may be later works of the master himself or by

[5] Page 238, *ante*.

followers and imitators of his style. In any case so remarkable and characteristic is this peculiar scale of colour that its occurrence in these works cannot have been the effect of mere coincidence.

These pictures are works of great excellence, and they apparently range in date betwixt 1460 and 1480. They come, moreover, from districts of which Salamanca is the local metropolitan centre. That the Maître de Flemalle visited Salamanca, and may possibly have continued to dwell there for the rest of his life, there is, I think, almost conclusive evidence to show. It is demonstrated in the picture illustrated in the last number of this magazine.

I have entitled that picture *The Virgin of Salamanca* from the fact that in it is to be seen a representation connecting it with a certain locality and work of art which still exists in that city. Whoever has visited Salamanca will remember its two cathedrals joined together side by side, the 'Seo Viejo,' or old cathedral, overshadowed by the huge bulk of the later transitional gothic church, both characteristic examples of Spanish mediaeval architecture of their respective periods. The old church is of late thirteenth century date. It has one unique and very peculiar feature; this is in the design of the semi-circular apsidal termination of the east end of the church, decorated with several tiers of empty semicircular-headed niches, divided by slender attached wall-shafts. Now the semicircular apse in front of which stands the figure of the white-robed Virgin, in the picture illustrated last month in this journal, is an exact representation of this same Salamanca cathedral apse, and it must have been directly copied from it. It may then, I think, be safely assumed that *The Virgin of Salamanca* picture is the work of a painter who had at least visited that city. It is unquestionably an authentic picture by the hand of the so-called Maître de Flemalle, and that it was a highly-considered performance in Spain is evidenced by the fact that numerous copies and partial imitations of the work of Spanish origin are extant in various public and private collections.

In all not less than seven or eight of these copies and free imitations of the original work are known to me, and probably there are others still to be brought to light. One of these copies has been recently acquired by bequest by the Museum of the Louvre; and another almost identical and obviously the work of the same copyist, is in a private collection in this country. These two are almost direct repetitions, and must have been directly taken from the picture illustrated in this magazine. They are both, however, of inferior *technique*, indicating, moreover, a later period of production, probably as late as the early part of the sixteenth century. Lastly, these two pictures have one, and only one, intentional variation from the original work; this is the fact, in itself highly suggestive, that the heads of the two angels, which in the original picture are especially notable for the devout seriousness and somewhat quaint individuality of type, are replaced by inane smiling faces entirely devoid of expression. In these two examples the semi-circular Salamanca apse is retained, but in other examples it is replaced by entirely different backgrounds and ornamental accessories of late Spanish gothic and Renaissance styles, obviously variations by the several artists who have as it were successively played upon the original theme. All these imitations are works of a comparatively late period; two of them indeed were obviously painted not earlier than the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Lastly, in more than one picture by Morales el divino, who died in 1586, are to be seen details obviously imitated from the *Virgin of Salamanca* picture, and it is a suggestive fact that Morales lived and worked all his life at Badajos, a city also lying well within the Salamanca region.

Pending further discoveries as to the personality and place of his labours, it would perhaps not be desirable to discard the title of 'Maître de l'Abbaye de Flemalle,' which has been given to the painter by the German art critics, although the grounds on which it has been conferred are of the most slender description. In reality that title rests simply on the fact that one of the master's works, now in the Frankfort Museum, is said to have come from the old Flemish abbey of Flemalle; but that eminent art critic, Mr. W. H. James Weale, is of opinion that no reliance can be placed on the reality of that 'provenance,' resting as it does on the mere information of the obscure picture dealer from whom the picture was obtained, apparently unsupported by any corroborative evidence from the locality itself.

An illustration is given in the present number[6] of another picture which has been recently acquired in Spain, and which presents many points of analogy with the received works of the Maître de Flemalle. It represents the Mass of St. Gregory, a not unusual fifteenth-century subject, and it was recently obtained from the parish church of Bonella della Sierra, near Avila, consequently in the region of Spain in which Salamanca is the principal centre.

There are in this work obvious, indeed striking, resemblances, notably in the general aspect and scheme of colouring, to similar characteristics displayed in *The Virgin of Salamanca*, suggesting a connexion in their origin either direct or derivative, in any case sufficiently marked, I think, to exclude the possibility of merely fortuitous resemblance. The date of this work is probably about 1460-70.

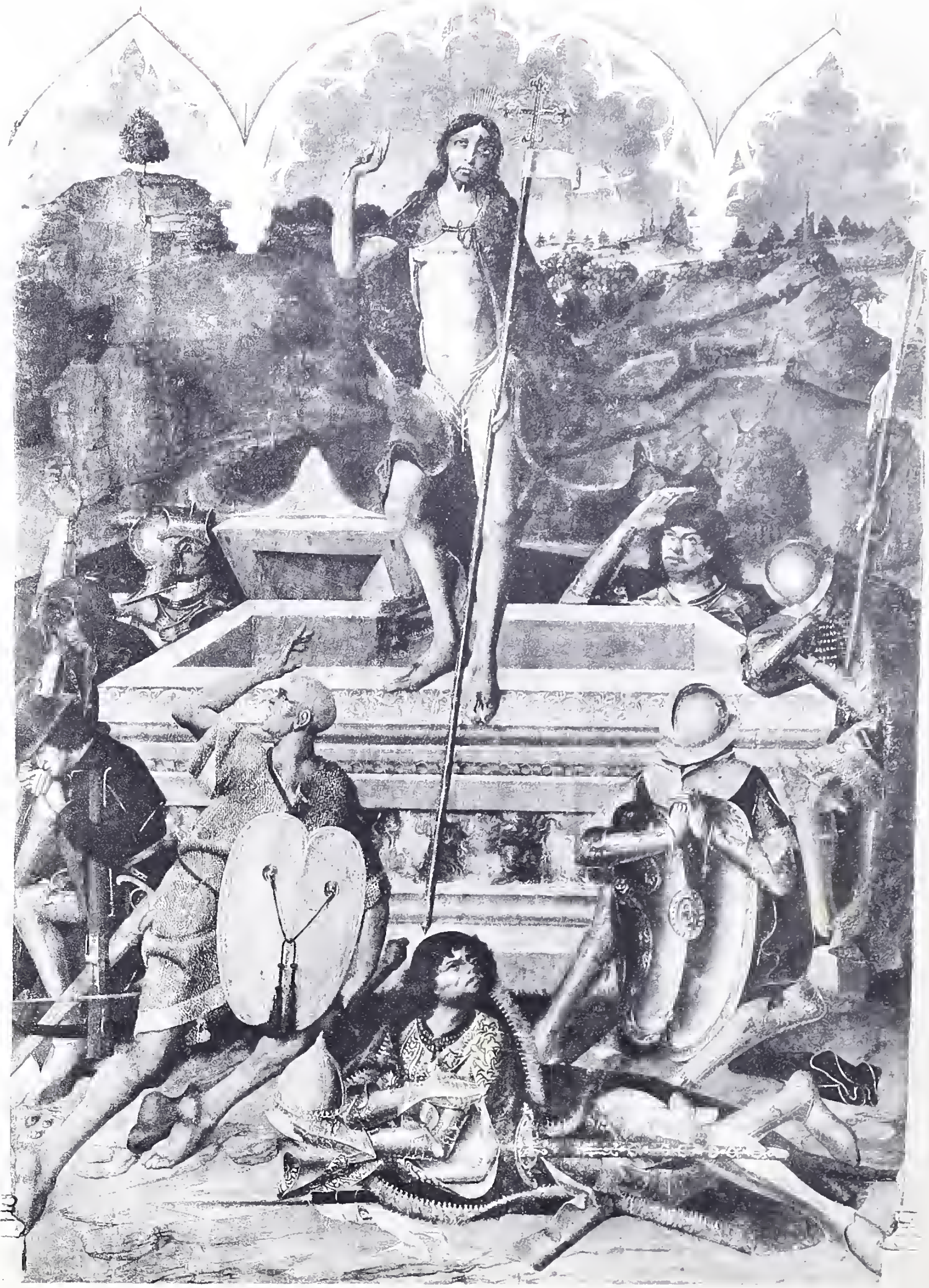
There exists, however, another important picture of still later date (1470-80),[6] which, especially in respect of the striking and original scheme of colour which it displays, stands in the same relation to the acknowledged works of the Maître

[6] Plate II, page 389.

THE MASS OF ST. GREGORY [illegible]
IN THE PARISH CHURCH OF [illegible]
[illegible], NEAR AVILA

THE LAST JUDGEMENT, PANEL OF THE REREDOS
IN THE CATHEDRAL OF CIUDAD RODRIGO ; NOW
IN THE COLLECTION OF SIR FREDERICK COOK,
BART., M.P.

THE MAGDALEN ANOINTING THE FEET OF CHRIST.



THE RESURRECTION.

NOTES, PLATE III. PANELS FROM THE REREDOS IN THE CATHEDRAL OF CIUDAD RODRIGO; NOW IN THE COLLECTION OF SIR FREDERICK COOK, BART., M.P.

de Flemalle. The question then arises—are these pictures original works of that master produced at later periods of his career or the productions of Spanish followers? Further observations and research will doubtless enable the problems to be solved.

The picture alluded to comes moreover from the immediate neighbourhood of Salamanca; it is in fact one of the panels of the great 'retablo,' or high altarpiece, formerly in the cathedral of Ciudad Rodrigo, a city lying at about the same distance (thirty or forty miles only) to the west of Salamanca as Avila does to the east. Fortunately this picture, representing the Doom or Last Judgement, is now also in this country, forming part of the splended series of Peninsular pictures in Sir Frederick Cook's collection at Richmond, by whose kind permission it is now reproduced in this magazine, with two others of the panels[7] from the same great monumental work.

In all the three pictures now taken note of perhaps the most obvious and striking peculiarity is the fact that they are mainly painted with blended or broken secondary colours, in which a peculiar bluish-grey tint predominates. This peculiarity, it may be said, has in fact been already noted. An acute art critic, Mr. Roger Fry, in an article in the *Athenæum*, respecting *The Virgin of Salamanca* picture when exhibited at the Burlington Club, speaking of the Maître de Flemalle, has said: 'It has his peculiar grey flesh tones, his rare and delicate colour harmonies of grey, blue, rose, and white, or harmony which places him apart amongst all the Flemish masters.'

The description, it may now be said, applies with equal appositeness to *The Mass of St. Gregory*. That picture is a votive work containing a portrait of the donor, and probably of members of his family, and the inscription in the Spanish language is to the effect that whoever recites a certain number of Paternosters and Ave Marias kneeling before the picture will gain specified terms of indulgence granted by the various popes named.

The three pictures from the Ciudad Rodrigo reredos now reproduced, representing respectively *The Magdalen anointing the feet of Christ*,[7] *The Resurrection*,[7] and *The Doom*,[8] are by three different hands, one of them, *The Resurrection*, being, it is believed, the work of the great Salamanca master, Fernando Gallegos. The *Doom* picture alluded to in this article is, however, the most notable and interesting of these works, inasmuch as it displays striking resemblances, especially in point of colouration, to *The Mass of St. Gregory*, and in a similar degree it recalls the influence of the Maître de Flemalle. The date of the production of the work is, however, somewhat later than that of the St. Gregory—about 1480. Can it be a later work of the same master?

J. C. Robinson.

[7] Plate III, page 392. [8] Plate II, page 389

## THE JORDAENS EXHIBITION AT ANTWERP

At the end of July an exhibition of the work of Jordaens was opened at Antwerp, and an exhibition of Brussels crafts at Brussels, both coinciding with the seventy-fifth anniversary of Belgian independence.

The Jordaens exhibition may not leave an impression of definite triumph like that of the shows of Rubens and Van Dyck. Jordaens has not been studied so much as these last two masters, and criticism has still to arrange and classify his work. It is curious that this powerful and passionate and withal so serious master should have been relegated to the second rank, and criticized in point of taste and balance by the French school of the eighteenth century, which was itself largely occupied with the suggestive incidents of gallantry. In consequence the nineteenth century looked upon Jordaens as a coarse painter of boors and country revels, and little attention was paid to his religious and allegorical works, which are depreciated by unfair comparisons with Rubens. The exhibition will correct this error, and will serve as a base for future study. Jordaens was prolific, but most of his works are little known and widely scattered. One hundred and twenty paintings, however, have been collected, and these supplemented by more than thirty drawings leave a very different impression from that commonly held.

These works are classified under three heads. The first comprises *genre* pieces, the second religious pictures, and the third allegories. Of these the first is the best known, containing the *Kermesses*, in which Jordaens takes up the conceptions of the elder Brueghel and translates them into his own heroic lusty world. The fire and mastery he shows in these crowded compositions prepare the mind for the grave and profound sentiment of his religious pictures, the section where he is most surprising.

Here we can at last see in a good light the much-discussed *Calling of St. Peter* from St. Jacques at Antwerp. The picture has been attributed to Adam Van Noort, the painter's master and father-in-law, whose works can no longer be separated from the good anonymous Flemish work of his age. It is improbable that the *Calling of St. Peter* is by Jordaens. Yet this fine work shows the skill attained in Flanders by the seventeenth century, and the source from which both Rubens and Jordaens drew the most characteristic features of their art. By the side of the *Calling of St. Peter* we see the *Calvary* belonging to the same church, painted in 1619, and therefore one of Jordaens's earliest works; in it we already note the master's characteristic passion and fluency, and with them a grand dramatic sense. The church of Dixmude has lent its fine *Adoration of the Magi*, hitherto somewhat inaccessible; a work which in ease of arrangement and dignity of feeling is worthy of

a great master. The Terninck School, an Antwerp foundation, sends a large *Assumption*, in which (as in the *Martyrdom of S. Apollonia* from St. Augustine's church) Jordaens the psychologist is shown, a master of transient expression; and the same sharp analysis reappears in the *Christ among the Doctors* from the Mayence Museum, where every phase of pompous and dignified stupidity is summed up by the Jewish divines grouped round our Lord. In these figures Jordaens has noted ugliness, vice, and folly with profound insight, recalling the caricatures of Dürer and Leonardo. Finally, by the side of three works representing the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, lent by Mr. Crews, M. Six, and M. Lagae, the Brussels sculptor, and a very important *Pietá* lent by M. Veber, of Hamburg, one sees two versions of the *Descent from the Cross*, both handled with intense dramatic feeling. One is particularly interesting, that belonging to the Antwerp Hospital. It is probably the latest, certainly one of the latest works painted by Jordaens, and was left by his will to its present owners. It is remarkable for the profound and tragic sorrow which it reveals. The figure of Christ is handled with almost cruel sincerity, the wounded limbs and bruised features still bearing witness to His sufferings, while the sacred personages grouped about Him are overcome with stupor—not the vehement grief or the violent gestures too often introduced, but utter exhaustion —and by this simple means Jordaens produces a dramatic effect more harrowing and more terrible than that of any crowded tortured composition.

With the other pictures I must deal more briefly. I have insisted above all on what is new in the exhibition, and on the portion which best deserves the visitor's attention. The allegories and *genre* pieces are better known, and the Antwerp Exhibition is thoroughly representative. The Brussels Gallery has lent its little *Epiphany*, the famous allegory of *Abundance*, and the *Satyr and Peasant*, which can be compared with five variants and replicas lent by private collectors. We can again see the *Serenade*, once in the Huybrecht's collection, now in that of M. Leblond; three pictures of *The Epiphany*, or 'le Roi boit' (one lent by the duke of Devonshire, another by the Duc d'Arenburg), two of *Mercury and Argus*, and lastly a *Susanna*, resembling that at Brussels and showing how Jordaens liked working round a subject, rehandling the design, and presenting it with novel variations. Several portraits such as the *Portrait of a Musician* and some *genre* pieces like the *Woman with Cherries* are pictures hitherto unknown. The exhibition is made complete by the fine series of drawings already mentioned. This collection at the Antwerp Museum not only shows Jordaens worthily for the first time, but will also serve us as a foundation for our attempts at understanding Flemish art of the seventeenth century better than we do at present. R. PETRUCCI.

## A FLEMISH PICTURE FROM ABYSSINIA

FEW pictures have a more remarkable history than the portrait of Christ which we are permitted to reproduce by the courtesy of the owner, Sir Richard Holmes. It was discovered by him hanging over the bed of the dead King Theodore when Magdala was captured by the British forces under Lord Napier in April 1868. For generations it had been regarded as the sacred ikon of the Abyssinian nation, and copies of it by native artists occur in some of the finer Ethiopic MSS., such as that in the Royal Library at Windsor.

The picture itself is hardly less interesting than its history. When first brought to England thirty years ago it was attributed to Quintin Matsys, and its appearance in Abyssinia is accounted for by the supposition that it had passed from the Low Countries to Spain or Portugal, and thence had been carried to Abyssinia by Portuguese missionaries in the sixteenth century.

The painting appears to be in tempera on an oak panel 31½ cm. high, by 26 cm. wide. Both the robe and the background are of deep cool blue, against which the aureole and the ancient frame of gilded wood, bound with frayed crimson silk, tell strongly. An additional note of contrast is given by the marks of blood on the face, which is somewhat flushed, while the throat and hands are whiter. As the reproduction indicates, the picture on the whole has suffered very little in the course of its adventures.

That it is the work of a fine artist is evident both from the singular beauty of the colour and the quality of the painting, the treatment of the hands being specially noticeable; but Mr. Weale, judging from a photograph, considers that it is certainly not from the hand of Matsys. A close examination of the face reveals the existence of a second design under the painting now visible, and this has led to the theory that the picture was retouched in Spain or Portugal before being carried to Abyssinia. The outlines of a former painting, in which the head was apparently more elongated in type, can still be traced under the hair; the former position of the eyes can still be dimly seen, while the forehead where it shows above the Crown of Thorns corresponds far more closely in colour and pigment with the pallid almost shadowless hands than with the warmer reds and fuller modelling of the face. Mr. Roger Fry, however, after careful examination, was of opinion that the whole is the work of one hand, but was executed over a previous design which had not been completely effaced, and that the pattern on the dress and the treatment of the hands point alike to Adriaen Ysenbrant, or to some Bruges painter intimately connected with him.

NOTES, PLATE IV. HEAD OF CHRIST, BRUGES SCHOOL, FORMERLY IN THE POSSESSION OF KING THEODORE OF ABYSSINIA, NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF SIR RICHARD HOLMES, K.C.V.O.

## A STOLEN FRANS HALS

We are requested by Dr. A. Bredius, Director of the Mauritshuis at the Hague, to call attention to the theft of a small picture by Frans Hals from that gallery, in case it should be offered for sale to any of the readers of this magazine, or should otherwise come under their notice. The picture, which was cut out of its frame on July 7, is a small portrait of a man, 24½ centimetres high by 19½ wide (that is, about 9¾ by 7¾ inches). The subject of the picture is a Dutch cavalier; he wears a moustache and 'imperial,' and is painted nearly full-face. His doublet is greyish-black and he wears a white lace collar and black hat; part of the white lace cuff on his left sleeve is shown in the picture, and both sleeves are slashed with white; the background is a greyish-green. The picture is not signed. The Dutch government offers a reward of 500 guilders (£41) to anyone who restores the picture or gives information leading to its recovery. Anyone with information to give is requested to telegraph at once to the Director, Mauritshuis, The Hague. We had hoped to give a reproduction of the picture, but unfortunately the photograph which the Director of the Mauritshuis kindly sent us for that purpose did not reach us in time for reproduction in the present number.

## ECCLESIASTICAL ART EXHIBITION

The twenty-seventh annual exhibition of Ecclesiastical Art in connexion with the Church Congress will be opened in the exhibition buildings adjoining the Congress Hall at Weymouth on September 30. The Committee ask us to appeal to owners of objects of Ecclesiastical Art for their help in making the loan collection as complete and interesting as possible; it is hoped that this year it will be specially illustrative of the ecclesiology of the diocese of Salisbury. All objects lent will be watched night and day and will be insured to their full estimated value, and, when desired, carriage will be paid to and from the exhibition. Those who are willing to lend objects in their possession are requested to write as soon as possible (sending a short description of the objects offered) either to the Rev. Precentor Carpenter, The Close, Salisbury, or to the Secretary, Ecclesiastical Art Exhibition, Maltravers House, Arundel Street, Strand, W.C.

# LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

## OPUS ANGLICANUM

Gentlemen,—In the course of researches on the subject of Italian Gold and Silverwork, I have come across the following regarding 'Opus Anglicanum,' which has been treated recently by Miss May Morris in The Burlington Magazine.

In the 'Inventaire du Tresor Saint Siège sous Boniface VIII' (1295), published with notes by E. Molinier (Paris, 1888), there are many mentions of English work. The following are noteworthy:—

820.—Item, unum dorsale de opere anglicano cum imagine Salvatoris et beate Virginis in medio, et iiij evangelistis circa eas (cum) imaginibus apostolorum omnium.

831.—Item, unum frixium de opere anglicano cum figuris ad aurum et fimbria de serico diversorum colorum, . . .

There are many mentions of 'frixium anglicanum.' Item 836 refers to an 'antique frixium anglicanum.'

863.—Item, unum repositorium de opere anglicano ad aurum cum iiij imaginibus et perlis et vitris.

Item 867 refers to a 'repositorium de opere anglicano,' with the image of the Saviour on one side, and of the Virgin on the other.

Item 881: unum pluviale anglicanum cum campo toto de auro filato cum multis imaginibus sanctorum et figuris avium et bestiarum cum frixis ad perlas, cum iiij bottonibus parvis.

Item 908: unam planetam albam de opere cyprensi ad catenas, et aves cum frixio anglicano, imagines et scuta.

Item 911 . . aurifrixlo anglicano cum nodis et scutis de serico diversorum colorum et avibus et floribus.

916: duas planetas laboratas de opere anglicano ad diversas historias super xamito albo. .

928: tunicam di diaspro albo ad aves in rotis cum frixio a pede, manibus, et spatulis de Anglia ornatam

955: unam planetam de xamito rubeo cum frixio ad arma regis Anglie

967: unam planetam laboratam de opere anglicano super canzeo viridi ad diversas historias cum frixio laborato ad vites et folia super rubeo ad aurum vel argentum tractitium deauratum.

1008: unum camisum cum fimbriis de opere anglicano cum historia B. Nicolai, et pectorali laborato ad aurum cum imagine Salvatoris in medio et iiij evangelistis.

Amongst the gifts of Boniface VIII to St. Peter's at Rome (1294-1303) (*vide* Muntz and Frothingham: 'Tesoro di S. Pietro'; Roma, 1883: page 11) is—

Item unum pluviale nobilissimum de opere cyprensi ad ymagines cum aurifrigio anglicano ad perlas (p. 12), item quinque aurifrigia, quorum tria sunt de opere cyprensi et unum est de opere anglicano, et unum est ad smaldos (sic) habens figuras sanctorum integras, nobilissimum.

In the 'Regesti Clementis Papae V—1307-1311—Appendices,' vol. i. (Roma. tip. Vaticana 1892; p. 412) is mentioned 'unum magnum frustrum aurifrigii anglicanum novum.'

In the 'Inventaire de S. Marie Majeure à Rome' (Barbier de Montault; Œuvres completes; Paris, 1889, p. 363) is an extract from the will of Cardinal N. Capocci, died 1368, as follows:—

Je legue à l'église de Valence . . . mon meilleur pluviale en ouvrage anglais, avec diverses figures d'or sur champ d'azur, pour être conservé à pérpétuité dans la sacristie de ladite église; qu'on ne le prête ni a l'évéque ni a un autre hors de l'église.

To come to more modern times, in the Inventory of Paul III (1547), unearthed by Bertolotti and edited by B. de Montault: Œuvre completes (Paris 1889; vol. i. p. 275):—

Item 6: una pianeta, figurata tutta a riccamata d'oro, dove Xpo da le chiave a san Pietro, con l'arme del re d'Inghilterra

I also find in the Inventory of the belongings of the Cardinals B. and M. Bentivegna (published

by A. Tenneroni. 'Achiv. Stor. Italiano,' 1888, pp. 260–66), mention of

'unum pluviale solame de serico et auro cum ymaginibus apostolorum et diversarum avium de opere anglicano,' with the marginal note—'Abstulit papa (Nicolo V) et dedit conventni sancti Francisci.'—The will of Card. B. Bentivegna is dated June 14, 1286.

No doubt these extracts, referring to opus anglicanum, could be multiplied if special search were made for them.

Sidney J. A. Churchill.

*Palermo, May* 20, 1905.

### THE 'SAVOLDO' IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY

Gentlemen,—Some two years ago you were good enough to publish an article of mine on 'Two alleged Giorgiones,' including reproductions from the Leuchtenberg and National Gallery pictures representing the Nativity, as to the authorship of which I could not then speak decisively.[1] Researches in the archives at Venice, conducted over a course of years by the late Dr. Gustav Ludwig, have now led to the discovery of documents relating to a certain Zuane da Brescia and his son Bernardino di Zuane da Brescia, and the consequent identification of certain existing pictures from their hands.[2] It appears that these hitherto unknown artists painted, amongst other things, the organ shutters in the church of San Michele in Murano, the outside portions of which now hang in the Museo Civico at Venice. These pictures clearly reveal a connexion with the style of Savoldo's art, and Dr. Ludwig goes so far as to recognize the same hand in the National Gallery *Nativity* (No. 1377), still ascribed, though erroneously, to Savoldo. The same authority suggests that this picture was painted by Zuane da Brescia the father, and that the other version, lately in the Leuchtenberg Gallery,[3] is the work of Bernardino, his son. Zuane seems to have flourished from 1512 to 1531, the organ shutters dating from 1526. He came from Asola, near Brescia, and was a member of the Scuola di S. Marco, in Venice, where he seems to have lived. It is probable that he was Savoldo's first master, and was himself strongly influenced by Giorgione and the young Titian.

Although an artist of minor importance Zuane da Brescia's name is worth recording if, as there is good reason to believe, he is the author of one of our National Gallery pictures.

Herbert Cook.

[1] Vol. II, pp. 78–84 (June 1903).

[2] These important archivistic discoveries are published in the *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*. Supplement to vol. 26. Berlin, 1905, a book which should be in the hands of every student of Venetian art. Many existing views on the subject of Venetian painting will have to be modified in the light of these latest discoveries.

[3] Reproduced, Vol. II, p. 85 (June 1903).

## ART IN AMERICA

THROUGHOUT the United States there is a steady growth of interest in art matters, and each year witnesses the establishment of new art societies, galleries, and museums. The various exhibitions have had a great deal to do with spreading a desire for the opportunity to see beautiful objects. The Centennial in Philadelphia in 1876 sent the visitors home with a longing to add pictures and ornaments to their household treasures, and the age of chromos and tidies was the result. This, while bad in many ways, was the first step from utter indifference. The art magazines established at that time, such as *The Art Amateur*, were intended as guides for the home worker, who hoped, with a little skill and much patience, to beautify her surroundings. The movement was chiefly among the women, and was carried to such an extreme that everything within sight was painted with roses or forget-me-nots, from the piano scarf to the milking stool, and the term 'amateur' and 'amateurish' became degraded from its original French significance of 'a lover' of the beautiful, to that of a tyro and a dabbler as opposed to the professional artist.

With the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893, and the beautiful group of white, classical buildings that seemed to grow up by magic on the shore of the lake, came the growth of the 'city beautiful' idea. The beautifying of the larger home, the village, town, and city, became an important factor, and here men and women worked, and are to-day working side by side for greater cleanliness, greater simplicity, and that greater beauty which comes from a few well chosen, carefully executed, and thoroughly artistic works. They have erected buildings that are an ornament to the city, as well as serving utilitarian purposes; the homes of the wealthy are furnished in good taste, and contain priceless works of art; the homes of the large middle class are steadily improving, and good reproductions of the world's masterpieces are taking the place of tawdry imitations; finally, the library with its art room in towns, and the museum in cities, is becoming the art centre of the community, and here the millionaire deposits the art treasure that his wealth has enabled him to acquire, so that others may have the benefit of its ennobling and elevating influence.

The Pan-American Exhibition at Buffalo in 1901, the World's Fair at St. Louis in 1904, and the Lewis and Clark Exhibition now open at Portland, Oregon, are a continuation of the good work, and spread to every corner of this vast country a love for art, and an ever-growing appreciation of the best that has been and is being done in architecture, sculpture, painting, and the applied arts.

May 31 of this year witnessed the opening of the most beautiful building in this country to be devoted to art. The Albright Art Gallery, at Buffalo, New York, the gift of Mr. John Joseph Albright, was begun in 1900, with the intention that it should house the Fine Arts Department of the Pan-American Exhibition, but owing to strikes the building was not completed until the early part of this year.

The Gallery is for the use of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, which was incorporated in 1862. Its first exhibition was held under the auspices of the Young Men's Association, on December 24, 1861, and was organized by Lars G. Sellstedt, who to-day is still one of the directors of the academy, and takes an active interest in its welfare. After many trials and discouragements the academy now has a purchase fund of $95,000, and a maintenance fund of nearly $140,000, while Mr. Albright has recently made generous provision for the maintenance of the art gallery proper.

The collection includes about fifty casts from Greek and Roman sculptures, several marble busts, over two hundred oil paintings by American and foreign artists, a historical collection of prints, a collection of over two hundred etchings by Sir F. Seymour Haden, which is the most nearly complete group in existence, and a small collection of wood engravings by Henry Wolf, etc.

In the inaugural loan exhibition of paintings which was held throughout the month of June, only thirty-six of the paintings belonging to the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy were shown, many of their good pictures being stored in order to give plenty of space for the works which had kindly been lent by other museums and by private collectors.

The liberality of the museums throughout the United States in helping to make this inaugural exhibition successful is shown from the fact that the Metropolitan Museum of New York has lent *The Boy with the Sword* by Manet, one of his masterpieces treated with that breadth and simplicity which was in his day an absolute revolution in style, though the student of our times will not be shocked by it, but will study it reverently and be helped by an intimate acquaintance with this striking work. A portrait of Manet by Fantin-Latour has been lent by the Art Institute of Chicago, which has also sent Michetti's *Springtime and Love*, *Le Vieux Château Fort* by Georges Michel, *On the Marne* by Daubigny, and *The Castle* by Jacob van Ruisdael, which was purchased from the Prince Demidoff collection and presented to the Institute by Mr. Henry C. Lytton, of Chicago.

Two very important canvases came from the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburg, *A Vision of Antiquity, Symbol of Form*, by Puvis de Chavannes, one of those rare works wherein the master decorator has retained his decorative qualities in a small work, and *The Disciples at Emmaus* by Dagnan-Bouveret, presented to the Institute by Mr. Henry C. Frick, of Pittsburg.

The Cincinnati Museum is represented by works of three of the group who exhibit together as the Ten American Painters, Frank W. Benson, Joseph De Camp, and Edmund C. Tarbell, all residents of Boston. The art of the city of Cincinnati is upheld by Frank Duveneck, whose *Man with Red Hair* is a strong piece of painting; while the portrait of Henry L. Fry, painted in 1889 by Kenyon Cox, of New York, shows that side of the artist with which the public is scarcely familiar—naïve, straightforward painting, not carried to the point where devotion to the academic style has robbed it of all life and spontaneity.

The Boston Museum of Fine Arts holds its own with two masterpieces by American painters; *All's Well* by Winslow Homer, which is a far greater work of art than his recent picture shown in another room, *Kissing the Moon*. Both canvases depict sailors following their calling, and in each the head and shoulders only of the figures are seen against a background of sea and sky. The other masterpiece is one of those rare easel pictures by our dean of American painters, John La Farge. And how it glows with rich colours, the same rich tones that he uses so effectively in his stained glass or in the mural decorations such as those executed during the past year for the new State House at St. Paul, Minn.

While there are no great paintings sent by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, yet the four are all good, and help in the effort to show characteristic works by American painters of to-day side by side with foreign work of all periods. *Noonday Rest* by J. Alden Weir, *A Breezy Day* by Charles C. Curran, *The Skaters* by Gari Melchers, and *The Canal* by Theodore Robinson, all hold their own in the exhibition. The St. Louis Museum of Fine Arts, on the other hand, is represented by five paintings, all by foreign artists: Fritz von Uhde of Munich, Gotthard Kuehl of Berlin, Stuart Park of Glasgow, Joaquin Sorolla of Madrid, and Rosa Bonheur of the French school. Even the Indianapolis Art Association, whose home, the Herron Art Building, is not yet completed, has lent a painting of *An October Afternoon* by Adrien Joseph Heymans of Brussels, which received a grand prize at the World's Fair at St. Louis in 1904.

And if the museums have been liberal, what are we to say about the private collectors who have

allowed their walls to be robbed in order that the public might profit by seeing their treasures? From the many important collections of paintings in Canada, just across the river from Buffalo, six gentlemen in Montreal have made most liberal loans. The standing *Portrait of an Admiral* by Rembrandt, glowing in colour, the portrait of *Mrs. Betsey Hume* by Sir Henry Raeburn, and *La Ghirlandata* by Rossetti are some of the very important canvases lent by Mr. James Ross. A superb Frans Hals *Portrait of John van Loo*, and an interesting Velasquez, *Marianna, Queen of Philip IV of Spain*, belong to the Hon. Sir George A. Drummond. An excellent picture by Weissenbruch, *A Summer Day's Idyl* by Monticelli, *Lions Prowling in the Desert* by John M. Swan, and *The Hon. Mrs. Wright* by Romney attest the catholicity of taste and good judgement of Mr. R. B. Angus; while Messrs. James Reid Wilson, W. A. Scott, and Dr. William Gardiner are other Montreal collectors whose paintings were lent to the Albright Art Gallery.

The hanging all through was extremely good, and for this the credit is due to Dr. Charles M. Kurtz, the director. One of the most successful vistas was from the sculpture court looking past one of the small rooms, where on one side of the door hung the painting by Puvis de Chavannes already referred to, and on the other an unusual landscape by Abbott H. Thayer, to the room beyond, where the place of honour was occupied by *The Virgin and two Attendant Figures* by Abbott H. Thayer. This large and important canvas is one of the many treasures of Mr. Charles L. Freer, of Detroit, who is perhaps best known through his friendship for Whistler. That artist is well represented upon one side of his work, the small marines, by eight examples. In the little room which has been especially draped with a grey gauze, and which is devoted to works of Whistler, D. W. Tryon, the landscape painter, and T. W. Dewing, the figure painter, all the pictures are from the collection of Mr. Freer, except the *Brocade de Venise* by Dewing and *Evening* by Tryon, the latter belonging to the Buffalo Academy. Like the room at the St. Louis World's Fair devoted to these artists, it is here that the most poetic and subtle effects are produced.

All this does not exhaust the charms of this exhibition. Rossetti's *Beata Beatrix*, belonging to Mr. Charles L. Hutchinson, of Chicago, is separated from the same artist's *La Ghirlandata* by a *Landscape* by Weissenbruch, which increases the beauty of colour in the works of the English painter without detracting from the tender greys of the Dutch work. And above is a graceful portrait of Madame de Pompadour as *La Musique* by Boucher, lent by Senator W. A. Clark, who also sent a Degas, an Abbey, and a Jan Steen. A beautiful Wyant landscape was one of the many pictures belonging to Mr. George A. Hearn, of New York; *Sunset at Noank* by Henry W. Ranger was one of those from the collection of Mr. John Harsen Rhoades; while Homer Martin's *Old Normandy Bridge* came from Dr. A. H. Humphreys, also of New York. *Reading from Homer* by Alma Tadema is one of the well-known paintings owned in Philadelphia, and lent, with others, by Mr. George W. Elkins.

If the standard set by this inaugural exhibition at the Albright Gallery is kept up Buffalo will have to be counted as one of the important art centres of the United States; but under any circumstances we can congratulate the management, and are thankful for their giving us the opportunity to enjoy these masterpieces.

A few years ago the Director of the Detroit Museum, Mr. A. H. Griffith, noticed a group of persons gathered around one of the cases on a Sunday afternoon and offered to tell them about the objects. These Sunday talks by the director gradually became one of the features of the museum, and the audiences have grown so that an auditorium became a necessity. On June 21 the new auditorium was formally opened and over two thousand persons can be accommodated. A series of new galleries and a library and print-room were also opened at that time.

Detroit is the first museum in the United States to undertake a travelling exhibition. Arrangements have recently been completed whereby a group of oriental art objects from the Stearns collection will be packed and lent for an indefinite period to any recognized society upon the payment of the freight both ways. Most libraries throughout the country have a room that could be devoted to art exhibitions, and it is hoped that other museums will follow this good example until every town and village is provided with some group of art objects. Prints, photographs, and water-colours are particularly appropriate and easy to handle.

The eighth annual exhibition now open at the Worcester Art Museum consists of 226 paintings. The first prize, $300, was awarded to Henry B. Snell for his painting of *Polperro;* the second of $200 to Charles Hopkinson for his portrait of James J. Storrow, jun.; and the third of $100 to Henry Salem Hubbell for his character study of *An Old Paris Cabman.*

FLORENCE N. LEVY.

## IVORIES

Ivories. By Alfred Maskell, F.S.A. Methuen. 25s. net.

Notwithstanding the importance of the subject, the number of really noteworthy contributions to the study of ivories during the past thirty years may be counted on the fingers of the hand.

The official catalogue of the South Kensington collection, written by the author's father, appeared in 1872, and was followed by Professor Westwood's catalogue of the casts or 'fictile ivories' in 1876. These remained for many years the sole authorities giving a comprehensive and fairly critical survey of styles in ivory-carving. M. Molinier's brilliant and suggestive sketch,[1] published in 1896, was accompanied and followed by several short but important articles by Stuhlfauth, Graeven, Mantuani, Goldschmidt, Schlosser, Glück, Read, Scherer, and a few others, in which individual questions were more thoroughly elucidated. Add to these such instruction as might be gleaned from general works on art and the catalogues of great public and private collections at home and abroad, and the tale is practically told.

Mr. Maskell now comes forward to fill the need for a comprehensive and connected work on ivories, and in a work of some four hundred pages makes a not unsuccessful attempt to combine the learned and the popular in the treatment of an immense subject. With ample detail the history of ivory-carving is traced from prehistoric times *à travers les âges* to the twentieth century, nor are works of eastern and of savage origin omitted from a sweeping survey which includes even piano-keys and billiard-balls.

The student must look for no original theories, nor any sustained discrimination of styles, for at the outset the author admits the sketchy character of the work, advancing, as it does, 'no theories on disputed questions, and entering into no speculations except those which may have a general human interest.'

Creditable, if half-hearted, attempts are made to differentiate between the English and French gothic styles, as also between those of il Fiammingo, Fayd'herbe and van Opstael, but on the whole Mr. Maskell simply reproduces the opinions of previous writers—occasionally, it must be regretted, perpetuating statements which recent research has proved to be erroneous.

The author is nevertheless greatly to be congratulated on a most interesting and catholic exposition of his subject. The illustrations are excellent, and form an indispensable commentary to the text with its pleasant and easy style. Wherever possible, the author has—and for this we may be grateful—drawn his examples from the great national collections at South Kensington and Bloomsbury, of which it is matter for regret that there are as yet no *catalogues raisonnés* embodying the results of recent study. The plan of arrangement, by which the objects are classed rather according to their nature and use than to the style of their carving, gives occasion for valuable chapters throwing light on the history and customs of mediaeval Europe, and the interesting digressions on liturgiology and secular life as illustrated by the ivories will be widely welcomed by the general reader, while going far to reconcile the student of some particular style to its pursuit under half-a-dozen chapter-headings.

Outside the mediaeval period there are sections on prehistoric, Egyptian, Assyrian, and oriental carvings, on the decorative use of ivory in furniture, musical instruments, and sporting weapons, and on the increasing employment of this material in modern sculpture and *bijouterie*. Useful chapters are also contributed on the natural history of ivory and its substitutes, its working and coloration, and last, but not the least interesting from the collector's point of view, its preservation and forgery. We welcome, too, the comprehensive lists of consular diptychs (enlarged and slightly altered from Molinier's, whose other lists are somewhat unaccountably omitted), of pastoral staves, taus, and liturgical combs, and of artists who worked in ivory; while more than a word of praise is due for an extensive bibliography and a useful index. Errors and defects are inevitable in a work of such wide scope, but they do not very seriously impair the value of the book.

A. J. K.

[1] *Histoire Générale des Arts . . . tome Ier. Les Ivoires*

## GREEK ART

A History of Ancient Pottery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman. By H. B. Walters, M.A., F.S.A. Two vols. Murray. £3 3s. net.

Mr. Walters's experience in cataloguing the vase collections of the British Museum qualifies him for the task of re-writing the late Dr. Birch's 'History of Ancient Pottery.' Although, however, by far the larger portion of the book has been recast, it seems questionable whether an entirely fresh treatment of the subject should not have been preferred. Mr. Walters could not but feel bound in some respects by the original form of the book, and would probably have produced a work more suited to the requirements of the present time had he been allowed a free hand. As it is we have a good deal of repetition (for which the author apologizes in the preface) and some chapters, *e.g.*, on terra-cotta sculpture and the uses of bricks in building, which are out of place in a manual to which no one will turn for information except on the one subject which is fully treated, viz., the fabrication of vases. To this Mr. Walters

rightly devotes most of his space, and as he is fully acquainted with the large literature of the subject, from Mr. Duncan Mackenzie's studies of neolithic and Minoan pottery down to Déchelette's great work on Gallo-Roman wares, as well as practically versed in the handling of ancient vases, his work is of great value for purposes of reference even to the specialist. We have, however, noted one or two omissions which cause some surprise. Why, for example, is no mention made of the finds on Count Aria's estate at Marzabotto in connexion with the history of Greek vase-painting? Marzabotto is not marked on the map, p. 70, nor mentioned in its natural place either in the summary, p. 72, or in the list of collections, p. 29 (though there is a reference to terra-cotta pipes found there in vol. ii. p. 350). In the list of museums, p. 27 ff., Moscow, Bari, Lecce, and Verona should be named; and it is hardly fair to say that the museum at Arezzo contains chiefly Roman ware, seeing that its most conspicuous ornament is the magnificent r. f. Amazon amphora mentioned on p. 440. On p. 79 there should have been some reference to Comm. Boni's finds in the necropolis adjacent to the Forum; and on p. 81 the Spinelli collection at Acerra (from the necropolis of Suessula) deserved a brief account.

The account given of the principal Greek fabrics and potters is careful and generally adequate. Mr. Walters has not, however, paid sufficient attention to the later b. f. products. We find no reference to the curious class of b. f. white-ground lekythi with non-funerary subjects (see *e.g.*, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* vol. xiii. plates I–III). Nor should he have denied the existence of b. f. calyx-kraters (pp. 170, 411) and stamni (pp. 164, 411). Some few examples of both exist (and have even been published), and prove that b. f. technique was practised contemporaneously with that of r. f. vases. In the chapter on geometrical pottery we find no allusion to S. Italian fabrics, but afterwards discover them in vol. ii. p. 323 ff. Two independent accounts of the technical processes employed by the r. f. vase-painter are to be found (pp. 219 and 405); in the first of these there is no mention of the preliminary sketch made with a fine-pointed tool ('Vorzeichnung').

The earlier portion of the second volume deals with the subjects represented on Greek vases, which entails a survey of the whole field of Greek mythology. This must have cost the author great labour, and contains much detail, such as one would look for in the pages of a mythological lexicon rather than in the present work. It is not the case that the visit of Theseus to Amphitrite 'cannot be placed in literary tradition'; a glance at the seventeenth poem of Bacchylides suffices to show the contrary.

After this the author passes to the Etruscan, S. Italian, and Roman fabrics, and archaeological students will be specially grateful to him for his full and carefully compiled account of Roman pottery, as to which much has been written both in Germany and France in recent years. In discussing terra-cotta sculpture Mr. Walters has omitted to notice the well-known examples from Falerii in the Museo Papa Giulio.

The illustrations are numerous, but in the case of the finer fabrics do not adequately represent the originals. H. Stuart Jones.

A Grammar of Greek Art. By Percy Gardner, Litt.D. Macmillan. 7s. 6d.

The publication of this book is of excellent augury for the future of archaeological education in England. The Oxford Professor of Classical Archaeology has acquitted himself well of a very difficult task, and has supplied a want that has long been felt by those engaged in classical teaching. A few good books, and a larger number of dull ones, have already been written upon Greek art from the chronological point of view, but no book hitherto has tried to summarize the general principles underlying that art, to put them in a clear systematic form, and to define their relation to the human spirit as expressed in life, religion, and literature.

Professor Gardner's analysis of Greek sculpture and painting has been conceived in no narrow spirit; indeed it is surprising with what boldness and intellectual clarity he faces problems which are troublesome to the artists of to-day, in order that there may be no misunderstanding as to the relative place of Greek art in the world's varied achievement. The width of the ground he covers makes it impossible to give even the briefest abstract of the mass of criticism and observation which he has compressed and set in order within the compass of some two hundred and sixty crown octavo pages. This compression in itself implies a certain brevity, and therefore attention on the reader's part; indeed, as the preface states, the book 'is scarcely adapted to the capacities of ordinary schoolboys.' Yet any reader with an elementary knowledge of the subject, and the moderate degree of intelligence required to follow the meaning of accurate English, should be able to read this 'Grammar' with pleasure as well as with profit. Professor Gardner, in fact, has an unusual faculty of clear exposition, which is not only well adapted to the subject with which he deals, but is in these days more commonly found in men of science than in archaeologists.

To this scrupulous scholarship he joins a second quality which is no less valuable, a peculiar sanity of judgement that keeps a just balance in the matter of aesthetic principle—a logical soundness of taste almost austere in its consistency. A professional artist, perhaps, would plead for a little more evidence of enthusiasm, for the recognition of the emphatic quality in art, knowing that emphasis is essential to the expression of life, and

how quickly in practice it vanishes in the dry light of reason. Nevertheless, it is only in that light that sound principles can be clearly shown, and the book would have been far less valuable had it been the product of a less equable temperament. The illustrations, perhaps, are not so attractive or so plentiful as they might have been considering the price of the book, but that is the only fault that can be found with it.

## PAINTING AND DRAWING

Répertoire de Peintures du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance (1280–1580). Tome I, contenant 1046 gravures, par Salomon Reinach. Paris: E. Leroux. 10 frs.

M. Reinach's services to art are too many to recount, but certainly not the least is his endeavour to construct means of communication between students. He has already done much by his répertoires of classical sculpture to enable scholars to know what the authors they read are talking about. He has now begun to extend the same benefits to students of mediaeval and Renaissance painting. And his services are badly needed. As he says in his preface—

> L'étnde de l'art moderne, si on la compare à celle de l'art antique est . . . fort arriérée malgré la multiplicité et la bonne qualité des documents. Quand j'ai passé de l'une à l'autre, il m'a semblé que je sortais d'un pays civilisé, percé de bonnes routes, semé de bonnes auberges, pour m'engager dans une région pleine de fondrières et où l'on couche à la belle étoile.

Here at least we have the beginning of a high road to which all future students will have recourse. In future in any discussions about early painting when an author desires to make comparisons with other pictures instead of saying 'Cf. Berlin 108 Photo. Hanfstaengl 1529,' which implies on the part of the reader the possession of a catalogue of the Berlin Gallery, and a correspondence with Hanfstaengl, before he knows even what the picture looks like—instead of this he will say 'Cf. Reinach, Rep. I. 131, i.' The reader will then have before him at once an outline reproduction which gives the composition with the utmost clearness and precision—a reproduction which, if he has ever seen the picture, will instantly recall it to his memory and which will enable him if he possesses a photograph of the picture to turn to it with perfect certainity. How often has one not been compelled to waste endless time because a picture is quoted only by a gallery number that has been changed and one's photograph is described only by the number of the photographer's catalogue. If, as we hope, Mons. Reinach brings out a few more volumes like the present all this will be a thing of the past; we shall never be in any doubt as to what picture is under discussion.

Mons. Reinach has done wisely, we think, in adopting the zincogravures for his reproductions. It would have been quite impossible to give anything like 1046 photographic half-tone blocks for the modest 10 frs., and in the small octavo size of the present volume. There is no pretence at conveying the beauty of the original. These true renderings are really concise and vivid descriptions of the pictures recalling the original as no verbal description could possibly do.

The notes accompanying each block frequently contain valuable bibliographical information, and in doubtful cases the different attributions of various critics. These are not always complete; thus we still find the National Gallery Ucello described as the *Battle of St. Egidio* instead of the *Rout of San Romano*, but in so vast a series as the book includes, covering as it does the art of Italy, Flanders, Germany, and France, it is astonishing to find such extraordinary accuracy and fullness of information. The book is a monument of the author's immense range of learning and his fine scholarship. R. E. F.

Blätter für Gemäldekunde. II Bd., Heft 3. June 1905.

Dr. Theodor von Frimmel is editor and sole author of this new Vienna review, which deals almost exclusively with pictures. The chief article, however, in the June number which we have received, treats of Dürer drawings, and suggests that part, at least, of the so-called Adam-Apollo group may have been inspired by a bronze Ephebus, now at Vienna, which was found in Carinthia in 1502, and acquired by Cardinal Lang. Dr. v. Frimmel's arguments are not convincing, and he certainly goes too far in attributing to Dürer a woodcut, reproducing the said bronze, published by Apianus in 1534. Other articles deal with Burckhardt's *Cima*, the Schönborn Rembrandt, and new acquisitions of the Dresden Gallery. In the previous number a badly-damaged Virgin and Child by (or after) Dürer was published, which Dr. v. Frimmel did not perceive to be identical in composition with the little picture which belonged to the late Dr. Lippmann. C. D.

Handzeichnungen Schweizerischer Meister. Lief. 2. Helbing and Lichtenhahn, Basel; Williams and Norgate, London.

The second part of this excellent publication contains a group of drawings by the three Holbeins, a realistic battle scene by Urs Graf, a landsknecht by Niklaus Manuel, and an Alpine landscape by Hans Leu, composed with originality and imaginative power; the sky, though it may have lost much in the reproduction, is grand and impressive. Three drawings of the late renaissance show the long persistence of Holbein's ornamental inventions. Too much praise is bestowed in the critical notes on a drawing of a lady with a nightmare, by the artist whom we know in England as Fuseli; not at all too much on a study of heads by Hans Rudolf Huber. C. D.

# *Bibliography*

Raphael. By A. R. Dryhurst. Methuen. 2s. 6d. net.

A careful account of the chief events of Raphael's life. Unfortunately the author is too modest to venture on aesthetic criticism, and so the reader may finish the book without having a clear idea why Raphael gained his extraordinary fame.

## MISCELLANEOUS

A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method. With about 2,000 Illustrations. By Prof. Banister Fletcher and Banister F. Fletcher. 5th edition. London: Batsford. 21s. net.

Prof. Banister Fletcher's book has already been recognized as one of the few English publications which surpass the best continental works of their class in method, completeness, illustrations, and price. On one or two minor points the results of recent discoveries do not agree with the authors' conclusions, but considering the extent of the field they cover their accuracy is really wonderful. The book, of course, is not a history so much as a handy work of reference. Being planned, and that admirably, in sections it lacks perhaps the perfect sense of continuity, of incessant growth, which is the essence of history. Yet for that very reason it is of far more practical use than any narrative could be. All the illustrations are good, but special praise is due to the smaller diagrams, which are miracles of compressed information and fine engraving.

Royal and Historic Gloves and Shoes, illustrated and described by W. B. Redfern. London: Methuen & Co. £2 2s. net.

Mr. Redfern's introductory remarks take us, in six pages, from the 'earliest mention of gloves' which he finds to his own satisfaction in the story of Rebecca disguising Jacob's hands with skins, to the white gloves of the judge and recorder. He has a word of the gloves of mediaeval bishops and kings, although he seems unaware that these were a recognized part of their official dress, an ancient recipe for the perfuming of gloves, and the note, inevitable in such an English preface, that 'Shakespeare makes several of his characters speak of gloves.'

Forty-six large plates of gloves follow, with short notes of their material, their history and provenance. Mr. Redfern, who has sought out his specimens with curious industry, can only show us in two cases gloves of the mediaeval period. We have, in colours, one of the knitted silken gloves of William of Wykeham, preserved at his foundation of New College, and an uncoloured plate of the small-handed and long-sleeved gloves which Henry VI is said to have left at Bolton Hall.

Of the sixteenth-century gloves, which are in plenty, one of the most interesting pairs is the pair of thick buff leather, which as early as the 1656 catalogue of the Tradescant Collection now in the Ashmolean Museum were called Henry VIII's hawking gloves. The short cuffs have for ornament large roundels of red thread, picked out with circles of blue thread and silver wire. The sixteenth century also affords many examples of fine buff and white leather gloves, whose cuffs are rich with the needlework in many coloured silks. Needless to say that where such gloves remain, a legend of Henry VIII, of Queen Elizabeth, or of the Queen of Scots, clings to them in place of their lost perfumes. A left-hand glove is thus said to have been worn by the 'daughter of debate,' on the day of her beheading at Fotheringhay. The Dayrells of Littlecote once owned it, and a Dayrell wrote news of the queen's death from Fotheringhay to Littlecote. The great daring of the popular archaeologist is seen in Mr. Redfern's wild suggestion that Marmaduke Dayrell, a high and well-born gentleman, may have had the gloves as an executioner's fee, for 'possibly one, if not both, of the executioners, may have been gentlemen of position, and if so, why not a Dayrell?'

The pair of grey buckskin gloves, attributed to William Shakespere, have found, as was inevitable, an American owner. Dr. Horace Howard Furness, of Pennsylvania, had them by gift of Mrs. Kemble, who had them from a daughter of Mrs. Siddons. Miss Siddons had them by bequest of Garrick's widow, and to Garrick they had been given in 1764 by John Ward, the player, with a letter which is cited by Mr. Redfern, in which John Ward asserts that—

> the person who gave them to me, William Shakespeare by name, assured me his father had often declared to him they were the identical gloves of our great poet, and when he delivered them to me, said, 'Sir, these are the only property that remains of our famous relation; my father possessed and sold the estate he left behind him.' The donor was a glazier by trade, very old—on my coming to play in Stratford about three years after, he was dead. The father [*sic*] of him and our poet were brothers' children.

The letter is at least interesting, as showing that Mr. John Ward had no idea of the time in which the god of his idolatry was incarnate, for, so far as his stumbling sentence may be understood, it seems that he believed his old glazier to be a survivor of the poet's own generation. The glazier was most evidently not a William Shakespere, but Shakespere Hart, a glazier of Stratford, the poet's great-great nephew, who died in 1747 in his eighty-first year, and the poet, who left a wife and two daughters, did not make his sister's children his heirs. But the fashion of the gloves shows them to belong to the poet's age, and it is not in any way improbable that these gloves, hoarded at a time when such old-fashioned matters were of little value, may have been preserved by the Harts, poor glaziers and tailors, as a memory of the kinsman who was once a great man in the world and a rich man at Stratford.

Thirty-two plates of boots and shoes present even greater variety and interest than the pictures of gloves, for the ancient shoe, of stouter stuff than its daintier fellow the glove, may be dug up in drains and foundations little the worse for its long burial. Therefore Mr. Redfern can show us many examples of the pointed shoe of the Middle Ages proper, as well as of the broad-toed shoe of that sixteenth century which Mr. Redfern includes without misgiving in his 'mediaeval' period. One very curious pointed shoe has a length of fifteen inches from heel to point of toe. Beside such a shoe may be placed the tall *chopine* which raised the wearer twelve inches from the ground.

The pictures of the great jack boot of the seventeenth and eighteenth century will commend themselves to the historical painter, and the shoes of embroidered silk with three-and-a-half inch heels will serve the illustrators of Mr. Austin Dobson. It may be said, indeed, that to artists even more than to antiquaries, Mr. Redfern's collection will be of the highest value. We cannot have too many picture-books of examples of ancient and interesting objects as well chosen and clearly pictured as these old boots and gloves. O. B.

MR. WHISTLER'S LITHOGRAPHS. The Catalogue compiled by Thomas R. Way. 2nd edition. G. Bell. 10s. 6d. net.

As Mr. Menpes had unique facilities for acquiring information as to Whistler's etchings, so Mr. Way was situated as regards his lithographs. His catalogue, therefore, is not likely to be superseded. The second edition of it which lies before us enumerates no less than thirty subjects which were not found in the first edition. We may add that the catalogue is most excellently produced and printed on the lines of the Vale Press Catalogue of Lithographs by C. H. Shannon.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF CHINESE PICTORIAL ART. By Herbert A. Giles, M.A., LL.D. (Aberd.) Shanghai, Kelly and Welsh.

MUCH of the ignorance and want of appreciation that is still shown towards Chinese Art, especially in England, is due to the lack of any trustworthy account of it. The one connected study that previously existed was written before a proper supply of documents was available, and the splendid reproductions which appear month by month in *The Kokka* are of service only to those who have the leisure to arrange the plates in historical sequence. In making methodical extracts from authoritative native sources, Professor Giles has done a most valuable piece of work, the more so because it is presented in an inexpensive form. The numerous anecdotes make entertaining reading, but the usefulness of the book would have been increased had it been prefaced by a general sketch of the progress and development of Chinese pictorial art, from its beginning many centuries before the Christian Era to its culmination under the Sung Dynasty and thence to its decline, explaining its technical and aesthetic ideals, and so far as possible the influence of race and geographical situation upon it. Dr. Bushell's forthcoming work will doubtless do much to fill the gap. Nevertheless, this series of extracts by so great an authority on Chinese literature is of inestimable value as the base of future study, and the well-chosen illustrations annotated by Mr. Lawrence Binyon are a most helpful feature. The book in short is quite indispensable to every student, however casual, of the art of the East, and if we have much to learn from Japan about unselfish patriotism, we have almost as much to learn from China about aesthetics.

BEAUTIFUL WALES. Painted by Robert Fowler. Described by Edward Thomas. Black. 20s. net.

A LAUDATORY appendix compares Mr. Fowler's drawings to the results of some process of colour-photography—'the work did not look as though it had been done by a human being'—and to some extent the compliment, if it be one, is deserved. Mr. Fowler's sketches, but for a slight excess of violet, are very accurate views of Welsh holiday resorts as seen in August sunshine. One or two exceptions, such as the *Misty Morning, Barmouth*, aim at better things, and prove that the painter, if he were less ready to accept the commonplace, might some day discover the grander Wales immortalized by Wilson, Turner, and David Cox.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

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DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI. By Hans S. Singer. Bard, Marquardt & Co. (*Die Kunst*), Berlin. M 1.25.

FORTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY, 1904–5, Printed for His Majesty's Stationery Office. 2d.

THE LITTLE SCHOOL. By T. Sturge Moore. With four woodcuts by the author. Printed and decorated by L. Pissarro. Evagny Press, Hammersmith, W. 18s. net.

DRAWINGS OF SIR E. J. POYNTER, P.R.A. With introduction by Malcolm Bell. George Newnes, Ltd. 7s. 6d. net.

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### MAGAZINES, ETC., RECEIVED

La Rassegna Nazionale, Florence. Le Correspondant, Paris. De Nederlandsche Spectator, Gravenhage. The Craftsman, Syracuse, U.S.A. Blätter fur Gemaldekunde, Vienna. The Kokka, Tokyo. Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Paris. Oeffentliche Kunst-Sammlung in Basel, No. 1, edited by Dr. Paul Ganz. B. Emil Berkhäuser, Basel. La Chronique des Arts et de la Curiosité, Paris. Die Graphischen Kunste, Vienna. Die Kunst, Munich. The Nineteenth Century and After. The Fortnightly Review. Contemporary Review. The Monthly Review. The National Review. The Independent Review. Review of Reviews. Rapid Review.

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# RECENT ART PUBLICATIONS[1]

## ART HISTORY

GARDNER (P.). A Grammar of Greek Art. (8 × 5) London (Macmillan), 7s. 6d. Illustrated.

HISTOIRE DE L'ART depuis les premiers temps chrétiens jusqu'à nos jours. Publiée sous la direction de André Michel, Vol. I. (12 × 8) Paris (Colin), 15 fr.
Deals with Early Christian and Romanesque Art. Illus.

Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft zur Erforschung jüdischer Kunstdenkmäler. Parts I–IV. (13 × 9) Frankfurt a. M. (G. Speyer, Neue Mainzerstr. 23). Pt. II is devoted to an architectural study (44 pp.) of old synagogues; pts. III–IV to a survey (104 pp.) of Jewish ritual and religious objects. Well illustrated.

Les Arts anciens de Flandre. (17 × 11) Bruges (Association pour la Publication des Monuments de l'Art Flamand, 1 rue Wallonne), subscription 55 fr. Fascicule 1 contains studies upon the Van Eycks, Flemish Illuminated MSS., etc., with reproductions.

MIGEON (G.). Chefs-d'Œuvre d'Art Japonais. (16 × 12) Paris (Longuet), 100 plates, with short descriptions.

## ANTIQUITIES

RATHGEN (F.). The preservation of Antiquities: a handbook for curators. Translated from the German by G. A. Auden and H. A. Auden. (7 × 5) Cambridge (Univ. Press), 4s. 6d. net. Illustrated.

BROWNE (H., S. J.). Handbook of Homeric Study. (8 × 5) London (Longmans), 22 plates.

WALDSTEIN (C.). The Argive Heraeum, Vol. II. (14 × 9) Boston and New York (Houghton, Mifflin).
Contains the terra-cottas, vases, bronzes, engraved gems, ivories, coins, etc. Concludes the work.

CLÉDAT (J.). Le Monastère et la Necropole de Baouît. (14 × 11) Le Caire (Institut français d'Archéologie orientale), 80 fr.
Account of the excavation of a Coptic monastery; 38 plates, including reproductions in colour of Coptic mural paintings, ornament, etc.

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ALEGRET (A.). El Monasterio de Poblet. Dominios y riquezas, noticias y datos ineditos, signos lapidarios. (8 × 5) Barcelona (Salvat), 4 pesetas. Illustrated.

GRAY (H. St. G.). Index to 'Excavations in Cranborne Chase' and 'King John's House, Tollard Royal.' Also a memoir of General Pitt-Rivers, and a bibliographical list of his works, 1858–1900. (13 × 10) Taunton Castle (published by the author), 19s. 6d.

ADAMS (C. L.). Castles of Ireland: some fortress histories and legends. (9 × 6) London (Stock). Illustrated.

KERMODE (P. M. C.) and HERDMAN (W. A.). Illustrated notes on Manks antiquities. (9 × 5) Liverpool (Tinling, printers).

DALY (A. A.). The history of the Isle of Sheppey, from the Roman occupation. (7 × 5) London (Simpkin), 2s. 6d; 90 illustrations.

DENDY (F. W.). An account of Jesmond. (9 × 7). (Vol. I., 3rd series of 'Archaeologia Aeliana.') Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Robinson).

## BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS AND MONOGRAPHS

GRAVES (A.). The Royal Academy of Arts. A complete dictionary of contributors and their work from its foundation in 1769 to 1904. I. Abbayne to Carrington. (11 × 8) London (Graves; Bell), 42s. net.

ALLGEYER (J.). Anselm Feuerbach. Zweite Auflage, mit dem Originalbriefen aus dem Nachlass des Verfassers herausgegeben von C. Neumann. 2 vols. (10 × 6) Berlin (Spemann). Illustrated.

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BEEN (C.A.). Danmarks Malerkunst. 2 vols. (13 × 9) Copenhagen (Gyldendal).
A copiously illustrated survey of Danish painting, with an introduction by Emil Hannover.

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## PORTRAITS

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A very complete study of the portraits in painting, sculpture, etc., of Philip the Magnanimous, Landgrave of Hesse, published by the Historical Commission for Hesse and Waldeck. 176 illustrations.

KÖNNECKE (G.). Schiller: eine Biographie in Bildern. (14 × 11) Marburg (Elwert). 52 pp. with many illustrations.

## CERAMICS

WALTERS (H. B.). History of Ancient Pottery: Greek, Etruscan, and Roman; based on the work of Samuel Birch. 2 vols. (9 × 6) London (Murray), 3 gs. net. 300 illustrations, including 8 coloured plates.

BOURDOUKOFF (N.). Céramique de l'Asie Centrale. (14 × 10) London (Grevel), 12s. 22 colour plates reproducing the highly decorative earthenware (XVIII–XIX century) of Ferghana, Bokhara, and Tashkend.

ROUEN: Musée de Céramique. (14 × 11) Rouen (Petiton). 80 fr., complete in 10 parts, each containing 6 phototype plates; loose plates 2 fr. each.

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BERNUS (A.). L'Imprimerie à Lausanne et à Morges jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle. (11 × 9) Lausanne (Bridel), 7s. 6d. With facsimiles.

GRUEL (L.). Manuel historique et bibliographique de l'Amateur de Reliures. Deuxieme partie. (12 × 10) Paris (Gruel; Leclerc).

STICKELBERGER (E.). Das Exlibris (Bibliothekzeichen) in der Schweiz und in Deutschland. (9 × 6) Basel (Helbing).
A collector's handbook, with many facsimiles, some coloured.

## MISCELLANEOUS

MASKELL (A.). Ivories. (10 × 7) London (Methuen), 25s. net. 'Connoisseur's Library.' 89 plates.

MASON (O. T.). Indian Basketry. Studies in a textile art without machinery. 2 vols. (11 × 7) London (Heinemann). Copiously illustrated; some of the plates in colours.

Die Sammlung von Pannwitz, München. Kunst und Kunstgewerbe des XV.–XVIII. Jahrhunderts. (17 × 13) München (Helbing). 96 pp. 104 photogravures.

GERSPACH (E.). Les Bordures de la Tapisserie des Actes des Apôtres d'après les cartons de Raphael. (7 × 4) Paris ('Les Beaux-Arts'), 1 fr. 50. 24 pp.

FIALA (A.). Munzen und Medaillen der Welfischen Lande. Part I. (12 × 9) Leipzig and Vienna (Deutcke), 10s.
The catalogue of the Duke of Cumberland, Brunswick and Luneburg's collection of coins and medals, to be published in 12 parts.

Illustrated Catalogue of the National Gallery, Victoria. Second edition. (9 × 5) Melbourne (Varley Bros.).

[1] Sizes (height × width) in inches.

ST. DENIS (Rivers of France). By J. M. W. Turner.

# TURNER'S THEORY OF COLOURING

## BY C. J. HOLMES

SO little that is of much practical service to artists has been written upon the science of colouring, that there is some excuse for the appearance of even disjointed and tentative notes upon the subject. Though art is now studied more scientifically in some ways than at any other period of the world's history, and we have undoubtedly learned much as to the craft of representing things in paint, we at the same time seem to have more difficulty in getting fine colour than many ages which were far less well equipped. The colour of the Italian quattrocentists, of the Japanese colour printers of the eighteenth century, and of the makers of oriental porcelain, is almost uniformly splendid, whereas in civilized Europe for the last three centuries the great colourist has been an isolated being, occurring, perhaps, not more than half a dozen times in a hundred years.

The attempt to discover some common principle, or principles, in the work of all good colourists in different mediums does not lead to many positive results. On two or three points, however, there appears to be something like unanimity.

I. Fine colour is accompanied by the deliberate repetition of certain selected tints, making a connected scheme. In primitive art this may often be brought about by actual poverty of materials which ties the artist down to a small number of pigments.

II. Fine colour is almost always translucent, but neither perfectly transparent nor perfectly opaque.

III. Fine colour is very seldom found in company with strong relief.

On the first two points we need not dwell here, but the third is of some importance in an age of realistic painting such as that in which we live, and deserves more attention than has hitherto been accorded to it. The point may, perhaps, be made more clear by the help of a simple illustration.

Let us imagine a wall-paper, the design of which is made up of green leaves and pink flowers on a white ground. The effect of such a wall-paper is bound to be more or less harmonious, however sharp and fresh the individual colours may be, so long as the green and pink are printed as mere flat tints in the manner of a Japanese colour-print, without any suggestion of modelling or shadow.

Then let us imagine solidity and relief to be suggested by the addition of a third printing in brown, such as is frequently used in common wall-papers. The harmony which previously existed is at once damaged, if not ruined, however carefully we mix and alter the tint of brown. Further experiment will prove that the fault does not lie with the added colour, for if the same amount of brown be added to the design in flat masses (to suggest twigs and branches for example), the result still remains harmonious.

We are thus driven to the conclusion that the disturbing element in the scheme is not the colour brown in itself, but the fact that it stands for shade, and adds an idea of solidity and substance to what was before a flat pattern. The fact appears to be that, when solidity and substance are thus suggested, the eye begins instinctively to look upon the leaves and flower as real things, and not as mere symbols. Then it recognizes that the existence of the same brown shadow on pink flower and green leaf is untrue to nature. In the case of the flower brown is almost an impossible shadow-colour under any condition of lighting. We must account for it by assuming it to be dirt or decay. The leaf suffers in the same way. Its shadow could look brown only if the light were unpleasantly, if not

impossibly, cold. The loss of freshness in the flower, and the instinctive feeling of a coldness suggested by the warm shadow of the leaf, entirely efface any possible pleasure we might otherwise have derived from colours which in themselves are not inharmonious. In fact, by the additions of modelling we have led the eye to expect truth, and have given it falsehood.

The more fully we consider the matter the more fully are we compelled to recognize that designs modelled so completely as to suggest solidity, if they are to be coloured at all, must be coloured truthfully—however elaborate a business that may be—or the effect will be unpleasing.

We may now perhaps recognize one reason why the colour of fine Chinese porcelain, Japanese prints, stained glass windows, and Italian tempera painting naturally tends to be harmonious. In all these forms of art the representation is symbolic, as in the wall-paper printed in flat tints. Nay, more, if we examine the work of nature-colourists like Titian and Rubens, it is interesting to note how they tend towards this same flatness, modelling always in very low relief, reducing their shadows by skilful contrast with masses of black used as a local colour, and lighting their subjects from the front, or nearly from the front, to get the greatest possible breadth of illumination.

Both Rubens and Titian, however, were not always free to play with colours as they pleased. They had to paint portraits as well as fancy subjects, and portraiture involved often a high degree of realism in modelling, and therefore for a great colourist a high degree of natural truth. We have no record of the principles on which Titian produced his masterly portraits, but a precept ascribed on good evidence to Rubens indicates how that master solved the difficulty.

Rubens is said to have held that colours should always be arranged in a definite sequence as they recede from the point of highest light; namely, pure white at the focus of illumination, next yellow, then red, then blue, and then presumably the warm translucent shadow he employed so brilliantly. This apparently arbitrary rule is, I think, explained by a remark of Reynolds, who recommends that all the lights of a picture should be slightly tinged with yellow, as if illuminated by the setting sun. Natural light is often cold, and coldness, however truthfully rendered, is seldom pleasant. It was then to escape this difficulty, which has ruined the colour of the majority of our modern painters, that Rubens adopted a regular system by which all his sitters would appear as if they were seen by the warm and pleasant light of evening.

Yet there is one great if unequal colourist whose practice seems so consistently opposed to that of Rubens and Titian, not to mention the tempera painters or the orientals, that he must be discussed before going any further. Rembrandt would appear to be a very apostle of relief and realism, who lights his pictures more often from the side than from the front, and fills them everywhere with strong shadows.

It should be remembered, however, that Rembrandt's works as a rule contain so little positive colour, that he is not infrequently said to be a chiaroscurist only, and not a colourist. The saying is thus far true that his pictures are conceived as masses of light and shade, and not as masses of colour, but the atmosphere which envelops them is always coloured, and passages of positive colour are used here and there for purposes of emphasis with astonishing vigour and decision. Rembrandt, in short, is a great colourist, because he is a master of emphatic colour, as opposed to the harmonious and decorative colour of Veronese. Now it is with colour in its immediate and decorative aspect that we are at present concerned, and therefore the use of colour

as a means of emphasis does not concern us, though it is not the least noble and important secret of the art of painting.

From what has already been said the difficulties of the modern landscape painter who aims at being a colourist may be recognized. The moment he attempts representing objects with the relief that they possess in nature, he is placed in a dilemma. The relief he has given to the objects in his picture makes them suggest reality, and therewith leads the spectator to expect truth of effect. If the painter attempts to alter and arrange nature's colouring, the effect produced will cease to be truthful, and therefore is apt to strike the spectator's eye as false or forced. Some of Cotman's drawings owe their unpleasantness of effect to this cause, since unnaturally bright blues and yellows, not perhaps in themselves inharmonious, are introduced into drawings otherwise precise and realistic.

On the other hand, if the painter accepts (as most modern landscape painters have done) nature's colour exactly as it is, he gives up his freedom to select and arrange, and therewith any claim to be a great colourist. As Whistler pointed out more than twenty years ago in his well-known lecture :—

> 'Nature contains the elements in colour and form of all pictures, as the keyboard contains the notes of all music. But the artist is born to pick, and choose, and group with science these elements, that the result may be beautiful—as the musician gathers his notes and forms his chords, until he brings forth from chaos glorious harmony. To say to the painter that nature is to be taken as she is, is to say to the player that he may sit on the piano. That nature is always right is an assertion artistically as untrue as it is one whose truth is universally taken for granted. Nature is very rarely right, to such an extent even that it might almost be said that nature is usually wrong; that is to say, the condition of things that can bring about the perfection of harmony worthy of a picture is rare and not common at all.'

Turner, however, affords an excellent example of the manner in which a great landscape painter who was also a remarkable colourist grappled with this difficulty of combining natural effect and decorative beauty, and a number of his drawings have been reproduced by modern process with an accuracy which, if not perfect, is at least quite sufficient to enable them to be used as illustrations without any risk of misapprehension.

Turner started by working in emulation of his predecessors the Dutch marine painters, Poussin, Salvator, and Claude, with a technique similar to that employed by Reynolds in portraiture. This of itself involved a general lowness of tone, and the tendency to darkness was strengthened by Turner's wish to surpass his forerunners both in completeness of modelling and in force of effect. In his youthful pictures he thus obtains the greatest possible relief and vigour of contrast by foiling bright lights with black shadows. His early works such as the noble sombre *Calais Pier* in the National Gallery are thus magnificent designs in black and white rather than works in colour so far as general effect is concerned, for the colour is held in reserve as with Rembrandt.

It is easiest to follow the subsequent development of Turner's art in a series of drawings such as the 'Rivers of England' or the 'Ports of England.' Both are fairly well represented in the National Gallery, and should be compared with the oil paintings which belong to the same period of transition. A selection of these drawings together with some from the 'Rivers of France' series has recently been reproduced—wonderfully well, considering the moderate price—by Messrs. Cassell,[1] by whose courteous permission the illustrations to this article are reproduced.

In these drawings we see Turner attempting to combine the forcible contrasts and strong chiaroscuro of his early work with brightness and fullness of colour. The ex-

[1] 'The Water Colour Drawings of J. M. W. Turner in the National Gallery. With text by T. A. Cook.' London and New York, 1904. £3 3s net

periment was by no means invariably successful; indeed considering Turner's genius and the astonishing elaboration which he lavished upon the 'Ports' and 'Rivers,' the result as a whole is a failure. The drawings are wonderful pieces of workmanship, and are composed with Turner's full power, as the mezzotints executed from them prove, but as colour they are frequently unpleasant. The desire of getting strong contrast has led the artist to attempt the impossible. Nature's light was far lighter than his white paper, her black was darker than his darkest paint. In order to keep his lights bright Turner was compelled to omit all colour from them but yellow, as being the colour nearest in tone to positive white, while to get his shadows correspondingly strong and cool he had to make them dark blue. This convention, so like that of Rubens, was unsatisfactory in a picture where the modelling and relief were carried to a high degree of completeness. Everything in these drawings is represented perfectly so far as form is concerned, that we expect a similar exactness of colour, and no convention however brilliant will serve instead. The few drawings which are quite successful in colour are just those where the handling is so free that reality and solidity are no more than suggested, or where there is no pronounced roundness because the sun is full in front of the spectator or nearly behind him. The *Okehampton*, the *Scarborough* and the *River Medway* might be instanced, as well as the splendid *Arundel Castle*, reproduced.[2]

Turner at last seems to have discovered why these drawings were more successful than their fellows. At any rate in the 'Rivers of France' series he produces splendid colour time after time without difficulty and without any serious lapse.

Now if we consider the drawings as a whole, we shall be struck by one or two characteristics common to them all.

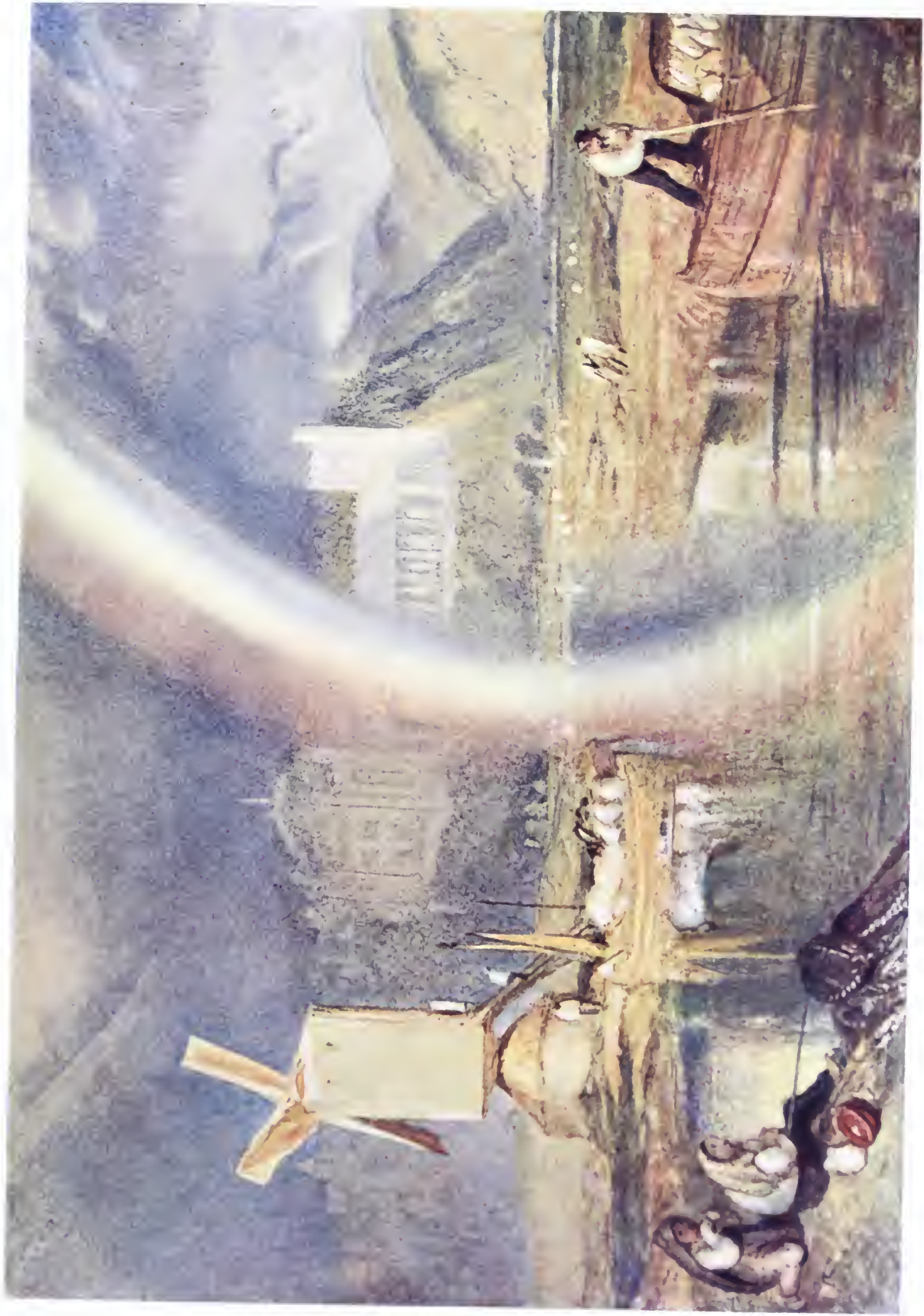
[2] Page 413.

In the first place we shall notice an increased freedom of handling, a want of what is popularly known as 'finish.' By this apparent carelessness of touch, Turner obtains suggestiveness instead of fact, variety of surface instead of monotony, and ensures purity of colour, for a stroke thus swiftly laid is not sullied by subsequent efforts to get detail.

In the next place, the pigment, instead of being transparent colour on a white ground, is opaque or semi-opaque colour upon a grey ground. On this grey ground the colours mixed with white are spread thinly, the grey ground thus tells slightly almost everywhere, and gives these drawings their peculiar evenness of tone.

The actual colours used have also undergone a change. The colour of Turner's former sketches was already arbitrary, as we have seen, for reasons which were defended by Ruskin as naturalistic. In the 'Rivers of France' that defence can no longer be sustained, for brilliant colour is used from sheer pleasure in brilliant colouring. We can often recognize that this or that effect was founded on something actually seen in nature, but the pitch of colour employed is rarely or never like the grey and delicate atmosphere of France. The important thing to notice however is the subordination of modelling to colour. The proportion of subjects lighted from the side is small, and not a drawing of the whole series is unified and made forcible by strong cast shadows. Flatness in fact has become Turner's ideal instead of relief. The great majority of the subjects are viewed either in the Titianesque manner, in which the sun is presumed to be behind or nearly behind the spectator (as in the *Arundel Castle* previously mentioned), or in the manner discovered by Claude and perfected by Turner, when the sun (or the moon as in the *St. Denis*[3]) is immediately or almost immediately in front.

[3] Frontispiece, page 408.



In the former view the general effect is one of broad light with perhaps a few sharp passages of shadow to give relief. In the latter view the sky forms one large mass, and the objects silhouetted against it form another, both appearing comparatively flat, because there is no shadow from the side to accentuate their roundness. Where roundness has to be suggested, Turner suggests it as Rubens did and the Italian tempera painters too, by the gentlest possible gradations.

The result of this dispensing with strong relief is at once evident. The very same colours, the blues, the reds, and the yellows, which in the earlier series, such as the 'Ports' and the 'Rivers,' seldom seemed quite right, but usually looked too cold or (more frequently) too hot, because they did not correspond with the realism of the forms to which they were applied, combine in the later drawings into magnificent harmonies, and we are content to accept them as such because there is nothing in the design which entices the eye to expect a scientific imitation of nature.

In the comparatively few instances where the lighting does come from the side and there are cast shadows, these shadows are treated in a peculiar way. They are no longer made as black and forcible as possible to contrast with the lights, but every effort is made to keep them pale and to make them full of colour, blue in the distance, reddish-brown in the foreground as the shadows in the south are apt to be when full of warm reflected light. The shadows in fact are made to tell as spaces of colour and not as spaces of darkness. In Turner's latest drawings these blue shadows become more and more vaporous, while the warm ones become almost scarlet, and I have attempted to trace the development of these particular characteristics of Turner's colour gradually, in order that we may understand that the occasional extravagance of his later drawings is not mere eccentricity or wilfulness, but the carrying of certain conclusions about colour, based on natural effects, to an extreme pitch.

His numerous imitators and forgers naturally fail to understand the science and knowledge gained by years of experiment that underlie Turner's later work, and consider him a mere virtuoso. Their works in his manner are thus merely fantastic; they are based on no settled and definite principles, and so lack the sense of the scale of natural atmosphere, of tone in fact, which enabled Turner to carry out his most extravagant inventions with an effect of illusion and a suggestion of actual air and space which make our senses feel their actuality even while the colder judgement of our reason forbids us to believe.

# THE LIFE OF A DUTCH ARTIST IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

## BY DR. W. MARTIN

## PART II—INSTRUCTION IN PAINTING[1]

BEFORE I proceed to examine the method employed in teaching painting, which, after the instruction in drawing had been mastered, was the first step in the career of the young artist, I wish to call attention to one other interesting example of teaching in drawing as it was understood by the old Dutch masters. I am indebted for this example to Jonkheer van Riemsdijk, chief director of the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum, who drew my attention to the picture (ascribed by him to Ludolf de Jongh), which is in his possession. This interesting work is published here for the first time.[2] It represents two young men, one of whom is drawing from plaster. These plaster casts are another convincing proof to us of the importance attached at that period to the study of the antique. It was looked upon as absolutely indispensable to the artistic education of the pupil, a fact which is the more surprising as this taste in no way prejudiced the realistic vein of the great Dutch masters.

When the young painter was sufficiently practised in drawing to be able to begin to paint, he was allowed to handle the palette and brush. He either remained with the same master, or, as was usually the case, he went to study under some artist of renown, recognized as a good teacher. Various points, such as the course of instruction to be pursued and the terms of apprenticeship, then had to be settled between the father or guardian of the pupil and the new master. The points were the outcome of certain mediaeval regulations existing in the painters' workshops, and everyone intending to become a 'free master' was obliged to conform to them. The master or teacher himself was liable to penalties for the infringement of the said laws. In many towns only a settled maximum of pupils was allowed to a single master, and any master receiving more pupils was obliged to pay an extra sum. The duration of time for the instruction of the pupil was also prescribed in some towns; it was frequently, however, left to the parties themselves to decide.

As a general rule, a pupil remained for at least two years under one master, at the expiration of which time, if he proved himself sufficiently able, he was admitted to the guild of painters as a free master. It is not my intention to enter into detail here regarding the Dutch painters' guilds and their development in the seventeenth century, but only to indicate a few of their most important characteristics. The condition of these guilds in Holland in the seventeenth century, we must remember, was the effect of causes operating in the two preceding centuries. The St. Luke guilds, while losing on the one hand their ecclesiastical character, firmly maintained their chief scope, which lay in the upholding of the arts they protected and in the exclusion of all rivalry. Whoever intended to become a painter was obliged to enter the guild, and, if he wished to enter it, had to give proofs of understanding his calling, otherwise he was debarred from becoming a free master and from the sale of his works. This state of things had existed in previous centuries and continued to exist in the seventeenth century. The main relations of pupils to their masters in the art, as a natural consequence, had altered as little as these general ordinances of the guild. As an instance of this,

[1] Translated by the Baroness Augusta von Schneider. For Part I see page 125, *ante* (May 1905).
[2] Plate III, p. 425.

I cite Karel van Mander in his biography of the painter Jan van Scorel (1495-1562).

Van Mander relates that the youthful Scorel, who was an orphan, was first taken by some friends to the painter Willem Cornelisz at Haarlem,

'who would not receive him as a pupil, unless he bound himself to remain for three years. Scorel's friends agreed to this, and further pledged themselves to pay a fixed sum if Scorel should leave before the entire period of instruction was completed. The master always carried this contract in his pocket.'

Later on Scorel became pupil to Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen, and Van Mander continues to relate that

'the master had a high opinion of Scorel, whom he treated as if he had been his own son. And, because of his clever and thorough work, he gave him a certain sum yearly into the bargain, and even allowed him in his spare time to paint a few pieces for himself. Thus Scorel earned a pretty sum yearly for his advancement.'

Soon, however, we find Scorel leaving this master and learning from Jan Gossaert, called Mabuse.

'And'—so continues Van Mander—'as Mabuse had great fame, Scorel went to live in his house at Utrecht as a pupil, to learn of him. But this did not last long; for, as the master led an irregular life, and drank and fought much in low hostels, Scorel often had to pay for him and to risk his own life in his behalf. Therefore he judged it useless to remain longer.'

The above three anecdotes clearly bring before us the customs existing in the sixteenth century; even if they are invented stories, it cannot be denied that they must be based on the habits and the mode of life of the day.

We see in them, firstly, that the pupil worked in the service of his master by a formal contract. He was hired like a labourer, and a fine was paid if he did not complete the number of years specified in the contract. The pupil's work was not his own property, but the master's. Usually the pupil was not even permitted in his free time to paint for himself, for this is specially mentioned in indentures as a favour granted by the master, for which he paid his pupil. Last, but not least, we find that the pupil boarded with his master, and was obliged to accompany him and be helpful to him out of work-time. All this Van Mander considers as quite natural, and it was so at the time.

With some slight deviation, perhaps, in one or other particular, things had remained the same in the seventeenth century, as far as we are able to ascertain, being only in possession of facts relating to single cases. These few cases, however, are extremely striking, and their likeness to the above-mentioned customs of the sixteenth century is very remarkable. For example, in an indenture which is still preserved, the painter, Isaac Isaacsz, of Amsterdam, agrees on December 15, 1635, to take Adriaen Carmen, aged 17, as a pupil. The latter is to live in the master's house, to prepare the colours for his master and himself, to stretch the canvas, and to behave himself altogether as an industrious, obedient servant should do. In return, the master undertakes to give his pupil food, drink, and lessons in painting. The pupil's father is to bring the master a yearly gift of a barrel of herrings or cod. Further, the pupil is to be allowed to paint one picture yearly for himself, on a two-and-a-half-florin panel or on canvas. It is also stipulated that the pupil shall bring his own bed and bedding.

In another agreement of the year 1662, Ferdinand van Apshoven takes a pupil for £3 15s. yearly upon the understanding that everything painted by the pupil during his apprenticeship should remain the master's property. The following is another instance: the Antwerp painter, Lucas van Uden, agrees to teach a pupil, to take him into his studio, and to board him at his own table for the price of 800 florins, to be paid beforehand. The indenture seems to have been an exceptional one, as it is specially stipulated that the pupil is to buy his own painting utensils; in exchange, the work

done by him during this time is to be his own property.

For a scholar to leave the painter's workshop before the expiration of the contract was regarded as a most serious loss to the latter. We are reminded of this in Ferdinand Bol's petition for 60 florins, to which he was entitled as compensation for two pictures, begun by one of his pupils (who had left him before his time had expired) as well as for one picture that the pupil in question was bound to paint but had not begun.

From these instances, to which might be added many more, mostly quoted by Dr. Floerke in his work,[3] we see plainly that in the seventeenth century, too, the rule was for pupils to live with their masters and to paint without profit—*i.e.*, without appropriating their work.

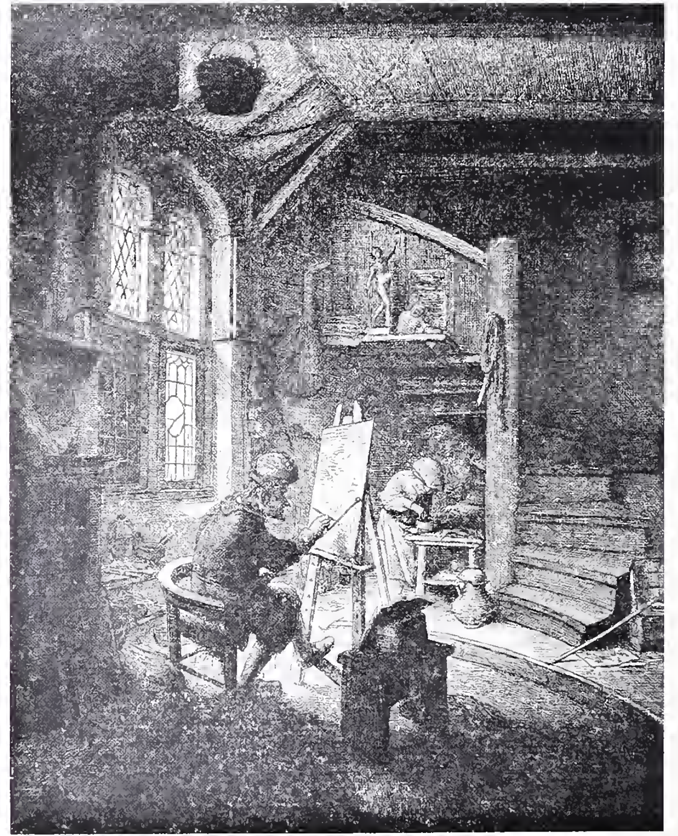
In these circumstances it is hardly surprising to find it a recognized custom for the pupil's work to be sold as the master's, and even for the master to sign his pupil's work with his own name. This seems to have occurred especially often in the case of portrait painters. They were often required to furnish several copies of a portrait, and it was necessary for them sometimes to keep the likeness of a celebrity in stock in order to satisfy the demand of purchasers. In such a case one or more pupils would be set to work at turning out copies of the original portrait painted by the master himself from nature ; these copies the master then corrected, if necessary, with his own hand, and signed with his own name. The best example of this procedure in Holland is afforded by the studio of Michiel Mierevelt at Delft. Only a relatively small proportion of the numerous portraits painted in that studio was the work of Mierevelt's own hand. The remainder, copies or imitations of his originals, with some slight difference, were produced by his assistants ; and we know, from Mierevelt's note book and from the inventory of the effects left at his death, that assistants often painted the drapery of his original portraits, just as they did in the studio of Van Dyck. Mierevelt signed such works with his own name, and thus all sorts of pictures were long taken for authentic works of Mierevelt, in which there is nothing of his own except the original composition and the signature, while the actual execution is far less accomplished than that of his genuine paintings. In some cases the original can be compared with the contemporary studio repetitions made from it, and so the part taken by pupils can be determined exactly. The pupil often remained with the same master even after he had become a master himself (this was evidently the case with some of the pupils of Mierevelt) without doing much independent work on his own account.

As these instances show, the painter looked upon his pupil as an apprentice or labourer, whose work he turned to account and profited by. When once this fact is made clear, many points in the tales of the old Dutch painters are easy to understand. The complaints of David Bailly against his two pupils, Pieter and Harmen van Steenwyck, whom he accuses of eating their fill in his house while their idleness brought him no profit, appear in a new light. We can also understand the description which Houbraken gives of the relations existing between Adriaen Brouwer and Frans Hals. Houbraken tells us that Hals, perceiving the talents of the youthful Brouwer, engaged him as a pupil with the consent of the boy's mother, who made the sole condition that Hals was to feed him. Upon this, Hals set the boy to work in the loft alone ; and we hear, further, that he sold Brouwer's paintings for a good sum, pocketing the profits. If the tale is untrue, it is, at all events, not improbable, as occurrences of this kind were quite common and allowable in the seventeenth century.

[3] 'Studien zur Niederländischen Kunst-und-Kulturgeschichte.' (Munich and Leipzig: Georg Müller.)

REMBRANDT'S STUDIO: WASH DRAWING BY REMBRANDT, IN THE LOUVRE

A PAINTER IN HIS STUDIO: PAINTING BY ADRIAN VAN OSTADE IN THE DRESDEN GALLERY



A PAINTER IN HIS STUDIO: ETCHING BY ADRIAN VAN OSTADE

The above-mentioned instances go to prove that the prices paid for teaching varied considerably. We may mention here that Rembrandt demanded 100 florins yearly for each pupil, and that Honthorst and also Gerard Dou, from whom three receipts are still extant, made the same charges, while some painters were satisfied with a much smaller sum.

After the pupil had become apprenticed to the master by virtue of an indenture or by some other form of agreement, the instruction began by teaching the art or groundwork of painting. This teaching is one of the great secrets of the old Dutch school of painting. Its meaning has never been better given than by Eugène Fromentin, in his splendid work 'Les Maîtres d'Autrefois,' in which he says:

'. . . il y a dans la peinture un métier qui s'apprend et par conséquent peut et doit être enseigné, une méthode élémentaire qui egalement peut et doit être transmise . . . ce métier et cette méthode sont aussi nécessaires en peinture que l'art de bien dire et de bien écrire pour ceux qui se servent de la parole ou de la plume.'

This 'métier' gives all painters some characteristic in common, an 'air de famille.'

'Eh bien'—says Fromentin—'cet air de famille leur venait d'une éducation simple, uniforme, bien entendue, et, comme on le voit, grandement salutaire. Or, cette éducation, dont nous n'avons pas conservé une seule trace, quelle etait-elle?'

We are in a position now to know more than Fromentin knew on the subject of this education, and it is precisely what we know of it that is a convincing proof of the justice of Fromentin's views when he imagined 'une éducation simple, uniforme, bien entendue.' It was simple, but severe. It began with grinding colours, cleaning palettes, placing the fresh colours on the palette, stretching canvas and such-like work. In various pictures, particularly in those of Adriaen van Ostade, we may remark pupils occupied in work of this kind. A plain instance may be seen in Ostade's picture in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam.[4] This work represents a boy on the right, grinding colours on the stone; behind him to the left, another boy is occupied in putting the colours in order on the palette, to be handed to the master when the latter's palette has run out. In Ostade's painting at Dresden[5] we also have an example of a pupil grinding colours in the background. The same master's etching, which we give here,[5] shows us two very young pupils engaged on the same task. In the pictures of several other painters, amongst others, in David Ryckaert's works, we observe pupils or servants employed; in my previous article the illustration of the picture from Sweerts in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam[6] gives another good instance of a colour-grinder, though the impression conveyed in this picture is less that of a pupil than of a wholly un-artistic workman. It is probable that assistants of this description were employed in the painter's workshops, though we have no certain information on the subject.

The pupils certainly learnt to prepare the colours, as a first step, thoroughly. This was a matter of primary importance, as the technical working of the picture, the whole 'métier' of the art, depended upon it. Great attention was given to the utmost cleanliness in the grounding as well as to a careful preparation of the colours, though of course certain painters ignorant of the art always existed, who were held up to the derision of others because their canvas cracked.[7] Besides the colours, the painter had to prepare his canvas and palette himself, and this also the pupil was obliged to learn. Even the brushes appear to have been made in the painters' workshops. Rough panels, cut to certain sizes, were alone for sale, the prices for such being much the same everywhere, as in the indications given by painters to each other, in

[4] Plate I, p. 419. [5] Plate II, p. 422. [6] Page 131 *ante* (May 1905).
[7] Adriaen van de Venne, Belacchende Werelt.

describing the size of a picture, we find the price of the panel named. Several contracts, for instance, make mention of a ten-stuiver panel, or of a 2½ florin panel, or of a one crown panel, and we even hear of 'a portrait in sixteen-stuivers' size.' The custom of buying colours and other painting utensils ready-made as in our day does not seem to have spread much in Holland till towards the middle of the seventeenth century. There is no instance of it before the year 1643, when the painter and fine-arts dealer, Volmarijn, established a shop at Leyden[8] for 'prepared and unprepared colours, panels, canvas, brushes and painting utensils of every kind.' The dealer makes known that up till then no shop of the kind had existed in Leyden, which seems to prove that painters were obliged to prepare their own colours and canvas in the workshop, a custom that apparently lasted in Holland till the beginning of the nineteenth century.

When the pupil had learnt the preparation of colours, the actual instruction in painting began. For this purpose the pupil usually copied some picture either from the master's own hand or out of his collection. This appears to have been the common practice as early as the sixteenth century. Van Mander states that his master, Lucas de Heere, had several pictures by Frans Floris in his studio, and that his pupils were daily occupied in making studies from them.

Several inventories of deceased painters' effects prove this. For instance, in the catalogue of pictures from Cornelis van der Voort's workshop in Amsterdam, sold in the year 1624 after his death, the following pictures are enumerated as having been used by pupils to copy from :—*A Crucifixion*, by Cornelis van Haarlem; *Whitsunday*, by Pieter Aertsen ; *Venus and Cupid*, by Honthorst ; besides paintings by Lastman and Jordaens.

In the seventeenth century it is evident that the same custom continued ; among other cases we have the apprenticeship of Matheus Terwesten. This master had been a pupil of Willem Doudijns, at the Hague. Doudijns, as he relates, had as a pupil copied peasants from Ostade's pictures, and he subsequently gave these copies to his pupils to paint from.

I can, so far, only recall one single instance among paintings of the seventeenth century in which copying from a picture is represented. This is in a picture ascribed to Pieter de Hooch, but more probably from the hand of Michiel Sweerts, in Sir Frederick Cook's collection at Richmond,[9] and the subject is a young pupil copying a painting. Even this can hardly rightly be called an instance, as the pupil is drawing and not painting. Nevertheless the picture is too curious and interesting to be left unpublished. The reproduction, for which I am indebted to Mr. Herbert Cook, who most kindly allowed me to have the picture photographed, shows a young boy drawing from a picture that represents a battle of horsemen on a bridge. He has begun a copy of this battle scene (probably by Van de Stoffe or Hendrick de Meyer) on a piece of paper which he has on his knees. The tree on the left of the picture and some of the horsemen are to be seen clearly on the paper. In the backgound on the right of the picture we see a lay figure, which occurs in the studios of that time as often as in studios of to-day, as we shall see in our next article.

The exclusive object of copying was to teach the pupil the technicalities of the brush and colours. In this way he learnt the time which certain colours or oils require to dry, what colours will not mix, and so forth. When these difficulties were overcome he began to study from life. The *métier* had been learnt, the A B C of painting mastered, the young painter had henceforth to give his own expression to the art, and to paint from the nude or clothed model.

[8] *Vide* my article in the magazine, *Oud Holland*, 1901.

[9] Plate III, p. 425.

YOUTH DRAWING AFTER A PICTURE; PROBABLY BY MICHIEL SWEERTS; IN THE COLLECTION OF SIR FREDERICK COOK, BART., M.P.

STUDENT DRAWING AFTER PLASTER, ATTRIBUTED [illegible] DE [illegible]
IN THE COLLECTION OF JONKHEER B. W. F. VAN RIEMSDIJK, AMSTERDAM

Rembrandt has given us an interesting example of the latter in one of his drawings in the Louvre Collection, of which an illustration is given here.[10] It is a very graphic instance of painting under the master's eye. In this picture Rembrandt is seen seated to the left in a spacious studio before a drawing or etching board; he is watching one of his pupils occupied in painting a large picture from life. A man and woman are the principal figures in it; the pupil is intent on studying the woman, who sits motionless and patient; the man is evidently taking a look at the picture to see how it is progressing. In the background a model is seen in the act of pulling on his stockings; this figure is unfortunately not clear in the reproduction.

The last stage of instruction was reached when the pupil began to paint the same subject that the master was engaged on. This appears very strange to our modern conceptions, so adverse to imitation, aiming solely at originality. It is only possible to come to a right conclusion regarding these imitations painted by finished artists, in calling to mind, for instance, that Rembrandt gave his pupils *Jacob's Blessing* to paint, and in the contemplation of the various representations of *Jacob's Dream*, painted by many of Rembrandt's pupils in such striking uniformity of character. The lack of originality in the subject and composition even after the pupil's training was completed, may seem a proof of helplessness in the rising artist, and yet the same artist, when minded not to paint 'in Rembrandt's style,' will shine forth as a great and original master. The reason for this lies in the fact that the imitation of the master's subject, composition and manner was not only permissible in those days, but was thought highly desirable.

We can only explain this idea by the old conception of painting as a higher kind of craft. The pupil's aim generally consisted in the first place in closely following the master in all technical and artistic peculiarities; if possible, he would try to surpass him in some way. After Gerard Dou had left Rembrandt's workshop, he worked exclusively in the master's style, at that period still minutely technical, and did his best to excel him. For this reason he kept to the same subjects as his old master, working in an elaborately minute manner; later, however, we find that the smaller mind and inferior taste of the former pupil led him into widely diverging paths from his great master. Dou's own pupils, Mieris among them, also worked solely in their master's style and endeavoured to surpass him. Dou freely admits that Mieris succeeded in this. So the usual course of things was for the pupil to adhere strictly to the master's style in all technical points as well as in the composition and colouring of his work, the pupil's youth naturally giving the master the more influence over him. If he had an independent mind his work soon showed some more individual traits; in certain cases he experimented, using some new method in mixing his colours, or acquiring some trick in the art which he had lighted upon by chance. Usually, however, during his apprenticeship, the pupil remained within the traditional limits of his master's workshop, and in composition and rendering betokened his training.

When at length the pupil had given sufficient proofs of understanding his calling and the days of training were past, he was allowed to enter himself as a free master in the guild of his native city, with the privilege of signing his pictures with his name and of selling his work. He could now take pupils and deal in works of art, in fact set up his own workshop, which it is our intention in a forthcoming paper to describe.

(*To be continued.*)

[10] Plate II, p. 422.

# SOME ENGLISH ARCHITECTURAL LEADWORK PART II (*Conclusion*)—THE LATER PERIOD[1]

## BY LAWRENCE WEAVER, F.S.A.

ITH every desire to escape being gibbetted as a blind gothic enthusiast, I find it difficult to avoid the conclusion that the further we move from mediaeval into classical treatment, the less interesting do English lead rain-water pipeheads become. The advent of the Renaissance seems not only to have substituted classical for mediaeval detail, but often to have destroyed the craftsman's sense of material. Of this perversion the Stonyhurst and Bideford heads (Figs. 11 and 5) are fair instances.

The Stonyhurst head, shown in the photograph with a pipe by its side, is no longer in position, but four others, two exactly as the photograph and two with funnel outlets added, still serve their original purpose. This work can be dated from the heraldic charges as being between 1689 and 1717, and is notable for many reasons. It is the only highly decorated head I know, the front of which is cast in one piece, apparently from a carved wood pattern. It looks more like a Sussex iron fire-back than a lead head. The sharp modelling of the face shows that the plumber had abdicated his control and was content to reproduce what another had carved in an alien material. I do not suggest that no carved wood patterns were used in the earlier work, but that at Stonyhurst the feeling of the pattern material dominates the finished lead instead of being subordinate to it. As an example of the richest possible heraldic treatment it is admirable. There is scarcely an inch of surface not covered either by the coat, crest, or mantling, and yet, owing to the unity of treatment and the absence of dates, cherubs, initials, etc., there is, to me, no suggestion of over-crowding.

The Bideford head (Fig. 5), which is also of about 1700, indicates a nervous horror of plain surfaces. It is a plaster-work rather than a lead-work design. It shows not only a wanton luxuriance of ornament, but also a lack of economy in material. It suggests that the designer thought in trowelfuls of plaster rather than in weight of rather costly metal. The treatment has, however, one advantage over the Stonyhurst work in that the surfaces are rounded and easy, as becomes the nature of lead, and the general design is at least vernacular. Even if it is a plaster design, it is English and not foreign. The English plumber may have rather blundered with his material, but he at least never borrowed ideas from such ingenious gentlemen as Artari and Bagutti.

In the heads at Old Palace Yard, Coventry, of 1655–6, the older manner lingers in battlements and discs of gothic tracery. They alternate with wide projecting cornices, pilasters, and arabesque masks, with a charming disregard of history, but with the pleasantest results. This mingling suggests a Commonwealth plumber adding stock patterns in the new taste to those his father left him, and using one or the other according as they happened to fit the plain lead boxes that called for enrichment of some kind. The parapet gutter (Fig. 2) is more distinguished than the heads, and runs along the two main faces of the quadrangle, save where the gables break it. It is of value to compare its formal shell design with the earlier vine pattern gutter on the same building (see the July number).

Of the two Haddon Hall examples, the arabesque masks of the angle head (Fig. 4) have a quite Italian look. The long vase-shaped head (Fig. 1) I illustrate not so much for its intrinsic merit (it is rather dull) but because it was a common form throughout England for a century later. This type

[1] For Part I see page 270 *ante* (July 1905).

1. HADDON HALL

2. COVENTRY

3. DURHAM CASTLE

4. HADDON HALL

5. BIDEFORD

6. HATFIELD

7. FRAMPTON

8. BRAMHALL

9. BOLTON HALL

10. CONDOVER HALL

11. STONYHURST

12. NOTTINGHAM MUSEUM

13. PLUMBERS' COMPANY MUSEUM

SOME ENGLISH ARCHITECTURAL
LEADWORK. PLATE V

frequently has a lion's mask on the face, and can be seen in scores in London on the Inns of Court and the city churches. Some at Hampton Court have the flat front covered with a very intricate monogram of George II. From 1700 onward one finds that a building has generally only one type of head. The applied ornaments vary somewhat, but fancy was dying, and the wealth of invention we find at Haddon and Knole about 1600 has become ancient history.

At Bolton Hall, Yorkshire, the variation of heraldic ornaments gives great historic interest to the heads (Fig. 9). Though the general design is somewhat rococo, there is a notable vigour in the modelling of the choughs which support the Scrope shield of arms. The cherubs are podgy in the best gravestone manner.

The date deserves a word. The simple clear figures of the Windsor and Knole heads are left behind for a pretentious husky type which accords with the general treatment of the head, but for its own sake deserves nothing but frowns. A head on Winchester College has similar numerals. About 1700 they were common, and, I think, unclean.

We find them on a head at Durham Castle (Fig. 3) in queer company. The corners of the head are turreted and the top edge is battlemented with a pierced valance of Tudor ornament. The attempt to remain gothic must have amused the plumber vastly. He has perpetuated his sense of humour in two bewigged and laughing faces on the lower part of the head. The heraldic charges are not bold enough to be visible easily at the height the head is fixed. The coronets on the side wings enclosed by framings of twisted strip are a happy finish, but the whole effect is that of a laborious *genre* picture; it tries to tell too much.

The Hatfield House head of Fig. 6 is a very dignified work. Like the earlier heads of 1610, it rests on the stone cornice. I know few heads that accord so fitly with their architectural setting. The lead cornice is of a strong yet graceful moulding that matches the stone cornice. The two semi-circular projections on the face of the head are taken up on the face of the pipe, and there is an economy in the applied ornament which is refreshing at this date. The whole effect, if a little stiff, is eminently scholarly. If there is a weakness, it is in the rather hard line of the horizontal projection on the funnel, which catches the light a little harshly.

In this head one seems to see the hand of an architect behind the plumber. The earlier leadwork, save in one notable exception at Knole, seems to have been done with little reference to the general treatment of a building. The plumber was probably told to provide the required number of stack pipes and heads, the design being left to his own fancy. There was a lack of co-ordination which produced results delightful enough, but diverse enough to prevent any unity in detail, even if it existed in the general scheme of the building. One cannot think of Inigo Jones allowing a plumber any voice in the design of his leadwork; Wren would probably have been less careful. The Palladian style with elevations in the grand manner did not admit of the careful proportions of its stonework being disturbed by streaks of lead pipe. The thought of a down pipe on the front of the Banqueting Hall verges on profanity. Palladianism was the death of leadwork. There are down pipes and heads on the side elevations of Wren's work at Hampton Court. The heads are large and ornamental, but they are not very successful and look rather unhappy.

Very architectural are the heads at Frampton Manor House, Lincolnshire (Fig. 7). The fluted pilasters, the flourishes round the central panel, and the rich modelling of the lower part of the

head give a distinctly baroque effect. Altogether it is more foreign in feeling than any head I know. The pipe ears and the side wings of the head itself have delicately moulded watery creatures, swans and mermaids. There are leaves on each side of the lower part of the bowl, connected with it by stems, and fixed to the wall, most unreasonable leaves that do nothing. This head is very characteristic of the early eighteenth century, and is certainly one of the finest existing of its not very desirable type. There is another, very similar but less worried, on Sawley Church, Derbyshire. On a late and ugly head at Kendal there are creatures of a dragon sort, modelled like the Frampton swans with needless delicacy.

The Bramhall head (Fig. 8) has not very much to commend it. The fretty outline of the funnel, and the rather meaningless heart ornament suggest the touch of an amateur. It is plainly unworthy of the unique (I use the word advisedly) pipe of earlier date with which it was used, until the lust for new police stations destroyed its native cottage.[2]

The difference in colour is not due to any legitimate treatment such as tinning or gilding, but to the 'picking out' of the pattern in a common welter of oil paint. This is an insult to leadwork common enough and stupid enough. Lead needs no protection from the weather. In pipe heads, though, we are spared that last indignity, the sanding of the painted lead to make it look like stone.

There must be few who recognize in Queen Square, Bloomsbury, the pleasant statue of the royal lady as a plumber's work, degraded as it is by paint. When the powers that be have finished cleaning all the bronze frock coats of Parliament Square, we may perhaps see Queen Charlotte's lead again.

Condover Hall, near Shrewsbury, has an angle head in the distinctive Shropshire manner (Fig. 10). The elaborate monogram is characteristic of what amounts to a local school, which carried as far south as Ludlow. The cornice mouldings are of careful proportion, and the strings of flowers are excellent of their kind, if a little too suggestive of plaster. The woman's head on the pipe socket is another common feature of the local work. There remains the gilt relief, which lightens the general effect.

Nottingham is another district where the local work remained interesting until a late date. There is considerable refinement in the head of Fig. 12, though the double-headed eagle is a tame enough bird and poorly executed.

My last example (Fig. 13) is an echo of Strawberry Hill. Carpenters' gothic one knows, here is plumbers' gothic. The head is now at King's College, London, and is the property of the Worshipful Company of Plumbers. It came from Grimsthorpe, a house of the earl of Ancaster, but its precise date I have been unable to trace. The Saracen's head and coronet must have been, I think, stock enrichments, for I have seen a facsimile head which came from the demolished Christ's Hospital. The same ornament appears on the heads at Wollaton Hall. Surely gothic tracery was never put to odder use. The two quatrefoils which line with the Saracen's nose have a particularly forlorn look, but how this head would have pleased Horace Walpole.

I have to express my gratitude to The Lord Bolton, F.S.A., to Captain Charles Lindsay, to the Revd. F. Woodlock, S.J., and to G. Harry Wallis, Esquire, F.S.A., director of the City Museum, Nottingham, for permission to reproduce photographs and for other kindly help.

[2] See page 280 *ante* (July).

# ON TWO MINIATURES BY DE LIMBOURG
## BY ROGER E. FRY

ONE of the most fascinating problems in the history of European art is that of the origins of the modern idea of naturalistic representation. This change from a symbolical and hieroglyphic to a naturalistic mode of artistic expression was accomplished so rapidly and at so nearly the same moment in different parts of Europe that it appears something almost miraculous and inexplicable. The performance of the van Eycks has indeed always borne something of this character. In our attempts to trace the steps by which the change was accomplished and to estimate the share in it which belongs to various artists we are baffled by the want of precise chronology just in that decade in which, owing to the rapidity of the change, it is most to be desired. The three names most intimately connected with this all-important change are those of Pisanello in Italy, of Hubert van Eyck in Flanders, and of Pol de Limbourg and his brothers in France. It is with certain miniatures attributable to these last that we are here concerned.

One of these occurs on page 109 of the MS. Douce, No. 144 in the Bodleian Library.[1] This was pointed out to me by Mr. Sidney Cockerell, to whose kindness I am indebted for the photograph. I found subsequently that it had already been described as a work of the de Limbourgs in Champeaux and Gauchéry's admirable account of those artists.[2] But the fact that it has not been reproduced before and its importance as one of the few works of which the date can be fixed may excuse its republication. The drawing has been only outlined, the colour has never been filled in, and we can here admire the perfect draughtsmanship of a great artist. Yet another outline drawing of the same kind occurs on page 95 of the MS., representing the procession of Pope Gregory from St. John Lateran to St. Peter's to stay the plague. A closely similar treatment of this subject occurs in the celebrated *Très Riches Heures* at Chantilly, the standard work from which we derive our idea of the style of the de Limbourgs.

The miniature here reproduced is very similar in subject and treatment to *The Procession of St. Gregory*, and represents the ceremony of the transference of relics from one church to another. It has all the characteristics of one of the de Limbourgs: his peculiar elongation of the architectural forms, adorned with niches and statues; his tall, swaying figures; the long pendent lines of his drapery. All this is so unmistakable that we may at once pronounce this a work by the same hand as one of the masters of the *Très Riches Heures*. That work was left unfinished on the death of the duc de Berry in 1416; while the Oxford MS. bears on page 27 the following legend: 'Factum et completum est anno MCCCCVII quo ceciderunt pontes.' This alludes to the destruction of the great bridge at Paris by ice. The duc de Berry himself, with whom the de Limbourgs were destined to become so familiar, was present at the foundation of the new bridge. The Oxford MS., though quite in the character of the duc de Berri's books, never formed part of the celebrated library at Mehun sur Yèvre. It belongs, as its date shows, to the period between the employment of the de Limbourgs by the duc de Bourgogne (1402-1404) and their entering the service of the duc de Berry in 1411.

The second of the two miniatures reproduced on Plate I[3] is from a Book of Hours, No. 62, of Dr. M. James's Catalogue of MSS. in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. The book is thus described by Dr. James: 'The MS. was written for Isabel Stuart, daughter of James I of

[1] Reproduced, Plate II, page 440.
[2] Champeaux et Gauchéry, 'Les Travaux d'Art exécutés pour Jean de France, duc de Berry.' (Paris, 1894.)
[3] Page 437.

Scotland, and second wife of Francis, the first duke of Brittany, whom she married in 1445, dying about 1500.' After describing her arms which occur throughout the book, he adds: 'It is not clear that these arms were not inserted after the book had been bought by or for Isabel.' Dr. James has here suggested the right solution to the manifest discrepancy between the style of the miniatures and the supposed date of the MS.—after 1445. Indeed, a close examination shows that all the coats-of-arms, even where they occur on the robes of a kneeling figure, are the work of an inferior miniaturist of a different school, and are superposed upon an original of a much earlier date. By far the finest miniature in the book is that already reproduced in Dr. James's catalogue, and by his kind permission here repeated. The miniature represents the Virgin and Child standing in a gothic portico, while on either side, ingeniously combined with the central figure, though by a violation of natural proportions, are seen, to the right the Presentation in the Temple, to the left the Marriage of the Virgin.

The miniature is of the very finest quality, for the rarity and originality of the invention, for the peculiar beauty and tenderness expressed in the Virgin's pose and features, which remind one of the finest ivories of the fourteenth century, and for the exquisite perfection of the technique and the subtlety of the colour, in which greys and whites predominate. Indeed, even among the superb miniatures of this period of French art it would be hard to find one with greater beauty of execution or more imaginative originality in design than this. Here, again, the connexion with one of the de Limbourgs is plainly seen. How plainly will be evident if we compare it with the miniature which forms the frontispiece to No. 166 Français of the Bibliothèque Nationale, also reproduced.[4]

For the attribution of this to the de Limbourgs, the reader must be referred to an admirable article by Comte Paul Durrieu in *Le Manuscrit*.[5] He there reproduces specimen pages of two MSS., 167 and 166 of the Fonds Français, the comparison of which is of the utmost significance for the problem of the growth of naturalism. The earlier one, 167, was already in the possession of Philip the Bold of Burgundy in 1401, and represents the style of the extreme end of the fourteenth century. The other one, No. 166, follows this so closely that it may almost be said to be a copy. And yet the difference between the drawings in these two manuscripts, executed probably at an interval of less than ten years, measures a change greater in the essentials of the artistic attitude than all that had taken place between the days of St. Louis and the end of the fourteenth century. For the drawing in No. 167 is still entirely governed by the outline, and the composition is still schematic, *i.e.* the relations of the figures are determined not by their position in space, but by their relation in the narrative. Drawing is still here a kind of amplified hieroglyphic. In Joseph's dream, for instance, Joseph is represented below as asleep, to show that the scene above is a dream; in the latter Joseph is in the centre, his parents and brethren symmetrically on either side; the brethren each bear a sheaf of corn in their hands so as to typify at once the dream and its interpretation. In the later MS., No. 166, all this is changed; the whole is thrown into a single, imagined, but completely possible scene in which Joseph points out to his family a group of sheaves bowing down before a central sheaf. The composition is no longer symmetrical but diagonal, the poses are varied in the freest possible manner, and the figures are related in a real space. Nor is this all: the outline has become the contour of a modelled surface, not the supreme and singular mode of expression. That the second

[4] No. 1, Plate I, page 437.

[5] *Le Manuscrit*, 1894-5.

1. ST. JEROME IN HIS STUDY: FRONTISPIECE OF MS. N. [illegible], FONDS FRANÇAIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE.

2. VIRGIN AND CHILD, WITH SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF THE VIRGIN, FROM MS. No. 62, FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE.

PLATE I. MINIATURES BY DE LIMBOURG.

PLATE II. DRAWING BY DE LIMBOURG, IN THE MS. DOUCE 144, BODLEY'S LIBRARY, OXFORD.

MS. is copied from the first is evident from the close parallelism of the subjects and scenes, and from the use of similar designs for the borders. When, however, these take the form of architectural framework, a striking change is apparent. In the earlier work the architecture is that of the painter's time and country; it is French of the end of the fourteenth century. In No. 166 it is half late Gothic and half Lombard, a peculiar fantastic and whimsical architecture invented by artists and never realized in brick and stone.

It is very difficult to identify with certainty this most important MS. No. 166, but M. Durrieu inclines to the belief that it is the *Bible Historiée* on which Polequin and Jannequin Manuel were working for the duc de Bourgogne between 1402 and 1404. The identification of Polequin and Jannequin Manuel with Pol and Jean de Limbourg is almost irresistible in view of the close relations of style between this and the *Très Riches Heures*.

We have then in the magnificent frontispiece to MS. No. 166 [6] an example of the work of one of the de Limbourgs, done a few years earlier than the Oxford drawings. Like them it is only in outline, and shows the same supreme mastery of linear design.

Now the connexion between this and the Cambridge miniature is of the closest kind. In both we have the same portico with three arches and gables seen in face, and one in sharp perspective. From both these is a vaulted passage going away, also in abrupt perspective. The frieze mouldings, the row of books, and the bracketed support for the book-shelf are almost identical. In the spandrels between the gables we have, in both, music-making angels which correspond so exactly that we find the same instruments occupying the same relative positions in both. In the niches and on the pinnacles above we have prophets in both, except that the extreme left-hand pinnacle of the St. Jerome has the conventional symbol for the Synagogue, and that in the Cambridge miniature the Synagogue is relegated to the pinnacle over the arch within the portico. In both we have what appears almost as a signature of one of the de Limbourgs, the constant repetition of peculiar little dragons which crouch along the edges of cornices and over the abaci of capitals with their hind legs curled round so as to make a monster that almost might be mistaken for a snail. Another peculiarity is the use of four-leaved flowers with bulbous petals as an ornament for cornices and capitals. In fact the parallelism is everywhere so close and so detailed as to leave no doubt that these two miniatures are by the same hand; copying is, we can easily see, out of the question where both miniatures display such striking originality in conception and such perfect mastery in execution.

We may now note the points of difference between the two works. First of all we must discount the disturbing effect in the Cambridge miniature of Isabel Stuart's coats-of-arms in the gables, since these are the work of the later miniaturist.

Except for this the differences are slight, but, such as they are, point, I think, to a still earlier date for the Cambridge miniature. The architecture, though closely allied, is in the Cambridge version just perceptibly more like the typical architecture of the fourteenth century; the artist has not quite so fully developed his peculiar style, the ornamentation by rounded excrescences is more restrained, and finally the perspective of the St. Jerome shows a decided advance on that of the Cambridge miniature. If, therefore, I am right, we have in this one of the earliest known designs by the de Limbourgs, and one that must date from the very first years of the fifteenth century.

It is now worth while to inquire which

[6] No. 1, plate I, page 437.

of the three brothers, Pol, Jean, and Hermann de Limbourg, is the author of the designs we have been discussing. MM. Champeaux and Gauchéry, in the account already quoted, make a distinction between two artists whose work is seen in the *Très Riches Heures*, and it is somewhat disappointing to find that M. Durrieu in his work on this MS. disparages the attempt at a classification into different hands. In certain cases it may be difficult to decide the respective shares of the three brothers, and this probably arises from the fact that the third brother was merely auxiliary and imitative, and mixed indifferently the styles of the other two ; but what does not, I think, admit of doubt is that in the Chantilly MS. we can find two very distinct and individual creative forces. It is, in fact, possible to confirm entirely the classification of MM. Champeaux and Gauchéry, to distinguish between the great realistic painter, whom for mere convenience we will call Pol, and an artist of more idealistic temperament, a greater creative designer but a less accomplished and original observer of nature, whom for similar reasons we may call provisionally by the second name, Jean de Limbourg.

It is to this second hand of the *Très Riches Heures* at Chantilly that we may ascribe—placing them in chronological order—first the Virgin and Child of the Cambridge MS., secondly the St. Jerome of the *Bible Historiée*, and thirdly the outline drawing in the Bodleian MS. All these have his peculiar characteristics, the high waists and the elongated figures, the swaying movement and the almost over-elegant disposition of the draperies, and, as more particular signatures of his work, the peculiar architectural mouldings, the tendency to ornament everywhere by small bulbous protuberances, and finally the crouching dragons. These last occur in the Bodleian miniature, though scarcely perceptible in the reproduction, and they are to be found, though rarely, in the Chantilly MS.

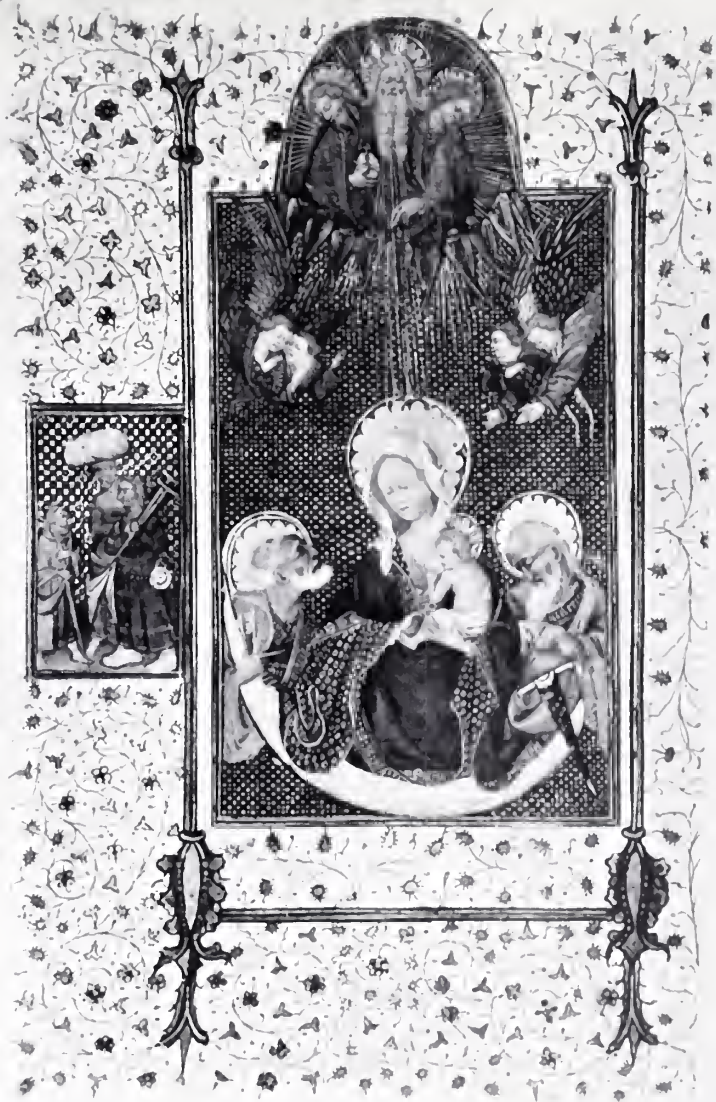
Though Jean has not the same power of realizing an actual scene as his brother, and though in many ways he clings more closely to past traditions of design, he is in his way almost as great a genius. The strangeness and boldness of his conception, the fantastic beauty of his compositions and his power of expressing emotion, make him one of the greatest miniaturists of this wonderful period.

We know of him one important fact based on the internal evidence of his work, a fact already pointed out by Champeaux and Gauchéry, namely that he went to Italy. The copies of Taddeo Gaddi and the reminiscences of Sienese art which occur in his share of the *Très Riches Heures* make this unmistakable. In his architecture we find constant reminiscences of the Gothic forms of Giottesque and Sienese painters. Indeed, one might be inclined to suspect that the peculiar half-Gothic, half-Lombard style of which I have spoken was in part the result of Jean de Limbourg's presumable visit to Italy, but that signs of it are already present in Broederlam's altarpiece at Dijon. In any case, early as the Cambridge miniature would appear to be, Jean de Limbourg must already have seen Italian architecture, so entirely do the distant buildings on the left, particularly the domed structure, conform to Italian types.

Two other miniatures from the Cambridge *Horae* are reproduced on Plate III. *The Glorification of the Virgin* (No. 5) is of extraordinary beauty, and in conception at least is clearly by our Jean de Limbourg.

The idea of the Virgin thus enthroned on the crescent moon and glorified alike by radiance from the Trinity and by the adoration of the greatest of earthly saints is entirely in the vein of the same artist's marvellous *Coronation of the Virgin* at Chan-

A. THE VISITATION



B. THE VIRGIN, WITH SAINTS PETER AND PAUL, GLORIFIED BY THE TRINITY

PLATE III. MINIATURES FROM THE BOOK OF HOURS, NO. 62.

tilly. The idea of placing the Virgin upon the crescent moon, an idea which became a commonplace of design at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries and which in Murillo went on into the seventeenth century, may even be due to our artist. M. Reinach, whose knowledge of iconography is profound, assures me that he knows of no earlier instance.

In this miniature I believe that the lower figures, the Virgin, Child, and SS. Peter and Paul, are actually by Jean de Limbourg. The Trinity above, however, is by a much clumsier hand, to whom we may also ascribe, I think, the *Visitation* (No. 4). This, which is typical of a number of the miniatures in the book, is of some interest because it belongs to a style of miniature-painting which has the closest relation with that of the de Limbourgs. The typical work of this style is the *Missel de Saint Magloire de Paris* of the Arsénal Library in Paris and its replica at Heidelburg, so well analysed by M. Reinach.[7] Of this same style, but of finer character, is the Book of Hours, No. 1855, of the Hof Bibliothek, Vienna.[8] The exact relation of this style with that of the de Limbourgs remains to be ascertained, and much depends on discovering the exact date of the Vienna MS., since this contains what appear to be the prototypes of certain compositions in the Chantilly MS. Was it, in fact, an earlier style out of which the de Limbourgs developed, or the result of a somewhat crude imitation of them? The date of the Vienna MS. must be found before we can decide, but I am inclined to think, on purely stylistic grounds, that the former will turn out the true explanation. In that case the *Visitation* of the Cambridge MS. would be by an inferior artist of the school which produced the St. Magloire Missal and the Vienna Book of Hours, but one who had taken over some of the mannerisms of the de Limbourgs under whom he was working.

A characteristic of this series of miniatures is the peculiar spreading, bushy trees, which are so much less naturalistic than those of the de Limbourgs that it is difficult to suppose an artist copying them would have reverted to such a formula.

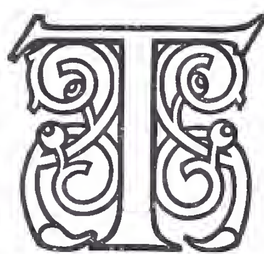
[7] *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. xxxi, pages 55-65 (January 1904).

[8] Reproduced and commented on by Dr. Beer in *Kunst und Kunsthandlung*.

# ECCLESIASTICAL DRESS IN ART

## BY EGERTON BECK

## ARTICLE III—COLOUR *(Conclusion)*[1]



THE colours which have still to be dealt with are blue, green, white, black, brown, grey, and combinations of some of these; with the exception of black and green they are chiefly used by prelates belonging to religious orders. But it must not be forgotten that bishops and cardinals who are canons-regular use the same colours as the secular clergy; and that prelates who belong to the monastic and mendicant orders sometimes obtain the 'privilege' of abandoning the colour of their order and dressing in violet or red.

BLUE.—The earliest mention of this colour which I have seen is in the will of Manfred Occhibianchi, a canon of St. Ambrose in Milan, dated 1203.[2] It was much used by the clergy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries;[3] and in Venice was one of the colours affected by parish priests and by graduates.[4] At the beginning of the sixteenth century it is mentioned by Paris de Grassis as one of the two colours proper for bishops; and towards the end of that century, in its lighter shades, it was a favourite with French bishops.[5] Even in the seventeenth century, after the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* had been published, bishops, if the colours in their portraits can be trusted, continued to use blue; and in explanation of this it has been argued that violet and blue were regarded as two shades of the same colour. There is evidence that with the rest of the clergy its use lasted well into the eighteenth century. In 1686 Cardinal Orsini forbad the clergy of Benevento to use it;[6] in 1734 Cardinal Lambertini did the same at Bologna.[7]

At the present day the minor canons of the cathedral of Sorrento and the prior and canons of the collegiate church of St. Mary *in Via* at Camerino, in the Marches, have a sky-blue mozzetta for their choir-dress. At Sorrento this custom dates from ancient times;[8] but at Camerino only from 1823.[9] The Sylvestrines, a branch of the Benedictine order, have a dark blue habit;[10] and the priests of the Holy Ghost (found in Lombardy and in Spain) have a light blue collar—that is, the stock on which the strip of white linen is fastened.[11]

Formerly the canons-regular of the Holy Cross in Italy wore a blue habit; they were ordered to adopt this colour instead of grey by the council of Mantua in 1459. And it was used by ecclesiastics belonging to the order of Constantine till the kingdom of Naples came to an end. Radente, writing in 1858, only speaks of the grand prior having a 'sopraveste' of blue silk; the ecclesiastical knights of grace and justice a blue sash and biretta; and the chaplains, a blue *cotta*.[12] But Giustiniani, himself a grand-cross of the order at the end of the seventeenth century, said that the knights of justice wore a blue cassock.[13]

GREEN was another favourite colour in the middle ages; and its use was not confined to bishops as the decrees of various councils would lead us to suppose.[14] So late

[1] For Articles I and II see pp. 281 and 373 (July and August).

[2] Magistretti, *Delle Vesti Ecclesiastiche in Milano* (2nd ed., Milan, 1905), p. 10.

[3] See the inventories of Richard of Gravesend, bishop of London (1304), published by the Camden Society in *The Executors of Richard, Bishop of London*, by H. T. Ellacombe (1874); Thomas of Bitton, bishop of Exeter (1310), ibid.; John of Saffres, canon of Langres (1365), in the *Bulletin Archéologique*, vol. iv. p. 329 (Paris, 1848); Richard of Ravenser (1386), printed in *The Proceedings of the Royal Archæological Institute* for 1848; John of Scarborough (1395), in Raine, *Test. Ebor.* iii; Thomas of Dalby, archdeacon of Richmond and canon of York (1400), ibid.; Henry Bowet, archbishop of York (1423), ibid.; William Driffield, canon of York (1453), in Raine, *Test. Ebor.* v.

[4] Gallicciolli, *Memorie Venete*, ii. § 1678 (Venice, 1795).

[5] Quicherat, *Histoire du Costume en France* (Paris, 1875), p. 432

[6] *Le Costume et les Usages Ecclesiastiques* (Paris, 1898), i, 20.

[7] Ibid. i, 34.

[8] Moroni, lxvii, 233.

[9] Barbier de Montault, op. cit. i, 260.

[10] For the different religious orders mentioned in this article see Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Religieux* (ed. of 1714).

[11] *Annuaire Pontifical Catholique*, 1901, p. 471.

[12] *Bolla di Clemente XI 'Militantis Ecclesiae' e suo commento*, pp. 145, 146 (Naples 1858).

[13] *Historie Cronologiche dell' Origine degli Ordini Militari*, i, 27, (Venice, 1692).

[14] See the inventories of Peter Gogueil, bishop of Le Puy (1327), in the *Annales de la Société d'Agriculture, Sciences et Arts du Puy*, xxviii; of Richard of Ravenser; John of Scarborough; Thomas of Dalby; Archbishop Bowet; and William Driffield.

as 1686, by the decree to which reference has been made, Cardinal Orsini interdicted its use at Benevento. At the present day it is used by patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, the regent of the Roman chancery,[15] and the secretary of the congregation of the Index[16] for the cord of their hat. The canons of the cathedrals of Braga[17] and Oporto[18] were granted the same distinction at the end of the eighteenth century; as, at the beginning of the nineteenth, were the canons of the cathedral of Braganza[19] and those of two collegiate churches in the diocese of Braga.[20] Patriarchs and nuncios, as a distinction, mix gold with the green; but so 'do many archbishops and some bishops' in their dioceses.[21] Spanish bishops use green for the underneath part of the rim of their hat; and it is said that some bishops of northern Italy have, or had, a green tuft on their biretta. So, I am informed, has the head of the chapter of St. Ambrose in Milan. Some of the minor canons of the cathedral of Milan wear a black and green cappa;[22] and formerly the canons had a cappa of these colours as well as their red one.[23] It has already been noticed that Chancellor Melton of York, in the sixteenth century, had 'a black abite for the church with green sarcenet in it.'[24] Boissard mentions an order, the 'ordo Scotorum,' with a green habit,[25] and another, the 'Constanstiensis ordo,' as having a green cloak;[26] but I have seen no other notice of either of these.

WHITE is used by the pope for his cassock, sash, and skullcap; and during the octave of Easter for his mozzetta and camauro. It is also used by prelates belonging to the Camaldolese, the Olivetan, and the Monte Vergine branches of the Benedictine order; by Trappist abbots generally, though not by those of Rome; by Premonstratensian abbots; by bishops and cardinals belonging to the Trinitarian and Mercedarian orders. Presumably it would be worn by prelates belonging to the order of St. Paul in Hungary. White was also used by the Humiliati; by the canons of St. Mark at Mantua; by the Feuillants; and, out of their church, by the chaplain-knights, latterly called canons-knights, of St. Stephen at Pisa.[27] It looks as if at one time it may have been used by the secular clergy in Spain, for in 1473 a council of Toledo forbad it, together with green and red.[28]

BLACK.—From the end of the sixteenth century black has been regarded as the proper colour for all below the rank of bishop, subject, that is, to the exceptions which have been noted. Moreover, cardinals, bishops, and other prelates use it for their ordinary dress. Black is also worn by the Basilians; by most congregations of Benedictines; Servites; Augustinian hermits; and Minims. It was formerly worn by some canons-regular; for example, by those of St. Saviour of Lorraine.

BROWN is worn by prelates belonging to the Italian Jeronymite order founded by B. Peter of Pisa, and by those belonging to the Capuchin order. It was, however, only adopted by the latter in 1817.[29] Formerly it was worn by the order of St. Ambrose *ad nemus*, which existed in northern Italy. The Vallombrosan Benedictines also adopted it in 1500, but at a later date changed it for black. The Benedictines of the Valladolid congregation had a brown tunic till 1550.

GREY is used by prelates belonging to any branch of the Franciscans, or friars minor,[30] except the Capuchins; it was used by them also till 1817, when the change was made to brown as stated above. It was used by the Benedictines of Vallombrosa

[15] Barbier de Montault, op. cit. i, 240. [16] Ibid.
[17] *Bullarii Romani Continuatio* (ed. Barberi), viii, 271.
[18] Ibid. viii, 397. [19] Ibid. xii, 360. [20] Ibid. xii, 57 and 251.
[21] Moroni, ix, 194.
[22] Magistretti, op. cit. 21. [23] Ibid. pp. 18, 19.
[24] THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, July 1905, p. 287.
[25] *Habitus Variarum Orbis Gentium*, Pt. iii, pl. 7 (Antwerp, 1581).
[26] Ibid. p. 17.
[27] Sainati, *Diario Sacro Pisano*, 3rd ed., Turin, 1898, p. 120.
[28] Thomassin, *Vetus et Nova Ecclesiae Disciplina* (Lucca, 1728), I, ii. 50 (vol. i, p. 376).
[29] *Annuaire Pont. Cath.*, 1903, 357. [30] Ibid.

till 1500, during, that is, the first four centuries of their existence. It was, too, the colour of the order of St. Barnabas till 1589, when this order was amalgamated with that of St. Ambrose *ad nemus;* and of the Italian canons of the Holy Cross till 1459. Grey was also worn till the end of the sixteenth century by the clerks in minor orders attached to Venetian churches.[31] And it does not seem to have been thought unsuitable even for episcopal use in the early seventeenth century in Italy.[32]

Some religious orders have their habit of two colours; the tunic of one, the cappa or cowl of another. The rule in this case is that a prelate belonging to such an order has his cassock of the same colour as the tunic; his cappa, mozzetta, and mantelletta of the other colour. But the rule is not always followed. If it were, the Trinitarian prelates, as Mgr. Battandier points out, would not be all in white; their cassock only would be of that colour. But on the other hand a Roman Trappist would be in white instead of white and black, if the rule as to colour were strictly observed. The mixed colours are black and white; blue and white; brown and white; grey and white.

Black over White.—White is used for the cassock and black for the cappa by abbots of the canons-regular of the Lateran, and by prelates who belong to the unreformed Cistercians,[33] the Roman Trappists,[34] the black friars, and the Carthusians;[35] but there is a difference in the cappa. That of the abbots of the Lateran canons is altogether black (like that of the black monks and the Austin friars or hermits); but that of the Cistercians, the Carthusians and the black friars has the tippet faced with white.[36]

[31] Gallicciolli, op. cit. ii, 1678.
[32] See the inventory of the goods of Louis Martini, bishop of Aosta, in *La Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, N.S. iii, pp. 356–361.
[33] *Annuaire Pontifical Catholique*, 1899, p. 97, and 1903, p. 357.
[34] Ibid. 1903, 357. [35] Ibid. 1899, 97. [36] Ibid.

There seems to be, or to have been, some diversity of practice among the Cistercians; Moroni,[37] writing in 1847, says that they wear a white cappa, though a black mozzetta and mantelletta. As an illustration of the attention that must be paid to detail, it is worth mentioning that Dominican bishops have white buttons on their mozzetta, but Cistercian and Trappist prelates and the abbots of the Lateran canons have black ones.

The Spanish Jeronymites also wear black over white, and their prelates should do the same; but I cannot say positively that they do so. Formerly other congregations of canons, the Celestines (a branch of the Benedictine order) and the religious belonging to the military order of Christ used these colours.

Blue over White.—The canons of St. George *in Alga* in Venice (who were suppressed in 1668) and those of St. John the Evangelist in Portugal wore a white cassock and a sky-blue cappa, open in front, with long sleeves. A blue mantle was also worn over a short white cassock by the Benedictines of Fonte-Avellana, before their union, at the end of the sixteenth century, with the Camaldolese of St. Michael of Murano.

Grey over White.—According to Bonanni[38] (who cites a very old painting existing at Ravenna when he wrote) a white tunic and a grey cappa were worn by the canons-regular of Santa Maria in Porto.

Brown over White.—The Jeronymites of Lombardy had a white tunic and a brown cowl.

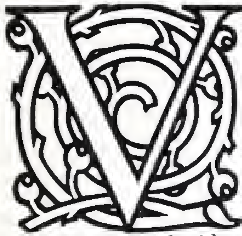
White over Brown.—These colours are used by the Carmelites and formerly were also used by the Jesuates. The latter order, which consisted of laymen till 1606, was suppressed in 1668.

[37] Op. cit. xlii, 152.
[38] *Ordinum Religiosorum Catalogus*, iii. 1 (Rome, 1714).

(*To be continued.*)

# THE TRUE PORTRAIT OF LAURA DE' DIANTI BY TITIAN

## BY HERBERT COOK, F.S.A.



VASARI, in his 'Life of Titian,' after referring to the portrait of Alfonso d'Este, duke of Ferrara, painted by the artist in his early-middle career, goes on to say: 'Similmente ritrasse la signora Laura che fu poi moglie di quel duca; che è opera stupenda.'[1] Both these portraits are commonly supposed to be lost, or rather to have survived only in copies; that of the duke hanging in the Pitti Gallery at Florence,[2] that of the Duchess Laura existing in some half-dozen versions scattered about Europe. Whether or no the Pitti picture is an old copy or a defaced original I have not been able to ascertain, for it hangs high up in a dark corner of one of the smaller rooms, where it is practically impossible to examine it; but the same doubt must no longer exist about the portrait of Laura de' Dianti, the duke's third wife, for the original to-day hangs in Sir Frederick Cook's gallery at Richmond.[3]

We are indebted to H. E. the Swedish Minister for the following criticism of this picture published in the last December number of the *Nineteenth Century*, in the course of a most interesting article on 'Queen Christina's Pictures':—

> 'Sir Frederick Cook's gallery in Richmond,' he writes, 'gives its splendid hospitality to one of the gems of Rudolph the Second's and Christina's Collections—Titian's famous *L'Esclavonne*. It is now generally presumed to be a portrait of Laura de' Dianti, the beloved mistress of Alfonso d'Este, duke of Ferrara. At Prague it was called "a Turkish woman," probably on account of the head-dress, while at Rome it became known as *La Schiavona*—a name it is likely to retain. There are several copies in existence, the best known in the museum at Modena, and hypercritical judges have not been wanting who have declared the Richmond picture also to be a copy—after a lost original. It has, however, a broadness of touch which is scarcely ever found in a copy, and a transparency in the shadows which seems to mark it as the handiwork of Titian himself. The picture has suffered some slight damage during its journeys, but it still remains a thing of joy and beauty. It has besides the advantage of being most appropriately framed.'

It is a far cry from Vasari to modern times, yet in the intervening 350 years no other criticism of this painting is known to us, although its history can be accurately traced. Extremes therefore meet; 'è opera stupenda,' said Vasari; 'it still remains a thing of joy and beauty' is the verdict of to-day.

I propose first to trace the history of the picture itself, secondly to identify the person represented, thirdly to consider its merit as a work of art. For the first point I must rely mainly on the excellent article, just mentioned, written by Baron de Bildt; for the second on an exhaustive study published some years ago in a German periodical by Dr. Carl Justi;[4] for the third on the expert opinion of modern English critics best qualified to judge.

[1] Vasari, vii. 435

[2] Reproduced, plate I, p. 451. Another copy belongs to Sir Henry Howorth in London.

[3] See plate I, p. 451.

[4] *Jahrbuch*, xx. p. 183.

First as to the history of the picture.

It is rarely that the pedigree of a painting dating from the early years of the sixteenth century can be traced as accurately as in the present case. Painted by Titian for Alphonso d'Este[5] about 1523, it was engraved by Sadeler in Venice[6] and copied by Lodovico Carracci before it left the Este family in 1599.[7] In that year Cesare d'Este sent it as a present to Rudolph the Second at Prague, in whose possession it remained till his death and the subsequent sack of Prague by the Swedes in 1648. In 1648 Ridolfi describes it accurately in his 'Meraviglie d'Arte,'[8] doubtless being acquainted with Sadeler's engraving or the Modena copy. The original taken off to Stockholm to adorn Queen Christina's gallery next travelled to Rome, when the ill-fated queen removed thither in 1654, and after her death in 1689 passed through the hands of the Marchese Azzolino and (1696) Prince Odescalchi, until sold to Philip d'Orleans in 1721 and sent to Paris. Here it is recorded as *L'Esclavonne*, the title of *La Bella Schiavona* having first been given it when in Rome. For seventy years it enjoyed a rest, but its wanderings soon began anew.[9] The Orleans gallery was dispersed, and in 1792 it was sold to the banker Walkner in Brussels, and thence passed to Laborde de Méreville. He sold it in turn to the earl of Suffolk,[10] and in 1824 it belonged to a Mr. Edward Gray of Harringay House, Hornsey, 'a gentleman who possesses,' says Buchanan, 'one of the finest small collections of pictures which is in the country.' When this collection was dispersed in 1839 it passed eventually into the possession of a Mr. J. Dunnington Fletcher, and was sold by him January 15, 1876, through Messrs. Colnaghi & Co. to the late Sir Francis Cook, and has remained at Richmond ever since.

Surely a much-travelled canvas!—and bearing marks to-day, alas! of its journeys up and down Europe for 350 years. So much for its history.

The second point is the identity of the lady. Great confusion has been caused by the vague statement of Ridolfi (writing in 1648, and giving the earliest *description* of the picture) that it represented *Madama la Duchessa* of Ferrara. Now Alfonso's former wife was Lucretia Borgia, and modern writers like Marquis Campori,[11] M. Yriarte,[12] and especially Crowe and Cavalcaselle,[13] have all been misled by this statement into thinking

[5] Vasari.

[6] According to the inscription on the print.

[7] Copy now in the Modena Gallery.

[8] i. 209.

[9] For all these incidents see the *Nineteenth Century*, Dec. 1904.

[10] See Buchanan's 'Memoirs.' M. Yriarte states ('Autour des Borgia,' 1891, p. 122) it was then sold for 52,000 francs.

[11] 'Tiziano e gli Estensi,' p. 33.

[12] 'Autour des Borgia,' p. 122.

[13] 'Titian,' i. 185–191.

that Titian painted a portrait of Lucretia Borgia. It was reserved for Dr. Carl Justi to establish the identity of Ridolfi's *Madama la Duchessa* with Alfonso's mistress, and afterwards (according to Vasari) his wife, Laura de' Dianti.[14] The truth had already been hinted at by those astute historians, Crowe and Cavalcaselle,[15] and those who have since seen the portrait of Lucretia Borgia that was sold from the Doetsch collection in 1895 need no further proof that our lady with the negro page is not the same woman.[16] Agreeing therefore with Dr. Justi that Ridolfi's *Madama la Duchessa* is Alfonso's third wife, Laura de' Dianti, we find all difficulties vanish, and Vasari's words 'ritrasse la signora Laura che fu poi moglie di quel duca; che è opera stupenda' fully confirmed.

Laura de' Dianti was of humble origin, but as mistress of Alphonso she seems to have occupied a recognized position at the Ferrarese court, and was known in her lifetime as 'the most illustrious Signora Laura Eustochio Estense.' There is pretty good evidence that Alphonso married her after the death of Lucretia Borgia his second wife, and when Laura died and was buried in Sant' Agostino of Ferrara in 1573, Alphonso the second and Cardinal Luigi of Este accompanied her son Don Alphonso to the funeral.[17] It may be added that the popular name given to a famous picture in the Salon Carré of the Louvre, viz., *Laura de' Dianti and Alphonso d'Este* is entirely erroneous, and seems of modern invention, for in Charles I's time it was called *Titian and his Mistress!* The Louvre catalogue is unfortunately misleading in stating that the real portrait of Alphonso by Titian is at Madrid; as already mentioned it (or an old copy of it) hangs in the Pitti Gallery at Florence. The Madrid portrait represents either Alphonso's son Ercole II (as Justi and others hold), or else Federigo, marquis of Mantua.[18]

Now from the dress and bearing of the lady in the Richmond picture it is clear that she is a person of distinction;

'None but a princess in those days could indulge in the luxury of an Ethiopian page; and the gemmed passion-flower and silken ribband adorning her turbaned head, or the looped silk gown and scarf of striped gauze which set off her person, are not less rich and elegant than the dress which gives distinction to Isabel of Este or the duchess of Urbino.' (Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i. 186.)

In fact when this portrait was painted it would seem that she was already duchess of Ferrara, and, as Alphonso's second wife died in 1519, it follows that the picture was painted after that date. How soon after it is impossible to say with exactness, yet it is probable that as Titian painted Alphonso's likeness twice, once before 1529, and again in 1536, he may have painted the duchess at the same time. Indeed a comparison of the two portraits, that of the duke (in the Pitti) and the duchess (at Richmond) almost suggests they are companion pieces, the action of the arms in both being singularly balanced, the duke leaning on a piece of artillery (of which he was a famous inventor), the duchess on her Ethiopian page.[19] The sizes of the two paintings do not perfectly agree, but the Pitti portrait being the second one of Alphonso painted by Titian (or a copy of it) it is possible the earlier one (which is lost, but which is described by a contemporary writer—'the one was as like the other as two drops of water') may have been a little smaller and so the size of the Richmond *Duchess*. This is, however, conjecture; what is certain is that as compositions the two figures correspond admirably, both being knee pieces, facing inwards, and of similar pose and action.

There remains the all-important question—Is the Richmond picture really painted by Titian? This is entirely a matter of internal evidence; for although the picture can be traced right back to the days of Sadeler's engraving and Carracci's copy, *i.e.* before 1599, it is always possible that a copy was substituted at some stage in its history, and that we have before us not the original by Titian but only an old repetition by some clever imitator. It happens, however, in this case that we have six other versions of this picture, and if we compare them carefully we shall find the gulf of quality fixed between the Richmond portrait and the six others, which places the former in a class by itself. Of these six versions one has been already mentioned, viz., the copy made by Lodovico Carracci, which is now in the gallery at Modena. This makes no claim to be an original Titian, nor do the two smaller versions in Rome—one in the Borghese gallery, and one formerly in the Sciarra collection. Yet another version belonged to Conte Luigi Sernagiotti in Venice, and I am content to accept Dr. Carl Justi's judgement that these are all later copies.[20] Two, however, remain worthy of some study, and are here reproduced. One is in a private collection at Berlin, the other in the gallery at Stockholm.[21] Both are unknown to me at first hand, so I leave it to the judgement of competent critics to say which bears on its face the marks of an original

[14] *Jahrbuch*, xx. p. 183.

[15] 'Titian,' i, 266.

[16] The Doetsch portrait bore the inscription, 'Lucretia Borgia, aetatis suae an. XL. A.C.N. MDXX.' It was ascribed to Dosso, and seems a posthumous likeness. It is published as frontispiece to Gregorovius's 'Lucretia Borgia,' trans. by Garner from 3rd German edition. (Murray, 1904.)

[17] See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, 'Titian,' i, 266.

[18] Gronau, 'Titian,' p. 302. Another so-called *Laura and Alfonso* belongs to the earl of Malmesbury, at Heron Court, Christchurch, Hants. (New Gallery, 1894, No. 163.) These romantic names were usually attached to portraits in the 18th century, in order to invest them with more interest. The most unfortunate victims of this craze are probably Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, La bella Simonetta, Caterina Cornaro, and Christopher Columbus!

[19] See plate I. [20] See *Jahrbuch*, xx, page 183.

[21] See plate II, page 454.

[illegible] DUCHESS OF FERRARA, BY TITIAN; IN THE COLLECTION OF [illegible]

PORTRAIT OF ALFONSO I, DUKE OF FERRARA; OLD COPY OF A LOST ORIGINAL BY TITIAN, IN THE PITTI, FLORENCE

PLATE [illegible]

IN THE COLLECTION OF THE BARON VON LIPPERHEIDE, BERLIN

IN THE STOCKHOLM MUSEUM

PLATE II. OLD COPIES OF TITIAN'S PORTRAIT OF LAURA DE' DIANTI, DUCHESS OF FERRARA

work by Titian himself. Judging merely from reproduction there is to my mind scarcely room for doubt, and from a long familiarity with the Richmond painting any hesitation I might have in deciding only from photographs vanishes in the certain conviction that here is Titian's own original, damaged, it is true, but still 'a thing of joy and beauty.'

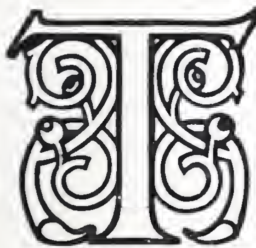
And here let me invoke the opinion of Mr. Charles Ricketts, a most competent judge of such matters. 'It is a beautiful wreck,' he says, 'but hands, skirt, and negro are still by Titian.' The upper part of the picture, especially the face, has been cruelly rubbed, and the modelling is gone; at some period a varnish has heen applied, leaving dirty brown spots all over the surface, and the whole has been flattened out and otherwise disfigured. Of repainting there is very little, so that what one sees, underpainting and all, is Titian's very own; but it is only in passages like the right hand and wrist, the delicate lawn of the sleeve, the wonderful blue of the dress, and the variegated costume of the negro page, that the real touch of the master-hand can be recognized. Let anyone contrast these details with the cold precision of the Stockholm and Berlin versions, and decide the relative merits of all three paintings. (For the rest these only claim to be copies!)

Many years ago Dr. Carl Justi suggested that the Richmond picture was the lost original; he was followed by Mr. Yriarte;[22] but more modern critics were silent, or, like myself, unwilling to dissent from their fellows who only saw yet another copy.[23] Today I see in the Richmond picture Titian's own hand, and a historical portrait the interest in which is not the less for the many strange vicissitudes through which it has passed.

[22] 'Autour des Borgia,' 1891, page 122, with a reproduction.
[23] As such I wrongly described it in the article on 'Titian' in the new edition of Bryan's 'Dictionary.'

# IS HANS DAUCHER THE AUTHOR OF THE MEDALS ATTRIBUTED TO ALBERT DÜRER?

## BY S. MONTAGU PEARTREE



THE question as to whether Dürer, in addition to his varied work as a painter, engraver, and draughtsman, ever executed medals or carvings has been answered in opposite ways by different authorities. Broadly speaking, the numismatists believed that he did; the biographers and the students of his prints and drawings doubted, and in some cases denied, the possibility. The former could not otherwise account for the origin of certain pieces unlike, in conception and technique, anything else preserved in their cabinets. The latter could find no place in the series of accepted works which these medals could occupy, and no reference to such things in the documents which have reached us which could not be either refuted by a second quotation, or interpreted in another sense. The loan by Mr. Pierpont Morgan to the South Kensington Museum of a carving in Kehlheimer stone,[1] representing an undraped female figure seen from the back, bearing the monogram A.D. and the date 1509 (the original of many casts differing in material, but always of the same poor quality), gave me an opportunity of re-examining the question, and enabled me, after a renewed inspection of the group of monuments hereafter mentioned, to suggest the following solution of the problem.

We may begin by entirely removing from consideration all those works in stone, wood, or metal which repeat, either literally or in a modified form, any of Dürer's well-known compositions. These are, whatever their merit, the work of later, and for the most part of considerably later, hands We exclude also the series of sharply-cut relief illustrating events in the life of John the Baptist, at Bruges, Brunswick, and in the Mediaeval Department of the British Museum. These have long been recognized as the work of George Schweigger, the modeller of the great Neptune fountain now in St. Petersburg, of which a copy has recently been set up in the market-place at Nuremberg. Nor need we take into account certain admirable productions of Conrad Meit and others, to which Dürer's name has been attached, not because they present any features characteristic of him, but in obedience to the handy rule that when a great master and a fine work are deemed to be contemporaneous, the name of the one shall be tacked on to the other. In these cases the ascription is an indication not so much of origin as of quality.

There remains a small group of pieces not to be dealt with under any of these headings. Mentioned, some by Doppelmayr, others by Will, in the eighteenth century, these were accepted by von Eye (1869) as showing the complete mastery in invention, composition, and drawing to be expected in Dürer's undoubted works. A. von Sallet, the Director of the Berlin Coin Cabinet, was the first numismatic expert in modern days to examine and describe them. He declared his belief in their authenticity in two separate publications in

[1] Reproduced, Plate I, No. 4, page 457.

1874 and 1875. In the following year Thausing published his well-known 'Life,' unhesitatingly and a little scornfully rejecting the entire series. In their place he propounded, as the one certain plastic work surviving from Dürer's hand, a silver relief of a nude woman, said to be in the possession of the Imhoff family, corresponding exactly in design with the stone carving now at South Kensington. Undismayed by this sweeping condemnation, A. Erman, in his critical survey of early German medallists (1885), continued to regard these medals as genuine, and as entirely isolated by their style from contemporary works. Von Sallet reiterated his emphatic conviction of the correctness of this view as late as 1898 in the official handbook of the Berlin Museum, and that the question is still unsettled, despite the silence of so many writers, is shown by the recent comments of two well-known 'Dürerkenner.' Dr. F. Dörnhöffer suggests that, in spite of Thausing, the possibility of Dürer's authorship of the Lucretia is still uncontroverted; while Dr. Weixlgärtner expresses the opinion that at least the Imhoff silver-relief should be accepted as genuine.

The following list of the works to be considered is as far as possible in chronological order; the name given between brackets at the end of each description will be used in order to avoid a more cumbrous method of citation :—

1508. Medal. Female head in three-quarter view, looking upward. Dated and signed A.D. This exists cast in bronze or lead in various collections. The original model is not known; all those so-called are copies *from* the medal, that in the Hofmuseum being a very bad one. (Lucretia.) Plate I, No. 1.

1508. Medal. Portrait of M. Wolgemut. Head in profile to left, wearing a close-fitting cap. An oval piece, unsigned, which occurs both with and without the date. It is over-carefully and feebly modelled, and suggests a wax original. It has nothing to connect it with the signed pieces in this group, except its resemblance to a person in Dürer's environment and its low relief. If it is a copy of an unknown original by the same hand as the Lucretia, it has lost its characteristics in the process of reproduction.

1509. Relief in Kehlheim stone. Dated and signed with monogram. A nude figure of a woman, full length, seen from behind, leaning on a pedestal. Broken and mended. This can be traced from the Birkenstock collection, early last century, through those of Brentano, Felix, Stein, and Gibson Carmichael to the hands of Mr. Pierpont Morgan, who has lent it to the South Kensington Museum. Casts of indifferent quality in plaster, silver, bronze, and lead are very numerous. (Morgan.) Plate I, No. 4.

The design is identical with that of the silver relief described by Thausing. He mentions it on the authority of Freiherr G. von Imhoff, but states that he had himself only seen a cast. It must appear surprising that he should not have endeavoured during his lengthy stay in Nuremberg to obtain sight of so unique an original. He was personally acquainted with the owner who showed him the reproduction, and who must also be responsible for the description of the casket given in Thausing's book. This is said to have been decorated with four reliefs—two of the remaining ones being unsigned, the third showing a monogram which was not Dürer's. This casket, so inadequately described, would be of the highest importance for the elucidation of the subject under discussion if it could now be found. Major W. von Imhoff (the son of Thausing's informant), who died in 1903, at an advanced age, made an exhaustive but fruitless search for it. He repeatedly stated that he had never seen it, nor even heard of such an object being in the possession of his family. Thausing may have intentionally mis-stated, or omitted, something in his account in order not to facilitate the efforts of foreign would-be purchasers. It is also possible that he may have been himself misled by an incomplete statement or an incorrect tradition. The only trace of independent confirmation which I have been able to find is the existence of a couple of ivory carvings, probably of the eighteenth century, in the Bavarian National Museum. One of these is a vulgarized copy of our relief. The companion piece shows a female figure in precisely the same attitude, but seen from the front; the drapery is derived from Dürer's engraving of the Four Witches. This slab bears no monogram; it is so obviously intended as a pendant to the other panel that its original may have formed part of the missing casket, if that ever existed.

1514. Medal. Head of an old man, in profile to left. Dated and signed with the monogram. This has been called a portrait of the artist's father, and has been regarded as a commemorative piece produced after the death of the mother in 1513. On this assumption, for which there is little to be said, there should have been a companion medal of Barbara Dürerin. No such piece is known. An original model in stone has been described as existing in the Berlin Medal Room. This is inaccurate; the presumed original is a plaster cast whose appearance has been disguised by saturation and varnish. (Dürer the Elder.) Plate I, No. 2.

(Before 1525 ?) Undated and unsigned oval medal representing Jakob Fugger the Elder, whose name appears on the margin of some examples. This appears to have been given to Dürer on similar grounds to the Wolgemut, to which it is, however, in every way superior.

Of these five pieces three only seem to me indubitably the work of the same hand, the Lucretia, the Morgan relief, and the elder Dürer. All three bear the monogram in much the same form, and all three originally existed in the same material, *i.e.*, lithographic stone. The Morgan relief has come down to us in that condition; that the two medals were produced from models of the same kind is shown not only by the character of the casts now existing, but by a fourth piece which has hitherto remained undescribed. It alone has survived in both forms, the stone model and its reproduction in metal. The former was in the Felix Collection; it was sold in 1886, and its present whereabouts is unrecorded. The only metal version known to me is the leaden medallion with a plain reverse, which belonged to Sir Hans Sloane, and entered the British Museum in 1753. It represents the head and shoulders of a woman (?). She is shown in profile to the left; her head is covered with a berretta, and her shoulders by a cape of some thick stuff. The sex is not easily determined by the features, but the outline of the bust shows what was probably intended.[2] Neither the design nor the execution remind us in any way of Dürer; nevertheless, it is so closely connected with the so-called 'Elder Dürer,' that it is not possible to think of its having been executed by a different hand. Apart from the similarity in the treatment of eyelids and nostril, and in the representation of stuff in cap and cloak, there are two peculiarities of an external character which indicate a common origin. In both medals the edge of the field is outlined by a double moulding of unusual design, interrupted in each case in exactly the same way by the overlapping of the cap above, and of the lower part of the bust at foot. Both medals bear the date 1514, the figures occupying the same

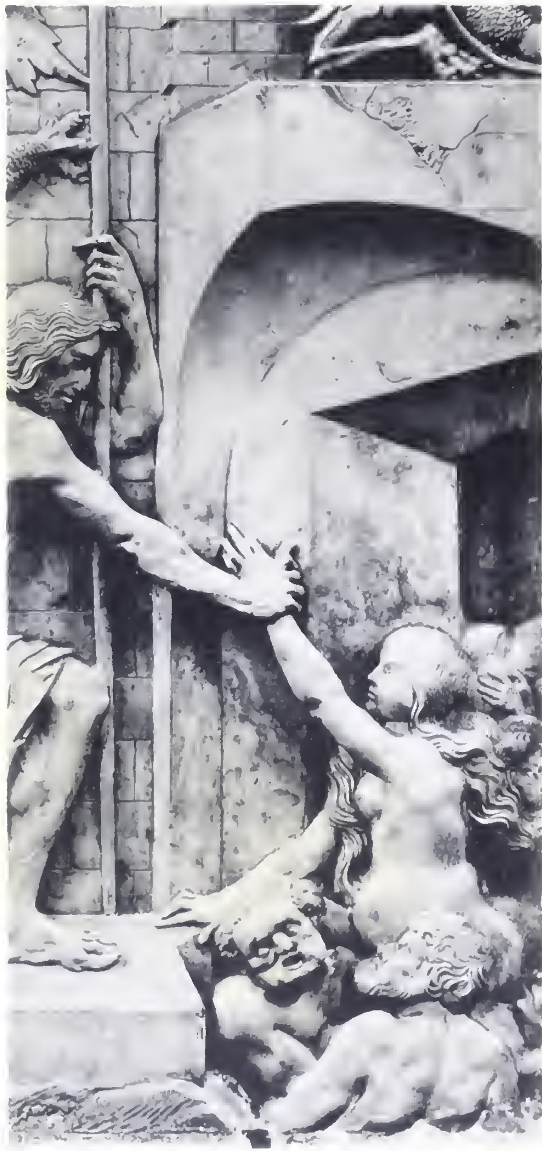
[2] Reproduced, Plate I, No. 3, page 457.

4. RELIEF IN THE COLLECTION OF MR. J. PIERPONT MORGAN.

1.

2.

3.



5. GROUP FROM PANEL OF THE DESCENT INTO LIMBO IN ST. ULRICH, AUGSBURG.

PLATE L. MEDALS; AND RELIEFS IN STONE.

position in each case, and showing a precisely similar form of lettering. The Felix–Sloane medal, however, unlike the Elder Dürer, does not bear a monogram, and is still further differentiated from the remaining members of the group by a suggestion of Italian form absent, in this degree, from the others.

The identification of the author of these medals with Dürer is not based exclusively on the presence of his monogram, nor on the impossibility of finding another creator for them at this early date. Drawings by Dürer which served as models exist in at least two cases. Sallet had already sought in general terms to find an original design for the medal, which is here called Lucretia, in the painting of that name in the Munich Pinakothek, dated 1518, or in one of several engravings which he specified. The drawing, however, which most resembles the medal, and bears the same date as it does (1508), is the study for the Munich picture now in the Albertina. With a like intention, Thausing cites in support of his attribution of the Imhoff silver relief, a drawing of the *Fall* in the same collection at Vienna, in which, however, the resemblance is of the most general kind. He did not know of, or did not notice, the existence of two studies much better suited to his argument. The first of these is a brush drawing on grey paper of a full-length nude woman in the possession of Dr. Blasius, at Brunswick; the other is one of the numerous pen-and-ink sketches scattered through the MS. volume preserved in the Royal Library at Dresden.[3] The former is a careful and highly realistic study from the life, dated 1506, and is clearly the same person as is represented in the Morgan relief; note, for example, the profile of the face, the right arm, and the arrangement of the hair. The Dresden drawing is in still closer agreement with the carving; it is another version of the same figure, in which the details mentioned all reappear, and in which the left arm has been re-drawn in the position finally adopted by the sculptor. The existence of these two absolutely genuine and indubitable drawings would, had they been known to Thausing, have further convinced him of the correctness of his view. I desire to use them only to establish this point in connexion with the problem before us—that the relation of the drawings cited to the Morgan relief is so intimate that the sculptor must have had access to them at the time of the execution of his work, and that, as drawings of this nature are not likely to have passed out of the possession of the artist beyond the hands of his immediate friends and scholars, if indeed, as is most probable, they did not remain in his portfolios until his death, the sculptor, if not Dürer himself, must be sought in his immediate environment at the date given.

Still another argument used to connect Dürer with the production of medals is found in a series of documents, of which a short account is given by Baader.[4] The image (*bild*) of a woman, sent from Nuremberg to Frederick of Saxony, had been lost in transit, the little box in which it had been packed arriving empty. Dürer, informed of this by Anton Tucher, who acted as the Elector's representative, immediately despatched another cast (*abguss*). Here, then, we seem to have a definite documentary reference to a medal, or some small casting emanating from Dürer's hands. The correspondence takes place at Easter, 1509, and might therefore relate either to the Lucretia or to the Morgan relief. The Elector now inquires how certain 'pennies' which he sends can be made *bestenndig*, a question which must refer to the reproduction in metal of models in a more fragile material. An unexpected rejoinder ensues. Dürer replies that he is not accustomed to deal with such things, and can give no sufficient response. I shall refer further on to what seems to me the explanation of this apparent contradiction.

It is, then, not to be denied that the existence of these works, signed with Dürer's monogram, showing a close connexion with drawings undoubtedly his, bearing at least some considerable resemblance to his style, and dated at the very time when he is proved by documents to be concerned in the casting of some small object, does constitute a *primâ facie* case for regarding Dürer as the author of them. Nevertheless a certain hesitation to accept this conclusion as finally settled was not unnatural. The style, although suggesting Dürer, does not bear convincing marks of his actual handiwork. The difficulty of deciding what a sixteenth-century artist's work in the round would be like is great when the only material available for comparison is on paper or panel. The silence of his numerous letters, notes, and drafts, and of the diary, none of which contain any reference to such undertakings, is singular. Equally so the paucity of his production. Dürer's interest in and practice of portraiture increased rather than diminished towards the last years of his life, the very period when the medal established itself in popular favour throughout Germany. Judged by the medallic standard of that or any other time these things were in no sense failures, and it is probable that his humanist friends would have pressed him for a form of commemorative portrait especially dear to them. Yet no such pieces exist, nor is there any reference to them in literature or correspondence. When in 1520 Dürer is asked to furnish a design for a medal in honour of the young Emperor Charles he is recorded to have supplied a sketch on paper, not a model in relief.

A reconciliation of these contradictory facts is possible however if we can trace the existence of

[3] See Bruck's 'Das Skizzenbuch A. Dürer's.' Plate 92.

[4] 'Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Nürnberg's,' p. 35

a pupil or follower working under the master's inspiration, whose later productions might then throw some light on these earlier efforts. In Nuremberg itself no such artist can be found; the well-known disciples, Springinklee, Kulmbach, Pencz, or the Behams are, at the first glance, out of the question. There is nothing in the work of contemporary sculptors, such as Stoss or Vischer, to make us suppose that they or their school could be responsible. Peter Vischer the younger is indeed known as a medallist, but the three pieces from his hand, dated 1509 and 1511, are themselves the best evidence that he had nothing to do with the Dürer group. The materials in general use by these sculptors were stone, wood, and bronze, with clay and wax for preliminary models where such were required. Lithographic stone is unusual, if not unknown, in Nuremberg at this date, and remained even later on of restricted application. It was at Eichstätt, near the quarries, and especially in Augsburg that its frequent adoption for monuments and for decorative carvings can be traced.

Forced then to look outside Nuremberg, we have—if we exclude Dürer as the author of our series—to turn in this direction to find someone practising sculpture who was influenced by that artist's designs, and whose characteristic feature was a shallow but subtly modelled relief. He must have had the opportunity of absorbing certain Italianisms of style, must have been in Nuremberg between 1508 and 1514, and must have been accustomed to using Kehlheim stone. Finally, his known works must display evidence of all these experiences, and present undoubted analogies to the Morgan relief and to the medals here grouped with it. I propose Hans Daucher[5] as the artist in whom all these requirements are fulfilled.

Hans was the son of Adolf Daucher, a sculptor who came from Ulm, and settled in Augsburg in 1491, where he soon achieved a position of repute. He is associated with the elder Holbein, the foremost painter, and with Gregor Erhart, the leading sculptor in the city, in the production of an altarpiece for the abbey of Kaisheim. To the last-mentioned Hans was apprenticed on October 11, 1500. His pupilage must have lasted until the end of 1503 or into 1504, and was followed, according to a rule which knew no exception, by some years of journeyman wandering. We have no direct record of where these led him, although, as I shall immediately suggest, we have plenty of indirect evidence of his whereabouts during a part of the time. The next documentary mention of him is on June 18, 1514, when his father purchases for him the freedom of his guild, a transaction which must have taken place soon after his return to his native city. From this date onwards the two are found residing together, and the rate-books show us Hans paying his share of the town dues until his death in 1537. His works during the latter period of his life are now well known. Utterly forgotten until 1878 (his father's name had just barely survived in a stray mention here and there), he was then disinterred by Dr. Bode, who was able to group together a number of pieces of sculpture, mostly on a small scale, one of which was signed in full JOANNES DAHER. This, together with the entries in the Augsburg guild-books,[6] enabled the artist's identity to be re-established. Since then considerable additions have been made to the list of his works, representative specimens of which may be found in the museums of Berlin, Vienna, and Sigmaringen, and in the collections Von Lanna at Prague, and Oppenheim at Cologne.[7] One of his most ambitious and extensive compositions is the *Triumph of Charles V*, lent by Mr. Pierpont Morgan to the South Kensington Museum, where it is placed at no great distance from the small relief of a nude woman for the origin of which we are trying to account. Daucher may be described as the inventor, for Germany at least, of the cabinet picture in stone. His works frequently do not reach a foot in their longest dimension, and larger compositions are frequently put together out of a number of small panels. The material is almost exclusively lithographic stone. The relief, although rich and showing many varied planes, sinks in the background, and often elsewhere, into surfaces the elevation of which above the surrounding portions is almost imperceptible.

To the list of Daucher's works already known I am able to add two pieces which have hitherto escaped notice. The first, representing *The Virgin and Child, attended by St. Joseph and two angels*,[8] is the first work the provenance of which can be traced to Nuremberg. It accompanied a bequest of books on Protestant theology, made by a certain Fenitzer to the clergy of St. Lorenz in the seventeenth century, and has recently been handed over, together with the volumes, to the Town Archives, where Herr Archivrat Mummenhoff kindly permitted me both to examine it at close quarters, and to have it photographed. It is of the usual stone, measuring 27 by 19 centimetres, but has been clumsily smeared over with grey green paint. The slab has been violently fractured, and then carefully pieced together, but nothing has been 'restored.' It appears to me to be an earlier work by Daucher than any hitherto catalogued. The treatment of the decorative panelling is peculiar to him; the selection of an open portico of Renaissance architecture as the

[5] I adhere to Daucher as the hitherto most widely used form; but Dauer, or Dauher, is the spelling used in the Augsburg rate-books, and by the artist himself when signing in full.

[6] Published by R. Vischer in 1886.

[7] Illustrations may be found in the *Berlin Jahrbuch*, 1878, and in Dr. Habich's excellent summary, with many new attributions, in Helbing's *Monatsberichte*, February, 1903.

[8] Plate II, page 461.

[illegible] BY F. [illegible], AUGSBURG

THE HOLY FAMILY WITH ATTENDANT ANGELS, NUREMBERG

PLATE II. RELIEFS IN STONE
BY HANS DAUCHER

PLATE III. THE RESURRECTION,
BY HANS DAUCHER; SCHLOSS
WELLENBURG

background of his composition is a familiar feature of his design. (See Habich, l.c., p. 53). The group of the Virgin and Child and the attendant figures seems based upon an Italian original, but the clumsy disproportion in the size of the heads betrays the beginner. The most interesting feature, however, for our present purpose, is seen in the tie-rods which connect the arches of the background at their springing. Of the Italian origin of this feature there can be no doubt, but it required the naïveté of a northern eye to seize upon it, and to treat it so frankly and prominently as a decorative element in the design. German architecture, with the buttress at its disposal, did not have recourse to the tie-rod as a constructive, still less as a decorative item.

We have seen that Daucher's permanent settlement in Augsburg took place in 1514. The most important work then in progress in that city was the construction of a memorial chapel intended by the wealthy Jacob Fugger as a burial place for himself and his brothers. This, the first monument of Italian Renaissance design in Germany, took the form of a western apse-like extension of the nave of the church of St. Anna. Its carved ornaments consisted principally of an arcade of four arches placed against the end wall and filled with reliefs, an altar, also of sculptor's work, pulled down before 1821, of whose design no direct record exists, and of two rows of wooden choir stalls. The last mentioned were destroyed at the same time as the altar, and a series of portrait busts which formed part of their decoration is now in the Berlin Museum. They are known to have been the work of Adolf Daucher and his assistants. There is no such certainty as to the sculptor of the altar, and of the wall-reliefs; no document relating to them is now discoverable in the Fugger archives. I venture, on stylistic grounds, to claim both as the work of Hans Daucher. For reasons which there is no room to develop here, it seems certain that important fragments of the altar have survived in the beautiful group of *Christ supported at the Foot of the Cross*, and in the three reliefs of *The Procession to Calvary*, *The Deposition*,[9] and *The Descent into Limbo*,[10] which have, after many vicissitudes, been erected in another Fugger chapel in the church of St. Ulrich, at Augsburg. These three reliefs appear to have been the only part of the monument known to Dr. Bode, who without being aware of their provenance, had in in 1887 already assigned them to Daucher's circle. They bear the closest relation to the 'Dürer Medals,' and to the Morgan relief, to which they are also nearer in time than any other works hitherto known. The Morgan nude is indeed almost literally repeated in the figures on the left hand of the Limbo panel, and Eve herself in the same composition (see Plate I, No. 5) presents so many analogies as to put the common origin of the two works beyond doubt. Compare the representation of eyelids, nose, and lips, and the modelling of the hand and arm, especially at the elbow. The folds of drapery, as seen in Christ's garment, are identical in design and execution with those in Plate I, No. 4. The medals show similar resemblances; each characteristic feature which they present can be found in the altar panels—the peculiar treatment of eye and nostril, the method of rendering the hair and other textures, etc. Above all, the low relief and flat medal-like treatment is well exemplified in the background heads. The general compositions are derived from Dürer woodcuts: *The Procession to Calvary* is a fairly exact translation of the main group in B. 10 with a figure inserted from the *Copper Passion*.

If we return to the large wall-reliefs still in position in St. Anna, we find the dependence on Dürer's designs yet more pronounced. The two central subjects, *The Resurrection* and *Samson Slaying the Philistines*, are, as Vischer pointed out, reproductions of drawings now in Berlin and Vienna (preliminary sketches in Brunswick and Milan). Their large scale—each panel is about ten feet high—makes comparison less easy, but here also the already-mentioned points of resemblance may be verified. The coincidence of certain ornamental details with Daucher's later signed work is also very striking. It must suffice to quote the garland made of two flowers in profile and one *en face* which hangs from a little Satyr above the weeping angel in the first relief in the Fugger chapel, the rams' heads which appear on each side of the inscription, and the group of tie-rods connecting the columns above. These are found in fac-simile in *The Triumph of Charles V* at South Kensington; the tie-rods are already known to us in the Nuremberg *Madonna* (Plate II).[11]

Direct evidence that Daucher worked for the Fuggers is found in a relief of the *Resurrection*,[12] which has remained unnoticed by previous writers. This slab, 110 by 81 centimetres,

[9] Reproduced, Plate II, page 461

[10] Detail reproduced, Plate I, No 5, page 457

[11] I am aware that some German students are inclined to claim these reliefs as the work of Loy Hering, a name first put forward in 1876, at a time when Daucher had not yet been extracted from his obscurity by Dr. Bode. An examination of his works at Eichstätt, Ingolstadt, and Boppard (dated 1519, and therefore not far removed in time from the Fugger reliefs), shows how different was his conception of form, of drapery, of decorative detail, and of the treatment of relief. The similarities are those which must necessarily exist in the works of contemporaries. He may have worked at St. Anna's as an assistant, for he is shown by the rate-books to have been in Augsburg in 1511, and perhaps in 1512. He then moved to Eichstatt, where he was elected a town councillor in 1519, which would imply a previous residence there of some years, during the very period when the bulk of the work in St. Anna was being carried out

A. Haupt, writing in the *Berlin Jahrbuch*, April 1905, has recently called attention to P. Flotner as the designer of the architectural details of the Fugger chapel This seems certain for the organ, and likely for the stalls, but the sketch for an altar given by Haupt is too small in scale, judging by the putti, for the purpose he assigns to it Flotner is, of course, not responsible for the figure-sculpture in any of these cases

[12] Reproduced, Plate III, page 464.

has in recent times been inserted into the wall of a chapel in Schloss Wellenburg, a country seat belonging to Fürst Fugger, near Augsburg. It is akin to the panels in St. Ulrich, and may have formed part of the destroyed altar above mentioned. The Fugger lilies are seen in the shield against which a sleeping guard is resting; the border of this shield is composed of the garland motive already referred to. The artist has filled the middle distance with a procession of horse and foot men returning to the city, which is not suggested by anything in the biblical narrative. On the right of this are two men conversing, one of whom shows the back view of a nude figure of the kind with which we are already familiar. The ornamental carving of the sarcophagus is a piece of refined Italianate design, and Italian characteristics are likewise seen in the towers and buildings of Jerusalem. The uninteresting and conventional Christ is typical of the dull work this school not infrequently turned out, when it had to deal with figures on a large scale.

The features which are common to the whole group here described may be traced in steady development through the entire remaining works of Hans Daucher. From 1518 onwards numerous signed pieces have come down to us, and leave no doubt of what the artist's training and associations must have been. Some part of his journeyman experience must have been got south of the Alps; his knowledge of Renaissance forms is too exact, and is worn with too much ease to have been picked up outside Italy. No place was so likely to attract a clever young Suabian sculptor on his wanderings as the city of Venice, more closely linked by commercial intercourse to Augsburg than to any other northern town. The stream of German merchants and their messengers was unceasing. When, in 1505, their Fondaco was destroyed by fire, the Venetian Government consented that an Augsburg architect, Hieronymus (known to us by Dürer's drawing), should rebuild it. He is not likely to have been the only German on such an errand in Venice. It is, however, not only a general probability that leads us in this direction. It is specifically Venetian sculpture and ornament, more especially that of the Lombardi family then predominant, that Daucher took as his model. There is a chapel in S. Francesco delle Vigne entirely lined with marble reliefs—an unusual system in the quattrocento—which might have served as the starting point of the treatment adopted at St. Anna.

The second undoubted element which helped to form Daucher's style was the influence of Dürer. We have seen that the designs for important portions of the Fugger chapel are by him. Likewise, the figures in the Sigmaringen relief are a literal rendering of the lower group in the woodcut B. 101, while the angels from the upper part of the same print, not utilized at Sigmaringen, are found in the Adelmann epitaph at Holzheim crowning a Madonna taken from the engraving B. 31.[13] Evidence of a different kind is afforded by the *Duel between Dürer and Spengler in the presence of Maximilian*, signed H. D. 1522, now at Berlin. Dürer and Spengler were both in Augsburg during the Diet in 1518, and the incident may have had its rise in something which took place then; but it is worth noting that Dürer's own caricatures referring to Spengler were made in 1511, when Daucher could have been in Nuremberg. The most diligent of the interpreters has not yet cleared up the mystery of this presumably mock combat, and we do not know what issue was at stake, or if it was all ponderous joking. Whatever it may have been, no contemporary who was not on fairly intimate terms with the hero of the fight would have been likely to carry out so elaborate a representation of it.

We have, then, in Daucher an artist who fulfils all the requirements which can be laid down for the author of the works called Dürer's. The dates of these range from 1508 to 1514, the precise period during which he is shown to have been absent from Augsburg. We have certainly no documentary proof that he was in Nuremberg; but we could not expect to find any. Unlike other cities, Nuremberg did not compel the enrolment either of her own or of foreign artists into guilds, and there was no other occasion for a journeyman sculptor to figure in the public records, unless he got drunk and fought the watch.[14] Style, treatment of detail, the low relief, the habit of working from Dürer's designs, are all traceable in a logical development from the early works to the later authenticated ones. The material employed remains the same throughout. If we assume, as I do, that Daucher, having met Dürer probably in Venice (but perhaps in Nuremberg upon his return there), was permitted or encouraged by him[15] to translate his drawings into relief, the

[13] This Holzheim epitaph, at present practically unknown owing to its situation in a remote and obscure village, is of great importance in settling the authorship of the life-size group of *Christ supported at the foot of the Cross*, now in St. Ulrich.

[14] It may be noted that the name is not unknown in Nuremberg. In 1509 Dürer entered into a contract with Sebald Taucher (D and T were interchangeable in Franconian spelling until very recent days) concerning a payment due upon his newly-purchased house at the Thiergärtner Thor.

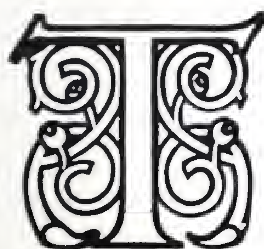
[15] The impulse to this undertaking perhaps proceeded from Dürer's old patron at Wittenberg. In 1508 the Elector Frederick sends his portrait, 'carved very artfully in stone' by his court painter (*i.e.* Lucas Cranach presumably) to Anton Tucher in Nuremberg, in order that he may get a mould or die prepared from it for minting purposes. Tucher had much difficulty in finding a craftsman to execute this commission, and it is therefore very interesting to note that it is he who early in the next year is found communicating with Dürer about the lost *Frauenbildniss*, and transmitting the elector's inquiries as to casting. From the further correspondence it appears that the mint-master finally selected begged that the models supplied to him by the court painter should be 'seicht und nicht zu hart erhöht,' which exactly describes the character of our pieces. Such a rivalry with Wittenberg immediately recalls the competition which took place between that town and Augsburg over the production of chiaroscuro prints at almost the same date.

presence of the A.D. monogram and the above-quoted letter to the elector of Saxony both find a natural explanation. Just as the monogram remained on the woodblock cut by another hand as a mark of the designer, so did it reappear in relief on what was at first only the preliminary stage in another method of reproduction. Modelling from a drawing with a view to casting is only one short step nearer to independent artistic creation than is cutting the same drawing in wood in order to print it. That the monogram seems reasonable to us in one case, and something like a fraud in the other, is due to the fact that draughtsman and woodcutter have remained distinct persons to this day, while the designing and modelling of medals now generally proceed from the same hand. Similarly Dürer sent the little *Frauenbildniss* to Frederick, not as an example of his ability as a sculptor, but as a reproduction of something designed by him. The inquiry which followed as to the process of casting would then naturally be answered by Dürer with a statement of his lack of competence in that part of the business. The contradiction which was formerly found here is seen, if my view is correct, not to exist.

These works, then, appear to me to have been produced from Dürer's drawings and under his inspection, in much the same way as his woodcuts were a dozen years earlier. In both cases his interposition led to an improvement and a development in the achievements of his assistants. To such a stimulus is due the extreme subtlety and virtuosity of the *Lucretia*, which, moreover, as a cabinet piece lending itself to examination close at hand, would naturally require more delicate treatment than a larger panel containing many figures. Apart from this almost excessive refinement, there is nothing which differentiates these pieces from the no longer scanty list of Daucher's subsequent works. Like so many other passages in the lives of both masters, the story of this one has to be built up, not by easily-proved incidents, but out of hints, approximations, and comparisons, the material for which is scattered, and not very accessible. If documents are lacking, the circumstantial evidence is fairly plentiful, and the argument from considerations of style is so overwhelming that I have no hesitation in answering the question at the head of this note by an emphatic affirmative.

# THE LEMOS AND ESTE BOTTLES IN THE WADDESDON BEQUEST

## BY A. VAN DE PUT



HE small but choice selection of Italian majolica in the Waddesdon bequest contains two pilgrim bottles or vases in the Urbino style, decorated with arabesques on a white ground. They are thus officially described: '64. Pair of pilgrim bottles with screw caps, of Urbino ware. Though they are of the same set, the principal design differs on the two; on one it is the coat-of-arms of the Spanish family Gutierrez de Lara (?); on the other are two medallions, one with Bacchus holding bunches of grapes, the other with an old man at a table, warming himself at a fire; over each is a flaming fire with the legend ARDET AETERNUM, the badge and motto of Alfonso II, duke of Ferrara. The ground on both bottles is filled with arabesques formed of monstrous figures, monkeys, etc. Italian, about 1550.'[1] The notice closes with the information that Duke Alfonso II was born in 1533, succeeded in 1559, and died in 1597.

A closer identification of the device and arms in question appears, however, to point to the last quarter of the sixteenth century as the period of fabrication of these pieces. The shields upon the first vase are quarterly of eight, five quarters in chief and three in base; 1. Argent 6 hurts, 2, 2, and 2 in pale, for De Castro; 2. Portugal; 3. Castile; 4. Leon; 5. Or a bend azure,[2] for Sandoval; 6. Andrade, vert a bend engoulé of dragons' heads or, within a bordure argent inscribed in azure 'Ave Maria gratia plena';[3] 7. Or two wolves passant in pale, within a bordure gobony of the arms of Henriquez, for Osorio; 8. Argent a bend azure[2] and a chain in orle or, for Zuñiga. From the chief, base, and flanks of the escutcheon project the ends of the red cross of the Order of Calatrava, between which are displayed eighteen flags azure, each charged with a fleur-de-lys or. A coronet surmounts the shield, apparently that of a marquis.[4] The charges of this complicated achievement are rendered without very much finish, though the artist took care to distinguish *gules* from *or* by using gamboge and a lighter shade of yellow, respectively. The arms belong to a count of Lemos, of the house of Castro-Portugal, one of the original grandeeships of Spain, and though it would be out of place to do more than outline the genealogical facts underlying them here, certain associations of the heraldic emblems depicted render the possession of this

[1] 'The Waddesdon Bequest Catalogue, 1902.'

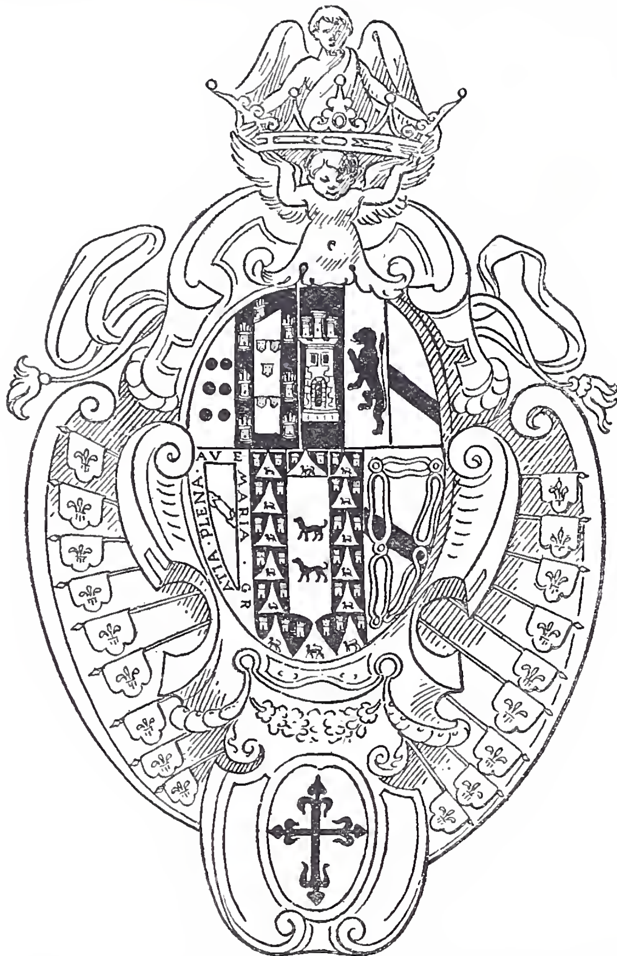
[2] For sable.

[3] Curiously enough the designer has on one shield continued the angelic salutation from which the Andrade motto is taken; it reads 'Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus.'

[4] Italian; a fleuron in the centre, half-fleurons at the extremities, between them triple pearls on points, these again alternating with points.

piece by the British Museum both interesting and appropriate.

By a system peculiarly Spanish, an accumulation of alliances and descents starting in the fourteenth century was accompanied by the constant use of the patronymic of the first family so merged. Isabel de Castro, sprung from a long line of Galician magnates, lords of Lemos, whose blood comprised direct female descents from kings of Leon and of Castile, married a grandson of Alfonso XI; their daughter Beatrice carried Lemos (by the death of her brother, Fadrique de Castilla y Castro, the ill-fated duke of Arjona, whom the Burgundians and John van Eyck visited in 1429) to the house of Osorio, created counts of Lemos in 1457, and her great-grand-daughter Beatrice de Castro-Osorio, heir of the second count of Lemos, in turn brought the family possessions to a branch of Portugal by her marriage, in 1500, with Denis, son of a duke of Braganza.



Arms of Fernando Ruiz (II) de Castro, count of Lemos, Andrade, and Villalba, viceroy of Naples 1599-1601. (From the Register of the Confraternity of St. Martha, State Archives, Naples.)

Their descendant, the fourth Lemos, Fernando Ruiz de Castro, married Teresa de Andrade Zuñiga y Ulloa, whose father, Fernando de Andrade, count of Villalba, beat the constable d'Aubigny at Seminara in 1503; the eighteen banners won from the Stewart on this occasion by De Andrade were by a Spanish custom depicted in a trophy around his arms; and the right to bear them passed on his decease in 1542 to the house of Lemos, as shown upon the vase. This count of Lemos was Charles V's ambassador to Pope Paul III (1534–49), and was sent in a similar capacity by Philip II to Julius III and Paul IV (1550–59); he was created marquis of Sarria in 1543, and died in 1575. His son Pedro Fernandez de Castro, fifth count of Lemos, died in 1590, and his grandson, Fernando Ruiz de Castro, the sixth count, who married Catalina de Sandoval, a sister of the first duke of Lerma, and was appointed viceroy of Naples in 1599, died in 1601.

It is obvious that the arms upon the piece in question, which are what is known as an *écu complet* rather than the shield ordinarily used by the family, must refer to one of these latter counts of Lemos, to one who was also a knight of the order of Calatrava. In spite of the official connexion with Italy of the fourth holder of the title, Charles V and Philip II's envoy to the popes, it is necessary to seek among his descendants the individual for whom the pilgrim bottle in the Waddesdon bequest was made. Here the companion piece which bears the device and motto of Alphonso II of Ferrara is of assistance. This device, as we have seen, is a fire or burning-pyre, with the legend 'Ardet aeternum,' and is believed to have been adopted by that prince upon his marriage, in 1579, with Margaret Gonzaga; it certainly figures upon the medal struck in commemoration of the ducal nuptials in that year.[5]

In all probability, then, this piece of Italian majolica may have been a present to the son or grandson of the Lemos who was thrice ambassador to the Papal See and died in 1575.

His son, the fifth count (d. 1590), is believed to have entered the order of Calatrava in 1541,[6] and the sixth count of Lemos, son of the latter, certainly did so in 1575. Born in 1548, he was sent in 1599, as viceroy, to Naples, where he died in 1601. His arms, emblazoned in 1600 in the Register of the Confraternity of St. Martha, which is kept in the Neapolitan archives (see illustration),[7] are almost

[5] Armand, 'Les Médailleurs Italiens,' ii, p. 195. Obverse: 'Bustes affrontés d'Alphonse II et de Marguérite de Gonzague. ALF. E. MARG. GON. FER. DUX.' Device on reverse.

[6] Don F. Fernandez de Béthencourt ('Historia genealogica y heraldica de la monarquia Española,' iv), who gives the latest and best account of the Lemos descent. Other members of the family belonged to the order of Alcantara, the insignia of which is a green cross, similar in shape to that of Calatrava. But the artist has used his colours correctly and consistently throughout, and green is employed in the field of the Andrade quartering.

[7] The cross is below the arms. A half-brother of this count, Beltran de Castro, a knight of Alcantara, was a cavalry captain in Lombardy, *temp.* Philip II; he went to Peru in 1589 and took Sir Richard Hawkins a prisoner to Lima in 1594. To the seventh count of Lemos, eldest son of the viceroy of 1599–1601, Cervantes dedicated the second part of 'Don Quixote' in 1615.

identical with those upon the bottle under consideration.

From the standpoint of their ornamentation both bottles appear contemporary: their extremely white ground, the similar execution of the arabesques and monkey-forms which enshrine the arms and device, mark them as the product of the same hand. In the colours employed only one point of difference between them is discernible, viz. that manganese, employed in the medallion of a man warming himself at a fire, upon the bottle with the Este device, occurs nowhere upon its fellow. Whether this offers any evidence that the bottles, though contemporary, were not a pair, it would be rash to say. It is stated by Fortnum[8] and by Gruyer[9] that a *credenza* or service of pieces is supposed to have been made by the ducal *fabrique* at Ferrara, on the occasion of Alfonso II's marriage in 1579, bearing the device and motto then adopted by him. But this is not certain, and the attribution to Ferrara of the few existing pieces so ornamented lacks confirmation. The arabesques of the Waddesdon specimens seem to place them in a special category; they are bolder, larger, and less carefully drawn and finished than those usually associated with the Urbino productions. An opportunity of comparing them is afforded by some specimens of the latter style which are exhibited in the same case.

[8] 'Majolica,' pp. 290-91.

[9] 'L'Art ferrarais à l'époque des Princes d'Este,' ii, 497.

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES AND LETTERS

### THE STUDY FOR THE 'EGREMONT FAMILY PIECE'

At Petworth hangs a large picture which is usually known as *The Countess of Egremont and her Children*, by Romney. It represents the lady who was the mother of the last earl of Egremont's children, with the boy who afterwards became the first Lord Leconfield and three of his brothers and sisters. The large canvas lately acquired by Mrs. Bischoffsheim, and reproduced in the last number of The Burlington Magazine,[1] appears to be a sketch for the Petworth picture. I am told that among the papers at Petworth there is a letter from Romney asking Lord Egremont to send the sketch for his family picture to the Rev. Thomas Sockett, at Petworth Rectory, who had been tutor to the children. Mrs. Bischoffsheim's picture belonged to the Sockett family until comparatively lately, when it came into the hands of Mr. Alfred J. Day, from whom, through the medium of Christie's, Mrs. Bischoffsheim acquired it.

The two pictures are not identical. The lady's head at Petworth is different and less pretty, while her attitude is more recumbent. There are also minor differences which all point to the picture at Bute House being a first idea for the other. Parts of the former—the drapery of the child in white, for instance—may not be the work of Romney himself. They were probably put in by 'Dudman junr.' whose name appears on the back of the canvas. But as a whole the picture shows the characteristics of Romney both in their strength and their weakness, and may, I think, be accepted as a not unimportant addition to the catalogue of his works.

Walter Armstrong.

### THE STOLEN FRANS HALS

We have to congratulate the Director of the Mauritshuis on the recovery of the small painting by Frans Hals which was stolen from that Gallery on July 7, and of which particulars were given in the last number of The Burlington Magazine (p. 397 *ante*). The circumstances in which the picture was discovered at Antwerp about three weeks after its theft have been related in the daily press.

[1] Page 342 *ante*.

### PAINTING BY GERARD DAVID IN THE COLLECTION OF DON PABLO BOSCH AT MADRID[2]

No one of the painters who flourished at Bruges at the end of the fifteenth century exercised as great an influence as did Gerard David. He seems to have been the first master who kept a number of assistants or pupils—painters, miniaturists and illuminators—working under his direction and reproducing his compositions. Of many of these there are replicas which are almost equal in merit to the originals. Of his earliest known works, *The Judgement of Cambyses* and *The Flaying of the Unjust Judge*, I have seen two copies; of his latest, *The Marriage Feast at Cana*, there are three with slight variations in the accessories and background, donors, armorial bearings, etc. Of one important work, *The Taking Down from the Cross*, a composition of eight figures, there are many reproductions with the omission of two or more figures and variations of the landscape background. One of these, belonging to the countess of Peralta, not mentioned in the notice of Dr. Carvallo's example (Vol. VI, p. 294), is now exhibited in the section of Mediaeval Art at the Liége exhibition.

The picture of *The Holy Family resting on the way to Egypt*, one of the gems in the choice collection formed by Don Pablo Bosch of Madrid, is certainly a composition by Gerard David, who, I am of opinion, executed this painting about 1507. It is a charming work, the drawing firm and delicate, the colour rich, brilliant and harmonious. The Virgin, enveloped in an ample blue mantle which hides all but the wrist-

[2] Reproduced, page 471

band and a tiny portion of the skirt of her crimson dress, is seated on a rocky bank covered with herbage, near a little stream just at the edge of a forest of trees, the dark green foliage of which forms an admirable background. The Child, clad in a cambric tunic, holds a wooden spoon in his right hand, his left resting on the arm of his mother, who is offering him the breast. On the right, in the half distance, are a church and other buildings with hills beyond; and on the left the Virgin and Child on a donkey, followed by Saint Joseph, are emerging from the forest.

An almost exact replica of this work, but with a bough of fruit in the place of the basket, was sold at Christie's in 1902 to Messrs. Dowdeswell for £892 10s. It was, however, warmer in tone, and appeared to me to be by the hand of Adrian Isenbrant.

A third example, smaller in size, is preserved in the Van Ertborn collection in the museum at Antwerp. In this there are many variations. The Virgin's mantle is bluish grey; the Child is playing with a rosary, the cross of which He holds in His right hand. Saint Joseph is sleeping on the left, his head resting on his hand beside the basket, here half open with a staff close to it. On the right the donkey is standing near the stream, and close to the church is a castle, beyond which the ground rises in a succession of terraces. More sky is seen in this than in the other two paintings, and the immediate foreground is occupied by herbage, dandelions, and plantains. This work has been attributed to Patenir and to Henry Bles, but there is no doubt that it is the work of one of Gerard David's pupils. W. H. J. WEALE.

## A LOST LETTER BY REMBRANDT

GENTLEMEN,—Of the seven letters which Rembrandt wrote to Constantijn Huygens, the private secretary of Prince Frederik Hendrik of Orange, six are known to belong to public and private collections in Holland, England, and Germany.

The fate of the seventh, however, is unknown. It formed part of the famous collection of Baron Verstolk, which was publicly sold in 1867. A few years later, in 1871, the firm Martinus Nijhoff, at the Hague, sold it to Messrs. Ellis and Green, of New Bond Street, London, and since then its trace has been lost.

The writer is preparing a new publication of all the existing documents concerning Rembrandt, and is very anxious to be informed where this letter may be, and also to have a transcript of it taken. The letter is dated February 1636.

In this letter Rembrandt informs Huygens that he is hard at work at the three pictures of the *Entombment*, the *Resurrection*, and the *Ascension*, which the Prince in person has ordered him. The *Ascension* is nearly ready, of the others more than half the work is done. Rembrandt asks whether the Prince wishes to receive all three at the same time, or first the finished one. Rembrandt offers at the same time some of his last etchings to Huygens, and says that his address is next to the Lyonese Office in the New Doelnerstraat, Amsterdam.

If there should be among your readers anybody who can give me any information about the fate of this letter, I shall be very glad to hear from him.

DR. C. HOFSTEDE DE GROOT.

The Hague (Holland),
Heeregracht 5.

## 'A HISTORY OF ANCIENT POTTERY'

GENTLEMEN,—In connexion with the review of the 'History of Ancient Pottery' which appeared in THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE for August (p. 401 *ante*), may I be allowed to point out an important work which does not appear to have been noticed in that book—it is not in the bibliography. It is Monsieur Pierre Paris's 'Essai sur l'Art et l'Industrie de l'Espagne Primitive,' Paris (Leroux), 1904. This book treats of a phase of the subject not even outlined adequately elsewhere. P. D. V.

# THE GERMAN 'SALONS' OF 1905

ENGLISH and French artists have one great advantage over ours in being able to concentrate their energies in one single metropolis. In Germany we have every year four functions that correspond to the annual Academy exhibition at London, and as often as not six, since Dresden and Düsseldorf enter almost regularly nowadays into competition with Munich and Berlin in the matter of arranging large exhibitions.

Another disadvantage is that exhibitions in Germany are kept open for half a year at a time. This causes a great deal of inconvenience to the exhibitors, and forces the organizers to plan the exhibitions on a scale large enough to keep up the interest in them for six months.

The exhibitions in the building at the Lehrter Bahnhof in Berlin have been going on there time out of mind, long before the 'Secessionists' put in an appearance, and they are still conducted by the older group of artists. They have always been very large, and the building at Berlin is not very prepossessing. It allows of no variation as to the arrangement of exhibits, so that a certain rigid standard became the rule, which amounted to hanging the greatest possible number of pictures in a

THE BLESSED VIRGIN AND CHILD RESTING ON THE WAY TO EGYPT, BY GERARD DAVID. IN THE COLLECTION OF DON PABLO BOSCH,

matter-of-fact way. This corresponded to the views and system of the older group of artists. In their eyes these shows should be a marketing-place for works of art and nothing more. Conservative to a degree, they looked with disfavour upon the attempt of the 'Secessionists' to enliven their exhibitions by new features of 'mise-en-scène,' to further *art* rather than one or a couple of *the arts*, and to allure the public by making their shows varied and attractive. Last year there occurred a final struggle, as far as Germany is concerned, between the men of the old school and the new. In a way the old school was victorious, for they once more secured the support of the Government, and had everything in St. Louis their own way. But it was a so-called Pyrrhic victory, which cost them more than they could afford to pay a second time. So they decided to compromise before it was altogether too late, and the present Berlin exhibition is the first evidence of the new spirit which has begun to reign within their ranks. Prof. Kallmorgen is at the head of this show, and in accepting him as their acknowledged leader the Kunstgenossenschaft men have clandestinely accepted the new ideas as more or less their own.

Kallmorgen has done everything he could to make the 1905 exhibition at the Lehrter Bahnhof as interesting as any that has ever been held in Germany. He has altogether done away with the monotony customary in this place, has made room for a number of one-man shows (Volkmann, Alt, Schmutzer), has devoted a number of rooms to applied art, and exhibited furnished rooms, etc. This was unheard of within these precincts a couple of years ago; for the notions of the elect were such as to admit only painters and sculptors among the ranks of artists—not, by any means, the designers of a beautiful chair, or a vase, or an embroidered cover. Again, Kallmorgen has tried to rival the 'Secessionists' in the tasteful way in which he presents what he has to offer. The decoration of the rooms is excellent, and much attention has been paid to the hanging.

In fact, the exhibition which Kallmorgen has arranged would be able to vie successfully with the Dresden shows or any other fine German attempt, had he had more original talent at his disposal. The exhibitions at the Lehrter Bahnhof could not, at a moment's notice, be changed from what they have heretofore been—the dumping ground of mediocre talent, which sends its productions to market there, much after the same fashion that the farmer sends his produce to the town—not to stir up the best of the nation, but only to gain shekels for himself. A new spirit has, however, entered into the concern, and there is no doubt that novel results will ensue as soon as this has been recognized by mediocrity which will fall off, and true talent which will gather round the new standard.

The Berlin Secessionists arose some years ago, and having a man like Max Liebermann at their head, they were not likely to hide their light under a bushel for any length of time. They have succeeded in gaining in importance to such a degree that the question has been seriously put whether Munich has not lost its prestige and Berlin become the art centre of first importance in Germany.

This year the Berlin Secessionists have abandoned the idea of an exhibition of their own in favour of the Deutsche Künstlerbund (with its seat in Weimar), which has opened its second show there. The rise of the Deutsche Künstlerbund was the outcome of the struggles among German artists with regard to the St. Louis World's Fair. Government protection and red-tapeism had prevailed over original genius. Original genius attempted to organize in opposition to this over-ruling. The origin of the movement was similar to that which called forth the 'Secessionists' in Paris a decade ago. But whereas the original Secessionists all had distinct and one-sided views concerning art, the new movement was to be catholic. Original talent—not only the followers of Manet, Monet, or Degas—was to gain a hearing in whatever direction it lay. But who was to determine as to that vital feature, original talent! The Deutsche Künstlerbund has strayed so far from its original programme as to honour with its membership entire groups of artists without first examining whether each individual of the group belonged to the 'preferred' class of original talents!

The first show of the Deutsche Künstlerbund held at Munich last year was a failure, and the excuse offered was that sufficient time had not been allowed for its preparation. The present second show is not satisfactory, inasmuch as it does not display the *crême de la crême* as was promised.

Upon the whole it is not a bad show; but almost all of the good things have already been seen elsewhere, and this is a mistake, for the Deutsche Künstlerbund ought to have reserved its best work for its own exhibition. There is a fine interior by Kuehl, a splendid portrait of the anatomist Froriep, by Count Kalckreuth, and three very good ones by him of an elderly charitable Hamburg lady who has a summer house in the Hartz Mountains (where Kalckreuth painted her): only it is a pity he did *three* of her, for that reminds one too much of the liberal photographer who does three poses for one and the same price to select from. There is some fine sculpture by Klinger, which is always interesting though it may excite opposition, and some interesting pen-and-ink drawings by him. These are done in continuation of work he began twenty years ago, consisting of eleven wonderful drawings of the story of Cupid and Psyche, and it is surprising how well the new designs chime in with the former, though it must be admitted that they do not quite attain the old standard. There are, above all, the

magnificent sculptures of Gaul (lioness, eagle), which belong to the most impressive work produced nowadays, and upon which, unconsciously and unreflectingly, one bestows the epithet 'classical' the minute after one has beheld it.

But all these fine single items—and there are, of course, more than I have named—cannot disguise the fact that the Deutsche Künstlerbund has *not* done what it should, namely, strained every nerve to the utmost.

In Munich this year all the different clans are peaceably housed in one building—the Glaspalast. There one sees the old Kunstgenossenschaft side by side with the Secessionists and the Secessionists from the Secession, for there are many of these (Luitpoldgruppe, Scholle, etc.). As in Berlin the Secessionists proper have given up their own building, and—as is not the case in Berlin—the Government has recognized their standing as a body of artists side by side with the Kunstgenossenschaft, inasmuch as it has apportioned them room in this year's Glaspalast.

The Munich exhibition is distinguished by one other circumstance, namely, the presence of French artists' work. It is to be seen in greater strength than it has been on view here since 1887. The French exhibit is good, and so is the English, but neither of them is really representative of the art of its country. The Swedish, Hungarian, Swiss, and other foreign shows are bad. There are pictures to be seen there which really provoke the query, Are painters altogether at their wits' end, so that they feel that their only chance of exciting attention is in becoming grotesquely absurd?

The German exhibit, occupying one-half of the huge building, is of a pretty fair standard. The whole get-up of the thing is good; in fact, very good, and it betrays an amount of culture with regard to these affairs with which Munich, in spite of all its lack of push, seems well saturated, and which Berlin, in spite of all its restive activity, has not yet nearly attained.

One of the pleasantest surprises is offered by the group of artists which calls itself the 'Scholle.' Usually they try to obtrude by all possible extravagance of behaviour, but this time they are refined and reticent. There are admirable out-of-door portraits by Münzer, a beautiful interior by Robert Weise, with a view (through a window) of a fine nocturnal river landscape, excellent portraits by the same, and finely toned interiors by Püttner. Excellent still-life and portraits by Philipp Klein, Adolf Heller, and K. Blos likewise deserve mention.

Since both the Secessionists and the older group exhibit together in one house, Munich people and visitors would be restricted to one place of amusement instead of the usual two. To make up for this a big Lenbach Memorial Exhibition has been arranged in the Künstlerhaus, which includes a little over two hundred pictures, sketches, and drawings. Lenbach is a well-established figure, and the present exhibition does not add much to our knowledge of his art and character, though there is a quantity of finely-toned, silvery sketches, portraits not quite unlike Truchat, which are not common, and of which one sees more here than one would have credited to Lenbach. The Schach Gallery contains specimens of his splendid early 'plein-air' period, which the work for Count Schach (*i.e.* coping Italian Renaissance paintings) brought to so untimely an end. Thus the many sketches, which belong more or less to the class of the *Shepherd Boy Lying in the Grass* at the Schach Gallery, did not surprise one.

There are many fine specimens of Lenbach's powers covering all periods of this extraordinary portraitist's career. A superb portrait of a widow in grief—fine from every point of view, as to expressiveness of features, as to characterization, as to grasping a momentary situation, and likewise as to picturesque handling—which is dated 1898, shows that Lenbach, even after he had fallen into mannerism, was occasionally able to turn out the best of work, and thus seems to prove that his name is bound to remain as one of the most important ones in the history of German art during the nineteenth century.

H. W. S.

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### ORIENTAL ART

Chefs d'Œuvre d'Art Japonais. Par Gaston Migeon. Paris: Longuet, 250, Rue du Faubourg St. Martin.

The idea of the Keeper of Objets d'Art at the Louvre of making a collection of Masterpieces of Japanese art is a fortunate one, and in this handsome portfolio he has gone far towards realizing it. In one hundred collotype plates he has illustrated upwards of eleven hundred specimens of Japanese painting, colour-printing, lacquer, sculpture, ceramics, and metal-work, and the reproductions, being in collotype, naturally come as near to the originals as any reproductions can do. He has restricted himself almost entirely to the finest French collections, and to objects which have never been reproduced before. With the very proper desire of interesting his readers in the objects themselves he has reduced his descriptions to the smallest possible compass.

Yet although the work is thus admirably planned, it is possible that it may not entirely fulfil its author's expectations. In the first place the title is somewhat misleading, for the portfolio is rather a pictorial record of Japanese art as a

whole than a collection of its masterpieces. The approximate completeness with which it covers the field of Japanese art from the tenth to the eighteenth century makes this inevitable. Now that the novelty of Japanese delicacy of workmanship and caprice of design has lost its first puzzling freshness, we can survey its achievement calmly, and recognize that a large part of it is ingenious, dexterous, fanciful, striking or delicate, but not great. M. Migeon has apparently recognized this weakness in the case of Japanese porcelain, but there is much of the lacquer, the metal-work, and some of the painting reproduced by him which deserves no place in a collection of masterpieces. Had he picked and chosen more rigorously he would have exhibited Japanese art more favourably (and therefore served artists better) if rather less lavishly. We cannot have too many reproductions of men like Kano Motonobu, or Sotatsu, or Korin, while the omission of a few hundred examples of minor men and minor crafts would have not only given space for works by more of the great masters, but would have allowed large paintings to be shown on a scale worthy of their importance. Yet the completeness of the work is in many ways instructive. In the section on sculpture, for instance, the blending of Chinese, Hindu and Malay elements in the earlier pieces is excellently shown. The plates are admirable in every way as regards definition, but the reduction in the case of the pictures is excessive.

Lack of space prevents us from doing more than mention the fine design by Kiyonaga (96), the splendid specimens of portrait sculpture, of lacquer by Koetsu, of brocades (Nos. 1,067, 1,108 and 1,109), and call attention to one or two slips, such as the ascription of No. 67, the slight misdating of Ritsuo throughout the section on sculpture, of Shiomi in the section on lacquer, and the confusion in the text about Nos. 232–235. The dates given often err on the side of antiquity, but the allowance of an extra century was possibly a gentle concession to an owner's pride, and does not really matter much, since the book is not a history of Japanese art but only a very sumptuous series of additional illustrations to the histories which already exist. C. J. H.

ISLAMISCHE TONGEFASZE AUS MESOPOTAMIEN. By F. Sarre, Berlin, 1905. (Reprinted from the *Jahrbuch der K. preuszischen Kunstsammlungen.*)

THE title of this paper brings to our mind thoughts of the enigmatic Martaban pottery—the green earthen vessels made by the early Mahommedans, and frequently referred to by contemporary chroniclers. It reminds us of the singular delusion which led Professor Karabacek of Vienna to recognize in the coarse jars and dishes treasured for centuries in the mosques and wealthy dwellings of Egypt, Persia, and the India Archipelago, the indubitable representatives of the Martaban, or, as he called it, the Mussulman pottery. A dish, preserved in the Batavia Museum, was taken as the mainstay of the elaborate dissertation published in 1885 by the learned orientalist. It bore the incised figure of a dragon accompanied by graphic signs which might be construed into an Arabic inscription. In reality, the dish, as well as all the specimens of the same order mentioned in connexion with it, was nothing else than the early celadon porcelain, imported from China into Asia and Africa by the Arab traders from the seventh to the thirteenth century. The likeness that the shape of the symbolic flames adopted in Chinese decoration presents to that of the Lam-Alif and other letters of the Arabic alphabet must be made accountable for an otherwise inexcusable mistake. Out of the flames abundantly strewn over the ground of the dish, the professor had made out the hypothetical inscription :

MOHAMMED, PROPHET OF ALLAH, MOHAMMED

Mr. F. Sarre has wisely ignored the fallacies of his predecessor in the study of the Islamite pottery. His attention is confined to the examination of four fragments of terra-cotta vases adorned with oriental figures, arabesques, and inscriptions, lately brought to light. In the estimation of the writer, the character of the ornamentation and of the lettering do not allow these fragments to be ascribed to an earlier date than the thirteenth century. Accordingly, we must take it that the manufacture of this coarse and imperfect pottery was coeval with that of the admirable lustre vases of Ragès, and of many other well-determined specimens which evidence the advanced state that the art of the Asiatic potter had reached at that period. Looking at it from that point of view the Islamite terra-cottas are of comparatively small interest for the history of Oriental ceramics. M. L. S.

## ITALIAN ART

LE OPERE DI LEONARDO, BRAMANTE, E RAFFAELLO. Dott. Giulio Carotti. Milano: Hoepli.

THIS well-arranged and well-illustrated volume contains three separate studies which are united only by uniformity of authorship and uniformity of plan. The field covered is so wide and bristles with so many difficulties that it is unlikely that any reader will entirely agree with Dr. Carotti's results, although the book is singularly spirited and suggestive. Of the three personalities dealt with, Leonardo, the most complicated of them, is the one with whom Dr. Carotti seems to have succeeded least perfectly, although he faces one or two famous problems with commendable frankness and taste. He does not appear to have a clear and definite conception of the influence of Verocchio upon his great pupil, an influence which we are now beginning to understand; nor is he quite convincing in his hold upon Leonardo's technical peculiarities. Even in matters of research his study

does not compare favourably with Mr. Horne's admirable if rather conservative commentary upon Vasari's biography of Leonardo; indeed, he omits the book from his bibliography, together with Mr. McCurdy's excellent little monograph. On many points his criticism leaves little to be desired, and his view of the *Madonna of the Rocks* in the National Gallery, though opposed to that held by the majority of modern critics, has so much technical evidence in its favour that it will probably be accepted when the limitations of Ambrogio de Predis are more fully realized. In attributing to Leonardo the terra-cottas at South Kensington of a *Madonna and Child* and a *St. John Baptist* and the troublesome portrait in the Liechstenstein Collection Dr. Carotti seems to tread upon more dubious ground, especially since he does not mention the *Genius of Discord* relief, and rejects *La Belle Ferronière*. The latter is no less Leonardesque than the Cracow picture, which he accepts as the portrait of Cecilia Gallerani. In these cases Dr. Carotti would have been wiser to give his arguments rather more fully, as he has done in the case of the wax head at Lille, which in his opinion dates from the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century.

We cannot criticize these attributions within the limited compass of a short review, and must therefore pass on to the excellent study of Bramante. Dr. Carotti adds to Bramante's paintings four fine frescoes of angels in the Certosa at Pavia, and has evidently studied the master's Milanese period with unusual thoroughness. In the matter of Bramante's designs for St. Peter's the reproduction of Ducerceau's engraving hardly bears out the contentions of the text. Some less clumsy reconstruction would have been an improvement. The view taken of Bramante's design would also have been more just had Dr. Carotti mentioned its weak points, both structural and aesthetic. The piers which Bramante planned to support his dome were found by his successors to be quite insufficient for their task, and the colonnade to the drum, like that of the Pantheon at Paris, being unsupported by solid intervals, looked too frail to bear the ponderous dome above it. The changes made by Michelangelo were right and necessary, and it is hardly fair to include them with the other alterations of Bramante's plan which are far less defensible. In restoring the Venice Sketch-book to Raphael Dr. Carotti again runs counter to the opinion of Morelli, whose case for Pintoricchio, though commonly accepted, was not perhaps wholly convincing, either in its logic or when taken in connexion with the drawings themselves. It is impossible to discuss the problem here, but these brief indications may illustrate the range and interest of Dr. Carotti's studies. A few words of praise are due to him for the admirable method on which the book and its illustrations (nearly two hundred) are planned.

## MODERN ART

THE DRAWINGS OF SIR E. J. POYNTER, BART., P.R.A. Newnes. 7s. 6d. net.

MUST the artist always remain strictly tied to the grammar of his craft, or when he has once mastered its rules may he handle them freely as his enthusiasm and insight prompt? The career of the great masters indicates that they uniformly chose the latter alternative, Sir Edward Poynter recently would seem to have chosen the former one.

His success was gained by the freedom and emphasis he has since sacrificed to over-conscientiousness. Abstract truth is a cold and empty thing; it cannot inspire one until it is itself alive, and life in art can only be suggested by emphasis of design, of motion, of structure, of colour, or of all of them together. Plates XIV and XV indicate the artist's powers in this direction, and it is evident that if for a few years he threw conscience to the winds and worked from sheer pleasure in grand gesture he might repeat and surpass his former success.

For the somewhat trivial pictures he has shown of recent years the stress of official work must be held in part responsible. Now that burden is lightened the natural man may again have his chance, and it is because the painter of the *Catapult*, and the enthusiastic student of Michelangelo was no mean artist, that we venture to point out where he would seem to have left the path of good tradition.

## MISCELLANEOUS

ROBERT ADAM. By Percy Fitzgerald, M.A., F.S.A. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1905. 10s. 6d. net.

MR. PERCY FITZGERALD'S book on Robert Adam is at least an interesting addition to the scanty amount of literature regarding the great Scotch architect. It is chattily and pleasantly written, and the author is evidently, to use his own words, 'in real and deadly earnest.' Yet it is a disappointing production. Too little attention is paid to Adam's interior decoration, which was so great a part of his style, and the book teems with inaccuracies.

Mr. Fitzgerald complains bitterly of the mistakes of Adam's biographers, and then calmly proceeds, not only to copy, but actually to add to them. In one place he gives the names of the four brothers as 'Robert, John, *Thomas*, and William.' This may be simply a slip of the pen, but there are other mis-statements not so easily explained. Robert Adam did *not* spend five years in Italy. Of the four years he was abroad the time he studied in France should be remembered, if only for the effect it had on his style.

Mr. Fitzgerald's one correction is not of a kind to be much admired. He objects to Adam writing 'Spalatro' instead of 'Spalato.' Such standard authorities as I have consulted give both, putting 'Spalatro' first; and even if they are also wrong,

it does not greatly matter, for it would be nearly as difficult to attempt to correct the ordinary Englishman regarding St. Petersburg or Munich. 'Spalatro' Robert Adam called it, and Spalatro it will be when we are all dead and in our graves.

Speaking of one particular phase of Adam's art Mr. Fitzgerald tells us that it 'had not been adopted by Chippendale or Sheraton.' So far as the latter designer is concerned this is not surprising, since, at the time, he was a child of eight, and did not become a power in English furniture art till after Adam's death.

It would be quite possible to make out a good case for the view that Adam, as a furniture designer, was greater than Chippendale; but to do so would require an intimate knowledge of the works of both men. Mr. Fitzgerald attempts it by illustrating what he is pleased to call an 'Adam' bookcase, which, in his opinion, is greatly superior to Chippendale. It is 'architectural,' it is 'monumental,' it has 'movement,' and many other qualities too numerous to mention. In this piece of appreciative criticism I am for once in thorough agreement with Mr. Fitzgerald; but whoever made the bookcase (and, for several reasons—the form of the broken pediment for one—it was certainly not Robert Adam) its structure is taken straight from the 'Director.' This can be seen by anyone who compares it with Plates XC, XCI, and XCV of the third edition.

In one particular I must save Robert Adam from his friend. Mr. Fitzgerald says that the works preserved at the Soane Museum are 'like rude school-boy drawings.' It is a pity that he did not take the trouble to refresh his memory before making such a surprising statement.

Some time ago I myself wrote a few articles on Robert Adam as a furniture designer, and gave much time and careful thought to my choice of illustrations, which I see Mr. Fitzgerald has used without mentioning my name. I always take what suits me from other writers, but I make a point of acknowledging the source, and, until now, I have met with the same courtesy from the authors who have done me the honour to make use of my labours. I should not mind so much if Mr. Fitzgerald had not spoiled what he took. He calls a harpsichord a piano, and a four-legged stand a tripod, while a chair that I introduced to show Adam's influence on the furniture he did *not* make is reproduced by Mr. Fitzgerald as his actual work.

I mention this to explain not why I do not praise the book, but rather why I leave the treatment it deserves to be administered by other hands. R. S. CLOUSTON.

TOURS. LES VILLES D'ART CÉLÈBRES. Par Paul Vitry. H. Laurens, Éditeur.

THE intellectual and artistic needs of the modern tourist have outgrown the meagre outlines furnished by Baedeker and Joanne, and a class of guide-books has gradually come into favour in which the artistic history of a town or province is treated at greater length but without the detail of a scientific work. M. Vitry's 'Tours' is an admirable example of this compromise. Tours, though certainly a large Roman city, as the traces of an amphitheatre for twelve thousand spectators indicate, has now no considerable remains of Roman civilization. Nor is its importance in early Christian times under St. Martin and St. Gregory adequately represented by existing buildings. In the periods of Romanesque and early gothic art also Tours occupies no leading position.

'La Touraine ne semble pas, durant cette période, avoir créé de formule qui lui fût très spéciale. Au XIIe siècle, elle ne parait avoir connu ni la hardiesse particulière des constructions bourguignonnes, ni la robustesse des auvergnates, ni la forte sobriété du décor des églises normandes, ni l'exubérante parure toute pleine d'éléments orientaux des monuments du Languedoc et de la Saintonge.'

It is not really till the fifteenth century that Touraine becomes the great centre of French artistic life, but with Fouquet, Michel Colombes and the architects who developed for Charles VII and Louis XI a new style of mediaeval but already elegant and practical domestic architecture Tours becomes for a time not only the artistic capital of France but the source of artistic conceptions of world-wide importance. All this M. Vitry brings out admirably, accentuating as the nature of the work dictates only the salient points. We could indeed have wished that out of that intimate knowledge of the mediaeval and early Renaissance art of Touraine, of which his book on Michel Colombe and his articles in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* have given such ample proof, he had given us more details of this great period. We find here, for instance, nothing about that Touraine school of wood sculpture of which the life-size Virgin and St. John now, thanks to M. Vitry himself, in the Louvre are such striking examples. But this can only be due to the exigencies of space and the compromise of conflicting claims which such a book entails.

The book is admirably illustrated, and is certain to be welcome to the many English tourists who visit the country he describes.

R. E. F.

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The illustrations include reproductions of the fine but retouched wall paintings in Pickering church.

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BELLODI (R.). Il Monastero di San Benedetto in Polirone nella storia e nell' arte. (13 × 9) Mantova (Segna), 8 l. Illustrated.

SUPINO (J. B.). Pisa. (11 × 7) Bergamo (Istituto d'Arti gràfiche), 3 l. 50. 'Italia artistica' series. Illustrated.

PETTINA (G.). Vicenza. Same series, 4 l.

MCCRACKEN (L.). Gubbio, past and present. (7 × 4) London (Nutt). Illustrated.

PROKOP (A.). Die Markgrafschaft Mähren in kunstgeschichtlicher Beziehung. 4 vols. (14 × 10) Wien (Spies).
A minute history of Moravian art: romanesque, gothic, renaissance, and baroque, especially architecture; 1,500 pp., 1,600 illustrations, plans, etc., and a Moravian armorial.

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## CERAMICS

WALLIS (H.). XVII Plates by Nicola Fontana da Urbino at the Correr Museum, Venice, a study in early sixteenth century maiolica. (11 × 9) London (Taylor and Francis), 21s. 27 process illustrations.

A Catalogue of Bristol and Plymouth Porcelain, with examples of Bristol Glass and Pottery, forming the collection made by Mr. A. Trapnell, with preface by the Rev. A. W. Oxford. (13 × 10) Bristol (W. George & Sons). With photogravures and facsimiles of marks.

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The collection contains 2,690 prints of all schools. 12 plates.

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[1] Sizes (height × width) in inches.

# ART IN AMERICA
## EDITED BY FRANK J. MATHER, JUNR.

### Sir C. Purdon Clarke in America

HE *cognoscenti* of New York are looking forward to the administration of Sir C. Purdon Clarke in the Metropolitan Museum, much as the Israelitish brickmakers in Egypt may have yearned for a Moses. For reasons which it would no longer be profitable to recount at length, darkness has reigned in the first museum of America since its beginning. The devotion and liberality of the board of trustees have never as yet had adequate reinforcement in a learned directorate. That eccentric soldier of fortune, the late General Cesnola, was an honest broker of Cypriote antiquities, an able administrator on the purely business side and a vague and uncritical enthusiast for classical antiquity, but his scholarship was no more real than his generalcy; he regarded scholars as potential critics of his administration and scrupulously avoided retaining or appointing connoisseurs on his scanty staff of curators. The natural result of his obscurantism was grave error in displaying and cataloguing the collections. This unfortunate condition of affairs was exposed fully last winter, in a series of newspaper articles of rather little amenity, which, however, made out a very damaging case against the Cesnola régime. Such a review of these old, unhappy, far-off things is necessary to explain how Sir Purdon Clarke has the probably unique experience of stepping into a great museum which is virtually without curators.

We are aware that several faithful employees of the Metropolitan Museum bear that title, and that acting-director Story, under whose interregnum the attitude of the museum towards students has been notably liberalized and considerable improvement of the catalogue of painting effected, is a competent critic of Dutch and Flemish pictures, but by the time these words are read Mr. Story will probably have retired, and the remaining curators will be of the grade of superior custodians or aesthetes at large, counting not a connoisseur among their number. The new director will have to treat the existing curatorships as vacant and go about the selection of a minimum working staff; to include at the least, an expert in painting and the art of Renaissance, in classical archaeology, and in ceramics and oriental art. Naturally great interest attaches to these first appointments, which, both in remuneration and in prestige, are veritable prizes to the museum world, and there is a strong feeling that Sir Purdon Clarke should appoint only conspicuous experts by as much as the museum has formerly fallen short in this regard.

And right here arises an urgent query: Will the director have a free hand? One must assume this, for without proper guarantees of independence, he would hardly have left South Kensington for Central Park East. That he should have the shaping of his own policy and the choice of his associates is highly important, for upon his courage and far-sightedness depends to a large degree the future museum policy in America. Museums, many of them fairly well endowed, spring up in America with mushroom-like rapidity. Unlike many of the English provincial institutions these American art galleries are centres of activity. Frequently painting classes conducted by some *revenant* of the *atelier Julian* are the real concern. In such case the director is usually a painter or local amateur, and the scanty fund for acquisitions is spent patriotically on prize pictures in the annual exhibitions, or else on American works whose room in a very few years is certain to be better than their company. Other museums, like the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburg and the century-old Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, both admirably managed, devote themselves more especially to exhibitions of national or international importance. Yet other museums are centres of art propaganda, doing through the lectures of their directors and others and through co-operation with the literary clubs which flourish west of the Alleghanies, a useful work akin to university extension. No one would complain because art foundations, largely of private origin and with distinct educational intent, overestimate their function of popularization. In a republic what is not popular can scarcely live and certainly cannot thrive. But it is clear that the work we have described is not calculated to produce or encourage experts; and, in fact, any critical knowledge of art history is very much the exception among American curators. Until lately America has had neither the will nor the means to train connoisseurs, nor the career to offer to the few who have managed to educate themselves. During all this time the Boston Museum of Fine Arts has constituted an honourable exception. From the first it has counted a few experts upon its staff, and it has habitually drawn upon scholars throughout the world for aid. Only recently its fine collections of Japanese paintings have been thoroughly catalogued by the well-known expert Okakura-Kakuzo. This museum carries scientific candour to the point of promptly displaying forgeries and the like, as soon as they are detected, in an especial and most instructive collection. But Boston remains in a magnificent isolation as regards the rest of the United States: its ways are as little regarded throughout the country as the proverbial 'New England conscience' itself, and unhappily it is doubtful if a handful of museum directorates between Maine and California even

realize the value of the ideal so steadfastly maintained under the shadow of Harvard University. Inevitably the museums of the country will take their tone from New York, whence they will take their men also as fast as they can be supplied.

Sir Purdon Clarke then has the rare opportunity of setting up an ideal, towards which the dozens of existing American museums and the hundreds there are certain to be will gladly strive. Those who met him during his short visit last winter felt that he is temperamentally well fitted for a task requiring abundant tact. It is a question of imposing severe standards of connoisseurship upon a people resentful of any sort of superiority, and inclined to question all pretension to authority. Such being the case it is eminently fortunate that Sir Purdon Clarke's experience at the South Kensington Museum has fitted him to understand the somewhat restless and indiscriminate activities of our American institutions, and it is doubly fortunate that his kindliness and sense of humour will enable him to sympathize even where he cannot approve. But diplomacy, a most indispensable part of every director's equipment, will least be necessary in New York, where everybody is well disposed towards the new comer who is to dispel the Egyptian or rather Cypriote darkness that until recently has prevailed in Central Park East.

### An Unpublished Patinir

The wholly charming Patinir here reproduced[1] first received its true attribution from Dr. Bode, who, in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1895, p. 13 ff., published a most useful, if summary, survey of the old masters in the New York Historical Society.[2] It belonged, with many other interesting pictures in this collection, to the late Thomas J. Bryan's 'Gallery of Christian Art.' One may assume that its present title *The Triumph of Christianity* and the modest attribution 'School of Dürer' come from him. The fanciful title is certainly justified by the shattered idol whose shaft gives out refreshing water at the bidding of the Christchild; by the angel ministrants also, who beat the fruit trees for the Holy Family and humbly serve the Virgin and Child. The iconography is interesting and so far as I know unique. Nothing in the apocryphal history of Christ and the Madonna quite supplies the story, but the angels who throw down fruit otherwise unattainable seem to be a natural amplification of the story in 'Pseudo-Matthew,' which makes a palm tree bend down and yield its fruit at the Christchild's bidding. From the foot of the tree, so runs the legend, there bubbled up a spring. This motive we have perhaps in the more ambitious architectural form in the spring issuing from the broken idol; it recurs in a Patinir at Antwerp. But if Patinir has muddled the hagiography of his favourite subject, *Rest in the Flight to Egypt*, he has made a picture of naïve charm as regards the figures and of accomplished skill as regards the landscape. The colouring is in the paler tones of green, yellow, and brown; the characteristic deep blue is absent except for a trace in the extreme distance and for a more emphatic occurrence in Joseph's robe and in the sleeves of the Virgin's tunic. Of especial beauty are the robe of the attendant angel—a pale blue with a delicate iridescence in a yellow of similar value—the little angel clothed in rose draperies who flies across the grove like the *santo uccello* he is, and the delightful if conventionalized texture of the foliage in foreground. One need not dwell upon the elegant mannerism illustrated in the foreground group. Except for an early and fairly considerate repainting of the sky, the picture is in immaculate condition. It was formerly in the Quedeville Collection and its dimensions are $37\frac{5}{8}$ by $26\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

F. J. M. J.

### A Panel probably by Isenbrant[3]

The little masterpiece, *The Virgin with Saint Catherine and Saint Agnes*, is easily the most treasured picture in the collection of the New York Historical Society, and certainly the most troublesome. When Thomas J. Bryan bought it at the Quedeville sale 'its beauties were hidden beneath the accumulated blackness of ages; otherwise a private American fortune would have failed to obtain it.' Just what outrage had been done to this lovely work, whose beauty, in pre-Morellian days, fully sanctioned the attribution to Memlinc, one may only guess. It seems likely that after re-varnishing it was exposed while yet sticky to the reek of candle smoke, and that the soot settled in every fissure of its cracked surface. Moreover, some ill-advised owner had the unhappy inspiration to saturate the worm-holed panel with wax. In any case about ten years ago, long after such cleaning as Mr. Bryan gave it, I saw it go through a heartrending process of deterioration. Filth

[1] Plate I, p. 481.

[2] In the *Gazette des Beaux-arts* for May, Mr. Lewis Einstein and M. François Monod have begun a useful series of articles on this collection. Their work will not however interfere with the plan of publishing choice pictures from this source in The Burlington Magazine, since it is already apparent that the illustrations in the *Gazette* are to be rather for purposes of identification than for study. Doubtless the authors will improve upon the necessary cursory articles of Berenson and Bode. But the newcomers, too, have evidently not had the advantage of long and repeated scrutiny of the pictures. Otherwise we should not have had the cautious note on No. 197 'Perugino. The picture is unblushingly signed 'Perusinus,' whereat a mere tyro would rebel. Messrs. Einstein and Monod say judiciously enough that it lies near the style of such Marchmen as Palmezzano and Rondinelli, and that it is of Veneto-Umbrian derivation. Mr. Berenson, in a similar spirit, guessed Francesco Zaganelli (*Gaz. d. B.-A.* Mar. 1896). Only Mr. William Rankin has taken the pains to climb up and examine the cartellino. He tells me in a personal letter that the cartellino is quite genuine, as indeed it appears on inspection. It has been tampered with to the extent of erasing letters corresponding in position to the forged *Perus*—. The suffix *-inus* is on the contrary original, and the altarpiece itself is an important and characteristic example of Macrino d'Alba, painted, as inscribed, in 1509.

[3] Reproduced, Plate II, p. 484.

PLATE I. REPOSE ON THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT, BY JOACHIM PATINIR IN THE COLLECTION OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PLATE II. MYSTIC MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE; ATTRIBUTED TO ADRIAN ISENBRANT. IN THE COLLECTION OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

exuded from the surface in streaks until the gracious figures appeared dimly as in a London fog. About two years ago the surface was cleaned with scrupulous care, but with considerable if inevitable injury to the rich brocades and to the tender glazes of the heads and hands. But again the old evil is reappearing on the rose-coloured sleeve of Saint Agnes; another cleaning will leave only the wraith of a *chef d'œuvre*, and I regard it as an imperative act of piety to see that it is now preserved in an adequate reproduction. As for the composition, it plainly goes back to Memlinc's *Madonna with Saints* in St. John's Hospital at Bruges, but the types are less slender, the faces less elongated, the whole effect a little more modern and painter-like than that of any Memlinc known to the history of art. Briefly, the picture, both in the figures and in the landscape, has all the characteristics of Gerard David's school. The reproduction will make this so plain that the point need not be laboured. M. François Monod has discussed the matter learnedly in the *Revue de l'Art*, vol. xv, p. 391, and has reproduced the picture. Only the good luck of securing a far better negative after the cleaning of the picture justifies a return to the subject. On the basis of the likeness between our panel and the Gerard David at Rouen, M. Monod pronounces cautiously for David's authorship of the New York picture. But his admission that it resembles the *Madonna with Four Female Saints*, lent by the Count Arco Vallez to the Bruges Exhibition of Flemish Primitives, practically settles the case for Isenbrant. Clearly it belongs to the class of works recently restored to Adrian Isenbrant, by whom or by whose nameless *famulus* it surely is. The latter view was that of Mr. Roger Fry on a rather brief examination. Time, as I have already said, has dealt hardly with this lovely work. The rose hedge which separates the figures from the background of farmsteads is scarcely discernible, the pattern of the robes has pretty well disappeared, but the picture has at least escaped the sacrilege of repaint, and in its present battered condition remains, whether for glowing colour or serenity of religious feeling, one of the most beautiful relics of the early Flemish school. Its dimensions are 27 inches wide by 36 inches extreme height. F. J. M. J.

### The Metropolitan Museum

A fine Netherlandish primitive ascribed to Jan Mostaert is the latest important acquisition at the Metropolitan Museum. The panel (which has most ingeniously and without detriment been converted into a canvas) bears the singular designation, *Ecce Homo—Mater Dolorosa*. It represents, in life size and three-quarter length, Christ crowned with thorns and the Virgin in ecstatic contemplation of His agony. The figures stand before an ornate Gothic casement arbitrarily cut into two oblongs by a Renaissance column, upon which hangs a tiny scourge. Through the window is seen a walled city with tiled roofs. The forms are modelled with deep shadows, and the pigment has blackened, enhancing the tragic effect of the work. The hackneyed theme of Christ mocked is treated with extraordinary dignity and reserve. The Madonna exhibits an inwardness and a kind of fragile beauty that one associates with the school of Matsys. So complete and affecting is the impression of these two noble sufferings—united apparently for the sake of contrast of physical type—that one is likely to forget that the work is late and eclectic, even reminiscent, perhaps, of the Leonardesque tradition. In style the picture lies rather close to the enigmatical *Deipara Virgo* of the Antwerp gallery. The panel was bought for 28,000 dollars of Dowdeswells, and some of your connoisseurs may already have settled its authorship. The price—for a work, if fine, quite out of the main current—seems high, and all the more so that the Metropolitan, while reasonably strong in the painting of the Low Countries, has but an inferior and scattered representation of the Italian schools.

Other acquisitions of note at the Metropolitan are a plaster-cast of Rodin's titanic *The Thinker*, and an excellent example of the lamented A. Q. Collins. Collins is probably not even a name to you in London; in fact, his laborious and too scanty production was only beginning to express his rare talent when he was taken away. His portraiture at its best, as in the present picture of *The Artist's Wife*, has an austerity and an almost impersonal fidelity of characterization that recall Bastien.

### A Museum in the Courts

The suit brought by the Italian sculptor Ernesto Biondi against the Metropolitan Museum is of general interest to directors and other museum authorities. The late Gen. Cesnola, who was an enthusiastic admirer of Biondi's realistic sculpture, had made an agreement to exhibit Biondi's colossal group, *Saturnalia*, for a period of a year, and the bronze was actually brought to the museum and set up in the hall of sculpture. At the private view, however, so great opposition to exhibiting the work arose among the trustees, the ultimate authority, that *Saturnalia* was removed to the cellar, and Biondi, after various remonstrances, sued the Museum for 200,000 dollars for breach of contract to exhibit and for resultant injury to his artistic reputation. The Supreme Court of the State of New York has ruled that no contract existed between Cesnola and Biondi, and that the sculptor held merely a receipt or certificate of deposit for his work. It was further held that the director, without a formal vote of the trustees, was not competent to make a binding contract with regard to loans of objects of art. Evidently, if

this is the law on the matter, the status of lenders to museums is a most indefinite and unsatisfactory one, and the powers of directors are much less than has been supposed, or than consistent management requires. An appeal has been entered in the case. Public opinion bears out the trustees in refusing to exhibit Biondi's 'machine,' which, for all its medal of honour at Paris, is a repellant affair; but there is also much sympathy for the artist, and a feeling that he has been the victim of a misunderstanding by no means his fault. The court has given him the very slight *solatium* of free delivery of his great bronze in Italy. His friends have made the mistake of representing him as the victim of the jealousy of what is jocularly called our 'Sculpture Trust,' which was sheer rubbish.

Columbia University has followed up the affiliation of the National Academy Schools of painting, sculpture and engraving, with a bulletin of the Department of Fine Arts. So far there is little change of note except the introduction of the *atelier* system into the School of Architecture. Two of our best practising architects, Charles F. McKim and Thomas Hastings, have accepted positions as directors of *ateliers*. Undoubtedly their efforts will give the instruction in architecture, which hitherto has been over-bookish, a more practical character. Otherwise, one notes a number of courses in theoretical and applied design, given mostly at the Teachers' College; a number of subsidiary lectures in classical and oriental archaeology by professors who are primarily philologists, similar courses in aesthetics, and a promise of free popular lectures on the history and criticism of art. Finally, the Department of Comparative Literature is thrown into the artistic pot for good measure. All this is well in its way, but, apart from the reorganization of the School of Architecture, it leaves art at the University just where it was before. We have, however, President Butler's word that he means to appoint expert professors of the history of art as soon as the funds allow. Behold an opportunity for some overlooked millionaire with leanings toward connoisseurship.

In earlier letters you have learned of the purchase of the Villa Mirafiori for the American Academy in Rome. The academy now announces the completion of an endowment fund of a million dollars through ten equal subscriptions by as many American collectors. This places what has been a struggling enterprise on a firm financial foundation. The intention is to make the academy a residential school for stipendiaries who have won their places in severe competition. It will be to all intents and purposes an American *École de Rome*. For the present architecture and mural painting will receive chief attention. The tone will be as academic as that of the French prototype, since the leading spirit both in raising the funds and in supplying our ideas has been Mr. C. F. McKim, one of our best architects of the archaeologizing sort.

Professor William Rankin, of Wellesley College, has issued in a small pamphlet, which the art department of the college publishes at twenty-five cents, his 'Note on Old Masters in three American Galleries.' These brief observations touch upon every picture of fine quality or of art-historical importance in the Jarves Collection, New Haven, Conn., the Boston Museum of the Fine Arts, and the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Mass. Occasionally the notes point out obscure pictorial merit; more often attributions are at issue. In this matter Mr. Rankin has had the advice of Mr. Berenson, of Mr. C. F. Murray, and of other connoisseurs of repute, but, generally speaking, he is the first to apply modern methods of criticism to collections that have necessarily escaped the careful scrutiny of European experts.

Through the courtesy of the author, Mr. Luke Vincent Lockwood, I have had a chance to look over his privately printed catalogue of 'The Pendleton Collection of Colonial and Old English Furniture,' which is published in folio by the Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, R.I. The late Mr. Pendleton's collection, with a sprinkling of Flemish and English pieces, was made up of the best colonial examples he could obtain, most of which are, naturally, of the mahogany era, and more or less directly traceable to the pattern books of Hepplewhite, Sheraton, and Adams. He had the happy idea of arranging the pieces in rooms by styles, with appropriate woodwork and bric-à-brac. This arrangement has been followed by the present possessor, so that the collection fairly represents the belongings of an American family of means and taste, which had inherited good furniture for three generations or so, but had supplied itself most liberally between 1800 and 1830. This has thrown upon Mr. Lockwood the duty of cataloguing perfunctorily a number of objects in porcelain, pewter, and pottery which are hardly relevant to his main theme. He has sifted his material with the system and thoroughness that distinguishes all his work, and his analysis of the difference between Dutch and British workmanship in a familiar and ambiguous type of bandy-legged pieces is worthy of note. The book is arrayed in all pomp of Japanese vellum throughout, with abundant photogravure plates. Since it is not on sale, and may be had only by favour—in England possibly not at all—a popular edition would be welcome on both sides the water. For the study of American furniture in the period when it was still worth study it is simply indispensable.

F. J. M. J.

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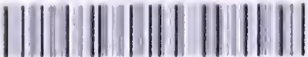
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